



**Citation:** R. Sarti (2020) 'Felice dolc avventuroso loco': Courtly Life, the Courtier's Model and the Myth of Urbino in the Graffiti of the Palazzo Ducale. *Jems* 9: pp. 163-192. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.13128/JEMS-2279-7149-11195>

**Copyright:** © 2020 R. Sarti. This is an open access, peer-reviewed article published by Firenze University Press (<https://oajournals.fupress.net/index.php/bsfm-jems>) and distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution - Non Commercial - No derivatives 4.0 International License, which permits use, distribution and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited as specified by the author or licensor, that is not used for commercial purposes and no modifications or adaptations are made.

**Data Availability Statement:** All relevant data are within the paper and its Supporting Information files.

**Competing Interests:** The Author(s) declare(s) no conflict of interest.

# 'Felice dolc avventuroso loco' Courtly Life, the Courtier's Model and the Myth of Urbino in the Graffiti of the Palazzo Ducale

Raffaella Sarti

Università degli Studi di Urbino Carlo Bo (<[raffaella.sarti@uniurb.it](mailto:raffaella.sarti@uniurb.it)>)

## Abstract

Baldassar Castiglione described the Palazzo Ducale of Urbino, as 'the fayrest that was to be founde in all Italy' 'to the opinion of many men'. For Castiglione, such a Palace was the setting of his book *The Courtier*, published in 1528 but written from 1513-1514 onwards. The book became a kind of manifesto of the refined life of the courts of the Italian Renaissance, was translated into several languages and had numerous editions. While the Palace was associated (and in part still remains associated) with such an ideal and idealised world, this essay tries to find clues of the courtly life that actually took place in the Palace, of the reception of the behavioural model of the good courtier as well as of the attitudes towards it and the city of Urbino as expressed on the surfaces of the Palace itself by analysing writings and drawings engraved on its walls, door jambs, lintels, columns, etc. The article thus studies graffiti not exclusively, nor mainly, in a history of writing perspective but also, and mainly, as a source of social and cultural history. Within this perspective, the circulation of contents among different supports deserves particular attention. By showing the wealth of information that historians can find by analysing the walls, the essay argues that historical graffiti, still today often removed as human damage during refurbishments, should on the contrary be considered an important component of the cultural heritage, and – as such – preserved, studied and displayed to visitors.

Keywords: *Courtiers, Courtly Life, Graffiti, Palazzo Ducale of Urbino, Servants*

## 1. Introduction

The well-known Italian Renaissance writer Baldassar Castiglione (1478-1529) described the Palazzo Ducale of Urbino, as the fairest that was to be found in all Italy, according to many people. It was furnished with all that was necessary, to the point that it appeared

a city in the form of a palace (figure 1).<sup>1</sup> For Castiglione, such a marvellous palace was the setting of his book *The Courtier*, published in 1528 but written from 1513-1514 onwards, or maybe even from 1510.<sup>2</sup> The book aimed to shape a good courtier, specifying all the conditions and qualities necessary to deserve to be defined as such. Additionally, it aimed to shape the perfect gentlewoman of the Palace.<sup>3</sup> It became a kind of manifesto of refined courtly life and a manual of social conduct, was translated into several languages, republished in dozen of editions and has had a wide and long-lasting influence.<sup>4</sup> Although there are many different interpretations of *The Courtier*, in fact Castiglione, with his work, contributed to creating the myth of the city Urbino (Motta 2003), which was (and in part still is) associated with such an ideal and idealised world.

Bearing in mind this representation of Urbino as a kind of background, in this article I will try to find clues to the courtly life that actually took place in the Palace, to the diffusion of the ideology that praised loyal service to the prince, the reception of Castiglione's behavioural model of the courtier and the attitudes towards the court and towards Urbino, both in Castiglione's times and later, using and reading a rather unusual source. I will not browse through hundreds of pages but will scrutinise walls, columns, door jambs and lintels; I will not read parchment or paper but the surfaces of the Palace itself; or, better, what such surfaces display: thousands of writings (and drawings).<sup>5</sup> I will use Castiglione's dialogue to interrogate the Palace where the elegant and refined discussions that form the book should have taken place. *The Courtier's* characters were men and women who had really existed and participated in Urbino's courtly life. The dialogues imagined by Castiglione were inspired by the discussions actually held in the Palace. Castiglione created the fiction starting from his own experience. His complex literary work offers a representation

<sup>1</sup> Castiglione 1997, 23; Castiglione 2003, Libro I, cap. 2, 18-19. Literature on Castiglione is huge: see for instance, Burke 1995; Quondam 2000; Motta 2003; Albury 2014. For essential information see Quondam n.d. and Mutini 1979. A detailed chronology is provided in Castiglione (2016, I, xxxviii). Photographs of graffiti and the Palazzo Ducale by Manuele Marraccini, tracing of graffiti by Manuele Marraccini, Maria Chiara Moro and Sebastian De Bellis, all within the project *La pietra racconta. Un palazzo da leggere (Stone with a Story. Reading the Palace)*, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Italy; Istituto Superiore per le Industrie Artistiche (Isia), Urbino, Italy; Università degli Studi di Urbino, Italy; scientific direction by Raffaella Sarti. I am grateful to the editors of *Journal of Early Modern Studies* Donatella Pallotti and Paola Pugliatti, to the journal manager and managing editor Arianna Antonielli, to the anonymous referees and to Marzio Barbagli, Attilio Bartoli Langeli, Antonio Castillo Gómez, Patrizia Delpiano, Guido Dall'Olio, Tommaso Di Carpegna Falconieri, Bonita Cleri, Juliet Fleming, Nicoletta Giovè, Adelina Modesti, Gabriella Morisco, Antonella Negri, Ottavia Niccoli, Alessandro Pastore, Gianni Ricci, Salvatore Ritrovato, Cesarino Ruini, Simone Sorini, Alba Tontini, for information and comments. Transcription criteria of the graffiti: in the main text, graffiti are generally reported without reproducing capital letters and abbreviations; in the comments and notes some information is provided; writings on more lines are shown (with the sign /) if the graffiti dealt with are poems. As regards the graffiti's location, I will indicate the room of each one using the current rooms' names following the English version of Dal Poggetto 2006. As for the rooms' numbering, I will follow the current one used in the Palace, which slightly differs, as for the ground floor, from Dal Poggetto's. Furthermore, I will provide the links to the virtual tour of the Palace for those graffiti presented in it; the first allow the viewers to enjoy an enhanced vision of the graffiti; the second, to navigate the room and to see the graffiti's exact position in the room (the virtual tour does not include the vision of the rooms on the ground floor where temporary exhibitions take place). Abbreviations: GF = Ground Floor; FF = First Floor; SF = Second Floor; AP-D = Apartment of the Duke; AP-DSS = Apartment of the Duchess; AP-J = Apartment of Jole; AP-R = Apartment of Della Rovere. Unless otherwise stated, all translations are mine.

<sup>2</sup> Castiglione 2003, Libri VIII-IX; Motta 2004, 456.

<sup>3</sup> Castiglione 1997, 31, 143; Castiglione 2003, Libro I, 12 and Libro II and XCVIII.

<sup>4</sup> According to Quondam (1980, 19), *The Courtier* represented 'the fundamental grammar of court society up until the French Revolution, and even beyond'. Recent literature has partially revised this interpretation, noting the decreasing frequency of translations and editions from the beginning of the seventeenth century. In any case, the work was extremely influential (Burke 1995, especially chapters 3 and 4).

<sup>5</sup> On research on graffiti see, in this volume, my Editorial, the essay by Fleming, and the articles by Castillo Gómez and Lohmann.

of Urbino as site of a refined court and develops a behavioural model destined to have wide resonance in early modern Europe. Thus in this article I will try to answer the following questions, bearing in mind that not only *The Courtier*, but also the graffiti were expressions of their authors' creativity: has the courtly life that inspired Castiglione left traces on the walls of the Palace? If so, which ones? What do these traces tell us? Do they offer representations consistent with Castiglione's or do they offer a different image? Furthermore: do we find evidence on the walls that the values at the core of Castiglione's behavioural model were shared by (at least some) people of the court? And what about the model itself? Can we understand whether it was followed, or did it remain a literary ideal far from actual practice? Finally, I will focus on the myth of Urbino, to which *The Courtier* contributed so much. Are there clues to this myth on the walls? Or rather do graffiti offer us different views of the city?

The aim of this article is only marginally to contribute to the debate on Castiglione's *The Courtier*. My focus is on graffiti. I will study graffiti not exclusively, nor mainly, in a history of writing and writing practices perspective but also, and primarily, as a source of cultural and social history, trying to verify whether they bear evidence of courtly life, of the reception of the *Courtier* model and/or the values associated with it, and of the myth of Urbino. In part, this implies looking for the circulation of contents between books and stones;<sup>6</sup> painting attached to the walls and drawing carved into the wall; sheet music on paper and musical notes on doorframes.

## 2. Reading the Walls

As mentioned, the walls, columns, door frames of the Palace carry thousands of drawings, symbols, names, dates, sentences: maybe as many as 5,000. A few of these graffiti were already mentioned in nineteenth-century guides of Urbino (Gherardi and Gherardi 1890) and later in other works.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, in the 1980s, Luisa Fontebuoni (1985) exploited several of them to identify the use of the rooms of the Palace in different periods. However, no one had studied them in a systematic way before I started my research in the 1990s (Sarti 2007, 2009, 2011). An important turning point took place in the 2010s, when I began to establish relations with the Istituto Superiore per le Industrie Artistiche (Isia) in Urbino. In 2014, Manuele Marraccini, then a student at the Isia, having been captivated by the Heritage of writing and drawings at the Palazzo Ducale, decided to devote his MA dissertation in Cultural heritage photography to this subject and asked me to be his co-supervisor for historical aspects. The thesis, supervised by Angelo Raffaele Rubino (Isia, supervisor), Matteo Dellepiane and myself was examined in April 2015 and involved extensive photographic work using sophisticated photographic techniques (Marraccini 2015). The project *La pietra racconta. Un palazzo da leggere (Stone with a Story. Reading the Palace)* originated from these premises thanks to an agreement between the Galleria Nazionale delle Marche and Isia of Urbino, with the scientific direction of the University of Urbino Carlo Bo and myself in particular. The project, involving a large working group, has led to extensive reproductions of the writings and drawings engraved on the walls of the Palace (photography and 3D scanning); to the organisation of an exhibition that offered visitors a multimedia experience; to the preparation of an itinerary inside the Palace and a virtual tour.<sup>8</sup> This article is based on the sample of graffiti

<sup>6</sup> On content circulation between books and walls see Fleming 2001.

