

AMBITION, COMPETITION, AND INCOMPLETION:  
RAPHAEL AND THE COMMISSION FOR  
ALFONSO D'ESTE'S CAMERINO

A thesis

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## **ABSTRACT**

This thesis looks at an unfulfilled commission requested by Alfonso d'Este, the Duke of Ferrara, from Raphael Sanzio, circa 1514. The painting in question was meant for the Duke's Camerino, a study that would have held works by the most eminent painters of his day. Scholars have disagreed as to why Raphael did not complete this commission. This thesis proposes that the incompleteness of the commission was not a matter of simple procrastination or patron politics. First, I look at the commission in the context of the goals and expectations of both the patron and artist. Then, by comparing his typical workshop practices with those used for directly competitive commissions, I conclude that Raphael saw the Camerino as a heightened instance of competition. The demands of a competitive commission disrupted his normal workshop practice and were too great for the artist to complete before his premature death.

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## INTRODUCTION

A print by Conrad Martin Metz cannot be described but as absolutely teeming with figures (fig. 1). A large elephant in the center stares powerfully out at the viewer, surrounded by equally exotic lions, panthers, and camels. All around the animals, nude men and women in classically inspired dress lounge, play instruments, support each other, and carry offerings. Although obscured by the mass of human flesh and scene-stealing animals, the main character is the beautiful man on the far left; he rides alongside a woman in a chariot pulled by panthers. The man who drunkenly falls off a lion in the foreground must be Silenus. The engraving thus depicts the triumph of Bacchus in India. The multi-figural composition captures the frenzy of a Bacchanalia. Despite the fact that the engraving was made by an eighteenth-century British artist, the composition was originally designed by Raphael for Alfonso d'Este's Camerino in the Castello Estense.

In Raphael's time it was known that contemporary theologians promoted qualities of efficiency (*industria*), responsibility (*solicitudo*), and application (*labores*) in their discourse on morally just mercantile activity.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, this commission for a very powerful patron went unfulfilled. From 1514 until the death of Raphael in 1520, Alfonso d'Este, the Duke of Ferrara, awaited a painting from the famous young artist. For six years, Raphael seemingly offered excuses and made promises he simply could not fulfill. The surviving letters concerning

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<sup>1</sup> Megan Holmes, "Neri Di Bicci and the Commodification of Artistic Values," *The Art Market in Italy: 15th-17th Centuries*, ed. Marcello Fantoni, Louisa C. Matthew, Sara F. Matthews-Grieco (Modena: Panini, 2003), 214.

this commission reveal an overextended artist, a disappointed patron, and ultimately a conflict between a desire to be acknowledged as the best artist and to be as productive as possible.

The exchange of letters pertaining to Raphael's role in the Camerino began between Beltrame Costabili, the Bishop of Adria, and Duke Alfonso. Costabili, who lived in Rome at the time, served as an intermediary between Raphael and the Duke, who was primarily at his court in Ferrara. The commission in question was meant for the Camerino, the duke's study intended to display Alfonso's most important works of art.<sup>2</sup> In its original design, the room's walls were supposed to feature oil paintings on canvas, depicting classical subject matter, executed by prominent painters: Giovanni Bellini, Fra Bartolommeo, Michelangelo, and Raphael. Later, Pellegrino da San Daniele, Titian and Dosso Dossi were introduced into the Camerino and the paintings of the latter two ended up in the completed room in 1525.<sup>3</sup> For Alfonso, the Camerino was an opportunity to create a gallery of renowned painters, while for the artists the project was an opportunity to compete against one another for glory. Raphael was assigned an *Indian Triumph of Bacchus* (not to be confused with the *Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne* later executed by Titian).<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately for the parties involved, all did not go according to plan. Rather than producing a painting, the commission resulted in several years of frustration.

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<sup>2</sup> Charles Hope, "The 'Camerini d'Alabastro' of Alfonso d'Este-I," *The Burlington Magazine*, 113 824 (Nov., 1971): 641-642.

<sup>3</sup> Hope, "The 'Camerini d'Alabastro' of Alfonso d'Este-I," 645.

<sup>4</sup> John K. Shearman, "Alfonso d'Este's Camerino," *Il Se Rendit En Italie: Études Offertes à André Chastel* (Rome: Edizioni Dell'Elefante, 1987), 214.

In the case of the Camerino commission, it is necessary to understand that Raphael was too aware of good business sense to simply have ignored the commission. As can be seen through his letters, workshop, and business practices, Raphael excelled not only in painting, but also in managing students, patrons, and his finances. He clearly had the skills and resources to produce a painting in a reasonable amount of time that would fit the size and subject requested by the Duke of Ferrara. That this did not happen suggests that Raphael put off its execution for some compelling reason. This thesis will propose that the incompleteness of the commission was not just a matter of simple procrastination; instead, Raphael saw the Camerino as a heightened instance of competition, which disrupted his normal workshop practice.

### **Review of the Literature**

Scholars in the field of Renaissance studies are increasingly drawing attention to questions of business, economics, and workshops. Richard Goldthwaite, an economic historian, finds “[t]his void in the economic historiography of late-medieval and early-modern Italy [to be] even more surprising in view of the vast bibliography of studies dedicated to artisans.”<sup>5</sup> Modern, Romantic ideas about artists assume a large gap between artists and artisans, while in the Renaissance this division was much less pronounced. Furthermore, Carmen Bambach points out that “the complexity of Italian Renaissance workshop practice, though all too readily assumed recently, has been

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<sup>5</sup> Richard Goldthwaite, "Economic Parameters of the Italian Art Market (15th-17th Centuries)," *The Art Market in Italy: 15th-17th Centuries*, Ed. Marcello Fantoni, Louisa C. Matthew, Sara F. Matthews-Grieco (Modena: Panini, 2003), 424; See also: Richard Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy, 1300 – 1600* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993).

little explored.”<sup>6</sup> In contrast to the sweeping claims of Goldthwaite and Bambach, a handful of art historians, discussed below, have dealt with workshops, including Raphael’s in particular, either in passing or in greater detail.

From Vasari until Marcia Hall, the majority of Raphael scholars fail to mention the Raphael’s role in Alfonso’s Camerino.<sup>7</sup> This may be partly attributed to the fact that the major monographs focus on fulfilled commissions. It is not until 1983 that Roger Jones and Nicholas Penny introduce the Camerino commission and reproduce Metz’s print is even reproduced. Their book briefly gives the story of the unfinished commission and explains that Raphael was simply too busy with his work for his Medici patrons (Pope Leo X and Cardinal Giulio de’ Medici) to complete it.<sup>8</sup> Marcia Hall, in the introduction to her 2005 compilation of essays, briefly mentions the Camerino commission. She also implies that Raphael did not fulfill the commission because the Duke of Ferrara was not important enough as a patron and that Raphael only accepted the Duke’s commission, because the artist “was too polite to ever say no.”<sup>9</sup>

Paul Joannides’s magisterial 1983 book is a careful examination of the master’s drawings. He focuses primarily on autograph sheets, but also includes

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<sup>6</sup> Bambach, 10.

<sup>7</sup> Major scholars who do not discuss the Camerino commission include: Oskar Fischel, *Raphael* (London: K. Paul, 1948); Luitpold B. Düssel, *Raphael: a Critical Catalogue of his Paintings* (New York: Phaidon, 1971); Sir John Wyndham Pope-Hennessy, *Raphael* (New York: New York University Press, 1970); James H. Beck, *Raphael* (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1994); Konrad Oberhuber, *Raphael: the Paintings* (New York: Prestel, 1999); Pierluigi De Vecchi, *Raphael* (New York: Abbeville Press, 2002).

<sup>8</sup> Roger Jones and Nicholas Penny, *Raphael* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 175, 178.

<sup>9</sup> Marcia Hall, “Introduction,” *The Cambridge Companion to Raphael* (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2005), 3.

some from the workshop when they supplement Raphael's own drawings.<sup>10</sup> Joannides is concerned with questions of attribution. While he does not discuss the workshop at length, he uses the manifold extant drawings to arrive at realistic conclusions about the way workshop members like Giovanni Francesco Penni and Giulio Romano as well as unnamed *garzone* were utilized in the creation of paintings. His meticulous treatment of the collection of drawings is an invaluable tool for this thesis since questions of the hand of the master are critical to gauging Raphael's levels of interest for specific commissions. He does not, however, include any drawings related to the Camerino commission.

By far the most influential art historian to deal with Raphael's contributions to the Camerino and his business practices in general is John Shearman. With each article and essay, and later the compilation of a new sourcebook for the artist, he continually added to our understanding of Raphael. His 1983 essay is the earliest to deal with the workshop on its own as an entity worthy of study and revelatory of the master's artistic process. As Shearman asserts, Raphael's impressive work ethic suggests that there would have been no workshop without the growing pressure from demand for his works.<sup>11</sup> His interpretation of the events insists that we understand Raphael as "not lazy" and only relying on assistants when the demand for works rose. However, he fails to consider that Raphael's formation of his workshop was a proactive measure that could allow him to accept more commissions.

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<sup>10</sup> Paul Joannides, *The Drawings of Raphael: With a Complete Catalogue* (Berkeley: University of California, 1983), 132.

<sup>11</sup> John K. Shearman, "The Organization of Raphael's Workshop," *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies* 10. The Art Institute of Chicago Centennial Lectures (1983), 42.

Furthermore, Shearman presents the workshop as dynamic and flexible to the needs of the studio at any given time. Due to the change in emphasis at the turn of the sixteenth century toward the preparatory phase of the commission that was taking place at this time, Raphael endeavored to retain the creative elements for himself and “subcontract or delegate some of the definitive work to an assistant.”<sup>12</sup> While Shearman definitely gives Raphael’s assistants a much more active role in the process, Shearman still believes the artist capable of unrealistic feats, most clear in his belief that the *Transfiguration* “seems to [him] to be entirely by Raphael, as are all the preparatory drawings.”<sup>13</sup> On the whole, however, Shearman’s article is invaluable, both as a resource and as recognition for a critical element of Raphael’s career.

Ingrid Rowland's 1994 article, however briefly, appreciates Raphael as a skilled businessman, adding an economic dimension to the artist's characterization. Breaking away from the traditional focus on Raphael's charm, Rowland augments our understanding of the artist by highlighting his financial motivations. She successfully weaves money into the pre-existing narrative, describing the fact that the artist “respected money himself can be shown beyond doubt by his *modus vivendi*: [he] chose his company carefully, making stylish outings to the countryside with Pietro Bembo and other humanists, flirting with marriage to a cardinal’s niece, painting pictures for kings, and investing in real estate along the *via Giulia* and in the *Borgo*.”<sup>14</sup> Thus, she illustrates the respect

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<sup>12</sup> Shearman (1983), 47.

<sup>13</sup> Shearman (1983), 54.

<sup>14</sup> Ingrid Rowland, “Raphael, Angelo Colocci, and the Genesis of the Architectural Orders,” *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 76, No. 1 (March 1994), 81.

and concern that Raphael may have had for money by considering the level of his social circle, concluding that if they were of an inherently higher class, Raphael must have been as well.

In discussing Raphael as the manager of his business, she refers to Raphael as a "shrewder operator than most," setting him apart from his contemporaries.<sup>15</sup> Rowland convincingly argues that Raphael's workshop can be understood as "a modern corporation with a distinct marketing strategy" that traded on Raphael's name. The term "corporation," is a loaded term, rife with connotations of ambition. Rather than launching into a full comparison of Raphael to brand-named items, Rowland argues that his workshop recreated the artist's creative genius and made it available to a public audience.<sup>16</sup> If her characterization holds true, then a thorough analysis of Raphael's actions must take into account how his artistic process and interactions with patrons would or would not benefit his public image and likelihood of securing future commissions. Rowland, however, blames Alfonso's relative weakness as a patron as the reason why the "painting would have remained unfulfilled in any case."<sup>17</sup>

Raphael's workshop emerges as a dynamic operation in Rowland's view, in concert with many art historians, such as Martin Wackernagel in *The World of the Florentine Renaissance Artist* (1981), before her. She extols, specifically, its diversified nature, which allowed Raphael to produce designs while relying on his workshop to execute manual tasks.<sup>18</sup> Rowland places emphasis on the creativity

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<sup>15</sup> Rowland, 81.

<sup>16</sup> Rowland, 81.

<sup>17</sup> Rowland, 81.

<sup>18</sup> Rowland, 81.

of the master as vital to creating a uniform product when several hands are involved. Furthermore, this division of labor draws Raphael apart from those contemporaries who produced works that were “jealously one-of-a-kind.” as was the case for Michelangelo’s *Pietà*.<sup>19</sup> Her outlook on these differences between Raphael and his contemporaries reflects a shift toward looking at Raphael in economic terms.

Rowland does not see Raphael’s corporation-workshop as an anomaly. Rather, she believes that “the particular course of his trajectory has more to do...with a similar shift in the practice of a whole series of professionals in Leonine Rome” as a result of the world of finance and property spilling into that of the arts.<sup>20</sup> Placing Raphael in historical context allows for greater comparison between Raphael and his contemporaries. However, while these societal changes surely aided his ability to establish his workshop, this does not explain why he did it, as not every master artist at this time followed the same path as Raphael.

Where Rowland introduces a lot of issues in the introduction to a much larger paper, Bette Talvacchia goes in depth with Raphael’s workshop in her 2005 essay. Talvacchia focuses on how the master chose to employ the assistants in his workshop in order to achieve “unity of conception and the conformity of execution.”<sup>21</sup> By focusing on larger questions rather than the identification of hands, she provides a much larger view of an integral part of Raphael’s creative process.

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<sup>19</sup> Rowland, 81.

<sup>20</sup> Rowland, 81.

