A Room with Many Conversations

The Stanza della Segnatura is an elegant, modest-sized room on the second floor of the Vatican palace (now the Musei Vaticani) designed to house Pope Julius II's personal library. The room was decorated by Raphael in the early years of the sixteenth century. Like many great works of art, Raphael's Stanza asks the visitor to stay awhile, to dwell with it, a proposal particularly apt for a library. Art historian Timothy Verdon distinguishes the Renaissance visitor from today's typical learned viewer: "Renaissance visitors to the Stanza della Segnatura 'registered' the frescoes with their eyes and 'read' them with mind and heart—poetic processes that differed substantially ... from those with which modern art historians read them" (Verdon 116-17). As we shall see, the walls of the Stanza portray many conversations, inviting the viewer to be part of them.

The paintings of this room tell two stories. One is the story of the characters depicted, for the most part "heroes" who played important roles in the tradition of ancient classical learning. This learning was in the process of recovery by Renaissance scholars, builders, poets, and artists. The second story is that of the three men most responsible for the room's program and embellishments: the program's inventor, Tommaso "Fedra" Inghirami (1470-1516); its painter, Raphael Sanzio (1483-1520); and its patron, Pope Julius II (1443-1513, r. 1503-13). What is expressed on the room's frescoed walls and ceiling is informed by the humanism that developed in papal Rome during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Every least detail of Raphael's painting fits into a unified program that portrays the intellectual, cultural, and spiritual aspirations of Rome's renewal after a long period of decline. Part of the wonder and delight of visiting the Stanza is understanding what it all signifies.

In this regard, scholars in the last half of the twentieth century have greatly advanced our understanding of the Renaissance humanism specific to Rome, including questions of the influence of humanism on artistic programs such as that of the Stanza. John F. D'Amico and John W. O'Malley are just two among these scholars. Their scholarship helps us appreciate how the humanists in the Roman academies and in the papal curia employed scholarly, poetic, and oratorical gifts in fashioning an effective ideology that wed Rome's cultural achievements to its political and ecclesiastical aspirations. Building on this body of historical scholarship, in her book Raphael's "Stanza della Segnatura": Meaning and Invention, art historian Christiane L. Joost-Gaugier demonstrates the influence exercised by Roman humanists in fashioning the room's program. Although there
Fig. 49: Portrait of Tomaso "Fedra" Inghirami, by Raphael, 1515-16, Palazzo Pitti, Florence. Photo Credit: Erich Lessing / Art Resource, NY.
is as yet no decisive agreement on the mind behind the program, she has persuasively argued that it was Tommaso Inghirami, famed orator and head of the Biblioteca Vaticana, who invented the program that Raphael executed with such extraordinary creative brilliance (Joost-Gaugier 57).

Raphael and Inghirami

The last twelve years of Raphael's brief life, passed in Rome, were his most productive and masterful. After growing up and learning his craft in his native Urbino, he perfected his painting in various cities across Italy as a young adult, working either under or with some of the masters of his day, including Perugino (1448-1523). By his mid-twenties, he had already gained considerable fame and influence, notably through such works as the revolutionary Marriage of the Virgin (1504, now in the Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan) and the massive Madonna of the Baldacchino (1506-8, now in the Galleria Palatina, Florence). The unexpected call to Rome by Julius came just as the artist was completing the latter work and initiated an intensive and remarkably productive concluding phase of his brief career. Nearly fifty separate works commissioned by a wide range of patrons date to Raphael's Roman years, 1509-20, including a lively picture of Inghirami (see fig. 49). Arguably the most celebrated of these, however, was that commissioned by Julius and guided by the same Inghirami to give further momentum to the great era of renewal and humanistic fervour that had been stirring in Rome in recent decades and reached its high point under Julius. Raphael's Stanza della Segnatura represented a triumph in the cultural history of this age. For this project brought one of the age's most gifted painters together with one of the age's premier humanist intellectuals, both of whom received encouragement and support from one of the age's most powerful and far-seeing popes in Julius.