<sup>7</sup> Rossi and Peruzzi 1967; Batini 1968, 14; Olsen 1971, 48; Bernini 2000, 42; Dal Poggetto 2003, 184.

<sup>8</sup> *La pietra racconta. Un palazzo da leggere*, Urbino, Palazzo Ducale, 29 March-21 Mai 2017, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Isia Urbino, Università degli Studi di Urbino 2017; <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/>>, accessed 10 January 2020. See Marraccini and Rachiele in this volume.

collected, photographed and interpreted by me since the late 1990s and by Manuele Marraccini while working at his thesis and then at the project *La pietra racconta. Un palazzo da leggere*.<sup>9</sup>

Despite such an extensive work, the research on the graffiti of the Palace is far from being complete, due to the huge number of writings and drawings (as mentioned, maybe as many as 5,000) and the problems posed by their classification and interpretation. A main problem stems from the fact that there are often dozens of scribbles overlapping each other. Furthermore, because of the deterioration of the walls, the vanishing of the material used for writing and drawing as well as refurbishing work, many of them are no longer readable or clearly visible. Finally, on walls now whitewashed there certainly were (and are) other writings and drawings, as shown where the paint has been removed. To have a complete catalogue, these graffiti, too, should be analysed.<sup>10</sup>

Not only the number, but also the variety of writings and drawings is impressive. Let us start with the tools and techniques used for them. Most of them have been carved using sharp instruments, that is, they are literally graffiti. Others have been made using charcoal, red chalk, ink, pencil, or ball-point pens. However, those which are engraved, are also very different the one from the other, because some are only superficially scratched, while others are deeply carved in the stone, with innumerable intermediate cases. As for their dimensions, they range from minuscule ones (showing letters of 2-3 mm), to very large ones (showing letters of 8-10 cm). Some are almost invisible, not only because of the aforementioned overwriting, vanishing etc., but also because they are very small, only superficially carved and/or located in hidden places; others, on the other hand, are immediately visible because of their dimension, depth and/or position. Furthermore, some of them, both writings and drawings, are extremely accurate, while others are wild scribbles, with a multitude of intermediate cases. As for writings, they reveal different levels of literacy and handwriting skills. Scripts are cursive, capital, or gothic, and so on. As for languages, Italian, Latin, French, German and Spanish have been found so far. There are many dates; the oldest go back to the mid-fifteenth century: one, actually rather unclear, has been interpreted as 1449 or 1455; another appears to read 'AD 1453' i.e., 'Anno Domini 1453'. These dates even predate the building of the palace which, according to existing documents, began in 1454, thus helping to pinpoint the beginning of the construction.<sup>11</sup> The most recent dates are from the last few years, and (obviously) were made by evading the surveillance of the Palace staff (Sarti 2009, 52; 2017, 28). A large number of these graffiti are simply names, often with a date; nonetheless, the variety of themes of both writings and drawings is also huge: expressions of love or courtship, insults, poems, proverbs, jokes, quotes, counts, lists of goods, chronicles of both little personal events and

<sup>9</sup>The surfaces of the Palace have been extensively photographed. I have interpreted about 300 writings. As for drawings, in Marraccini 2015, 115, drawings on recurrent subjects have been reproduced. In the exhibition *La pietra racconta. Un palazzo da leggere* and in the catalogue (Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Isia Urbino, Università degli Studi di Urbino 2017), 115 writings and drawings have been described and further 44 drawings simply shown. Since the exposition I have continued my research. Some of the writings discussed in this article are presented for the first time.

<sup>10</sup>See also Sarti 2009 and Sarti 2017. For an overview of research on graffiti see the Editorial and Lohmann in this volume.

<sup>11</sup>Polichetti 1985a, 163-164; the date is in the intrados of an entrance door on the ground floor, closed when the Palace was built, belonging to one of the pre-existing buildings (the so-called Palazzetto di Guidantonio) incorporated in the Palace. With the techniques used by Marraccini (2015, 42), it seems to be 1449 rather than 1455, but not conclusively. Polichetti 1985a, 161, mentions a 1453 date I was not able to find, whereas she doesn't mention the 1453 I found on the frame of a door in the Cortile del Gallo ('Gallo Courtyard'; Sarti 2017, 28, 34; see <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/3-2/>>, accessed 10 January 2020). On 1454 as starting date of the Palace's construction see Polichetti 1985a, 163 and Höfler 2004, 98-99, who, however, suggests that Pasquino da Montepulciano might have started working at the Palace in December 1453; the graffito might confirm this hypothesis. On the planning and construction of the Palace which, in addition to Duke Federico da Montefeltro himself, involved Luciano Laurana, Francesco di Giorgio Martini, Maso di Bartolomeo, Leon Battista Alberti, Piero della Francesca, Bramante and others, see, for instance, in the extensive bibliography, Polichetti 1985b; for an overview of different interpretations, see Zampetti and Battistini 1986 and Höfler 2004; on the History of Urbino see Dennistoun 1851; Clough 1981; Carboni Baiardi *et al.*, 1986; Benevolo and Boninsegna 1986.

well-known historical facts, intimate reflections; notes on meteorological phenomena, appraisals of the dukes and other authorities, music staves, 'sators', games, game's scores, lines indicating the height of children and lackeys, coats of arms, portraits of ladies, gentlemen, soldiers, profiles, heads, eyes, hearts, penises, legs, shoes, knots, circles, triangles, stars, crosses, bells, churches, houses, the Palace, landscapes, ships, trees, leaves, flowers, horses, bulls, dogs, deer, sheep, birds, peacocks, eagles, owls, fish, snakes, insects, squiggles, etc. Identifiable authors are mainly men, but also some women seem to have been among the authors; their social status ranges from servants to members of the duke's family and representatives of the Pope.

If we want to avoid making simple lists of graffiti present in the Palace (which, however, is also an important task), and - more ambitiously - aim to grasp the meaning of graffiti for the people who made them, discover the references that they might hide and use them as sources for a cultural and social history, the endeavour is far from simple.

Let us focus on the writings. Whereas books and written documents usually present a coherent context to words and sentences, this is rarely the case with the walls of the Palace that, unlike most written documents, often host writings written one close to the other, or even one over the other, made by different people, in different epochs, with different purposes, and on different topics. The first impression is often that of an inextricable chaos. In some cases, a closer look reveals that, on certain walls, there is a certain degree of thematic coherence, as if the place itself, or the particular use of that place or, even, certain graffiti made there by the first writers had inspired (other) writers to do (more or less) the same (Sarti 2009; 2017, 57-58). Nonetheless, single graffiti generally remain isolated one from the other, and to understand and interpret them may require a kind of 'thick description',<sup>12</sup> implying a reconstruction of the graffiti's contexts. To sum up: the Palace's graffiti represent a huge and still largely unexplored and unordered archive. Searching through such an archive, I will attempt to assess whether and to what extent the courtly life, the courtier's model and the myth of Urbino left traces on the walls of the Palace where the first took place and which was crucial for the elaboration of the latter two.



Figure 1 – The Palazzo Ducale of Urbino. Photo by Manuele Marraccini

<sup>12</sup>I refer in a rather free way to Geertz 1973.

### 3. Elisabetta, Courtesy and Love

Castiglione explained that he had written *The Courtier* remembering the good time he had had at the Urbino court. From 1504 onwards, he served Duke Guidobaldo of Montefeltro (1472-1508) – the son of Federico (1422-1482), who had had the Palace built – and his wife Elisabetta Gonzaga (1471-1526). After Guidobaldo's premature death, he continued serving his successor, Francesco Maria Della Rovere, until 1519.<sup>13</sup>

*The Courtier* develops a dialogue supposed to have taken place in the Palazzo Ducale of Urbino in 1507, over four evenings, shortly after a visit by Pope Julius II: Duke Guidobaldo, already ill, retires to bed early, whereas, after dinner, a refined, pleasant and joyful meeting of courtly gentlemen and ladies takes place in Duchess Elisabetta's rooms (figure 2).<sup>14</sup> According to Castiglione, Elisabetta – also praised by many other writers (Motta 2004) – took up the role of leader and teacher of the whole company, showing that a single, beautiful woman could have a number of virtues rarely found in grave men: wisdom, courage and many others.<sup>15</sup>

Interestingly, on the walls of the Palace there are several examples of apparently very old graffiti praising 'Elisabetta'. One of them, stating 'W la Isabta bela W' ('Long live beautiful Isabta Long live'), is engraved on the jamb of the entrance door to the so-called Sala delle Veglie (Room of Gatherings) (figure 3),<sup>16</sup> where, according to an old tradition (but challenged by modern research<sup>17</sup>), the pleasant conversations that inspired Castiglione took place. Is the praised Elisabetta the duchess? Signs on the walls refer to a multitude of people and it would be rather naïf to connect them immediately to the most well-known inhabitants of the Palace without the support of other evidence. In this case, although we cannot completely exclude such an identification, some clues make it problematic.<sup>18</sup> Several graffiti on the walls, however, give us an impression of refinement and courtesy, such as 'W Isabella bella che una volta è stata cortese con me...' ('Long live the beautiful Isabella that was once kind to me...'),<sup>19</sup> or another one, according to which a certain 'Signora Camilla' ('Lady Camilla') was 'bella e ancor gentila [gentile] piu ch ogni altra donna de questa corte' ('beautiful and also kind more than any other woman of this court').<sup>20</sup> While graffiti referring to courtship are plentiful,<sup>21</sup> on a

<sup>13</sup> Castiglione 1997, 9; Castiglione 2003, Proemio, I.

<sup>14</sup> Castiglione 1997, 24; Castiglione 2003, Libro I, cap. 4, 21-22.

<sup>15</sup> Castiglione 1997, 24-25; Castiglione 2003, Libro I, cap. 4, 21, 23.

<sup>16</sup> FF, AP-DSS, Sala delle Veglie (Room of Gatherings), no. 23.

<sup>17</sup> According to Fontebuoni (1985, 216-217), at that time the Duchess lived in another section of the palace, whereas the room now called Sala delle Veglie was one of the rooms occupied by Giuliano de' Medici (1479-1516) when he was in Urbino (1503-1512). Baldi 1590, 518-519 had already stated that the area of the Palace close to the Cathedral was occupied by Giuliano.

<sup>18</sup> Two other graffiti, apparently made by the same writer, both with a combination of cursive script and capital letters, make the identification with the Duchess less likely: one, deleted by various strokes, reads 'WW La Isabta de borgo, B.L.A.'; another 'W la Isabeta de borgo XXXX' (see the latter graffito, under the drawing representing a peacock on the picture visible at this webpage <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/81-2/>>, accessed 10 January 2020; they are both on a door jamb in the first room of the so-called Appartamento Roveresco (Della Rovere Apartment) no. 2, visible at: <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/appartamento-roveresco-prima-sala/>>, accessed 10 January 2020.