<sup>21</sup> Bette Talvacchia, "Raphael's Workshop and the Development of a Managerial Style," *The Cambridge Companion to Raphael*, Ed. Marcia B. Hall (New York, NY: Cambridge UP, 2005), 170.

Talvacchia points, in dialogue with Shearman, to the overwhelming number of commissions Raphael was receiving at this time as an impetus for the development of a new workshop system. She also cites, though, the shift in artistic emphasis onto preparatory work at that time, which reflects the new philosophical concept of inventive *disegno*. Talvacchia convincingly describes a method in which Raphael's constant study of ancient and contemporary artists was paramount. Thus, like Wackernagel before her, she presents his workshop as innovative: rather than simply copying the works of older masters, which easily led to sterility, these assistants were required to learn the master's technique, becoming masters in their own right – the beginning of the academic system that later flourished in Western art.<sup>22</sup> The workshop Talvacchia describes was consequently able to produce patron-pleasing commissions that could be signed with Raphael's name because he designed the original compositions and was physically present during their execution.<sup>23</sup> Again, her discussion of Raphael takes already available information and draws conclusions.

What distinguishes Talvacchia's Raphael from Rowland's is the way each art historian conceives of the artist's motivations. Where Rowland described the Raphael workshop as a corporation, Talvacchia interprets the same workshop as kind of harmonic team effort, following Shearman's assertion that it was akin to a family. She asserts that through his system, Raphael was able to spend more time on *concetti* (concepts), as well as to pursue new areas of interest.<sup>24</sup> This is in contrast to the workshops of Perugino, who simply taught his assistants to

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<sup>22</sup> Talvacchia, 173.

<sup>23</sup> Talvacchia, 168.

<sup>24</sup> Talvacchia, 185.

reproduce stock figures, or Ghirlandaio, whose assistants' unequal skill was plainly visible in finished works. While both add much to our understanding of Raphael's workshop, the subtle differences between Rowland and Talvacchia result in two distinct conclusions about the master's motivations regarding the Camerino commission.

Michelle O'Malley's 2005 book is a timely, economically oriented analysis of primary materials. As the title suggests, she goes into the finer details of the commission process, always being careful to pay attention to present the artists as active agents. O'Malley's definition of the "painter manager," however, is of most interest for this thesis.<sup>25</sup> She identifies the fact that masters with large workshops would have had to coordinate several hands for a number of commissions at different stages of completion. O'Malley further supports her proposal by pointing to the fact that even painters' contracts at the end of the fifteenth century specifically mentioned management skills as an integral part of the production process.<sup>26</sup> This thesis asserts that the level to which Raphael's workshop was involved and his ability to manage his assistants affected the (in)completion of the *Triumph of Bacchus* and the *Hunt of Meleager*.

The subject of Alfonso's Camerino is not an unfamiliar one to art historians. Many articles have been written dealing specifically with the Camerino and the program of paintings (and the many changes) it contained

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<sup>25</sup> Michelle O'Malley, *The Business of Art: Contracts and the Commissioning Process in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 78; see also: Hannelore Glasser, *Artists' Contracts of the Early Renaissance* (New York, Garland Publishing, 1977); Chambers (1971); Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience: a Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972); Jonathan Katz Nelson, *The Patron's Payoff: Conspicuous Commissions in Italian Renaissance Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008).

<sup>26</sup> O'Malley, 78.

within.<sup>27</sup> These articles, however, focus mainly on the executed paintings and especially on Titian's contributions.<sup>28</sup>

Charles Hope's 1971 articles meticulously reconstruct the Camerino's history. Although the location of the actual room is still disputed, he convincingly argues that it was located in the Via Coperta (fig. 2).<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, he proposes the order in which the paintings would have been placed in the Camerino as well as the progression of the room's program from the initial design to its final arrangement.<sup>30</sup> Since he follows the Camerino's whole story, he touches on Raphael's role, but offers no explanations for why Raphael never fulfilled the commission.

Robert Steiner's 1977 article focuses mainly on the afterlife of the drawing Raphael sent to Alfonso for the *Indian Triumph of Bacchus*. He briefly summarizes the events surrounding the Camerino commission by recounting the letters sent between the Duke and his Roman emissaries. Steiner then discusses the many manifestations of Raphael's design in the art of his students.<sup>31</sup> Although Raphael's painting never came into fruition by his own hand, Steiner makes it clear that the artist's complex design lived on. He continues by identifying sources to which Raphael may have looked when developing the drawing's

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<sup>27</sup> See: John Walker, *Bellini and Titian at Ferrara: a Study of Styles and Taste* (London: Phaidon Press, 1956); Cecil Gould, *The Studio of Alfonso d'Este and Titian's Bacchus and Ariadne: A Re-examination of the Chronology of the Bacchanals and the Evolution of One of Them* (London: National Gallery, 1969); Eugenio Battisti, "Disegni Inediti di Tiziano e lo studio d'Alfonso d'Este," *Comentari* V (1954): 191-216.

<sup>28</sup> See, for example: Warren Tresidder, "The Cheetahs in Titian's 'Bacchus and Ariadne'" *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 123, No. 941 (Aug., 1981): 481-483+485.

<sup>29</sup> Hope, "The 'Camerini d'Alabastro' of Alfonso d'Este-I," 641-642.

<sup>30</sup> Hope, "The 'Camerini d'Alabastro' of Alfonso d'Este-I," 645.

<sup>31</sup> Robert Steiner, "Il 'Trionfo di Bacco' di Raffaello per il duca di Ferrara," *Paragone* 325 (Mar., 1977), 87-92.

composition. Some, like the sarcophagus, are identified throughout the literature on the topic.<sup>32</sup> He also argues, however, that a figure from Michelangelo's drawing for the *Battle of Cascina* inspired a figure to the right of Silenus.<sup>33</sup> Steiner does propose two possible explanations for why Raphael might have failed to fulfill the commission. He first states that Raphael may have perceived the commission as demeaning, since it implicitly lowered Raphael to the level of the other artists with whom he was competing.<sup>34</sup> He further posits to the fact that Raphael may not have been interested in painting a mythological scene, pointing to the fact that the artist's oeuvre only includes two paintings with mythological themes.<sup>35</sup> These explanations, while novel, are not convincing and this thesis argues directly against the prior.

In 1987, Shearman presents a detailed narrative for the *Indian Triumph of Bacchus* and, to a lesser extent, to the *Hunt of Meleager* (the subject that replaced the *Indian Triumph* in 1517). Through careful textual analysis, he discusses Alfonso d'Este as a slighted patron, especially in comparison to Raphael's other patrons like the Medici, Francis I, and the Pope. Shearman identifies Alfonso's relative political weakness as one of the reasons why Raphael did not finish the painting.<sup>36</sup> The other significant reason he identifies, which he asserts was equally to blame, was Alfonso's misstep in having Raphael's original drawing executed by another artist.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Steiner, 92.

<sup>33</sup> Steiner, 92-93.

<sup>34</sup> Steiner, 94.

<sup>35</sup> Steiner, 94.

<sup>36</sup> John K. Shearman, "Alfonso d'Este's Camerino," *"Il Se Rendit En Italie": Études Offertes à André Chastel* (Roma: Edizioni Dell'elefante, 1987), 209 – 213.

<sup>37</sup> Shearman (1987), 210.

He also identifies a lot of elements of the intended *Triumph of Bacchus*. For instance, he explains why the *Triumph of Bacchus* is separate from the later commission of *Bacchus and Ariadne* that was later assigned to Titian by looking to the classical texts connected to the commission.<sup>38</sup> Similarly, he discusses the role animals played in the painting's creation, pointing to interest in exotic animals at the court of Ferrara as well Leo X's white elephant, Hanno.<sup>39</sup>

Andrea Bayer's 1991 essay briefly visits the question of Raphael's Camerino commission as an introduction to Dosso's contribution. She gives background on Alfonso as a patron, specifically his reputation for being militaristic and his later focus on improving the cultural ambiance of Ferrara's court, of which the Camerino was an element.<sup>40</sup> In addition to giving the background for the paintings, relying heavily on Hope and Shearman, she begins with the commissions from Fra Bartolommeo and Raphael. She seems to agree that Raphael's commitments to the pope prevented him from finishing the paintings, but highlights the fact that Alfonso "resorted to a white lie: urging Raphael to finish, [Alfonso] told [Raphael] that his was the only work missing from the otherwise complete Camerino."<sup>41</sup>

The 2003 catalogue for the exhibition "'Il Trionfo di Bacco" Capolavori della scuola ferrarese a Dresda" ("The Triumph of Bacchus" Masterpieces from the Ferrarese school in Dresden") provides the most recent information regarding

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<sup>38</sup> Shearman (1987), 214.

<sup>39</sup> Shearman (1987), 216-217.

<sup>40</sup> Andrea Bayer, "Dosso's Public: The Este Court at Ferrara," *Dosso Dossi: Court Painter in Renaissance Ferrara* Comp. Peter Humfrey and Mauro Lucco (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Distributed by H.N. Abrams), 28-29.

<sup>41</sup> Bayer, 35.

Raphael's Camerino commission. The exhibition takes its name from the work by Garofalo based on Raphael's drawing (fig. 18). In the catalogue, Kirsten Faber argues that the painting combines elements from the story of Bacchus's triumph and that of his marriage to Ariadne.<sup>42</sup> The most intriguing information she provides is the reattribution of a simple pen and ink drawing (in the Albertina) for the *Indian Triumph of Bacchus* to Raphael (fig. 21).<sup>43</sup> If this attribution is correct, this preparatory drawing is the closest we come to Raphael's contribution to the Camerino. She discusses a drawn copy of Raphael's drawing, but disagrees with the British Museum's identification of the artist; she hesitantly attributes to Girolamo da Carpi, while the British Museum gives the drawing to Giovanni Francesco Penni, another member of Raphael's workshop (fig. 16).<sup>44</sup> Furthermore, Faber identifies a particular sarcophagus in the Casino Rospigliosi as a possibly direct inspiration for Raphael's drawing (fig. 17).<sup>45</sup> In the Cinquecento, the sarcophagus, dated to the second century CE, was located in the Roman Church of San Lorenzo fuori le mura and may have been available for study to Renaissance artists. Faber's catalogue entry is a useful resource, particularly in the attribution of Raphael's preparatory drawing, giving us a more complete picture of the Camerino commission's story.

### **Goals of this thesis**

For the most part, scholars have blamed Raphael's incompleteness of the Camerino painting on Alfonso's weakness as a patron, in comparison to the

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<sup>42</sup> Kirsten Faber, "29. Garfalo (Benvenuto Tisi) Il Trionfo di Bacco," *Il Trionfo di Bacco* "Capolavori della scuola ferrarese a Dresda" (Venezia: Umberto Allemandi & C., 2003), 143.

<sup>43</sup> Faber, 143.

<sup>44</sup> Faber, 144.

<sup>45</sup> Faber, 145.

powerful Medici and Chigi patrons in Rome. While the Duke's status was unquestionably part of the explanation, it is far from a full answer. This thesis hopes to argue that the competitive nature of the Duke's intended Camerino was the direct cause for Raphael's delay in completing the commission.

In chapter one, I examine artist and patron in order to establish the expectations each party had in 1514, the year the Camerino commission was initiated. It will become clear that Raphael was too skilled of a businessman, and the Camerino too important a commission, for the artist to have simply procrastinated completing the painting. Next, I analyze the letters exchanged between Alfonso and Raphael (via the Duke's Roman ambassadors), thus recreating the events leading up to Raphael's death and the end of his contribution to the Camerino. The excuses and assurances that Raphael gives to the Duke throughout the exchange may initially seem disingenuous. However, when taken into account in tandem with the expectations of the two parties, his excuses appear to be honest explanations.

The second chapter presents the competition factor in light of Raphael's workshop practices. First, I will present Raphael's mature workshop and his approach toward commissions in which competition is not a major factor. It will be evident that the workshop was the linchpin in Raphael's commissions, playing a large role in the execution of paintings. Then, Raphael's high level of involvement in the cartoons for the Sistine Chapel tapestries and the *Transfiguration*, both of which, like the Camerino commission, were defined by competition, will be examined. I propose that Raphael would have dealt with the

Camerino commission in a similar manner had he not suddenly died in 1520. By focusing on a workshop copy of the drawing Raphael sent to Alfonso, I attempt to recreate what Raphael might have done if the commission had progressed as planned.

As will be seen by this analysis of Raphael's letters, actions, and other work, one cannot dismiss the commission's incompleteness to laziness or patron politics alone. Rather, the element of competition, which Alfonso hoped to win him the finest collection of master paintings for his Camerino, imposed higher demands upon the busy Raphael.

## CHAPTER ONE

Commissions result from bargaining and mutual advantage between a patron and artist. The Renaissance painter, even a master like Raphael, was not above the mechanizations of commerce. In 1514, when the Camerino commission was initiated, Raphael, the young master, was already successful. His ambition, however, was not sated by his work for the Pope, made clear by his reliance on other patrons to expand his network and improve his status. Alfonso d'Este, meanwhile, had settled back in Ferrara after the Wars of the League of Cambrai, and sought to realize his own ambitions. He hoped to build the Camerino, a testament to classical learning and artistic excellence, to establish his own role in the cultural development of Ferrara.<sup>46</sup> Each party, therefore, came to the commission with certain expectations and goals. Thus, the subject matter of the commission for *The Indian Triumph of Bacchus*, is not incidental, but central to Alfonso's aims and to Raphael's approach to the project. However, Raphael never produced his painting for the Camerino, so it is necessary to investigate the correspondence that does survive in order to deduce what each side expected. To understand the commission and its fate, then, it is necessary to first understand its parties and its terms, in the year 1514.