Setbacks and Renewal in Renaissance Rome

For a hundred years or so prior to the age of Inghirami, Raphael, and Julius, the city of Rome and its popes had suffered two major blows to their prestige and power. Between 1309 and 1376 the popes resided not in Rome but rather in Avignon, France, in a historical period that is sometimes called the second Babylonian Captivity. It was Pope Gregory XI (r. 1370-78) who in 1376 left Avignon and returned the papal court to Rome. But on his death two years later, the papal election deteriorated into two uncompromising factions, each declaring its own pope and thus provoking a bitter struggle among anti-popes between 1378 and 1417. Both this struggle and the earlier Avignon interlude dealt a near fatal blow to both papal prestige and the economy and infrastructure of the city of Rome, over which popes had presided for most of the previous one thousand years. To make matters worse still, the papacy's return to relatively normal operations by the second quarter of the fifteenth century was met with hostility by their Italian neighbours and certain powerful European nations. Even if the papal states were not the single or even central focus of these hostilities, as a sovereign state located within a complex and tense geopolitical predicament, it was evident that Rome would get dragged into
war. More than one war followed, in fact, over the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. These so-called Italian Wars or Great Italian Wars pitted the relatively weak Italian states of Rome, Milan, Naples, Florence, Genoa, and Venice against one another in differing combinations of alliance and antagonism. Carried on for over sixty years (1494–1559), the Italian Wars produced few winners and plenty of losers, Rome among them. To add to the eternal city’s troubles, the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks in 1453 and the latter’s subsequent push westward toward Catholic Europe was troubling, and in Europe itself the Reformation movement was at also at hand. It came not just from Martin Luther’s Germany, Henry VIII’s England, or Erasmus’s Netherlands. Calls for reform came from within the Vatican curia as well.

Despite these multiple challenges at home and abroad, some progress at renaissance and reform did come to Rome over the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Culturally speaking, Roman humanism advanced on several political, cultural, and religious fronts. Religiously, the period begins with the Council of Constance (1414–18), which brought to an end the Avignon Papacy, and ended with the ambitious reforming Council of Trent (1545–63). Finally, the city of Rome enjoyed a quiet rebirth during the period. It was Pope Martin V (r. 1417–31) who began the massive task of urban and artistic renewal for a city which had lapsed into political chaos and financial bankruptcy over the course of the previous century. With this historic move toward the eventual restoration of civic order and public services in Rome, energies turned toward the rebuilding of the Basilica di S. Pietro and the adjoining Vatican Palace.

Three popes played especially significant roles in advancing in these last efforts. Nicholas V (r. 1447–55) believed that the popes, “as custodians of the keys given by Christ to Peter, should exercise that authority from the sacred precincts of the apostle’s tomb” (Johnson 120). It was he who added to the Vatican Palace the wing that contains the Raphael rooms, while also founding the Biblioteca Vaticana. Then, three pontificates later, Pope Sixtus IV (r. 1471–84), “with stunning vigor and intelligence transformed Rome into an incomparable center of art and learning” (Johnson 125). Himself a learned humanist, Sixtus IV took great interest in augmenting the library begun by Nicholas. Finally, and most importantly, Pope Julius II (r. 1503–13) consolidated the independent political governance of Rome and the Papal States against its many enemies and furthermore made himself “immortal for his patronage of Bramante, Raphael, and Michelangelo” (Johnson 129). With these and other commissions, Julius’s goal was nothing less than restoring Rome to its ancient prestige and power: not merely the exalted power of Rome under earlier popes of the Middle Ages but rather the insuperable Rome of ancient times. Indeed, Julius was inspired by the ancient Rome of Julius Caesar, Augustus, and Constantine. Equally important was the model of Cicero’s Rome, the latter a man who understood that Rome’s greatness was sustained by more than its arma virumque, its men and wars: it needed the wisdom and beauty of Athens’s philosophy and art. Although Julius was happy to think of himself as the warrior-pope, whose hand was more comfortable with a sword than a book, he was nevertheless keenly concerned that, in accord with the humanist vision of ancient Greece and classical Rome, Christian Rome be a centre of law, poetry and art, philosophy and theology. Julius II was a patron with wealth, judgment, vision and purpose.
Celebrating Rome through Its Key Renaissance Popes

A couple of historical references give us a good sense of the renewed spirit and intellectual aspirations of the age. At the entrance of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, founded by Nicholas V and substantially reorganized by Sixtus IV with the assistance of his nephew, Giuliano della Rovere (the future Pope Julius II), there is a caption that extols the civic works of Sixtus with regards to the new construction of Rome's churches, its streets, parks, city walls, bridges, and aqueducts. It praises the reopening of Rome's age-old shipping port and the building a new wall around the Vatican. The caption then ends with the lines: "Still, Rome owes you [Sixtus] more than this: where a library languished in squalor / Now it is visible in a setting befitting its fame" (trans. Rowland 135–36). The caption celebrates, as a crowning achievement, the renewal of the Vatican's library.