<sup>19</sup> GE, Room no. 14. The complete sentence is 'W Isabella bella che una volta è stata cortese con me con (?) fare del no con affetuosi sì': a rather difficult sentence, that, however, seems to indicate that Isabella, albeit in a contradictory way, accepted the courtship of the writer of the graffito. 'Isab' is written in capital letters. For a photo of the writing see Marraccini, Rubino and Dellepiane 2017, 203, figure 4.

<sup>20</sup> FF, AP-D, Loggia (Balcony), see <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/39-2/>>; <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/loggia-piano-nobile/>>, accessed 10 January 2020.

<sup>21</sup> Sarti 2017, 56-70; <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/consulta/amori-e-malinconie-al-balcone/>>, accessed 10 January 2020.

door jamb in the same room, on the ground floor, a graffito states 'Baldezar mio bello e caro' (my handsome and beloved Baldezar): was this Castiglione?<sup>22</sup> Maybe: in this case we have no evidence to support such an identification, but neither have we any to disclaim it. Thus, so far the question remains open. In a different way, this graffito, too, shows that identifying traces, especially traces of specific people who did not write their names, is far from simple.

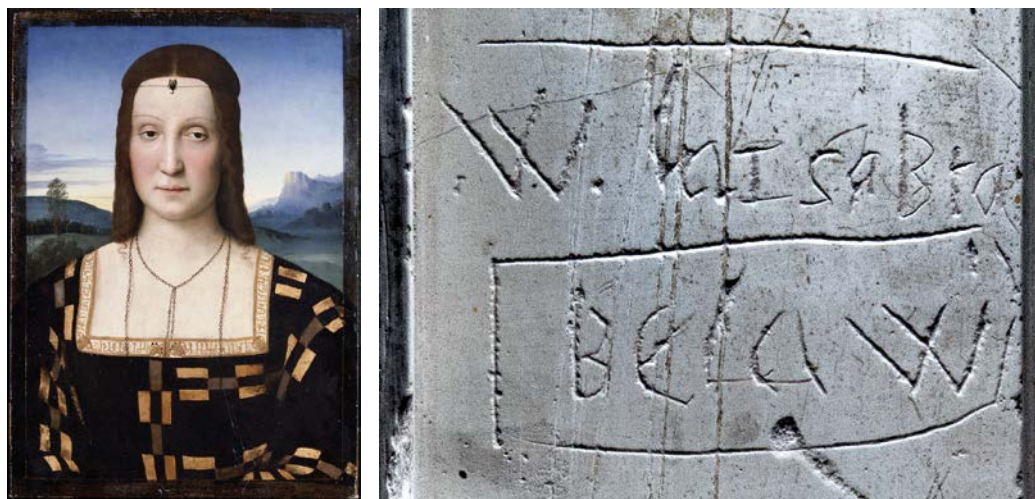


Figure 2 – Left: Raffaello Sanzio, *Ritratto di Elisabetta Gonzaga*, Galleria delle Statue e delle Pitture degli Uffizi, Inv. 1890 n. 1441. Courtesy of Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali e per il turismo. Further reproduction or duplication by any means is prohibited. Figure 3 – Right: 'W la Isabta bela W'. Photo by Manuele Marraccini

Some drawings, too, however, give the impression of culturally refined courtly life, as if the graffiti, too, or part of them, participated in the lively artistic atmosphere of the Palace.

In the basement, for instance, there is a profile in charcoal that is very likely Federico da Montefeltro's – as it resembles the well-known portrait of Federico by Piero della Francesca.<sup>23</sup> Other drawings, too, show noblemen and maybe dukes.<sup>24</sup> The letters 'W D' 'GV.Z.' respectively on the left- and right-hand sides of one of them might indicate a 'long live' addressed to Guidobaldo, although in this case the 'Z' would be unexplained: it might also be a 2 and indicate Guidobaldo II, but the engraved man, with long hair and a rather sad gaze, shows no resemblance with the existing portraits of Guidobaldo II, whereas he resembles the possible portrait of duke Guidobaldo I attributed to Raphael, who was born in Urbino in 1483 and

<sup>22</sup> GF, Room no. 14.

<sup>23</sup> Basement, Rooms adjoining the kitchen, no. 21; <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/27-2/>>; <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/annessi-cucine/>>, accessed 10 January 2020; Sarti 2017, 24.

<sup>24</sup> In addition to the image of figure 6, see also <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/54-2/>>, <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/cortile-onore/>>, GF, Cortile d'Onore (Courtyard of Honour).



frequented the Palace when he was young (Mochi Onori 2009). However, the portrayed man also resembles a young man with an apple (also attributed to Raphael), generally identified with Guidobaldo's successor, duke Francesco Maria della Rovere, but sometimes identified with Guidobaldo himself (figure 4).<sup>25</sup>

As for female portraits, a small drawing of a woman, the so-called 'Franceschina innamorata' ('Franceschina in love'), seems reminiscent of the Fornarina by Raphael (figure 5)<sup>26</sup> whereas an almost invisible elegant profile of a lady is a real hidden masterpiece (figure 6).<sup>27</sup>



Figure 4 – From left to right: Graffito of a gentleman (Duke Guidobaldo da Montefeltro?). Photo by Manuele Marraccini; Raffaello Sanzio (attributed to), *Ritratto di Guidobaldo da Montefeltro* (?), Galleria delle Statue e delle Pitture degli Uffizi, Inv. 1890 n. 1441, detail; Raffaello Sanzio (attributed to), *Ritratto di Francesco Maria della Rovere* (?), Galleria Palatina e Appartamenti Reali, Inv. 1890 n. 8760, detail. Courtesy of Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali e per il turismo. Further reproduction or duplication by any means is prohibited

<sup>25</sup> GF, Cortile d'Onore (Courtyard of Honour); Sarti 2017, 38. On the identification of the young man portrayed, see Polo Museale Fiorentino <<http://www.polomuseale.firenze.it/catalogo/scheda.asp?nctn=00287212&value=1>>, accessed 10 January 2020. Guidobaldo da Montefeltro was the third duke of Urbino but sometimes was wrongly presented as the second, see for instance Bombaci 1640, 115. This might explain the number two after the name (?).

<sup>26</sup> FF, Appartamento della Duchessa (Apartment of the Duchess), Room no. 23; Sarti 2017, 66. The Fornarina was painted in 1518 or 1519, not long before the death of Raphael in 1520, who at that time lived in Rome; the painting was successful and, very early, copies started to circulate; see Mochi Onori n.d., Mini-Minimuseo, <<https://www.beniculturali.it/mibac/multimedia/MiBAC/minisiti/fornarina/for0.html>>, accessed 10 January 2020.

<sup>27</sup> FF, AP-J, Fifth Room, no. 5, <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/62-2/>>; <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/appartamento-jole-quinta-sala/>>, accessed 10 January 2020.





Figure 5 – Left: Raffaello Sanzio, *La Fornarina*, Inv. n. 2333, detail, Gallerie Nazionali di Arte Antica, Roma. Courtesy of Gallerie Nazionali di Arte Antica (MIBACT) - Bibliotheca Hertziana, Istituto Max Planck per la Storia dell'Arte/Enrico Fontolan. Further reproduction or duplication by any means is prohibited.  
 Right: a drawing of a woman, located below the following writing 'Franceschina innamorata de lo mco compagno suo' i.e. 'Franceschina in love with Marco her companion' and therefore I have called the portrayed woman 'Franceschina'. It must be added that between the writing and the drawing there is some space, occupied by another, later piece of writing about a big snow fall on 8 May 1682 (partially overlapping the head of the alleged Franceschina)



Figure 6 – The graffito of the head of a lady (photograph and tracing). Photo by Manuele Marraccini; tracing by Manuele Marraccini, Maria Chiara Moro and Sebastian De Bellis

What can we say about the literary life of the Palace? Do we find traces of it in the jungle of the Palace's graffiti? At this stage of research, I cannot claim to have found all the traces of that life (provided that such a goal might ever be reached). Nonetheless, some are present, and show that the walls, too, were involved, at least to a certain extent, in the literary life of the Palace. On the marvellous balcony of the Duke's apartment, for instance, from where a majestic view of fields, woods, hills and mountains could be enjoyed, we can read the name of 'Tirsi', the shepherd who, since antiquity, had been a character in numerous bucolic poems (Carrara 1909;

Sampson 2006) (figure 7).<sup>28</sup> Castiglione himself, in 1508, together with his cousin Cesare Gonzaga, wrote an eclogue entitled *Tirsi* which they recited at the court of Elisabetta Gonzaga and Guidobaldo da Montefeltro during Carnival, not in the Urbino Palace but in the one in nearby Fossombrone (Quondam n.d.; Castiglione 1955). Marc'Antonio Flaminio, to honour Castiglione, whom he followed in Urbino in 1514, also composed an eclogue entitled *Tirsi*.<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, a shepherd called Tirsi is a character in the very successful play *Aminta*, by Torquato Tasso, which, after being represented probably for the first time in Ferrara in 1573, was also performed by a group of young people of Urbino in 1574.<sup>30</sup>

In 1578, Leonard Meldert from Flanders set the poem *Tirsi morir volea* to music for the first time, followed by many others. He may have believed that it, too, had been written by Tasso. Initially, in fact, it had been wrongly included in the latter's *Rime* published by Manuzio in 1581. In actual fact, however, it had been written by Giovan Battista Guarini.<sup>31</sup> At that time, Meldert – a musician at the court of Guidobaldo II della Rovere until the duke's death in 1574 – was back in Urbino, where he would later be appointed chapel master of the cathedral (*maestro di cappella*).<sup>32</sup> Since the time of Federico da Montefeltro, the court of Urbino had also been an important centre for the development of Renaissance music.<sup>33</sup> On the walls some engraved musical staves remind us of this activity at the court, too, allowing us to imagine a festive atmosphere of music and dance.<sup>34</sup>

The graffito mentioning Tirsi, probably because of its large size and accurate capital letters, was one of the few already noted in the past: in a nineteenth-century guide of Urbino, it was associated with the presence of Tasso in the city (Gherardi and Gherardi 1890, 85). The complete graffito, however, states 'W Florida e Tirsi' ('Long live Florida and Tirsi'), and Florida was neither a character in Castiglione's *Tirsi* nor Tasso's *Aminta* nor Guarini's poem. However, the two shepherds featured in the works of various authors, such as Niccolò da Correggio, Girolamo Benivieni, Francesco Cristiani,<sup>35</sup> and others: the best known may be the madrigals *A Dio Florida bella* and *Qui rise, o Tirsi*, respectively the fourth and seventh in the *Sixth book of madrigals* by Claudio Monteverdi (1614), based on texts by Giovan Battista Marino (figure 7).<sup>36</sup>

<sup>28</sup> FF, AP-D, Loggia (Balcony); <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/38-2/>>; <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/loggia-piano-nobile/>>; Sarti 2017, 59.