### **Raphael in 1514**

By the end of 1514, Raphael had already established himself and his workshop in Rome and was well known for his artistic talent and social grace. This reputation was the result of deliberate crafting. While the young artist was

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<sup>46</sup> Bayer, 28-29.

first grappling with the Camerino commission, he was also running a full operation. In addition to painting and running a productive workshop, he was busy improving his personal reputation. So, when Alfonso commissioned a painting from Raphael, he likely would have expected to work with the cooperative and charming artist that Raphael was said to be.<sup>47</sup>

Both in temperament and style, Raphael strove to identify the qualities that would win him favor. Nobody can deny that Raphael's impeccable social grace was integral to his meteoric climb in popularity. Besides the social benefits that result from being well liked as a person and an artist, there are also immense economic benefits that should be taken into account. Patrons like Alfonso d'Este were interested in the quality of art, but a reputation as agreeable or easy to work with could make one artist more appealing than another with a less agreeable character. Raphael, like many artists, was intentionally creating a product, both in himself and in his art, that would always be in high demand. Baldassare Castiglione wrote in *The Book of the Courtier* (1528), for instance, that gracefulness and social comportment were social markers through which one could acquire the status of a gentleman.<sup>48</sup> To keep this added appeal, it would have been beneficial for Raphael to keep patrons appeased during the process and upon completion. It is important to keep the expectations of courtly social behavior in mind when examining Raphael's correspondence with Alfonso and his liaisons.

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<sup>47</sup> Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of Seventy of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, ed. E. H. and E. W. Blashfield and A. A. Hopkins, trans. Mrs. Jonathan Foster (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1897), 125.

<sup>48</sup> See: Baldassare Castiglione, *Il Cortegiano* (Novara: Istituto Geografico de Agostini, 1968).

Since Raphael relied on relationships with prominent patrons to improve his social standing, the Camerino commission from the Duke of Ferrara would have held special appeal to him. More importantly, he was also a fully capable courtier himself, as comfortable in the papal court as he was among other artists.<sup>49</sup> Renaissance Italy saw the rise of the genius artist, yet artists, as purveyors of products, however beautiful, would never entirely lose the stigma of a laborer. Nevertheless, some, like Raphael, were able to acquire the status of a courtier through the high profiles of important commissions.<sup>50</sup> While Raphael had already attained this status by 1514, a positive relationship with another powerful court and family would be desirable to a burgeoning master artist.

As a major figure in the politics of the Italian peninsula, Alfonso could be a fallback in case of papal complications and in the ever-changing political climate of Rome. Raphael had demonstrated an ability to use his *grazia* to weather any political or social storms. With outward “calmness and splendor,” Raphael managed to navigate “one of the most difficult and complex periods of the history of Italy, in which the political economical factors [had] the same intensity as those of custom and culture.”<sup>51</sup> His social capacity was especially crucial when his livelihood relied so much on the whims of the Pope. Small missteps with a politically powerful family or a cardinal who would later become the pontiff could, and did for some artists, mean losing incredible amounts of

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<sup>49</sup> See: Daniel Arasse, “L’atelier della grazia,” *Raffaello; Grazia e Bellezza* (Milano: Skira, 2001), 57-68; Martin Warnke, *The Court Artist: On the Ancestry of the Modern Artist* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

<sup>50</sup> Martin Wackernagel, *The World of the Florentine Renaissance Artist: Projects and Patrons, Workshop and Art Market*, Trans. Alison Luchs (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 28.

<sup>51</sup> Carlo Pedretti, *Raphael, His Life & Work in the Splendors of the Italian Renaissance* (Florence: Giunti, 1989), 17.

money in commissions. Raphael was well aware of this and normally took the necessary precautions to protect his business, his reputation, and his art.

Personal letters from 1514 reveal that Raphael at this time was preoccupied with money and fame. While for the rest of the world Raphael had to craft his public image carefully, with a close relative like Simone Ciarla he did not hesitate to exhibit his intense ambition. Ciarla, the master's maternal uncle, remained a prominent figure in Raphael's life, even as the artist flourished independently in Rome, far from the court of Urbino. In 1514, Raphael wrote a letter to his uncle in which he shared news of his economic opportunities in the papal court, plans for marriage, and his justification for staying away from his home in Urbino.<sup>52</sup> After a loving greeting, he opened by reacting quite strongly against the pressure his uncle had put on him to get married. Raphael's primary dissent is deeply connected to matters of finance.<sup>53</sup> Without a wife, he explained, he was becoming a very wealthy man:

I have three thousand gold ducats' worth of property at Rome, and a revenue of fifty ducats a year. Besides this, his Holiness has made me overseer of the works at St. Peter's with a salary of three hundred gold ducats for life. But this is not all; people pay me what I choose to ask for my pictures, and I shall receive twelve hundred gold ducats for the frescoes which I am now painting at the Vatican. Thus, dear uncle, I do honor to you as well as to my other relations and my country. I carry you

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<sup>52</sup> The first extant letter regarding the Camerino is dated December 1514, but it presumes that the commission had already been established.

<sup>53</sup> Vasari discusses Raphael's approach to women a fair amount in his *vita*. The art historian records Raphael's love of women as essentially his only vice: the love of a woman known as *la fornarina* is blamed for causing the illness that ultimately killed the artist (220-221). He also notes the painter's engagement to Marietta, the niece of Cardinal Bibbiena, the marriage to whom Raphael kept postponing (220).

always in my heart and your name sounds like that  
of a father in my ears.<sup>54</sup>

In this letter home, Raphael makes it clear that he is doing well for himself in Rome, but the very explicit payment amounts specified show an artist with a deep concern for the monetary compensation he received for his talent. Moreover, in the final sentence, he makes it clear that he holds a strong association between money and a sense of pride. Note that he tells his uncle that the twelve hundred gold ducats is his source of honor for Ciarla and the his other relatives in his country – not from the magnificent frescoes of the Stanza dell’Incendio. While it can be argued that he is showing his pride for his work by giving the payment amounts, he is nonetheless quantifying his talent with monetary value. That Raphael was supposedly able to charge whatever he chose to ask is yet another sign of the high demand for his work at the time. Moreover, he does not give the impression of being overwhelmed by this high workload, but rather comes across as eager to take on more, adding commissions on top of his ongoing work for the Pope.

Returning to the subject of marriage, he continues the letter by explaining the circumstances of his marriage negotiations with Cardinal Bibbiena for his niece, Marietta:

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<sup>54</sup> Raphael, in translation in Charles Perkins, *Raphael and Michelangelo: A Critical and Biographical Essay* (Boston: J.R. Osgood and Co., 1878), 151-152; Raphael Sanzio, "1514/6," in *Raphael in Early Modern Sources (1483-1602)* Vol. 1, ed. John Shearman (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 181: "Son certo che adesso lo conscete ancora voi, ch'io non saria in locho dove io son, ché fin in questo di mi trovo havere roba in Roma pre tre mila ducati d'oro, e d'entrata cinquanta scudi d'oro, perché la Santità di N. S. mi ha dato, perché io attenda alla fabrica di Santo Petro, trecento ducati d'oro in provisione, li quali non mi sono mai per mancare sinché io vivo, e son certo haverne degl'altri. E poi sono tra stantia per S. S.tà a dipignare che mostrerà mille ducento ducati d'oro, sì che, carissimo zio, vi fò honore a voi et a tutti li parenti et alla patria, ma non resta che sempre non vi habbia in mezo al chore, e quando vi sento nominare, che non my paia di sentir nominare in mio patre."

I have strayed from the question of a wife, but to go back to it, I reply that Santa Maria in Porticu [Cardinal Bernardo Dovizi] wants to give me a relative of his, and with his permission of my uncle the priest and yourself, I promised to do what his Reverend Lordship wanted. I cannot break my word, we are more on the verge than ever, and soon I will inform you of everything; have patience that it will work out well, and then if it does not come off I will do what you wish. And you must know that if Francesco [Buffa, an old family friend working as a marriage broker in Urbino] has his friends, so have I; I have found a beautiful young girl in Rome, and so far as I know both she and her family are of good standing. They want to give me three thousand gold *scudi* as dowry, and they (?) [sic] live in a house in Rome which, if it is worth a hundred ducats here, would certainly be worth two hundred ducats where you are.<sup>55</sup>

Marriage was, for Raphael (as well as his male contemporaries), yet another element in his effort to improve his standing. Raphael was flourishing without the burden of a wife; there would be no reason for him to hasten into an arrangement unless it would prove socially or financially beneficial. It quickly becomes clear that either of these marriage prospects would have been lucrative. As an accomplished artist in the employ of the Pope, Raphael felt he had every right to keep the highest standards in terms of both social status and income.

Additionally, the specificity in the reporting of the girl's dowry demonstrates

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<sup>55</sup> Raphael, in translation in Chambers, 30; Raphael, "1514/6," in *Raphael in Early Modern Sources*, 181: "Sono uscito da proposto della moglie, ma per ritornare vi rispondo, che voi sapete che Santa Maria in Portico me vol dare una sua parente, e con licenza del zio prete e vostra li promesi di fare quanto sua R.ma Signoria voleva. Non posso mancar di fede, simo più che mai alle strette, e presto vi avvisarò del tutto. Habiate pazienza che questa cosa si risolva così bona, e poi farò, non si facendo questa, quello que voi vorite. E sapia che se Francesco Buffa ha delli partiti che anchor io ne ho, ch'io trovo in Roma una mamola bella, secondo ho inteso di bonissima fama lei e li loro, che mi vol dare tre mila scudi d'oro in docta, e sono in casa in Roma che vale più cento ducati qui che ducento là, siatene certo."

further how precisely Raphael considered his finances.<sup>56</sup> In addition to the demands of his career, the young man, now thirty-one, was apparently actively surveying prospects for marriage.

In response to his uncle's entreaties for Raphael to relocate to Urbino, he continues his letter on the subject of Rome:

About staying in Rome, I cannot be anywhere else for any length of time on account of the building of St. Peter's, where I have taken the place of Bramante; but where in the world is there a worthier place than Rome, and what work is worthier than St. Peter's which is the foremost temple in the world. This is the greatest building project ever seen, which will cost more than a million in gold and you know that the Pope has authorised spending sixty thousand ducats a year on it, and thinks of nothing else.<sup>57</sup>

In addition to painting, Raphael had now taken on an architectural venture for the Pope. He was already on retainer with the Pontiff; now that he was committed to a major long-term project meant he could not leave Rome. He asked what places could be "worthier" than Rome and Saint Peter's Basilica for him to work and answered his rhetorical question by quantifying worthiness with the amounts the Pope was spending on his commissions, and even these amounts are severely inflated.<sup>58</sup> While Raphael was taking outside commissions at the time, his letter implies that he prized his Vatican work above all others. In light of this, it may seem odd that he would spend his time accepting commissions from non-Roman

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<sup>57</sup> Raphael, in translation in Chambers, 30-31: Raphael, "1514/6," in *Raphael in Early Modern Sources*, 181: "Circa a star in Roma: non posso star altrove più per tempo alcuno, per amore della fabrica di Santo Petro, ché sono in locho di Bramante. Ma qual locho è più degno al mondo che Roma, qual impresa è più degna di Santo Petro, ch'è il prino tempio del mondo, e che questa é a più gran fabric ache sia mai vista, ché monrarà più d'un milione d'oro? E Sapiate che 'l Papa ha deputato di spendare sessanta mila ducati l'anno per questa fabrica, e non pensa mai altro."

<sup>58</sup> Shearman (2003), 181.

patrons like Alfonso; that he did accept them suggests that Raphael thought he could manage them without diverting his attention from the Vatican.

Indeed, his duties in the Vatican palace were not limited to painterly endeavors, and they continued even after accepting the Camerino commission. In 1515, a Papal Brief gave Raphael responsibilities over antiquities, insofar as ancient building materials were involved. This has often been taken to mean, possibly due to the artist's own self-aggrandizement, that he was appointed *sovrintendente alle antichità*, with authority over all the antiquities in Rome. The oft-misinterpreted sentence reads: "You whom I employ as master of this building project . . . I appoint as overseer of marbles and stones which henceforth shall be dug up in Rome . . . so that you purchase for me what is suitable for the building of that temple."<sup>59</sup> It appears from this translation that the main purpose of the appointment was to procure building materials for the building of the new Saint Peter's Basilica.<sup>60</sup> Whether the task was limited to this or came with a greater prerogative, this appointment was administrative and went beyond his everyday work of painting and managing his workshop.

Raphael would not have been able to meet the high demand for his works while juggling these other personal and professional commissions without an active workshop. The young artist arrived in Rome around 1508. At the turn of the sixteenth century, the role of the artist was expanding: "humanists discovered the printed book, painters the engraving, architects the illustrated treatise, all of them economical, infinitely reproducible versions of their work, objects at once

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<sup>59</sup> Pope Leo X, "1515/8," in *Raphael in Early Modern Sources*, 209.

<sup>60</sup> Shearman (2003), 210.

physically and socially mobile.”<sup>61</sup> With so many new sources of income for an artist, it is no surprise that Raphael found a way to explore every avenue. These endeavors were, of course, lucrative for him, but also added to his list of responsibilities.

When he initially arrived in Rome, Raphael was not in great need of assistants. While in Florence, the majority of his commissions were Madonna and Child paintings, which simply did not require the manpower demanded by a large fresco cycle, for example. Because he was only producing small paintings at that point in his career, he was able to focus on improving his art without the burden of managing a workshop.<sup>62</sup> It is probable that Raphael moved to Rome from Florence in search of larger commission cycles. However, when considering his change of location with this ambition in mind, it seems likely that the young artist knew the papacy was much more worthy of his talents. By 1514, he had established a workshop that allowed him to take on so many different responsibilities and commissions. It was this infrastructure that would have made him confident to accept the commission from the Duke of Ferrara while otherwise occupied with papal and private commissions in painting and architecture, non-painted tasks for the Pope, and personal efforts to improve his socio-economic standing.