In a comparable spirit, Battista Casali, papal orator, delivered a speech in the Capella Sistina before Pope Julius on January 1, 1508. He clearly projects the role cast for Julius's Rome as the new Athens. Casali set before the pope the vision of classical Athens as the well-spring of religion, learning, and law that spread "to every land." The ancient city is depicted as a place of schools where "the princes of learning" are tutored in the moral virtues of fortitude, temperance, and justice. But ancient Athens, the birthplace of moral and civic virtue, had long since been destroyed in the whirlwind of the "Mohammedan war machine" (trans. Rowland 139). Casali is well aware that Greek learning has been given a new birth in Rome. He commends Julius and his uncle Sixtus for their rich contributions to its renaissance. With his patronage of the Biblioteca Vaticana and the revitalization of the world of the arts and letters, Julius has "founded a new Athens." Casali concludes this line of thought with an image calculated to appeal to the warrior in Julius's character:

This is why, Blessed Father, you achieve what your soldiers shall never conquer by arms: shackling your adversaries with bonds of learning, learning with which, as with a sponge, you will erase all the errors of the world and circumcise the ancient roots of evil at the base with a sickle of adamant. (trans. Rowland 140)

Against this sketch of the historical context of Julius II's papacy, we turn to the Stanza della Segnatura. Our purpose will be to appreciate how the Roman renaissance advanced by Julius was understood and interpreted by Tommaso Inghirami and Raphael Sanzio in the program of the Stanza.

Setting for the Stanza della Segnatura (1508–11)

Walking into the Stanza della Segnatura, one immediately encounters remarkable paintings on its ceiling and four walls. The high ceiling is a complex symbolic puzzle integrating personifications of philosophy, poetry, law, and theology together with incidents from classical mythology and holy scripture. Altogether no less than 164 persons (human, mythical, angelic, divine) are collected into various groups, each is engaged in active conversation. Many of these figures are almost life-size and most represent real historical individuals: philosophers, mathematicians, natural philosophers, painters, architects, legislators, evangelists, theologians, popes, poets, saints and apostles, as well as Jesus Christ, God the Father, and the Holy Spirit. It was common in Renaissance art to
show great characters in conversation, but Raphael's Stanza develops the motif with a creativity and scale that is altogether unprecedented. In addition to the people depicted therein, one soon realizes that one is surrounded by words. There are the silent words spoken in the many conversations, and there are the many more words of the fifty-four books, scrolls, and manuscripts depicted in the room's paintings. Some lines of conversation span more than two thousand years. It's what today we might call a communion (communio) of the holy and the learned.

This room, we remember, was originally intended as Julius II's personal library. In accordance with the custom of the day, the books of the collection were classified into four groups: poetry, philosophy, law, and theology. Correspondingly, each of the four walls is dedicated to one of the four arts. It is the genius of Inghirami and Raphael that brings the books and scrolls alive through conversations on the walls. There also seem to be conversations between the arts: philosophy with civil law, theology with canon law, poetry with both theology and philosophy, and philosophy with theology. Let's now look at particular images on the ceiling and walls.

**On Parnassus**

On the ceiling above the north wall is the personification of Poetry. She holds a book and a lyre, while *putti* (little angels) at her sides hold up the words "numine afflatur" (Breath of Divinity). These words likely come from Virgil's *Aeneid*, specifically the scene where Aeneas, founder of Rome, stands with the Sybil at the opening to the underworld as she
is inspired by the breath of divine authority: _adflata est numine ... dei_ (Aeneid 6.50–51). As she is seized by the divine spirit, Aeneas passes into the underworld. There he meets his dead father who reveals to him the destiny of Rome: "Roman, remember; your arts are to be these: to bring peace, to impose the rule of law, to spare the conquered, battle down the proud" (Aeneid 6.847–53, Fitzgerald trans. modified). On the wall below Poetry we see Apollo, seated beside the source of the Castalian Spring at the summit of Mt. Parnassus, surrounded by the Muses. He gazes off to the heavens, perhaps transfixed, as he plays his lyre. Gathered on the left and right flanks, in four different conversations, are the great poets of the Greek and Latin traditions. For instance, Dante and Virgil gather with blind Homer on the upper left. On the bottom left we see Sappho, who is credited with being one of the first lyrical poets in ancient Greece, and across from her on the bottom right sits Pindar, the greatest of Greek lyric poets. Directly across the room from Poetry is Law or Jurisprudence.