<sup>29</sup> Flaminio 1978, 216 (75. Letter to Alessandro Manzoli (1515)); Cuccoli 1897, 36; Carrara 1909, 399.

<sup>30</sup> According to Luisi 1999, 313, 315-318, 321, there was a representation in Urbino and one in Fossombrone; Piperno 2001, 198, 227-231, more convincingly argues that there was a representation in Pesaro by a group of young people of Urbino and a replica in Fossombrone.

<sup>31</sup> Luisi 1999, 315; Piperno 2001, 236; Piperno 2014, vii-viii, xxvi.

<sup>32</sup> Luisi 1999, 315-316; Piperno 2001, 108-109, 234; Sorini 2012, 26-31; Piperno 2014, viii.

<sup>33</sup> On the importance of music at the court of Urbino under the Montefeltro see Guidobaldi (1995) and Villa (2009). As for the della Rovere, according to Piperno 2001, 254-255, musical commissions of Guidobaldo II (duke between 1538 and 1574) were not at the same level as other Italian courts; according to Luisi 1999, 316, musical development at Urbino's court the 1590s was extraordinary. For an overview, see Magaletta 1992.

<sup>34</sup> Sarti 2017, 72-74. So far, four graffiti representing musical staves have been found in the Palace. For an example see <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/65-2/>>, <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/appartamento-melaran-ci-prima-sala/>>, accessed 10 January 2020, in the so-called Appartamento dei Melaranci (Apartment of the Sweet Oranges), first Room, no. 9.

<sup>35</sup> Niccolò da Correggio 2020; Girolamo Benivieni, *Ecloga* (Mopso, Titiro e Pico), in Ferrario 1808, 1-4, also available on <[https://it.wikisource.org/wiki/Ecloga\\_\(Benivieni\)](https://it.wikisource.org/wiki/Ecloga_(Benivieni))>, accessed 10 January 2020; Antonio Cristiani, *Tirsi ben mio, Florida tua saccona* and *Florida mia che ti chiamo ogn'ora*, in *Rime di diuersi ecc. autori, in vita, e in morte dell'ill. S. Liuia Colonna* 1555, 58-59.

<sup>36</sup> Monteverdi 1614. The texts are available online Choral Wiki, <[http://www1.cpd.org/wiki/index.php/A\\_Dio,\\_Florida\\_Bella\\_\(Claudio\\_Monteverdi\)](http://www1.cpd.org/wiki/index.php/A_Dio,_Florida_Bella_(Claudio_Monteverdi))>; <[http://www1.cpd.org/wiki/index.php/Qui\\_rise,\\_O\\_Tirsi\\_\(Claudio\\_Monteverdi\)](http://www1.cpd.org/wiki/index.php/Qui_rise,_O_Tirsi_(Claudio_Monteverdi))>, accessed 10 January 2020.



Figure 7 – Graffito ‘W Florida e Tirsi’. Photo by Manuele Marraccini

The names of Florida and Tirsi, as well as that of Silvano, or Silvana, written nearby but not distinctly readable, certainly reveal familiarity with bucolic poetry, which actually featured conspicuously at court, as we know from other sources. We cannot exclude, however, that the ‘long live’ referred to two lovers in flesh and blood disguised as Florida and Tirsi, rather than a specific play or madrigal. While bucolic poetry often sang the bitter-sweet pains of love, these pains have left many traces on the walls of the palace: interestingly, in some cases, they are expressed with literary references: the graffito ‘sdegno duo [= tuo] piu che amore l’amore in odio torse’ (‘your disdain rather than love, turned love to hatred’)<sup>37</sup> echoes a verse from Petrarch’s *Trionfo d’Amore* (*Triumph of Love*).<sup>38</sup> The particular shape of the letter T, written as a 7, might indicate that the writer was in touch with the academy founded in Rome by Pomponio Leto (Accademia Pomponiana or Accademia Romana). Its members used to write the letter T in this way, especially Tommaso Fedra Inghirami, whose cross eyes we know about thanks to Raphael’s portrait.<sup>39</sup> Members of the academy who spent some time in Urbino included, for instance, Giannantonio Campano, sent by Pope Sixtus IV to Urbino to represent the papal court at the burial of Battista Sforza, wife of Federico da Montefeltro, in August 1472,<sup>40</sup> and Giovanni Antonio Sulpizio of Veroli or Verulano, teacher of Latin at the Urbino court.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>37</sup> GF, Sala Didattica (Teaching Laboratory); there is another graffito, in Spanish, very probably written by the same writer, also in capital letters: ‘yo no chero mas / amor / no chero amar’, GF, Room no. 14, see <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/73-2/>>, accessed 10 January 2020 and Sarti 2017, 67, note 47.

<sup>38</sup> ‘Udito hai ragionar d’un che non volse / consentir al furor de la matrigna / e da’ suoi preghi per fuggir si sciolse, / ma quella intenzion casta e benigna / l’occise, sì l’amore in odio torse / Fedra amante terribile e maligna ...’ (‘And yet his chaste and rightful steadfastness / Brought him to death: for to such hatred turned / The love of Phaedra, terrible and malign ...’) (Petrarca 1957, *Trionfi. Triumphus Cupidinis. Trionfo d’amore*, I, 109-113; also available, both in English and Italian at Francesco Petrarch & Laura deNoves, <[http://petrarch.petersadlon.com/read\\_trionfi.html?page=I-I.en](http://petrarch.petersadlon.com/read_trionfi.html?page=I-I.en)>, accessed 10 January 2020.

<sup>39</sup> I am grateful to Alba Tontini for this information, on which see Questa 1985, 225; Tontini 2010, 34. It is correct to note, however, that the graffito is written in capital letters; in the manuscripts analysed by Tontini the T has a 7-shape in the cursive handwriting, but not in capital lettering (see especially MS 36.36 Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana Teca Digitale, Florence, <<http://mss.bmlonline.it/s.aspx?Id=AWOIea3DI1A4r7GxMHrE&c=Plautus#/book>>, accessed 10 January 2020. The issue thus needs more research. For Raphael’s portrait of Inghirami (Florence, Palazzo Pitti) see Wikipedia, <[https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ritratto\\_di\\_Fedra\\_Inghirami#/media/File:Inghirami\\_Raphael.jpg](https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ritratto_di_Fedra_Inghirami#/media/File:Inghirami_Raphael.jpg)>, accessed 10 January 2020.

<sup>40</sup> Repertorium Pomponianum, <[http://www.repertoriumpomponianum.it/pomponiani/campano\\_giannantonio.htm](http://www.repertoriumpomponianum.it/pomponiani/campano_giannantonio.htm)>, accessed 10 January 2020.

<sup>41</sup> Repertorium Pomponianum, <[http://www.repertoriumpomponianum.it/pomponiani/sulpizio\\_verulano.htm](http://www.repertoriumpomponianum.it/pomponiani/sulpizio_verulano.htm)>, accessed 10 January 2020.

Petrarch's *Trionfi* (*Triumphs*) are quoted much more literally in another graffito, which shows in part in capital letters, on four lines, two verses of the *Trionfo della Morte* (*Triumph of Death*): 'non minore / il dol perche / altri il prema / ne majore / per andarsi / lamenta [unreadable]'. The writer of the graffito possibly knew the poem by heart, since the original is almost identical and goes as follows: 'Non è minor il duol perch' altri il prema, / né maggior per andarsi lamentando', translated into English as 'Dole that is hidden is no less a pain, / Nor is it made the larger by laments'.<sup>42</sup>

The Palace's intense artistic and cultural life has left many traces on its walls, and several engravings seem to confirm that it really was a 'felice dolc avventuroso loco' ('happy sweet adventurous place') as shown on the walls of the spiral staircase in one of the 'torricini' (the two elegant and slender towers).<sup>43</sup> The hendecasyllable engraving may also possibly echo Petrarch ('O sacro, avventuroso e dolce loco!'<sup>44</sup>) or other authors (for instance Agostino Centurione: 'felice, / dolce gioconda e avventurosa piaggia').<sup>45</sup> Below the engraving, which is written in capital letters, there is 'in smaller capital letters' the name 'Fabio Lan.<sup>no</sup>', and 'Fabio' has also been written above the graffito: this may be the name of the writer. The abbreviated name is likely to refer to Fabio Landriano, one of the members of Guidobaldo II's court who was closer to the duke, to the extent that he had been granted the right to add the della Rovere's coat of arms to his own (figure 8).<sup>46</sup>

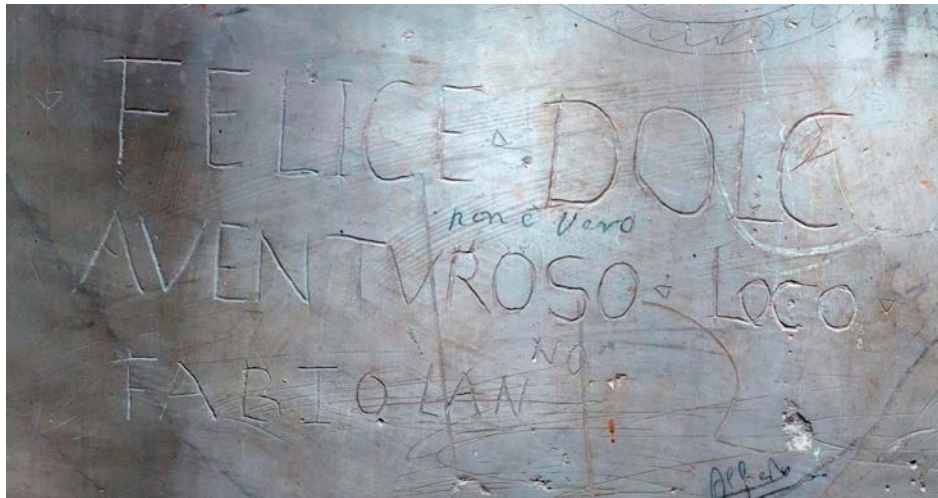


Figure 8 – Graffito 'Felice dolc avventuroso loco Fabio Lan.<sup>no</sup>'. Photo by Manuele Marraccini

<sup>42</sup> GF, Loggia (Balcony); Petrarca 1957, *Trionfi. Triumphus Mortis. Trionfo della Morte*, II, 145-146, also available, both in English and Italian at Francesco Petrarca & Laura deNoves, <[http://petrarca.petersadlon.com/read\\_trionfi.html?page=III-II.txt](http://petrarca.petersadlon.com/read_trionfi.html?page=III-II.txt)>, accessed 10 January 2020.