#### **Alfonso d’Este in 1514**

The patron brought his own status and ambitions to the relationship with Raphael. Alfonso d’Este (1476 – 1534) had succeeded his father to become the

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<sup>61</sup> Rowland, 81.

<sup>62</sup> Joannides, 16.

Duke of Ferrara, only seven years before contacting Raphael about the Camerino. Offsetting his reputation as a brash warrior, Alfonso cultivated an appreciation for the arts and antiquities and was determined to promote the cultural vibrancy of Ferrara.

Alfonso d'Este led Ferrara through the tumultuous period of the Wars of the League of Cambrai (1509-1516). Although he was originally allied with Pope Julius II against Venice, for the majority of the wars, Ferrara fought with France against the Pope and his allies. Indeed, his relationship with Julius was far from rosy: the Pope excommunicated the Duke over a disagreement about a salt monopoly in 1510 and Alfonso tore down Michelangelo's bronze statue of the Pope in Bologna, only to melt it down to make a canon that came to be known as "La Giulia," which may be seen in Titian's portrait of the Duke.<sup>63</sup> By 1514, however, Alfonso was already back in the arms of the Church (he was pardoned in 1512), and Ferrara was allied with Venice, France, and Scotland for the final leg of the Wars.

Alfonso was criticized by some of his contemporaries as uncultured and militaristic. This reputation was exacerbated by his interest in metallurgy and the fact that he appreciated the company of artisans.<sup>64</sup> Indeed, the portraits that remain of the Duke show him as a soldier, suggesting this was the primary image that he wanted to project.<sup>65</sup> Nevertheless, Alfonso, like the other members of his family, was also a great patron of the arts: the fifteenth-century Dukes Leonello

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<sup>63</sup> Bayer, 28.

<sup>64</sup> Bayer, 28..

<sup>65</sup> Cecil Gould, *The Studio of Alfonso d'Este and Titian's Bacchus and Ariadne: A re-examination of the chronology of the Bacchanals and the evolution of one of them* (London: National Gallery, 1969), 3.

and Borso before him were famous for the splendid courts and were patrons of artists like Rogier van der Weyden and Piero della Francesca, while his father, Ercole I, built up much of the Northern part of the city and brought in musicians like Josquin des Prez.<sup>66</sup> Thus, Alfonso, in addition to being a great patron of Dosso Dossi, eagerly attracted musicians and literary figures to his court.<sup>67</sup> He highly valued classical art and literature in particular. He even asked Raphael to look in Rome for antiquities for him, though this does not seem to have resulted in any additions to the Duke's collection.<sup>68</sup> The Camerino was designed in this atmosphere of flourishing art and classical revival.

### **The Camerino**

The war and the hostility between Alfonso and Julius II kept the Duke away from his projects at home for many years, but the cessation of the war and the death of Julius in 1513 allowed Alfonso to devote more time to his studio.<sup>69</sup> The plans for the Camerino factored into the development and outcome of the commission. The Camerino, while a study, was meant to showcase the artistic talents of the foremost painters of the Italian states. For Alfonso to show himself as a patron of the greatest artists of the day would enhance the reputation of Ferrara and its Duke. Moreover, for Raphael, a painting that would be hung alongside those of his fellow geniuses required more attention from Raphael than would one for another room, even for the same patron. The classical subject, the *Indian Triumph of Bacchus*, would speak to the refinement of both patron and

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<sup>66</sup> Gould, 3.

<sup>67</sup> Bayer, 30.

<sup>68</sup> Bayer, 30.

<sup>69</sup> Gould, 3.

artist through its literary origins, exotic animals, and involved multi-figural composition. The context and subject of the painting help shed light on what Alfonso expected Raphael to produce.

Ultimately, the Camerino is “paradigmatic of Alfonso’s ambitions as a patron.”<sup>70</sup> The room was probably located in the Via Coperta, a covered passage that linked the Castello Estense in Ferrara with the d’Este Palace, adjacent to the Duke’s bedroom (fig. 2).<sup>71</sup> Ercole I first built the Via Coperta in 1471; Alfonso started his own renovations in 1505 and worked on it throughout his life, building many rooms and making additions to the passageway.<sup>72</sup> Based on the extent of the changes he made, one can see that while originally constructed by his father, the passage had clearly become a personal project of Alfonso’s. The Camerino, in particular, would have been of special importance to the Duke, as it would become his own creation, rather than something inherited from his imposing forbears.

The Duke compared himself to contemporary patrons; the artistic success of his court (and Camerino) reflected not only him but also on Ferrara.<sup>73</sup> There was much more at stake in the commission’s outcome than just Alfonso’s personal pride. The prominence of the artists he originally chose suggests that he had not only thought about the subject matter of the paintings, but specifically wanted the greatest artists of the day to complete them. His desire to commission

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<sup>70</sup> Bayer, 31.

<sup>71</sup> It is widely accepted that the Via Coperta was the location of the Camerino. Dana Goodgall is the major outlier, having argued in 1978 for its location in an adjacent section of the complex called the ravelin.

<sup>72</sup> For more detailed list of changes Alfonso made to the Via Coperta, see: Bayer, 32.

<sup>73</sup> Werner L. Gundersheimer, “Patronage in the Renaissance: An Explanatory Approach,” *Patronage in the Renaissance*, Ed. Guy Fitch Lytle and Stephen Orgel (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 17.

the preeminent artists of the day put him in competition with his sister, Isabella d'Este, who had similar ambitions for her *studiolo* and "grotto" in Mantua.<sup>74</sup> In 1512, a request for pardon from the Pope brought the Duke to Rome, at which point he saw Michelangelo's nearly finished Sistine ceiling. Impressed with the artist's accomplishment in the chapel, he unsuccessfully tried to convince Michelangelo to do a painting for him.<sup>75</sup> This would be the first of many disappointments for the Duke in terms of his desired artists. In March of 1513 Alfonso returned to Rome, eager to commission works of art; it is during this visit that Alfonso likely commissioned the *Indian Triumph of Bacchus* from Raphael. From Giovanni Bellini, Alfonso commissioned the *Feast of the Gods*, which, delivered in 1514, was the first finished painting he received.<sup>76</sup> The fourth artist the Duke approached was Fra Bartolommeo, from whom he commissioned a *Worship of Venus*. The friar was only able to produce a preparatory sketch before dying in 1517; the same subject was later given to Titian in 1518, who used the friar's drawings as a basis for his own painting.<sup>77</sup> In the end, Alfonso only succeeded in obtaining one painting from his original choice of artists (Bellini's *Feast of the Gods*), and even this painting was highly modified by Titian later. While the contributions of Titian and Dosso Dossi still masterfully realized his desire for a splendid studio, the factor of competition was lost with the refusal of Michelangelo and the death of Raphael and Fra Bartolommeo.

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<sup>74</sup> Bayer, 34; for more on Isabella d'Este, see: Stephen J. Campbell, *Cabinet of Eros: the Studiolo of Isabella d'Este and the Rise of the Renaissance Mythological Painting* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006).

<sup>75</sup> Gould, 3.

<sup>76</sup> Bayer, 34.

<sup>77</sup> Gould, 9.

Based on several factors, such as lighting in the finished paintings, size, and fragments from Vasari, it is possible to imagine not only the final arrangement of the Camerino's paintings, but also how the room would have looked in the first two stages of the project (fig. 3).<sup>78</sup> Initially, Raphael's *Indian Triumph* would have been placed alongside Bellini's *Feast* and Fra Bartolommeo's *Worship of Venus*.<sup>79</sup> Its location on the left side of the wall would have placed it closest in proximity to the Duke's bedroom. In the summer of 1518, Alfonso reassigned Raphael (at the artist's request) to paint the *Hunt of Meleager*. The *Hunt*, then, would have been placed on the wall nearest to the Duke and would have been the first of the Camerino paintings seen by a visitor entering into the studio. This intended placements of the two paintings, both near to the Duke's room, as well as Alfonso's continual attempts to have the *Indian Triumph* and *Hunt* completed, makes Raphael's contribution to the room seem particularly valuable to the Duke.

The Duke, so interested in collecting antiquities, looked to classical sources for the subject matter of his Camerino. In 1511, courtier and humanist scholar Mario Equicola wrote to Isabella d'Este about making plans with the Duke for "a room in which will go six fables or histories."<sup>80</sup> It is likely that they had consulted, among other works, Philostratus' *Imagines*, a copy of which Alfonso had borrowed from Isabella some years prior to 1515.<sup>81</sup> The *Imagines*, a third-century (C.E.) Greek work, gives accounts of sixty-four contemporary

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<sup>78</sup> Hope, 645.

<sup>79</sup> Hope, 645.

<sup>80</sup> Shearman (1987), 213.

<sup>81</sup> Shearman (1987), 213.

works of art. Philostratus describes the “Worship of Venus,” the likely inspiration for Fra Bartolommeo’s commission, as well as the “Hunt of Meleager,” Raphael’s second subject, and a “Bacchanal of the Andrians,” later painted by Titian for the Camerino.<sup>82</sup> The other known subjects for the original design of the room, the *Feast of the Gods* and the *Indian Triumph of Bacchus* are both found in Ovid’s *Fasti*.

The *Fasti*, a poem left unfinished in 8 C.E., really only allude to Bacchus’s triumph. Ovid describes that the god returned to his wife, Ariadne, with the unnamed daughter of an unspecified Indian king, a girl of outstanding beauty. Worried about her husband’s infidelity, Ariadne weeps.<sup>83</sup> Ovid describes Bacchus’s triumphal return in great detail. The plethora of exotic animals associated with the scene goes unmentioned, with the exception of the panthers that draw the god’s chariot. Instead, the poet focuses on the characters in the scene. The “thick-set, paunchy, and flat nosed” lieutenant (in the foreground, to right, falling off the lion) is easily identifiable in Metz’s print after Raphael’s drawing for the commissioned Camerino *Triumph* (fig. 1).<sup>84</sup>

The works of Lucian, an Assyrian rhetorician, written during the height of the Roman interest in the Eastern campaign of Dionysus (the Greek name for Bacchus), provide likely source material for the painting’s composition.<sup>85</sup> Lucian’s essay on Dionysus describes the god’s invasion of India in detail. For example, he writes of the panthers that pulled the chariot, as well as the general

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<sup>82</sup> Gould, 14.

<sup>83</sup> Ovid, “Book III: March 8,” Ovid: *Fasti*, Book 3, Trans. A.S. Kline, <http://poetryintranslation.com/PITBR/Latin/OvidFastiBkThree.htm>.

<sup>84</sup> Ovid, “Book III: March 8.”

<sup>85</sup> Grant Parker, *The Making of Roman India* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 127.

sentiment of “droll” merriment of Dionysus’s retinue.<sup>86</sup> Additionally, part of Lucian’s *Dialogues of the Gods* may have been the source of Zeus and Hera in Raphael’s drawing for the commission.<sup>87</sup> In the dialogue, Hera criticizes Dionysus as effeminate and a drunkard. Zeus, however, defends his son’s actions as manly, citing that Dionysus:

has been on an expedition all the way to India with his womanish host, captured elephants, taken possession of the country, and led their king captive after a brief resistance. And he never stopped dancing all the time, never relinquished the thyrsus and the ivy; always drunk (as you say) and always inspired!<sup>88</sup>

It is important to note that Raphael would not have been reading these texts directly, but rather, the court humanist Equicola probably conflated these texts before passing them along to the artist.

The elements of the Camerino’s design and the *Indian Triumph* offer us implied terms of the commission. From Alfonso’s plans for the room, we can gather that Raphael himself was expected to be heavily involved in the creation of

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<sup>86</sup> Lucian, “Dionysus, An Introductory Lecture,” *Works of Lucian*, Vol. III: Dionysus, An Introductory Lecture, <http://www.sacred-texts.com/cla/luc/wl3/wl316.htm>: “Their general, who rode on a car drawn by panthers, was quite beardless, with not even a vestige of fluff on his face, had horns, was crowned with grape-clusters, his hair tied with a fillet, his cloak purple, and his shoes of gold. Of his lieutenants, one was short, thick-set, paunchy, and flat-nosed, with great upright ears; he trembled perpetually, leant upon a narthex-wand, rode mostly upon an ass, wore saffron to his superior’s purple, and was a very suitable general of division for him. The other was a half-human hybrid, with hairy legs, horns, and flowing beard, passionate and quick-tempered; with a reed-pipe in his left hand, and waving a crooked staff in his right, he skipped round and round the host, a terror to the women, who let their dishevelled tresses fly abroad as he came, with cries of Evoie--the name of their lord, guessed the scouts. Their flocks had suffered, they added, the young had been seized alive and torn piecemeal by the women; they ate raw flesh, it seemed. All this was food for laughter, as well it might be, to the Indians and their king: Take the field? array their hosts against him? no, indeed; at worst they might match their women with his, if he still came on; for themselves such a victory would be a disgrace; a set of mad women, a general in a snood, a little old drunkard, a half-soldier, and a few naked dancers; why should they murder such a droll crew?”

<sup>87</sup> In Metz’s print, they are visible in the upper-right-hand corner.

<sup>88</sup> Lucian, “22 (18). Hera and Zeus,” *Classical E-Text: Lucian Dialogues of the Gods*, <http://www.theoi.com/Text/LucianDialoguesGods1.html#22>.

the painting. Additionally, the classical sources, written and visual, for the *Triumph* give insight into what Alfonso and Raphael would have presumed to be included in the composition. However, these requirements also added to the difficulty Raphael encountered in fulfilling the commission.