**On Jurisprudence**

On the ceiling above the south wall, opposite Poetry, we see a figure personifying Justice and holding scales and a sword. On the wall below, Raphael has depicted three distinct scenes. On the left side, on the Justice wall, the Byzantine emperor Justinian I (r. 482–565) receives the _Corpus Juris Civilis_ (Body of Civil Law). This book, completed in 534 under the sponsorship of Justinian, represents the largest and greatest collec-
tion of Roman law ever produced. Justinian believed that law flows from reason. Since it is not based on force, "the minister of justice must be a follower of "true philosophy" (d'Entrèves 27). The emperor wrote that "of all subjects none is more worthy of study than the authority of Laws, which happily disposes all things divine and human, and puts an end to iniquity" (Digest 1.1). The attraction of seeing law this way would be irresistible to a Renaissance mind attentive to moral and cosmic harmony. The Stanza's elevated understanding of law is taken up into Julius's vision of himself as the new Caesar.

On the right side of the same (south) wall, Pope Gregory IX (r. 1227–41) receives the Decretals from St. Raymond of Pennafort. An important development in canon law, the Decretals was conceived of as the mother of all canon law collections, and to this extent it was similar to Justinian's Corpus, which aimed to do the same for civil law. It pairs well with Justinian's Corpus in another way as well, and that is in its claim to be authoritative not merely within the Church, but universally. Both the selection of the Decretals motif itself and its placement in conversation with Justinian's Corpus emphasize papal dignity and supreme papal authority.

In the lunette overarching both scenes are three female figures representing three of the cardinal virtues: courage, prudence, and temperance. Courage, on the left, wears a helmet, holds a lion at her side, and wears the warrior's protective foot gear. In the middle, Prudence wears her two faces: one, that of a young woman gazing into a mirror and the other face, that of an older bearded man looking backwards. Temperance, holding reins in her hand, is seated at the right.

**On the School of Athens**

On the ceiling above the east wall, with Poetry to the right and Justice to the left, we find the personification of Philosophy. She is flanked by putti holding up the words "causarum cognitio" (knowledge of the causes). On the wall below is the School of Athens, which has almost become a visual cliché. For the contemporary tourist, it is the attraction to the Stanza della Segnatura. In large part this preference has been prompted by art critics and historians who have restricted their attention to just the ancient philosophers. To do so, however, is to miss the significance of how all four walls and the ceiling work together to celebrate the classical learning in the new Rome.

The School of Athens represents a congregation of Greek philosophers from Pythagoras to Porphyry. Its composition expresses the Renaissance philosopher Pico di Mirandola's *pax philosophica*. Pico held that there is concord among the variety of philosophical schools. In line with this sentiment, Plato and Aristotle stand shoulder to shoulder at the centre of the east wall, under the arched structure open to the sky. Plato holds in his hand his *Timaeus* and Aristotle his *Ethics*.

On the right side, the Aristotelian philosophers gather in distinct groups. Most prominent are the students huddled around Euclid as he demonstrates one of his geometrical theories (see fig. 51). Just above them and with his back to us, Ptolemy, wearing his golden crown, holds the globe of the earth with the continents marked off. Facing him is Strabo, the famed geographer, holding up a globe of the starry universe. Immediately to the left of Plato himself is a small group of men thought to include Parmenides and Zeno.
Further left stands Socrates actively engaged with Xenophon, Phaedo, and Crito. Toward the lowermost section there's a group gathered around Pythagoras. Immediately to his left is Empedocles and standing off to his right insistently gesturing to the book in his hand is Anaximander. Taken as a whole, Raphael has depicted a seven hundred year tradition of classical Greek pagan philosophy.