<sup>43</sup> The graffito is on the wall of the spiral staircase, at the first floor, near to the door opening on the Duke's Apartment, no. 19; see <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/17-2/>>, accessed 10 January 2020.

<sup>44</sup> Poem 243 of Petrarch's *Canzoniere* (Petrarca 1976, 418); English trans. by A.S. Kline, available at Francesco Petrarca & Laura deNoves, <<http://petrarca.petersadlon.com/canzoniere.html?poem=243>>: 'O advantaged sweet and sacred place'.

<sup>45</sup> Centurione 1839, *Stanze in Scelta di poesie liriche, dal primo secolo della lingua fino al 1700*, 301 'happy, / sweet, joyful and adventurous shore'.

<sup>46</sup> Palazzi 1575, 82; Moroni 1844, 23; Ugolini 1859, 292, 338; Celli 1892, 60, 65-66; Solerti 1895, 27; Segarizzi 1913, 191. Fabio Landriano had married Costanza, Guidobaldo's granddaughter (the daughter of his illegitimate daughter Camilla). In 1570 (or 1571) he received the Castle of Montefelcino from Guidobaldo II.

#### 4. *Serving the Prince: the Courtier's sprezzatura and Dissimulation*

Castiglione's courtier represents an ideal of education and refinement. The perfect courtier, with a certain *sprezzatura* (translated into English as 'disgracing', 'recklessness', 'negligence', 'easy carelessness'),<sup>47</sup> must give the impression of performing, naturally and without any effort, even activities that require a hard apprenticeship and are very tiring.<sup>48</sup> As noted by Peter Burke, Castiglione 'is well aware that he is instructing his readers how to play a role, how to "become another person" or better, perhaps, to "put on a different mask" ('vestirsi un'altra persona') when the occasion demands it': 'Courtier is itself such a role' (1995, 660-662 kindle position).

This might imply some degree of disguise. In several passages, Castiglione stressed that a courtier must be able to conceal his efforts. Furthermore, the rules of courtesy and civility might require him to hide his ideas and emotions. In short, the ability to conceal one's feelings and thoughts is a constituent element of the model of behaviour proposed by Castiglione in his book, even though *The Courtier*, being a dialogue, presents a variety of opinions: according to one of the participants, Gasparo Pallavicino, an honest man must never deceive.<sup>49</sup> According to Iuliano de' Medici, the courtier must 'tener secreti gli amori suoi' ('kepe his loves secrete') and 'dissimular i desiderì, le gelosie, gli affanni e i piacer suoi e rider spesso con la bocca quando il cor piange' ('dissemble his desires, jealosies, afflictions and pleasure, and manye times laugh with mouth whan the hart weepeth').<sup>50</sup>

Castiglione provided his readers with complex conduct norms. As explained, the experience made at the court of Urbino had been crucial for Castiglione and his work. We can wonder whether the people who lived, at least for some time, at that very court shared those values and behavioural norms and whether, if they did, left traces of such an attitude on the walls of the Palace. Interestingly, one of the innumerable graffiti in the Palace of Urbino – written in French – seems to follow Castiglione's advice, as it states: 'se que mon cour pansa, / je ne le dis pas', 'what my hearth is thinking, I don't say' (figure 9).<sup>51</sup> Obviously we do not know whether the person who wrote these words (without adding a date) followed Castiglione's guidelines or expressed a personal attitude not influenced by the latter. Yet the similitude is striking.

<sup>47</sup> On the English translations of *sprezzatura* see Burke 1995, chapter 4.

<sup>48</sup> 'Però si po dir quella esser vera arte che non pare esser arte; né piú in altro si ha da poner studio, che nel nasconderla' (Castiglione 2003, Libro I, cap. 26, 60; 'Therefore that may be said to be a very art that appeereth not to be art, neyther ought a man to put more dilgence in any thing then in covering it', Castiglione 1997, 42).

<sup>49</sup> See for instance, Castiglione 2003, Libro II, cap. 72, 220 and cap. 75, 223; Castiglione 1997, 126, 128.

<sup>50</sup> 'Però se 'l nostro cortegian volesse usar del mio consiglio, io lo confortarei a tener secreti gli amori suoi' (Castiglione 2003, Libro III, cap. 67, 348; 'Therefore if oure Courtier would folowe my counsell, I would exhort him to kepe his loves secrete', Castiglione 1997, 194).

<sup>51</sup> FF, AP-J, Second Room, no. 2.



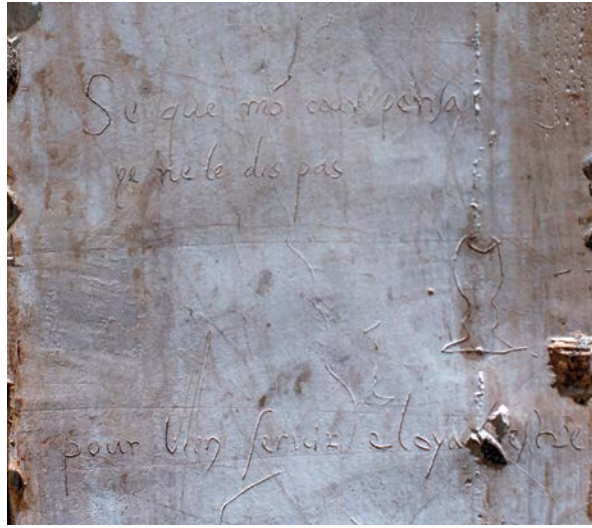


Figure 9 – Graffito ‘Se que mon cour pansa / je ne le dis pas / pour bien servir e loyal estre’.  
Photo by Manuele Marraccini

According to Castiglione, within the hierarchic world of the court, a courtier must love his prince and should make any possible effort to please him. Such a courtier was ‘un nobile adulatore’ (a ‘jolly flatterer’), replied Pietro da Napoli to Federico Fregoso, who gave these directions, in one of *The Courtier’s* dialogues. But Fregoso absolutely rejected such an interpretation. In his view, flatterers did not love their lords nor their friends, whereas the perfect courtier should love his prince; furthermore, in his view it was possible to please him and obey his orders without flattery. In any case, the perfect courtier should frame himself according to his prince’s orders and desires; he should talk with him of matters that he was glad to hear and should appreciate what the prince loved even though he did not like it, never being melancholy while staying in the presence of his lord. Furthermore, he must always show for his prince, especially in public, reverence and respect as is fitting for the servant toward the master,<sup>52</sup> to whom he must be faithful (Castiglione 2003, Libro I, cap. 17, 45).

Just below the French graffito mentioned above, there is another, French as well, very likely made by the same writer. It does not seem distinct and independent from the first; on the contrary it may complete the reasoning: ‘Se que mon cour pansa, / je ne le dis pas’, ‘pour bien servir e loyal estre’. If read as one single sentence, these words express Castiglione’s ideal of the courtier, who, to serve his prince loyally, does not disclose his real feelings (figure 9). However, while these words seem to echo Castiglione’s ideas, or at least to unveil a shared view, in fact, they hide an almost literal reference not to *The Courtier* but to a French proverb, attested in several slightly different versions: ‘Pour bien servir et loyal estre, / De serviteur on devient maistre’ (Le Roux de Lincy 1859, 136), ‘pour bien servir e loyal estre / le serviteur souvent

<sup>52</sup> ‘voglio adunque che ’l cortegiano ... si volti con tutti i pensieri e forze dell’animo suo ad amare e quasi adorare il principe a chi serve sopra ogni altra cosa; e le voglie sue e costumi e modi tutti indirizzi a compiacerlo’ (Castiglione 2003, Libro II, cap. 18, 144; ‘I will have our Courtyer therfore ... to turne al his thoughtes and force of minde to love, and (as it were) to reverence the Prince he serveth above al other thinges, and in his wil, maners and facions, to be altogether pliable to please him’, Castiglione 1997, 85-86).



vient maistre' (Poissenot 1586, 167-168), and 'par bien servir et loyal estre / souvent devient le vallet maistre' (Nicot 1606, 10), which mean 'to serve well and to be loyal' or 'by way of serving and being loyal', 'from servant one becomes master' or 'the servant becomes master'. Such a proverb was already mentioned by Marguerite d'Angoulême (1492-1549) in her *Heptaméron*, inspired by Boccaccio's *Decameron*.<sup>53</sup> In *Heptaméron* is told a story according to which Urbino's Duke Francesco Maria I della Rovere condemned to death by hanging a lady-in-waiting who had accepted to carry messages from his son Guidobaldo, then aged eighteen or twenty, to a young lady whom he loved.<sup>54</sup>

According to Castiglione, the perfect courtier should gain his prince's trust to the point of always being in a position to tell him the truth; he must also give him good advice and make him virtuous.<sup>55</sup> The perfect courtier, therefore, should be extremely influential. Nonetheless, hierarchical roles appear in the dialogue as fixed, no possibility of a role reversal is foreseen. In a sense, the servant never becomes a master. Interestingly, the writer of Urbino's graffito did not mention the conclusion of the proverb: maybe because he completely shared this hierarchical ideology. Certainly (if my interpretation is correct, and the two graffiti belong to the same sentence) he used part of the proverb to express a different concept from the proverb itself and created a statement that well expressed the values of *cortigiania*, made of loyal service but also seasoned with dissimulation.

Going back to the first part of the statement, it should be noted, that it, too, was probably a quotation, notably from the song by the French musician Jean Mouton (1459-1522) which started exactly with the words 'ce que mon coeur pense, Je ne le dis pas' (*Mellange de chansons tant des vieux auteurs que des modernes, a cinq, six, sept, et huict parties* 1572, 2v). According to Edward M. Lowinsky, Mouton may have been the editor of the manuscript known as Medici Codex 1518, a music book which, also according to Lowinsky – had been commissioned by the French King François I as a royal present for the 1518 wedding between Lorenzo de' Medici (1492-1519) and Madeleine de la Tour d'Auvergne (1495-1519) (Lowinsky 1968, III, 4, 28, 38). Lorenzo was the grandson of the ruler of Florence by the same name. In 1516, after the

<sup>53</sup> Angoulême 1833, 155, 223 (in this edition, the first part of the proverb is the same as the one we find on the wall in Urbino, except for its modern spelling: 'pour bien servir et loyal être'). The proverb is mentioned in the tenth story of the first day of the *Heptaméron*. The work was published for the first time in 1558 by Pierre Boaistuau, with the title *Histoires des amans fortunez*, without the name of the author and including only 67 stories arranged arbitrarily; since 1559 it has been published as *Heptaméron* (François 1960, xvi-xviii). The proverb is mentioned in a story whose main character is called Floride. In the edition by François the proverb is as follows: 'De bien servir et loyal estre, / De serviteur l'on devient maistre'; a footnote mentions yet another version: 'Le bien servir et loyal estre / le serviteur faict estre maistre' (Marguerite de Navarre 1960, 84, 460). Interestingly, according to the Catalogue of the Italian National Libraries Service (Opac SBN), the only Italian library owning a copy of a 1558 edition of the work is the Humanities Library of the University of Urbino (Biblioteca di Area Umanistica). The entry of the catalogue wrongly reports the publication date as 1552, yet on the book it is 1558 (80v: 'De bien servir & loyal estre, de serviteur on devient maistre'). Such edition is not published by Gilles as the 1558 generally mentioned, but by Benoist Prevost, who in 1559 published the book as *Heptaméron* with the name of the author and including all the seventy-two stories. I have checked an English translation of the *Heptaméron*: the proverb is translated as follows: 'loyal service makes the servant master', in my view with a certain oversimplification (Marguerite de Navarre 1984, 153).