### **Exchange of letters between Ferrara and Rome**

While no contract for the commission survives, a series of letters between Raphael and Alfonso's agents help to elucidate the intentions and expectations of both patron and artist. The earliest record of the project dates to 4 December 1514, in a letter in which Alfonso orders his brother, Cardinal Ippolito, to pay Raphael fifty ducats as a down payment for a *Triumph of Bacchus*. There are no more extant letters dealing with the subject until 1517 when Beltrame Costabili reports to the Duke that Raphael intends to return to the *Bacchus* as soon he finishes the Pope's work, which the artist is hurrying.<sup>89</sup> The excuse of being busy with papal commissions is the main reason Raphael gives for not completing the painting up until the time of his death. This was not an unbelievable excuse, and at this point there was no reason to doubt the artist's commitment to the project.

A letter sent by Costabili on 11 September 1517 shows that the Duke did not have infinite patience. By this time, Raphael had already sent the Duke a drawing of the *Indian Triumph of Bacchus*. While the original drawing no longer exists, copies remain of an elaborate, multi-figural composition, complete with a portrait of Hanno, the pet white elephant given by King Manuel I of Portugal to Pope Leo X, and of particular interest to the princes of Ferrara and Mantua (fig. 1,

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<sup>89</sup> Beltrame Costabili, "1517/6," *Raphael in Early Modern Sources*, 285.

21).<sup>90</sup> Apparently Alfonso had, in the meantime, commissioned Pellegrino da San Daniele to paint the *Triumph* based on the modello sent by Raphael, a decision that greatly displeased Raphael.<sup>91</sup> What Alfonso had done greatly offended Raphael, and thus, the Duke allowed the artist to request to be assigned another subject. To Raphael's benefit, a new subject required more drawing, another down payment, and granted him more time to fulfill the commission.<sup>92</sup> In an impressive show of shrewdness the artist was able to turn an uncomfortable situation into a gain for himself, despite the fact that the *Triumph* was in large part only executed by Pellegrino because of Raphael's delay. The fact that the Duke would later meet Raphael's request for a change in subject suggests that his intellectual property was a factor that required the consideration of the patron.<sup>93</sup> The relationship between the two men provides some explanation for why Raphael was able to delay the commission for so long and the Duke was able to suffer through it. And so, Raphael began work on a *Hunt of Meleager* that would never be realized.<sup>94</sup>

In the early part of 1518, Raphael continued to be busy with work for the Pope, especially with paintings of a *Saint Michael* and of *The Holy Family* meant as diplomatic gifts for King Francis I. Certainly, Costabili's reports that work was proceeding so rapidly for these paintings must have been frustrating for Alfonso, even if he understood the political weight carried by the commissions for

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<sup>90</sup> Shearman (1987), 215.

<sup>91</sup> Shearman (2003), 296.

<sup>92</sup> Costabili, "1517/17," *Raphael in Early Modern Sources*, 296.

<sup>93</sup> Costabili, "1517/26," *Raphael in Early Modern Sources*, 306.

<sup>94</sup> Costabili, "1517/17," *Raphael in Early Modern Sources*, 296.

the king.<sup>95</sup> Raphael must have sensed the Duke's worry as well as the pressure from Costabili, since in another letter, dated 13 April 1518, the artist made promises that were absolutely unrealistic. Reassurance came immediately. Costabili's letter reported that Raphael would soon be done with the paintings for the King of France, and he was careful to specifically articulate that there is no need to doubt the artist. Furthermore, Raphael insists that the next painting he would work on would be the Duke's and promises that he will work exclusively on the Duke's commission.<sup>96</sup> The intentions of this promise are unclear. Surely his patron was not truly intended to believe that the high-demand artist would be able to drop everything for a single commission. It is possible, however, that Raphael was not simply attempting to appease his patron, but was also being truthful in his desire to work on the *Hunt* despite the fact that he was unable to do so.

By August of 1518, Alfonso d'Este seems to have become understandably exasperated with Raphael, and in fact, the feeling was mutual. Costabili wrote that he did not cease pursuing Raphael to work on the Duke's painting, but that the master was still extremely busy with work from the Pope. Not having been able to talk to Raphael, the Bishop left a note, to which the painter responded rather negatively. Although Raphael unquestionably deserved the constant reminders, he expressed displeasure with being bothered.<sup>97</sup> Raphael also requested that Costabili discontinue the reminders because he found them

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<sup>95</sup> Costabili, "1518/14," *Raphael in Early Modern Sources*, 327.

<sup>96</sup> Costabili, "1518/24," *Raphael in Early Modern Sources*, 333: "El conclude non bisognare dubitarse che, fornito l'haverà l'opera il fa per il Re Christianissimo, lo attenderà a fornire quella de V. Ex.a. e no' farà altro..."

<sup>97</sup> Costabili, "1518/58," *Raphael in Early Modern Sources*, 362.

offensive.<sup>98</sup> Needless to say, Raphael was not in a position to complain to a patron that he had been effectively ignoring for such a long period of time, especially in light of recent promises. Even in such a testy state, however, Raphael took care to flatter his patron, and the stated reason for his request to stop being bothered by Costabili makes up for the rest of the complaint. By divulging to the intermediary that there is nothing closer to the master's heart than the Camerino painting, Raphael suggests that while the Duke's painting is what he would prefer to be working on, he is so busy that even his own desires are being left unmet.<sup>99</sup> Thus, the artist lifts some of the blame off of himself while reasserting his commitment to the work and to the Duke. Costabili's commentary following this interchange reveals that the ambassador did not necessarily accept the sincerity of the artist's declaration. The ambassador admits he does not think Raphael would be serving the Duke were it not for the 50 ducats paid to him.<sup>100</sup> Perhaps he saw Raphael as a businessman motivated primarily by money rather than loyalty or love of painting.

The churchman's skepticism about the artist's intentions remained, as a letter dated 21 September 1518 shows, but Costabili also describes a conciliatory act on the artist's behalf. Raphael, he reports, was continuing to promise that he would execute the *Hunt of Meleager*, but he also offered Alfonso a cartoon for the *Saint Michael* he had made earlier in the year for King Francis I.<sup>101</sup> The cartoon

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<sup>98</sup> Costabili, "1518/58," *Raphael in Early Modern Sources*, 362.

<sup>99</sup> Costabili, "1518/58," *Raphael in Early Modern Sources*, 362: "perché 'l nun ha cossa niuna più a core ch'a questa tella."

<sup>100</sup> Costabili, "1518/58," *Raphael in Early Modern Sources*, 362: "La qualle può essere certa se 'l non havesse havuto li 50 ducati la no seria servita da lui..."

<sup>101</sup> Costabili, "1516/66," *Raphael in Early Modern Sources*, 372.

was a fitting gift for Alfonso for two reasons. First, this was the painting that had pulled Raphael away from the Duke's commission. Secondly, on a more political level, the Duke of Ferrara was a member of the French Royal Order of Saint Michael, which meant that the subject was particularly suited to the Duke.<sup>102</sup> Costabili was concerned that the *Saint Michael* cartoon was being offered in place of the *Hunt of Meleager*, but Raphael denied this, saying he was giving it out of service and affection for the Duke.<sup>103</sup> The rhetoric is by this point familiar, but once again, Raphael emphasizes his allegiance to the Duke of Ferrara.

The same prevarication continued until, in a letter dated 17 February 1519, Raphael gave a new explanation. Still fed up with the constant reminders, he told Costabili that he was actually glad he had not attempted the Duke's painting yet, because he had done three months' study of things in *prospectiva* that he had never seen before.<sup>104</sup> Scholars have been unable to determine what these studies refer to, though the explanation may have been similarly unclear in 1519. In fact, Shearman proposes that Raphael may have given a purposefully confusing response to Costabili.<sup>105</sup> As before, the delay was presented in a positive light. If Raphael did not have a concrete example as to why this was the case, giving an obscure excuse would be better than none. Two years, after all, is a long time to keep a duke waiting.<sup>106</sup> At the time, Raphael was extremely busy working for the

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<sup>102</sup> Shearman (2003), 372.

<sup>103</sup> Costabili, "1518/66," in *Raphael in Early Modern Sources*, 372: "perché 'l ge è servitore et affictionato."

<sup>104</sup> Costabili, "1519/10," in *Raphael in Early Modern Sources*, 394.

<sup>105</sup> Shearman (2003), 394-395.

<sup>106</sup> Shearman (2003), 394-395.

Pope, as he had said before, but that cannot be the only reason why he had not yet started work on the Duke's painting.

On 30 April 1519, Alfonso d'Este chose Alfonso Paolucci to replace Costabili as the Roman ambassador to pressure Raphael to complete the *Hunt of Meleager*.<sup>107</sup> In his first letter to Alfonso, from 4 May 1519, Paolucci, in rather incoherent terms, reported with a new excuse from Raphael. This is the first instance in which Raphael made it clear that he was aware of the fact that he would be compared to the other artists in the Duke's proposed Camerino. Given this competition setting, he explained that he wanted to make something exceptional, and that the longer he worked on it, the better. While Alfonso certainly meant for the competitive factor to force the artists to do their most excellent work, he inadvertently gave Raphael a pretext through which he could further delay his work.<sup>108</sup> If one is to believe the master's claims, as in the previous letters, that Alfonso's work was the closest to his heart, the explanation that he needed more time to make a greater painting may provide insight into why he delayed its execution.

A letter from Alfonso d'Este to Alfonso Paolucci, written on 10 September 1519, shows exactly how displeased the Duke was with Raphael's behavior.<sup>109</sup> He emphasized that it had been three years since Raphael had given

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<sup>107</sup> Alfonso d'Este, "1519/26," *Raphael in Early Modern Sources*, 446.

<sup>108</sup> Shearman (2003), 449.

<sup>109</sup> Alfonso d'Este, "1519/53," in *Raphael in Early Modern Sources*, 477-478: "Non ci pare di scrivere a Raphael da Urbino second il vostro ricordo, ma volemo che voi lo troviare a gli dicare hav[ere] lettere da noi, per li quali vi scrivemo che sono hoggimai tre anni che esso ci dà parole; e che questi non sono termini da usare con pari nostri; e che se esso non satsifa a quanto chi ha promiso, noi faremo sì che 'l cognoscerà che 'l non habbia fatto bene ad ingannarci. E poi, come da voi, gli potrete dire che egli advertisca di non provocare l'odio nostro ove gli portamo amore; ché così come observandoci la fede può sperar di valersi di noi, così per il contrario non ce la

his word, and that does not even count the original commission of 1514. The angry tone of this letter reveals that even all of Raphael's expressions of loyalty had not prevented the Duke from feeling slighted. Despite his frustration, Alfonso d'Este continued to wait for the painting, a choice that speaks to his desire to complete his *camerino* with the most important artists. It is worth noting that the Duke's reaction may have been incited by the fact that Titian was also being difficult. The first painting by the Venetian, however, arrived shortly thereafter, in 1520.<sup>110</sup>

On 21 March 1520, Paolucci wrote to the Duke with high hopes. He had finally been admitted to the house of Raphael, after many unsuccessful attempts, and saw many works in progress, though they did not include the *Hunt of Meleager*. Raphael once more expressed how happy he was to serve the Duke, and Paolucci believed him.<sup>111</sup> Sadly, less than a month later, the great master died very suddenly. One can only imagine Alfonso's frustration and sadness in light of this news. The story ends less grandly than either party had desired, with the Duke's attempts to regain the money that had been invested in the endeavor. Rather than accept a workshop painting, the Duke recovered his money from Raphael's estate.

## Conclusion

Clearly, the commission did not unfold as planned. While it may be possible to understand what each party thought they had agreed to, and even to

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servando può expettare un giorno di quelle cose che gli rincrescano. E tutto questo ragionamento sia tra voi e lui solo”

<sup>110</sup> Alfonso d'Este, “1520/1,” *Raphael in Early Modern Sources*, 553.

<sup>111</sup> Alfonso Paolucci, “1520/9,” *Raphael in Early Modern Sources*, 562.

glean the terms of this agreement, the question of the breach remains. Why would Raphael, if he were so concerned with satisfying patrons and demonstrating his superior genius, let this opportunity pass?

## CHAPTER TWO

Although the Camerino paintings are not the only ones that Raphael left unfinished, they are by far the most prominent.<sup>112</sup> It should now be clear that Raphael would have cared too much about the commission to have simply procrastinated working on it without a reason. Other factors, like that of competition and issues of the master's involvement, suggest another explanation for why Raphael never finished Alfonso's painting. In order to understand Raphael's motivations, we must first become familiar with the way he used his workshop. Paradoxically, his workshop grew and flourished at a time when patrons were becoming increasingly interested in owning the creations of specific artists. In order to meet increasing demand for his paintings, Raphael taught his assistants in such a way that they acquired his technique, resulting in a unity of execution such that Raphael could sign his name to paintings for which he only provided the initial designs. This was typically sufficient, but when Raphael's reputation was at stake, his normal process was upset. Commissions conceived of as competitions, exemplified by the tapestry cartoons for Leo X and the *Transfiguration*, forced Raphael to be especially involved in their creation, even if he did not have the time to spare. By examining his practices in these two situations and understanding how he employed his workshop, we get a better sense of the fate of the Camerino commission.

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<sup>112</sup> Raphael never completed an altarpiece for the Poor Clares of Monteluce, despite contract renewals. It was eventually finished by the workshop after Raphael's death. There are also a number of paintings that Raphael purposefully left unfinished when he left Florence for Rome. In the case of these paintings, he charged other artists with the responsibility to finish them.