Brian Copenhaver has observed the influence of Pico di Mirandola who, in his Orlando on the Dignity of Man (1486), sets out a course of studies in which “the student starts with moral philosophy and then moves through dialectic and natural philosophy toward theology” (Copenhaver). The move into philosophy and beyond into theology is essential to understanding the meaning of the School of Athens. The viewer is meant to see these philosophers of classical antiquity, with Plato and Aristotle at the centre, oriented forward, across the floor, towards the scene of the Disputa on the opposite wall.

**On the Disputa**

On the ceiling of the west wall the personification of Theology presides over what has come to be called the Dispute of the Most Holy Sacrament (in Italian: the Disputa) (see fig. 52). The wall expresses the life of Christian theology: holy conversation probing the mysteries of creation and redemption under the guidance of sacred revelation. The picture shows a great dynamism and diversity of characters, saintly, papal, learned and artistic. For the most part the characters focus directly toward the central line, following the presence of God upward. In viewing the scene, one's eye travels in two directions. Starting from lower middle with the Holy Eucharist on the altar, one's eye is drawn up a vertical line to the Holy Spirit directly above, then further up to the resurrected Christ in glory, and finally to God the Father in the golden Empyrean, surrounded by angels, holding the world in his left hand and blessing Creation with his right hand. At the top of the arch the eye then follows the rays of divine light downward embracing the scenes below even to the farther ends, left and right, of the terrestrial level. From these extremities the eye is drawn back towards the altar at the centre.

Raphael has divided the scene into a hierarchy of three levels: terrestrial, heavenly, and the supra-celestial Empyrean. Many of the personalities are readily identified by their iconography or by the titles of the books that accompany them. A few even have their names inscribed inside the circumference of their halos. On the terrestrial level, immediately flanking the Holy Eucharist, are the four Fathers of the Latin Church: Gregory the Great and Jerome on the left, Ambrose and Augustine on the right. Farther to the right are Aquinas with Pope Innocent III and Bonaventure. Yet a little more to the right and behind are Sixtus IV and Dante. On the higher celestial level Christ presides at the centre seated on a throne of clouds, with the Virgin Mary on the left and John the Baptist on the right. Seated on clouds arching inward toward Christ are twelve figures from the Old and New Testaments: patriarchs Adam, Abraham, Moses, and David; martyrs and apostles, Stephen, James, John, and possibly Lawrence; holy warriors, likely Joshua and Judas Maccabees; and bookended by the two martyr-founders of the Christian Church in Rome, Peter on the foremost left and Paul on the foremost right. God the Father stands forth at the summit from within the golden light of the Empyrean. The sense of a fullness of ordered energy, of intellectual interest and expectation impresses itself on the viewer.
On the Ceiling

The ceiling of the Stanza della Segnatura is an intricate puzzle of imagery and symbol. Julius's papal emblem is suspended at the centre in a celestial blue octagon. Surrounding the centre are four circles representing the personifications of the arts which we've already described, along with four rectangles representing founding moments of those four arts. As we make our way around the ceiling it is interesting to observe the conversations between these scenes and the personification at their sides.

- In the northwest corner of the ceiling we find the *Crowning of Apollo* (fig. 53, top-right). The seated Apollo holds his lyre as he raises his right hand and faces the unfortunate Marsyas, who has just lost a musical competition with the god. Apollo is now recognized as the undisputed god of music and of poetry. To the right of this image sits the personification of *Poetry* (fig. 53, top-centre). Reigning above *Parnassus* on the north wall, winged Poetry wears a laurel crown, a white gown, and a royal blue cloak about her middle. She is looking off toward the crowning of Apollo and the wall of *Theology*. The clouds beneath her are pink, and the putti flanking her hold up the words *numine affiatur*, “the breath of divinity.” Directly below her, seated on Mt. Parnassus, Apollo is also crowned in laurel as he plays a lute, gazing into the heavens.