<sup>54</sup> In the 1558 edition the story is the sixty-second (Marguerite de Navarre 1558a, 1558b, 166r-168r) and the name of the duke is missing, whereas in later editions the story is told during the sixth day, is the fifty-first and mentions the name of the 'Duke of Urbino' with details making possible to identify him as Francesco Maria I della Rovere ('Le duc d'Urbino, contre la promesse faite à sa femme, fait pendre une sienc damoysele, par le moyen de laquelle son filz (qu'il ne vouloit maryer pauvement) faisoit entendre à s'amy l'affection qu'il luy portoit', Marguerite de Navarre 1960, 329-333; for the English version see Marguerite de Navarre 1984, 429-433).

<sup>55</sup> See especially Castiglione 1997, 205; Castiglione 2003, Libro IV, cap. 5, 368-369.

death of his uncle Giuliano – the ‘Magnifico Iuliano de’ Medici’, who was a character in Castiglione’s *The Courtier* and, for as long as he lived, protected Urbino and its dukes – Lorenzo conquered the duchy and was made duke of Urbino by another uncle of his, Pope Leo X. The della Rovere family reacted to this attack, and the War of Urbino broke out; the della Rovere eventually got Urbino back when Pope Leo X died in 1521 (at the time, both Lorenzo and his wife had already died, having passed away at a young age in 1519, a few days after the birth of their daughter Caterina, the future queen of France) (Benzoni 2006).

While early doubts (see Perkins 1969) were raised on the idea that the Medici Codex was a French product and that Mouton was a kind of editor in chief of the work, Lowinsky’s interpretation, especially as regards Mouton’s role, was and still is reported in many texts.<sup>56</sup> Today, however, the majority of scholars believe that the Medici Codex was written in Rome rather than France, and that it was a papal present to Lorenzo and Madeleine, maybe even given to them sometime after their wedding.<sup>57</sup> But why would a manuscript made in Rome mainly contain motets of French musicians? Of course, French musicians ‘did not only live in France’. On the contrary, ‘they moved from centre to centre and from one patron to another, rapidly crossing local, regional, and national boundaries’ (Lookwood 1979, 244), and many of them worked in Italy, since in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, many Italians had a passion for French music and musicians (Bowen 2003). Like many of his contemporaries, Leo X, too, had a predilection for them, especially Mouton: interestingly, several musicians whose motets were included in the Medici Codex spent some time in Italy and a relatively high number (eleven) were ‘in direct touch with, or in the service of’ patrons of Ferrara’s court, also visited by Mouton (Lookwood 1979, 243-244). Therefore, even if Mouton was not the editor of the Medici codex given to Lorenzo (who, on the other hand, despite his title as duke, spent only very little of his short life in Urbino), several of his motets were present in the book (although not the *chanson* ‘Ce que mon coeur pense’).<sup>58</sup> Even more importantly, his work was known and appreciated in Italy. In sum, knowing the context, it is not so surprising to find a possible quote from one of Mouton’s *chansons* scribbled on a wall in Urbino, where French music was appreciated and the dukes employed French musicians, such as Dominique Phinot (before 1544-1556?) and Jachet Bontemps (1551?-1572) (Piperno 2001, 115 and *passim*).

I mentioned Lorenzo de’ Medici’s conquest of Urbino to recall one of the dramatic events which involved the Duchy that, some years earlier, had also been conquered by Cesare Borgia (1502-1503) (see Ruggiero 2016). In the very days when the refined dialogues described by Castiglione in *The Courtier* must have taken place, the Palace was certainly not only ‘il proprio albergo della allegria’,<sup>59</sup> and this also, and especially, because Duke Guidobaldo, as mentioned, was ill and would die as early as 11 April 1508, aged 36. Furthermore, courtiers, princes and courtly life were often rather different from the ideal ones described in Castiglione’s dialogue, as he and the characters of his dialogue actually knew very well, and this was true, in Urbino, too.

<sup>56</sup> See for instance Wikipedia, <[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Medici\\_Codex](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Medici_Codex)>; <[https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jean\\_Mouton](https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jean_Mouton)>, <[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jean\\_Mouton](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jean_Mouton)>, accessed 10 January 2020.

<sup>57</sup> Rifkin 2009; Shephard 2010. Before reading these texts I, too, mentioned Mouton as the possible editor of the Codex, see Sarti 2017, 77.

<sup>58</sup> Lowinsky 1968; Rifkin 2009, 522-523; Shephard 2010, 122-123.

<sup>59</sup> Castiglione 2003, Libro I, cap. 4, 21 (‘the very mansion place of Myrth and Joye’, Castiglione 1997, 24).

### 5. *The Frustrations of Courtly Life*

'If these walls could talk, man, the stories they would tell ...', the saying goes. In fact, the walls of the Palace of Urbino tell a lot of stories, or at least give a lot of information, to those who are patient enough to read the graffiti that cover parts of them. And graffiti do not only provide the reader with clues of a refined courtly life. On the contrary, many of them reveal other aspects. 'non è vero' ('it is not true') a different hand added alongside the graffito exalting the 'felice dolce avventuroso loco' ('happy sweet adventurous place') (figure 8).

To be sure, on the walls of the palace several 'evviva' ('long live') and praises to Giulia, Fenice, Livia, Franceschina and many more, appear. For the most part, these seem to have been written by men, writing about their sweethearts (sometimes they are signed); and there are also declarations which praise men such as the aforementioned one on Baldassar and the following one: 'Vincenzo bello per me' ('Vincenzo, beautiful to me'),<sup>60</sup> which might have been left by women or by homosexuals. Drawings of hearts, pierced by arrows, laughing, or crying, are found alongside some of the writings.<sup>61</sup> The erotic urges expressed through graffiti are not all sublimated: there are dozens of more or less funny drawings of phalluses.<sup>62</sup> One phrase even commemorates the place where, in 1683, a woman 'di grandissima considerazione' ('of very great importance') lost her virginity (Sarti 2017, 56-71).<sup>63</sup>

Furthermore, the writings and drawings on gentle loves are counterbalanced by those expressing frustration and sometimes even violent rage. 'Pazze donne donzelle perche poco [esti]mate gl ho[mini] della corte' ('Witless ladies, maidens why have you scant [est]eem for the me[n] of the court') is written on a wall of the same balcony where there is also the 'Long live Florida and Tirsi' graffito. Such vehemence elicited a piqued response, actually not easy to read, maybe by a woman arguing, so seems to read, that those men never deserve to be considered better knights.<sup>64</sup> A nearby a graffito accuses a woman from Milan of being a whore ('Millanesa unicha putana'),<sup>65</sup> whereas another one by the same writer on a door jamb in another part of the palace defines the woman from Milan as 'signora mia' ('my lady'): probably at some stage something went wrong.<sup>66</sup> Problems of the heart seem to have led someone to express their feelings in verses with moral tones: 'Fugite amanti ogni lacivo amore / perché egli apporta al fin pena e dolore' ('Lovers, flee all lascivious

<sup>60</sup> FF, AP-DSS, Camera da letto della Duchessa (Bedroom of the Duchess), no. 26; see <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/67-2/>>; <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/camera-letto-duchessa>>, accessed 10 January 2020.

<sup>61</sup> See <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/consulta/amori-e-malinconie-al-balcone/>>, accessed 10 January 2020.

<sup>62</sup> See <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/75-2/>>; <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/74-2/>>, accessed 10 January 2020.

<sup>63</sup> FF, AP-DSS, Salotto della Duchessa (Salon of the Duchess), no. 25; <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzo-daleggere/76-2/>>, accessed 10 January 2020.

<sup>64</sup> FF, AP-D, Loggia (Balcony); see <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/36-2/>>; <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/loggia-piano-nobile/>>, accessed 10 January 2020. The first part is rather clear ('ti rispondo che non meritano essere sti') whereas the next words, rather difficult to understand, appear as follows: '(sti)mati no mai per miglior cav.ri'; thus the translation would be 'I answer you that they never deserve to be considered better knights'.

<sup>65</sup> FF, AP-D, Loggia (Balcony).

<sup>66</sup> FF, AP-D, Sala delle Udienze (Audience Chamber), no. 16 ('Milanesa vita mia', 'Milanesa my life'); FF, AP-D, Guardaroba del Duca (Duke's Wardrobe), no. 19 ('Milanesa S.<sup>ra</sup> mia'; 'Milanesa my Lady'); FF, Sala degli Angeli (Room of Angels), no. 21 ('Millanesa bb (?) S.<sup>ra</sup> mia(?); 'Milanesa my Lady').

love / because ultimately, it brings pain and suffering').<sup>67</sup> It is not difficult to guess such pain and suffering, and bitter disillusion, behind several names deleted with violent scratches. Certainly, as for love, the palace was not always a 'mansion place of Myrth and Joye'. On the contrary, its walls are crowded with writings and drawings that disclose a variety of feelings and emotions linked to love: a rich repertoire of expressions of desire, erotic impulses, disillusion, insults, reflections and much more that can represent interesting sources for the (currently booming) studies on the history of emotions.<sup>68</sup> However, also for those less interested in the historical study of emotions, these passions, scratched on the walls, represent a touching testimony of a past that, although vanished, is still able to communicate trepidation, sighs, joys, tears and anger.

We can wonder whether the walls provide us with a similarly rich and complex repertoire on other aspects of life, and more specifically of courtly life. What about service, for instance? There is much writing that can be attributed to servants and courtiers. Interestingly several servants present themselves mentioning the name of their masters, thus clearly considering the relationship with the latter crucial to define their social identity. Yet these graffiti were mainly written in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, maybe because at that time literacy rates among servants were higher than in previous centuries. Furthermore, we don't know how many of the authors of the thousands of graffiti on the walls were servants: we can only recognise those who present themselves as such. Nonetheless, these graffiti show that at least some servants shared and/or exploited the hierarchical ideas implied in what we can define as a service ideology. Even more interestingly, there is no shortage of servants who present themselves on the walls as good and appear to display a kind of service ethics: 'bono servitore vostro' ('Your good servant'),<sup>69</sup> 'per amore e per fede sempre servo' ('for love and faith I always serve')<sup>70</sup>; 'servo di Vostra Signoria' ('Your Lordship's servant'),<sup>71</sup> (Sarti 2015; Sarti 2017, 102-111).