## **Raphael's Workshop practices**

When writing about Raphael's Roman workshop, we tend to take its existence for granted, as if it miraculously formed for his work in the Stanze.<sup>113</sup> Raphael's workshop began in earnest toward the end of his work on the Stanza della Segnatura in 1510.<sup>114</sup> He realized that for his workshop to be successful, it had to follow a new model, appropriate to the sixteenth century and Leonine Rome in particular. Whereas in the fifteenth century, technical skill was sufficient, the new generation of artists and art patrons had come to place a greater emphasis on invention. In essence, there was at this time "a significant shift in effort or resources back in the direction of the preparatory work and away from the actual execution," which comes into focus with Leonardo da Vinci.<sup>115</sup> This shift reflects the growing importance of the style of the individual master. At this time, patrons were interested in acquiring the work of a genius, and the *invenzione* was one part of the process that could not be delegated to an assistant or outsourced to another artist. This shift in production resulted in the laborious, intellectual nature of preparation, and that is partly to blame for why Raphael became overwhelmed with work.<sup>116</sup> While the final execution of a painting is a laborious process, there are many steps in the elaboration of the final composition, which, by nature, required Raphael's involvement. However, it should not be forgotten that his *invenzione* was also the one aspect that held everything from his workshop together; sacrificing that, in a sense, would have been like sacrificing his livelihood and his artistic honor as well. This climate is seemingly

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<sup>113</sup> Talvacchia, 171.

<sup>114</sup> Shearman (1983), 44.

<sup>115</sup> Shearman (1983), 42.

<sup>116</sup> Shearman (1983), 42.

incompatible with a large workshop, but Raphael, unsurprisingly, came up with an impressive solution that had a marked effect on his artistic practice.

Quite a bit is known about the method by which Raphael dealt with his workshop. Especially since Raphael's style was marked by the constant incorporation of contemporaneous influences, he imposed a firm hand while taking advantage of the specific strengths and weaknesses of the individual members in order to create a product that was identifiable as his. The master's solution was to turn "the necessity of collaboration into an impetus for innovation, both in the way the shop functioned, as well as the style of the finished product."<sup>117</sup>

Raphael continuously studied his talented contemporaries and incorporated the best parts of each master's art into his own. He further tested his skills by sketching several variations of any composition, always refining his ability to create inventive works. Also, the young artist deeply grounded himself in antiquity, using it as the filter through which he would study live models.<sup>118</sup> The young master passed on all of these methods to his assistants. By teaching them his technique, they would be able to keep up with their master's ever-evolving style as well as become accomplished artists in their own right.<sup>119</sup> This system, however, required him to only accept assistants who were independently talented, but by doing so, he was able to trust their production and spend more time on improving his compositions and expanding his business. This is not to say that all assistants were equal. On the contrary, Raphael trusted some of his

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<sup>117</sup> Talvacchia, 167.

<sup>118</sup> Talvacchia, 177.

<sup>119</sup> Talvacchia, 177.

pupils, like Giovanni Francesco Penni and Giulio Romano, markedly more than others. By bringing in only strong artists, he created a “harmonious working team” in which workshop members could benefit from one another’s strengths and maximize the quality and quantity of finished works.<sup>120</sup>

In a sense, Raphael had pupils instead of assistants, a concept that may have even originated with the young artist’s innovative workshop. Rather than teaching through rote copy and a strict hierarchy, Raphael placed an emphasis on the critical rapport between teacher and pupil.<sup>121</sup> Indeed, Vasari even describes the character of the workshop as loving: “He was always surrounded by countless pupils, helping and instructing them with an affection more like that of a man for his own sons than for his associates.”<sup>122</sup> The expectation that pupils would improve in the same creative ways as their master and later work alongside him made it easier for Raphael to trust their work and assume responsibility for it as his own.

Thus, Raphael was not only painting, but also guiding his assistants and balancing his own work with theirs, an important skill for master painters of the day. Raphael, whose talent at running his workshop was on par with his technical skill and *invenzione*, excelled in this capacity. Despite having an efficient process of production in his bottega, it was not mechanical. Rather, it was flexible and easily amended, depending on the time he had available, the priority of his

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<sup>120</sup> Joannides, 24.

<sup>121</sup> Talvacchia, 172.

<sup>122</sup> Giorgio Vasari in Nello Ponente, *Who Was Raphael?*, Trans. James Emmons (Geneva: Editions d’Art Albert Skira, 1967), 123.

commissions, or even his mood.<sup>123</sup> Considering the vast number of commissions his workshop juggled at any one time and the wide range of his patrons (from the Poor Clares of Monteluce to the Pope), this skill was undoubtedly crucial to his prosperity. That is not say his methods were infallible, as the story of the Camerino painting proves, but on the whole his system served him well.

No matter how much Raphael believed in his students, the young master could never totally give up control. Giulio Romano, for example, reported that Raphael would often revise his assistants' finished work until it looked like it was by his own hand.<sup>124</sup> While this may sound like hyperbole, or simply another fabricated story from the *Lives*, Raphael's artistic success, which relied on a product that was identifiably his, suggests its veracity. With so many assistants, it is impossible to create a perfectly uniform product every time, but the fact that his paintings are so identifiable speaks to his overall success.

### **Competition**

While the unity of his workshop was typically sufficient, in some situations it was not able to suit Raphael's needs. This is particularly true in moments of direct artistic competition. In these situations, as was the case for the tapestry cartoons, the *Transfiguration*, and the Camerino commissions, Raphael would have to go above and beyond his normal approach in order to fully outshine his competitors.

As discussed above, part of the master's job was to determine how to allocate his resources, and ultimately, some commissions were bound to involve

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<sup>123</sup> Joannides, 27.

<sup>124</sup> Shearman (2003), 47.

more assistants than others. Fresco cycles like those of the Stanze or the Villa Farnesina, by virtue of being large projects, required many more hands. Canvas or panel paintings, on the other hand, were more easily controlled, and therefore more feasibly handled by the artist with less assistance. Of these, the prominence of a commission's patron was not the sole deciding factor as to which painting would receive the master's attention, and even the most important commissions involved workshop members. Once again, Giulio Romano provides insight: he boasts of having helped with the portrait of *Leo X and His Two Cardinal Nephews* (fig. 4).<sup>125</sup> That Raphael employed an assistant in this situation speaks both to his success in training Romano in his own style and to the overwhelming number of commissions with which he was dealing.

In fact, Raphael was so busy during his time in Rome that even some important paintings were delegated entirely to his assistants.<sup>126</sup> And while Raphael took credit for the works that came out of his shop, he did not consider all paintings to be specifically his. Indeed, Raphael made a clear distinction between what was by his own hand and what was not. Such was the case with the portrait of *Giovanna of Aragon* (1518) that he sent to Alfonso: the master specified in a letter that the requested cartoon and painting were the works of a *garzone* (fig. 5).<sup>127</sup> One might argue, based on the events of the Camerino commission, that Raphael did not consider Alfonso an important patron, thus

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<sup>125</sup> Shearman (1983), 41.

<sup>126</sup> Joannides, 27; Other commissions not yet mentioned that Raphael and his workshop were working on were the frescoes for the Villa Farnesina, *Ezechial's Vision* (Palazzo Pitti), *Madonna of the Rose* (private collection), *La Fornarina* (Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Rome), *Self-Portrait with a Friend* (Louvre), and the Villa Madama, to name but a few.

<sup>127</sup> Joannides, 27,

explaining why Raphael sent workshop works. Francis I, however, was without question a significant recipient of his works, yet in 1518 Raphael sent the King of France two paintings that relied heavily on his assistants. Duke of Urbino Lorenzo II de' Medici, on behalf of Leo X, commissioned the *Holy Family of Francis I* as a gift for the Queen of France, and a painting of *The Archangel Michael Slaying a Demon* as a gift to Francis himself (fig. 6, 7). The complexity and ingenuity of the two paintings suggest that Raphael drew the original cartoon, or at least created the original design. Nonetheless, large parts of the execution of both of these are attributed to Giulio Romano.<sup>128</sup> While these examples indicate that Raphael clearly had great confidence in Giulio to have let him work on major commissions, some of Raphael's other assistants surely had a hand in these and other paintings.

### **The Tapestry Cartoons and the *Transfiguration***

So, how is it possible to show that Raphael was more invested in the competition paintings than in other important commissions? For both the tapestry cartoons and the *Transfiguration*, Raphael knew that his finished works were going to be compared to another artist or artists. This knowledge interrupted his normal approach to commissions. It is clear from the designs, drawings, and records that Raphael was highly involved in both projects.<sup>129</sup> An examination of

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<sup>128</sup> Luitpold Düssel, *Raphael: a Critical Catalogue of His Pictures, Wall-Paintings and Tapestries*, Trans. Sebastian Cruft (New York: Phaidon, 1971), 47, 48.

<sup>129</sup> It would be extremely convenient to be able to prove that Raphael was more invested in the competition paintings by using extant drawings as a gauge of the master's involvement. Unfortunately, due to the manner in which Raphael taught his students, which caused them to largely acquire his technique in order to produce a unified end result, it is extremely difficult to attribute drawings to one person or another; there are very few drawings over which art historians do not disagree. Moreover, drawings had so many functions in the Renaissance workshop

the amount of effort that the painter put into these two moments of competition helps to fill in some of the gaps in the Camerino commission.

Pope Leo X commissioned a set of tapestries from Raphael in 1515. The tapestries were to be hung in the Sistine Chapel, over the frescoed curtains on the lowest register of the chapel's walls. Since the chapel was considered the "the first chapel in Christendom," it was already a high profile commission.<sup>130</sup> Leo X's commission not only followed in the established tradition of decorating Papal churches with tapestries, he was also ensuring his personal legacy within the foremost chapel of the Church.<sup>131</sup> Moreover, with the exception of Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*, the decorations of the chapel as we know them today had already been completed, adding an element of artistic consequence as well: the upper walls, commissioned by Sixtus IV, were frescoed in the late-fifteenth century by Botticelli, Perugino, Ghirlandaio, Signorelli, and Cosimo Rosselli, and Michelangelo had already completed his magnificent ceiling in 1512.

Thus, for Raphael, the tapestries presented an opportunity to make his mark and assert his artistic genius over the chapel's previous artists. Perhaps most importantly, it was, at the time, the only case in which his work would be displayed in direct comparison with that of Michelangelo. As the other leading

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(conceptual, preparatory, studies, cartoons, for example) and so many potential authors (by Raphael, by advanced students like Giulio Romano or Giovanni Francesco Penni, by the assistant who made a copy of the finished cartoon, by workshop members still in training, to name a few), that this method is simply not a feasible option. Nonetheless, since there are so many extant drawings associated with Raphael's workshop, they are still one of the most valuable resources when recreating the artistic process.

<sup>130</sup> Sharon Fermor, *The Raphael Tapestry Cartoons: Narrative, Decoration, Design* (London: Scala Books, 1996), 9.

<sup>131</sup> Fermor, 10.

artist in Rome, Michelangelo's well-known rivalry with Raphael was a bitter one. The sixteenth-century artistic scene in Rome was characterized by a "star system" of sorts in which there were huge discrepancies in pay between artists of the highest tier and those who were not in the elite circle.<sup>132</sup> In addition to the huge differences in Raphael's and Michelangelo's temperaments, this system engendered animosity between the artists. Michelangelo's letter to an unidentified cardinal provides insight into the relationship between Raphael and Pope Julius II:

All the discord that was born between Pope Julius and me was from the envy of Bramante and of Raphael of Urbino; and this was the reason for the pope's not continuing his tomb during his lifetime, in order to ruin me. And Raphael had good reason for this, because everything he had in art, he had from me.<sup>133</sup>

While anything Michelangelo said about the younger artist should be read with caution, it is not unbelievable that Raphael would have tried to sabotage a competitor; fewer commissions from Michelangelo could mean more for him. Successful tapestries, however, would have allowed Raphael to prove, once and for all, that it was talent, not gossip, that brought him success in the Vatican.

The cartoons proved to be a challenge for Raphael in that he had to overcome several disadvantages that had not concerned his predecessors in the Sistine Chapel. Since his was the last addition to the chapel, Raphael faced the task of designing compositions that fit with the ceiling and especially with the

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<sup>132</sup> Rab Hatfield, "The High End: Michelangelo's Earnings," *The Art Market in Italy: 15th- 17th Centuries*, Ed. Marcello Fantoni, Louisa C. Matthew, Sara F. Matthews-Grieco (Modena: Panini, 2003), 198.

<sup>133</sup> Michelangelo Buonarroti in Rona Goffen, *Renaissance Rivals: Michelangelo, Leonardo, Raphael, Titian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 171.

fresco cycle immediately above the tapestries. This put slight limitations on his ability to showcase his ingenuity and sophisticated *concetti*.<sup>134</sup> Even further, the medium of tapestry presented its own issues. Of particular concern was the fact that his cartoons would undergo translation by Flemish weavers. In addition to that, the medium itself was far from ideal. Due to the way that they were made, tapestries required clear arrangements and bright, contrasting colors, and could not convey the atmospheric subtlety so crucial to Renaissance painting.<sup>135</sup> On a more practical level, the method through which the weavers worked the tapestry produced a mirror image of the cartoon, which meant that Raphael needed to design the finished compositions in reverse.<sup>136</sup> Ultimately, Raphael turned these limitations into strengths: his simple, solid figures were in the style of Masaccio, Michelangelo's predecessor and he borrowed the clear subdivisions and uncomplicated poses of the fifteenth-century cycle on the Sistine Chapel's walls.<sup>137</sup> It is important to note that the cartoons overlap with the Camerino commission. 1517, the year the cartoons were finished, is the same year that Duke Alfonso began to press Raphael heavily for his painting.