- Next to *Poetry*, in the northeast corner, is the striking image of a woman leaning over, her right hand on a globe and her left arm raised in a signal of attention, the
Fig. 53: Ceiling of the Stanza della Segnatura, fresco by Raphael, Stanza della Segnatura, Stanze di Raffaello, Musei Vaticani, Rome. Photo Credit: Scala / Art Resource, NY.
ends of her sash swept into the breeze beside and behind her. The globe is a celestial blue, marked with the constellations and studded with gold stars. At the centre is the green and blue globe of the earth. The imagery evokes the iconography of the Prime Mover; but this is clearly a woman who represents Sophia, or Wisdom (fig. 53, top-left), said to exist before the Creation: “By wisdom the Lord laid the earth’s foundations, by understanding he set the heavens in place (Prov. 3.19). Wisdom lies at the origin of the knowledge of causes sought by philosophers. Visually, this celestial globe is paired with the globes below held by Ptolemy and Strabo in the School of Athens (see fig. 51) and by God the Father in the Disputa (see fig. 52).

Next to Wisdom we find the personified Philosophy (fig. 53, centre-left) enthroned on the ceiling above the School of Athens. Her gown and cloak represent the four elements of air, fire, water, and earth. With her face towards Wisdom and with Justice on the left, she rests the book “Naturalis” on her left thigh and above it she props the book “Moralis,” facing it towards Judgment of Solomon and Justice.

In the southeast corner of the Stanza’s ceiling stands the Judgment of Solomon (fig. 53, bottom-left), depicting the first manifestation of Solomon’s shrewd wisdom. Raphael shows Solomon on his throne, pronouncing the verdict, while a courtier with drawn sword holds the babe by his feet, ready to cleave him in two, as the true mother lunges forward to stop him. The scene represents a founding moment of Jurisprudence. Its placement between Philosophy and Justice seems most fitting.

Situated over Jurisprudence on the south wall, Justice (fig. 53, bottom-centre) with her right arm raising a sword and her left hand supporting a balance, presides over the great law-givers below. Winged putti carry tablets with the words ius suum unicuique, “to each what is due to him.”

Next to Justice, in the southwest corner, Adam and Eve are depicted in the Garden of Eden in conversation with the serpent, the moment just before Adam’s fall. Situated between Justice on the left and Theology on the right, the Fall of Man (fig. 53, bottom-right) depicts the moment of humankind’s fall from grace and entrance into iniquity. Original justice is lost; its restoration will require divine action in human history. It is the beginning of salvation history. The image is fittingly set between Justice and Theology.

Next to the Fall of Man, Theology (fig. 53, centre-right) is enthroned on grey clouds. She wears a crown and a transparent white veil across her head. The two ends of the veil are swept away towards the right, billowing as if in a strong wind. With a book propped on her left thigh, she points downward with her right hand, into the Disputa while gazing towards the Crowning of Apollo and Poetry’s “breath of divinity.” Putti flank Theology holding up plaques with the words divinarum rerum notitia, “knowledge of divine things.”

Julius’s Library and Renaissance Humanism

In making our tour of the ceiling we enter the poetic process of observing the imagery and references, which reveal Inghirami’s unified understanding of the four arts of Poetry, Philosophy, Justice, and Theology. We’ve seen how each personification of the arts opens to conversation with the scenes at either side of it. Most notable are the ways in which
Other Places to Encounter Inghirami and Raphael* in Rome

Raphael

- Pantheon: burial place of Raphael.
- Musei Vaticani, Pinacoteca: Ten tapestries based on Raphael cartoons, together with multiple paintings, including The Transfiguration, The Coronation of the Virgin, Annunciation, Adoration of the Magi, Presentation at the Temple, Madonna of Foligno;
- Musei Vaticani, Raphael Stanze: Multiple frescoes decorating the walls and ceiling of the Stanza di Eliodoro e Stanza della Segnatura.
- Basilica di Sant'Agostino: The Prophet Isaiah, fresco.
- Chiesa di S. Maria della Pace: Sibyls, (also called Sibyls Receiving Angelic Instruction), fresco.
- Basilica di S. Maria del Popolo: architecture of the Chigi Chapel.
- Villa Farnesina: Galatea (also called The Triumph of Galatea), fresco.
- Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Palazzo Barberini: La Fornarina, painting.
- Borghese Gallery: two paintings, Portrait of a Man and The Deposition (also called the Pala Baglione or the Borghese Entombment).

Inghirami

- Musei Vaticani: one figure within Raphael's School of Athens, that of Epicurus, is said by some scholars to resemble Fedra Inghirami.

* For Julius, see chapter 16 in this volume.