On the other hand, several writings and drawings present service in a rather dark light, for instance stating that 'servir con poca sorte' ('to serve with scant fortune') made people similar to penitents;<sup>72</sup> expressing all the sadness of being in a condition that is never blessed by fortune ('la rota de fortuna mai non volta per te stafiere'; 'the wheel of fortune never turns for you, lackey/footman'),<sup>73</sup> arguing that the aim of a courtier was to turn the court into a jail ('galera'),<sup>74</sup> or, still, that 'virtu è non fidarsi di corte' ('virtue is not to trust the court')<sup>75</sup> (Sarti 2017, 102-111).

<sup>67</sup> FF, AP-D, Entrata dello Studiolo (Entrance to the Studiolo), no.17; <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/68-2/>>; <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/sala-udienze/>>, accessed 10 January 2020 (clicking the yellow circle that appears on the floor).

<sup>68</sup> Ferente 2009; Matt 2011; Eustace *et al.* 2012; Rosenwein 2016.

<sup>69</sup> GF, Room no. 14; the graffito is written 'Bono servitore V.o'.

<sup>70</sup> GF, Room 14; on the same door jamb as the previous; 'per amore e per fede' is written in capital letters, 'sempre servo' in small letters.

<sup>71</sup> FF, AP-D, Camera da letto del Duca (Duke's Bedroom), no. 20; the graffito is written, all in capital letters, 'Servo D. V. Sx'

<sup>72</sup> FF, AP-D, Entrata dello Studiolo (Entrance to the Studiolo), no.17, <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzo-daleggere/50-2/>>; to see the location see <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/sala-udienze/>>, accessed 10 January 2020, clicking on the yellow circle on the floor. There also are other similar ones, see Sarti 2017, 79.

<sup>73</sup> FF, AP-D, Loggia, (Balcony), <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/49-2/>>; <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/loggia-piano-nobile/>>, accessed 10 January 2020.

<sup>74</sup> SF, AP-R, First Room, no. 2. This rather difficult writing seems to be readable as follows: 'questo del cortegiano l'è il fine far le cort[i] a galera a forza [?] e l'ospitale [?]', that is 'this is the goal of the courtier, to transform the court into a jail, a gallows, an hospital', see <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/64-2/>>; <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/appartamento-roveresco-prima-sala/>>, accessed 10 January 202.

<sup>75</sup> FF, AP-D, Guardaroba del Duca (Duke's Wardrobe), no. 19; 'virtù' and 'non' are in capital letters.

A writer has even left an entire, rather desperate poem, on the negative aspects of courtly life, describing the court as a 'sea of pain', a 'nest of deception', 'where you struggle and sigh, but always in vain', and where 'tyrants are adored as gods', to the extent that 'little by little you go to ruin'. All that remains is to flee, at least in one's imagination, 'the thought of going far away', 'to live no longer with so many worries' (figure 10).<sup>76</sup>

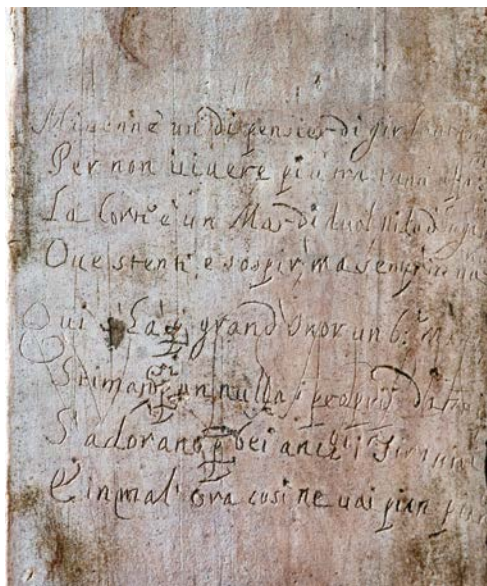


Figure 10 – Graffito 'Mi venne un di pensier di gir lontano'. Photo by Manuele Marraccini

Mi venne un di pensier di gir lontano  
Per non vivere piu tra tanti affanni  
La Corte è un Mar di duol, nido d'inganni  
Ove stenti, e sospir, ma sempr'in vano

One day I thought of going far away  
To live no longer with so many worries  
The Court is a Sea of pain, a nest of deception  
Where you struggle and sigh, but always in vain

Qui si hà per grand'Onor un bona mano  
Stimansi per un nulla i propri danni  
S'adorano per dei anch'i Tiranni  
e in mal'ora cosi ne vai pian piano.

A tip is here a great Honour  
One's strife is deemed as nothing  
Even Tyrants are adored as gods  
And thus little by little you go to ruin.

In the light of these verses, the myth of Urbino seems like a kind of mirage. Yet, on the other hand, such a poem, made up of two quatrains of dodecasyllables with an ABBA rhyming pattern, is a rather paradoxical confirmation of the refined literary life that took place in the Palace.

<sup>76</sup> GF, Loggia (Balcony). As can be seen in the picture, some words are abbreviated: 'Af.<sup>ni</sup>' (Affanni); 'Ingan<sup>ni</sup>' (Inganni); 'inva<sup>no</sup>' (invano); 'p' (per), 'b.<sup>na</sup>' ('bona'); 'pian<sup>o</sup>' (piano), see also <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodalegere/37-2/>>, accessed 10 January 2020.

### 6. *The Windy Urbino Between Myth and Boredom*

The negative opinions one can find on the walls do not even spare Urbino. According to one of our writers, ‘Chi loda Urbino / in Urbino non nacque...’ (‘Those who praise Urbino / were not born in Urbino...’).<sup>77</sup> Some seventeenth-century writers communicate with their graffiti the impression of a town where life was boring and tedious. In 1666 one carved bitterly ironic lines about the windy city (figure 11):

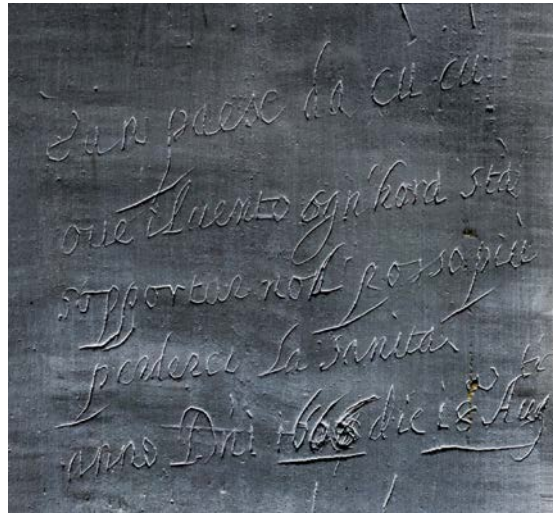


Figure 11 – Graffito ‘È un paese da cùcù’. Photo by Manuele Marraccini

È un paese da cùcù  
ove il vento ogn'hora stà  
sopportar nol posso più  
perderei la sanità  
anno Dni 1666 die 18 Aug.<sup>78</sup>

It is a cuckoo land  
Every hour blown by wind  
No more can I withstand  
I will surely lose my mind  
Year of our Lord 1666, Aug. 18.<sup>78</sup>

These lines sound as odd precursors of the beautiful and well-known poem *L'aquilone* (*The kite*, 1897), where the great Italian poet Giovanni Pascoli (1855-1912), who studied in Urbino, defined the city as windy (‘Urbino ventoso’).<sup>79</sup> Nowadays, to commemorate Pascoli and his poem, a kite festival is organised yearly. Those who visit Urbino between late August and early September will see the sky filled with dozens of kites: another amazing image of the city.<sup>80</sup>

The anonymous lines of 1666 that debase Urbino to a windy cuckoo land making people insane are also in sharp contrast with another well-known poem which defines Urbino as windy,

<sup>77</sup> FF, A-DSS, Guardaroba della Duchessa (Wardrobe of the Duchess), no. 27; Sarti 2017, 80-83.

<sup>78</sup> SF, AP-R, Fifth Room, no. 6. The date on the last line is in Latin and in the original has two abbreviations: ‘anno Dni 1666 die 18 Aug.’<sup>79</sup>

<sup>79</sup> The poem by Giovanni Pascoli *L'aquilone* (*The kite*) has been translated into English by the Nobel-prize winner Seamus Heaney and is now included in Brock 2012.

<sup>80</sup> On the festival see Festa dell’Aquilone, <<http://www.festaquilone.it/>>, accessed 10 January 2020.



that is, *To a wealthy Man who promised a second Subscription to the Dublin Municipal Gallery if it were proved the People wanted Pictures* by William Butler Yeats (1912). While in the graffito there is no trace of the myth of Urbino, rather the contrary, Yeats, in a sense, confirms Urbino's myth:

And Guidobaldo, when he made  
That grammar school of courtesies  
Where wit and beauty learned their trade  
Upon Urbino's windy hill,  
Had sent no runners to and fro  
That he might learn the shepherds' will.<sup>81</sup>

Certainly, in 1666, when the anonymous writer engraved his verses, the golden days of the duchy had long gone; the city had been part of the Papal State for several decades. In fact, the decline of Urbino had begun very early. Already in 1523 duke Francesco Maria della Rovere had moved the main seat of the court to Pesaro: when Baldassar Castiglione published his enthusiastic description of Urbino (1528), the city was already losing lustre and importance. The Palace, however, under the rule of the della Rovere family was expanded and continued to be one of the residences of the dukes, as one can understand also observing the graffiti on the wall. 'Eleonora Ducissa Urbini De Rvere',<sup>82</sup> can be read on a door frame in one of the ground-floor rooms, which, at the time, as far as we know, were part of the ducal apartments (Fontebuoni 1985). It probably is the signature of the Duchess Eleonora Gonzaga (1493-1550), wife of Francesco Maria della Rovere, and her name is repeated a short distance away. Her son, Guidobaldo (1514-1574), is traditionally credited as the author of the Latin note carved on the wall of the balcony of the ducal apartments. The note informs us that at 21 hours, the duke saw his wife and expressed the wish for a long and happy married life. Duke Guidobaldo II married Vittoria Farnese (1521-1602) in 1548. He had recently lost his first wife, Giulia da Varano, who had died aged just twenty-three: it is plausible that he was hoping for a long, happy marriage.<sup>83</sup> Interestingly, a graffito writing in the so-called 'Duchess' Apartments' informs us that Vittoria arrived about an hour later, at 22 hours: 'Adi 30 di Genaro 1548 la Signora Illustrissima Vittoria duchessa di Urbino vene in Urbino la prima volta a hore 22 lunedì' ('On 30 January 1548, the Illustrious Lady, Vittoria, Duchess of Urbino came to Urbino for the first time at 22 hours, Monday').<sup>84</sup> Guidobaldo's wish was realised: he and Vittoria were together for twenty-six years, although their family's life was ravaged by the early deaths of six of their nine children. The Palace walls also tell us of their apprehension for their heir, Francesco Maria II: marks in a door jamb, accompanied by dates and celebratory exclamations, allow us to see how he grew in height.<sup>85</sup> Francesco Maria II became duke in 1574. When he died, in 1631, he had no male heirs, since his son Federico Ubaldo had died – perhaps murdered – in 1621 (Sarti 2009, 62-64; Sarti 2017, 41-55).