The most revealing proof that Raphael exerted exceptional effort on the cartoons lies in the fact that they were worked to an exceptionally high degree of finish. Cartoons for weavers created under normal circumstances were far from finished, indicating color through transparent washes and lacking in chiaroscuro,

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<sup>134</sup> Talvacchia, 171.

<sup>135</sup> Joannides, 102.

<sup>136</sup> Fermor, 17.

<sup>137</sup> Joannides, 102.

and weavers were typically given a certain degree of interpretation.<sup>138</sup> This certainly would not do for Raphael, who purposefully left nothing to the weavers' imagination. Rather than washes, the cartoons were nearly full paintings on paper (fig. 8). This is clear in the thickness of the paint and the colors he employed as well as through the extreme level of detail carefully put into each cartoon.<sup>139</sup>

If, in fact, Raphael considered the Camerino commission to be an important moment of competition, as he clearly did for the cartoons, it would seem strange that the Camerino did not receive the same attention. The greatest part of the explanation for that discrepancy lies in the nature of the sites for which the two pieces were destined. While both would have allowed Raphael to display his superiority to the patron, the Sistine Chapel offered a significantly more prominent, semi-public place. While Raphael's success in Ferrara would certainly have been available to a larger audience than Alfonso alone, it simply did not carry the same weight as the most important chapel in Christendom. The fact that the cartoons and the *Triumph of Bacchus* were supposed to be created concurrently forced Raphael to make a choice. It is no surprise that Raphael threw himself into an opportunity to best Michelangelo just below his famed ceiling. This makes even more sense considering the fact that despite Alfonso's intentions, Michelangelo was not to be represented in the same room. Perhaps if Michelangelo had created a piece for Ferrara, Raphael would have as well.

In addition to the demands that the Camerino's competitive element required, this competition in the Sistine Chapel added to the delay. He could have

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<sup>138</sup> Talvacchia, 170.

<sup>139</sup> Shearman in Talvacchia, 170.

treated the Camerino painting like he did the *Stanza dell'Incendio*. The stanze, by virtue of being in the Vatican, were significant commissions, and he had devoted a great deal of time to the famous *Stanza della Segnatura*. However, Raphael allowed much of this specific room to fall to his workshop while he worked on the tapestry cartoons. It is notable that the master did not allow the same to happen for the *Indian Triumph of Bacchus* as did in the *Stanza dell'Incendio*. He had, after all, already created a detailed drawing for the *Triumph*, which helps to indicate that Raphael wanted to be more involved in the process of its execution.<sup>140</sup> As a painting for a competition, Raphael would have preferred to wait until the cartoons were complete in order to give the *Triumph* its due.

Although Michelangelo left Rome for Florence, his rivalry with Raphael remained strong and Sebastiano del Piombo, a Venetian artist, rose in his absence. In 1516, Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, future Pope Clement VII, took advantage of the antagonism between the two. He commissioned two paintings, a *Raising of Lazarus* to be completed by Sebastiano and a *Transfiguration* from Raphael, ostensibly to be sent to his cathedral in Narbonne (fig. 9, 10). In the end, Sebastiano's painting was sent to Narbonne, while Raphael's (completed by his assistants after his death in April of 1520) remained in Rome.

The fact that Giulio de' Medici had created a contest between the artists was clear, especially to Sebastiano. Always eager to defeat Raphael, even from a distance, Michelangelo helped Sebastiano in the form of drawings to be incorporated into the painting. On 2 July 1518, Sebastiano sent Michelangelo an

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<sup>140</sup> While it no longer exists, we know Raphael's drawing from a drawing by Giovanni Francesco Penni (fig. 16) and a print by Conrad Metz (fig. 1).

update:

I believe that Leonardo [de Borgherini] has told you everything about the slowness of my work, not yet delivered; I have delayed so long because I do not want Raphael to see mine until he has done his own....And at present I attend to nothing but its quick dispatch, now that I am above suspicion, I do not think I will shame you. Raphael has not yet begun his.<sup>141</sup>

Sebastiano's almost paranoid language shows that with his honor and reputation at stake, secrecy was understandably of the utmost importance. Furthermore, if Sebastiano's letter is accurate regarding his competitor's progress, this would mean that Raphael only began work on the *Transfiguration* well after the completion of the tapestry cartoons, after he had been assigned the *Hunt of Meleager* as a new subject for the Camerino in Ferrara. The late start date is supported by the fact that drawings of the earliest conceptions of the *Transfiguration* date to 1519. In light of the intense personal effort that went into his tapestry cartoons, in addition to the immense number of architectural and painted commissions his workshop had to deal with, Raphael's delay in beginning the *Transfiguration* is understandable. Furthermore, that he did so may shed some light on why the Camerino painting was not begun.

In terms of comparison, the *Transfiguration*, as a single panel that was left unfinished at Raphael's death, is significantly more similar to the Camerino commissions than the tapestry cartoons are. Taking a closer look at the work Raphael did for the *Transfiguration* could reveal what Raphael might have hoped to accomplish for the *Hunt of Meleager*.

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<sup>141</sup> Sebastiano del Piombo in Chambers, 32.

Like one might expect for a *Hunt*, the composition of the *Transfiguration* is one of busy action and drama. One of Raphael's earliest drawings, however, shows that his initial design was simpler, featuring a large figure of Christ, similar to Sebastiano's in the *Raising of Lazarus* (fig. 11). Instead of keeping that simpler plan, Raphael chose to juxtapose two related biblical episodes (the *Transfiguration* and the *Healing of the Possessed Boy*), just as he had done for the *Coronation of the Virgin* (1503-1504) in Perugia (fig. 12, 13).<sup>142</sup> The fact that Raphael considered Sebastiano's style so strongly when designing his painting may help to explain Sebastiano's apparent paranoia. If being able to know his competitor's design was actually important to Raphael, it would make sense for the him to delay work on his painting until intelligence regarding Sebastiano's painting could be gathered. This seems all the more plausible since Raphael's success in the Sistine Chapel was, at least in part, due to the fact that he was in a position to respond directly to and outshine the other artists with his design. Similarly, Raphael may have been purposefully delaying his work on the *Hunt of Meleager* until he knew the composition and complexity of the rival pieces. As the plans for the Camerino were constantly in flux, this would have caused further delay for Raphael. Had the young master not died so suddenly, knowing the intended designs for the other paintings would have given him the same advantage.

The few drawings that remain from the *Transfiguration* show that Raphael threw himself into the painting and was particularly involved throughout its execution. With few exceptions, the compositions for paintings emerging from

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<sup>142</sup> Joannides, 27.

Raphael's studio came from the master; it is to be expected that this would also be true for the *Transfiguration*. A nude study of *Saint Andrew and another Apostle*, though, evinces the intensity of Raphael's hand in the preparatory stage (fig. 14). The figures in the drawing are carefully rendered; Raphael used red chalk and white heightening to convey luminosity and modeling as well as the dramatic gestures and complex foreshortening in the hand and foot of Andrew. Indeed, the two apostles were drawn to a level of precision required for figures intended to be painted nude, rather than clothed. This two-step process of drawings nude figures before adding clothes is the kind of care that Raphael put into his preparations for the *Disputà* (1509 – 1510), which was completed before the establishment of his mature prolific workshop and the following onslaught of commissions.<sup>143</sup>

Furthermore, an auxiliary cartoon by Raphael for *Saint Peter and Saint John* shows that the master was heavily involved even through the later stages of the process (fig. 15). By looking at the subtle shading that makes John look so young and Peter so aged, we can see that Raphael finished the drawing to such a degree that only color separates it from the painting.<sup>144</sup> Although workshop members undoubtedly assisted in the creation, it is clear that, as with the tapestry cartoons, Raphael wanted to leave very little room for interpretation. Thus, although much of the execution was left to his assistants, the finished painting still reflects his vision. Since nothing remains from the *Hunt of Meleager*, we can only assume that Raphael would have put comparable effort into Alfonso's commission.

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<sup>143</sup> Joannides, 126.

<sup>144</sup> Joannides, 128.

Again, if this were the case, it is understandable that he delayed work until he was able to devote himself.

### **Positing answers for the Camerino commission**

A preparatory drawing for the *Triumph of Bacchus* recently attributed to Raphael is the only fragment that remains by the master's hand in the Camerino commission (fig. 21). A copy after the drawing sent to Alfonso attributed to Giovanni Francesco Penni, however, gives us the best indication of the finished drawing (fig. 16). From Penni's copy and a later engraving by Conrad Martin Metz, it is possible to make some educated guesses about what steps Raphael may have taken and the level of his involvement in the *Triumph of Bacchus* (fig. 1). We must assume that a similar process would have been repeated for the *Hunt of Meleager* had Raphael not died.

In addition to the classical texts that inspired the *Indian Triumph*, Raphael would have certainly drawn inspiration from antiquities when designing the painting. Several Roman sarcophagi from the mid-second through the early third century were decorated with the same scene, and thus would have been a good first place to turn.<sup>145</sup> As was previously mentioned, a sarcophagus at the Casino Rospigliosi featuring a triumph of Bacchus was on view in the Roman church of San Lorenzo fuori le mura during the Renaissance (fig. 17).<sup>146</sup> Just as Raphael had considered his predecessors in the Sistine Chapel, he must have done the same for the *Indian Triumph*. His drawing for the painting has the same spirit of merriment as the sarcophagus; they both feature a large crowd comprised of

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<sup>145</sup> Parker, 125.

<sup>146</sup> Faber, 145.

exotic animals, reveling dancers, musicians, and followers with offerings.

Notably, both the sarcophagus and the drawing Raphael sent to Alfonso feature an elephant very prominently in the center of their compositions. Additionally, Raphael's composition of figures upon figures in one layer seems to be directly inspired by the sarcophagus format.<sup>147</sup>

The Renaissance recognized Bacchus's Indian triumph as the prototype of all triumphs.<sup>148</sup> By quoting antiquities, Raphael would have showcased the Duke's cultural fluency and interest in all things classical. Indeed, the numerous references to antiquity Raphael included are certainly an acknowledgment of Alfonso's connoisseurship.<sup>149</sup> That Raphael was so interested in antiquities and used them as a base line for the rest of his art is significant as well: the commission gave him the opportunity to flaunt his extensive knowledge.

However, the sophisticated, multi-figural composition is far more labor-intensive than a simpler one, and would have made a significant impact on Raphael's ability to complete the commission. Penni's copy indicates that the drawing that was sent to Alfonso was likely finalized, since nearly every figure is included. This is further supported by the fact that Pellegrino da San Daniele was able to execute his version of the *Indian Triumph* from Raphael's now-lost drawing. Nevertheless, the drawing is far from ready to be transferred to canvas, at least by Raphael's standards. The auxiliary cartoon of *Saint John and Saint*

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<sup>147</sup> Faber, 145; See also: Frederick Antal, "Observations on Girolamo da Carpi," *The Art Bulletin*, 30.2 (Jun., 1948): 81-103; Edgar Wind, "A Note on Bacchus and Ariadne," *The Burlington Magazine*, 92.564 (Mar., 1950): 82+84-85.

<sup>148</sup> Shearman (1987), 216.

<sup>149</sup> Shearman (1987), 216: The panthers that draw Bacchus's chariot were studied from a relief that later appeared in the *vigna* of Cardinal Rodolfo da Carpi; the faun who plays twin pipes was derived from a statue of which there remains a drawing at Erlangen; the idea of placing Silenus on a lion was derived from sarcophagus reliefs, but his slipping looks to Trajan's Column.

*Peter* was extremely detailed. Therefore, it is likely that Raphael would have wanted to do similarly detailed drawings before allowing the painting itself to be executed. Furthermore, the number of figures in the *Indian Triumph* is comparable to those in the *Transfiguration*, indicating that it would have taken a comparable amount of time. This is time that Alfonso understandably did not want to wait.

While dealing with a multi-figural composition presents its challenges, human bodies and classical sculpture were familiar to the Renaissance artist, and thus could be easily assigned to a collaborator were Raphael too busy. The *Indian Triumph*, however, also features a veritable zoo of exotic animals, quickly adding another layer of work to the commission. In addition to the fact that these animals were required to distinguish the subject as an Indian triumph, they were also a unique interest of Alfonso's, which Raphael was sure to indulge.<sup>150</sup> In Rome, Raphael had access to Pope Leo X's personal zoo, where camels and lions were available for study.<sup>151</sup> Vasari records that the master assigned Giovanni da Udine to paint Leo's menagerie, which included "the chameleon, the civet cats, the apes, the lions, the elephants, and other beasts even more strange."<sup>152</sup> Undeniably the elephant is the most prominent animal both in terms of history and its placement in the drawing. Hanno, Pope Leo X's prized white elephant, arrived in Rome in 1514, conveniently coinciding with Alfonso's commission of the *Indian Triumph*. Although Hanno died after only two short years, the elephant, whose image was recorded by either Raphael or his studio, was used again and again in the works of

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<sup>150</sup> Shearman (1987), 216.

<sup>151</sup> Shearman (1987), 216.

<sup>152</sup> Silvio A. Bedini, *The Pope's Elephant* (Nashville: J.S. Sanders & Company, 1998), 168.

art of the following decades.<sup>153</sup> While Raphael's workshop had developed a respectable portfolio of zoological studies, adapting them to the needs of the painting required the careful consideration of the master.

## **Conclusion**

With such a prolific workshop, Raphael could have easily completed Alfonso's commission. The fact that the Camerino was intended to function as a competition space, however, put Raphael's reputation as an artist on the line, thus preventing him from assigning it to his assistants. Concurrent with the *Indian Triumph* and *Hunt of Meleager*, Raphael was also dealing with two similarly competitive, if more prominent, commissions, which illustrate the care and attention that Raphael did devote to commissions of a competitive nature, and would likely have done the same for the Camerino commissions. All competitions are not equal, however, and unfortunately for Alfonso, Raphael elected to work on his Roman commissions, which brought him more immediate benefits. Raphael understood that being so closely involved in the execution of the commission was going to require a lot of work. Thus, it is likely that the master was waiting until he could dedicate himself to the Camerino commission. Alfonso's patience probably would have been rewarded had Raphael's work not been interrupted first by a change in subject matter and later by his own death.

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<sup>153</sup> Bedini, 181.

## CONCLUSION

A *Triumph of Bacchus* by Benvenuto Tisi, called Il Garofalo, hangs in the Dresden Gallery today (fig. 18). This painting, dated 1540, is the closest we, as modern viewers, can come to the *Triumph of Bacchus* Alfonso d'Este so coveted for his Camerino. Members of Raphael's workshop later reused the original drawing for their own purposes: Perino del Vaga reproduced the bottom half of the composition (with some alterations) for the Palazzo Doria and Giulio Romano borrowed details like the looming elephant for the Palazzo Te (fig. 19, 20).<sup>154</sup> With the exception of the figures added to the right of the embracing couple in the foreground, the Garofalo canvas best indicates what the painting might have looked like had Raphael executed the painting. With its vibrant hues and energetic figures, Garofalo's painting conveys the elegant frenzy of the drawing given to Alfonso in 1517; we can only imagine how spectacular Raphael's painting would have been.

Raphael completed neither the *Triumph of Bacchus* nor the *Hunt of Meleager* for Alfonso d'Este, leaving us wondering: why did Raphael fail to execute the Camerino commission? With this thesis, I have tried to show that Raphael was too skilled as a businessman to have simply procrastinated on such a prominent commission. Rather, several factors, such as concurrent commissions, the expectations and requirements for the two subjects, and the way Raphael ran his workshop, all contributed to the painting's incompletion. The greatest of these factors, however, is the element of competition, in this case Alfonso's deliberate

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<sup>154</sup> See: Steiner, 87-92.

comparison of the most famous painters of his day. Although Raphael had developed a prolific workshop system that could handle the majority of his commissions, his normal delegation of work was disrupted. As was the case with the tapestry cartoons for Pope Leo X and the *Transfiguration* for Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, Raphael likely wanted to be even more involved than usual in the preparation and execution of the painting, in order to leave no room for error. The Camerino commission's time would have come, had Raphael not died suddenly and at such a young age. Apathy toward Alfonso and the commission was not to blame for the incompleteness, but rather the exact opposite.

Raphael's failure to complete the Camerino commission points to an issue that increasingly posed problems to sixteenth-century artists with large workshops: the discrepancy between the collaboration of several artists in a commission and the patrons' commissions for the work of a specific artist's style. Raphael's solution focused on a unity of hand, based always in the *invenzione* of the master. At least for Raphael, though, moments of competition forced him to approach such commissions as if he did not have his enormous workshop. The workshop allowed Raphael to produce numerous paintings in his style and under his name, garnering the artist widespread fame and meeting an increasing demand for his work. A competition presented different factors than an ordinary commission: it would not suffice to create an aesthetically pleasing image that one could recognize as a Raphael, but also needed to showcase the personal genius of the artist against others with the same skill.

If one fails to account for all facets of Raphael, Raphael's inability to complete the Camerino commission is a story of inconsistency. To explain the incompleteness as the product of laziness or lack of respect for Alfonso would require the dismissal of evidence and entire facets of Raphael's character. Only by accepting the many dimensions of Raphael, an artist motivated to succeed equally by the love of his profession and by his desire to enrich himself, can the disjointed pieces of the story of the Camerino commission fit together harmoniously. Raphael, a genius, a courtier, and a businessman, was driven by an ambition to be the greatest painter, or artist in general, of his day. At times, this would require a humming workshop that could stay true to his designs, or even exploiting print technology's ability to bring Raphael's work to a more modest or distant viewer. At other times, he had to put these aside and devote himself to creating a superior work that reflected his unadulterated genius. It is my hope that, with this complexity in mind, art historians will strive to examine Raphael's traditional narrative, which oftentimes fails to consider him as a businessman, critically and give full credit to all aspects of the artist that contributed to his exceptional success.

## APPENDIX: FIGURES

### List of Figures:

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Source: Albertina Bilddatenbank



Figure 1.

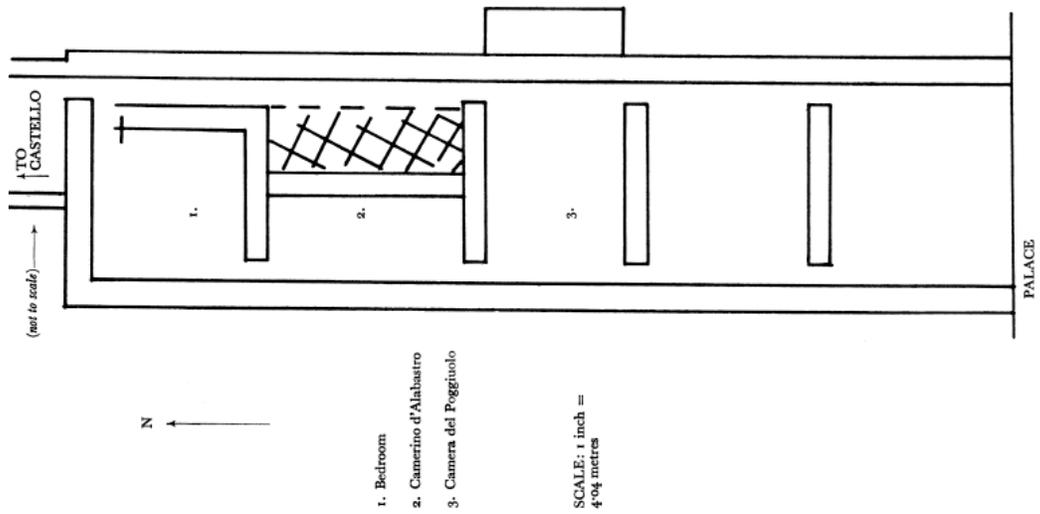


Figure 2.

Figure. 3

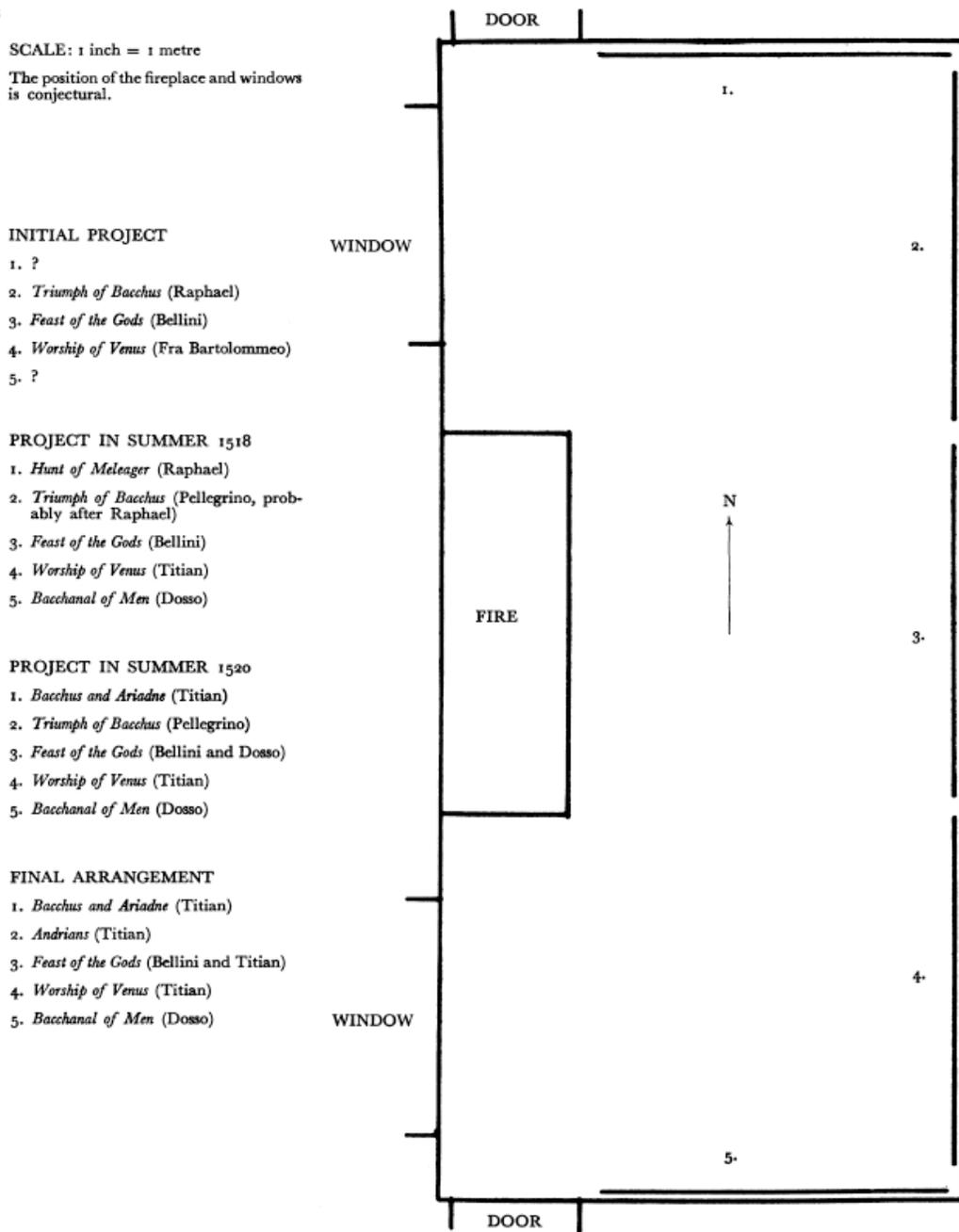




Figure 4.



Figure 5.



Figure 6.



Figure 7.



Figure 8.



Figure 9.



Figure 10.



Figure 11.



Figure. 12.



Figure 13.



Figure 14.



Figure 15.

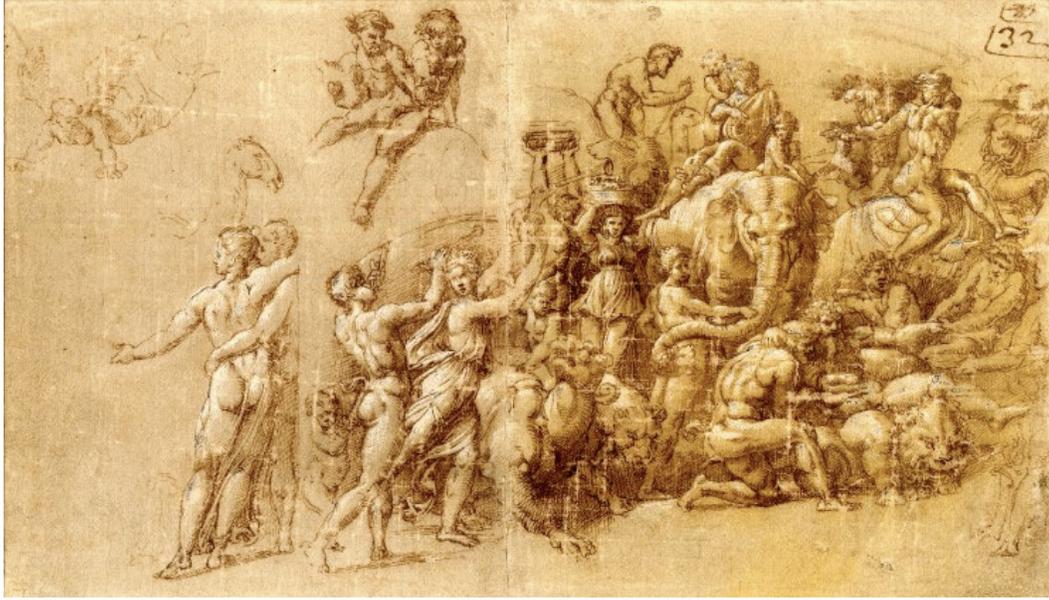


Figure 16.

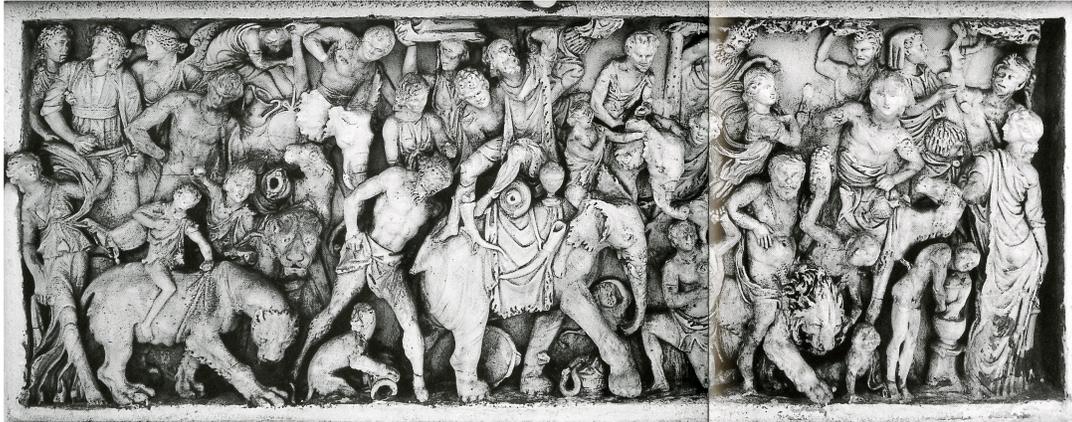


Figure 17.



Figure 18.



Figure 19.



Figure 20.



Figure 21.

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