<sup>81</sup> CELT: Corpus of Electronic Texts: a project of University College, Cork College Road, Cork, Ireland, <<http://www.ucc.ie/celt/>>, Text ID Number: E910001-004, <<https://celt.ucc.ie/published/E910001-004.html>>, accessed 10 January 2020.

<sup>82</sup> GF, Door between Room no.12 and Room no. 13, <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/20-2/>>, accessed 10 January 2020; Sarti 2017, 44-46.

<sup>83</sup> FF, AP-D, Loggia (Balcony), see <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/16-2/>>; <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/loggia-piano-nobile/>>, accessed 10 January 2020.

<sup>84</sup> FF, AP-DSS, Salotto della Duchessa (Salon of the Duchess), no. 25; <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/19-2/>>; <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/salotto-della-duchessa/>>, accessed 10 January 2020.

<sup>85</sup> GF, Room no. 14.

Urbino became then part of the Papal State and was ruled by representatives of the Pope, his legates and vice-legates. Those who know how to read them, can see the signs of such a radical change of rulers on the walls. In the Sala della Jole, some meticulous drawings represent the coats of arms of the authorities who ruled the city around 1660: Pope Alexander VII Chigi; papal legate Scipione Pannocchieschi d'Elci, and vice-legate Carlo Montecatini.<sup>86</sup> The Palace walls offer a great deal of other evidence of the presence of legates and vice-legates: D'Elci and Montecatini appear in other graffiti, as do many of their successors: 'Viva Monsignor Lorenzo Fiesco Vicelegato Adi 7 1668 settembre' ('Long live Monsignor Lorenzo Fiesco, Vice Legate on this day 7 September 1668');<sup>87</sup> 'Gaetano de Cavalieri Vicelegato l'Anno 1711' ('Gaetano de Cavalieri Vicelegate in the year 1711');<sup>88</sup> 'Monsignor Antonio Spinelli Vice-legate in 1745 e 1746' ('Monsignor Antonio Spinelli Vice-legate in 1745 and 1746')<sup>89</sup>... The list goes on: there is also a graffito representing in detail the coat of arms of Pasquale Badia,<sup>90</sup> the penultimate papal representative in Urbino, before the city was annexed to the Kingdom of Italy (Sarti 2009, 60-62; Sarti 2017, 88-101).

The Swiss guards who were in service in the Palace also left innumerable signs of their presence on the walls, often carving their names deeply into the stone, sometimes with genuine penmanship: 'Nicolaus Stichter 1632';<sup>91</sup> 'Hans Hosng fon Crins 1633';<sup>92</sup> 'Hans Caspar Stubi 1663'; 'Caspar Schnrm 1715';<sup>93</sup> 'Jacob Huggenmatter 1682';<sup>94</sup> 'Giovanni Svegler svizzero 1732';<sup>95</sup> 'Niclaus Müller von Ruswil 1766';<sup>96</sup> 'Martin Burliman Ano 1775';<sup>97</sup> and others. Certainly, the carving of many of these graffiti required a good deal of time: the impression is that the Swiss did not have much else to do. It is also plausible that much of the evidence of games found on the Palace walls was left there by the Swiss guards, including a grid for noughts and crosses carved into a chair, and endless series of lines that probably mark the scores of who knows what games. The walls thus make us feel the weight of the boredom the guards tried to kill with

<sup>86</sup> FF, AP-J, First Room, no. 1; <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/10-2/>>; <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/sala-della-jole/>>, accessed 10 January 2020.

<sup>87</sup> FF, Room no. 21; the graffito is written as follows: 'W M. Lor.° Fiesco VLeg.° 7bre Adi 7 1668'; see Sarti 2017, 95.

<sup>88</sup> GF, Door between Room no. 12 and Room no. 14; see also, about the same legate, in the same room: 'Monsignor de Cavalieri arrivò in legazione alli 4 di dicembre 1710 e fu promosso alla Prefettura della Sacra Consulta il dì 4 marzo 1712 sostenne il governo in capite dalli 2 aprile a tutto ottobre detto e partì dopo i Santi per Roma' ('Monsignor de Cavalieri arrived to the Legation on 4 December 1710 and on 12 March 1712 was appointed to sustain the government as chief from 2 April to the entire month of October and left go to Rome after the fest of Saints'), see <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/7-2/>>, accessed 10 January 2020.

<sup>89</sup> GF, Room no. 14, <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/9-2/>>, accessed 10 January 2020.

<sup>90</sup> FF, Sala del Trono (Throne Room), no. 22, <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/57-2/>>; <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/sala-del-trono/>>, accessed 10 January 2020.

<sup>91</sup> FF, AP-J, External door jamb of the entrance to the First Room, no. 1; the writing is in capital letters.

<sup>92</sup> GF, Cortile d'Onore (Honour Courtyard), see Sarti 2017, 114; the writing is in capital letters.

<sup>93</sup> GF, Ingresso Principale (Main Entrance); the two writings ('Hans Caspar Stubi 1663'; 'Caspar Schnrm 1715'), both in capital letters, are on the the same door jamb.

<sup>94</sup> GF, Ingresso Principale (Main Entrance); <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/23-2/>>; <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/ingresso/>>, accessed 10 January 2020. The writing is in gothic. In Sarti 2017, 12, 161, 179, is wrongly written Buggenmatter.

<sup>95</sup> GF, Cortile d'Onore (Honour Courtyard), see Sarti 2017, 115.

<sup>96</sup> GF, Ingresso Principale (Main Entrance); <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/22-2/>>; <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/ingresso/>>, accessed 10 January 2020.

<sup>97</sup> FF, Sala del Trono (Throne Room), no. 22, <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/87-2/>>; <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/sala-del-trono/>>, accessed 10 January 2020; the writing is in capital letter.

doodles and drawings, some of which are quite obsessive, such as the strange depictions of legs and shoes ...<sup>98</sup> In sum, these graffiti also reinforce an impression of boredom and tediousness.

The Palace was by now inhabited by mainly male people, and actually the traces of passionate courtship and love to be found on the walls, although often written without a date, seem to refer mainly to the Ducal period. However, the Palace continued to be the seat of several cultural activities. Some rooms of the huge building were used as University classrooms and theatre (Sarti 2009; Sarti 2017, 134-142). Moreover, Urbino experienced another flourishing phase at the beginning of the eighteenth century, when Giovanni Francesco Albani, the member of a noble family from the city, became Pope Clement XI (1700-1721). Nonetheless, the lively cultural and artistic life of the Renaissance was no longer matched.

### 7. *Concluding Remarks*

In 1678 the author of a graffito sobbed: 'Ah if I could go to Pesaro, what a pleasure it would be'<sup>99</sup>... The idea that Pesaro could be more desirable than Urbino even today probably sounds like an offence to some people from Urbino, very proud of the glorious history of their city. In this article I have used a rather unconventional source – the historical graffiti engraved on the walls and door jambs of the Palace of Urbino – to analyse some aspects of the history of the city. I have shown that the lively literary and artistic life of the city during the Renaissance has left interesting traces on the walls: drawings and writings scribbled in the Palace, often far from being, or from being primarily, unarticulated or vandalising scratches, unveil literary and artistic references or even quotes, and are expressed with linguistic and handwriting mastery.

This confirms a rather different use and meaning, in early modern times, of wall writing and drawing in comparison to the present, as I have explained in detail in the Editorial to this volume, providing the readers with a survey of research on historical wall writing and drawing (see also Sarti 2007, 2009, 2011, 2017, 2018). The people who wrote on the walls of the Palace ranged from the very masters of the house to servants and guards. In the ducal period, the dukes themselves very likely wrote on the walls of their Palace. After 1631, when Urbino was included into the Papal state and was ruled by the representatives of the Pope, papal legates and especially vice-legates very often left their names, dates, information on their arrival and departure, sometimes their coats of arms on the walls of the Urbino Palace. In a sense, they marked their territory 'tagging' the Palace. Certainly wall writing was not, as such, an unauthorized and transgressive practice. The walls were surfaces available for writing and drawing, in many circumstances and/or for many people probably even more handy than paper. Reasons for exploiting this possibility were numerous and different, and different were the writings and drawings on the palace. From unarticulated scribbling to calligraphic masterpieces, the graffiti of the Palace represent a huge and rich set of sources, still largely unexplored, that has only begun to be systematically studied.

The analysis of such intriguing, sometimes challenging, writing and drawing reveals the potential of historical graffiti as a source not only for paleography, the history of writing or the history of literacy, but also for many other aspects of social, cultural and emotional life. In

<sup>98</sup> See <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/consulta/la-noia-delle-guardie-svizzere/>>, accessed 10 January 2020; Sarti 2017, 112-121.

<sup>99</sup> GF, Room no. 11. The complete graffito goes as follows: 'A se potessi andare a Pesaro che un sollucano (solluccano) sarebbe la mia sola mente perche non vi è altro che zovitude 1678' ('Ah if I could go to Pesaro what a pleasure it would be (this is) my only idea because there is nothing but youth 1678').

this article I have tried to understand whether we can find traces, on the walls of the Palace, of its courtly life, of the diffusion of the culture of service celebrated by Castiglione, and of the reception of the courtier's model he elaborated; and, finally, of the myth of Urbino. I have thus shown that the lively literary, musical, artistic life that took place in the palace, left traces on the walls; as mentioned, there are graffiti which are quotes of poems, madrigals, etc., contain references to such a culturally lively world, or are themselves poems and little masterpieces. Furthermore, on the walls I found traces of refined courtship. Some writers shared a culture of loyal service to one's masters, in some cases – it seems – even accepting the idea that it implied a certain dissimulation, as suggested by Castiglione. On the other hand, writings and drawings on the walls also illustrate much grosser and/or more trivial aspects of courtly life. Idealised ladies were likely to be insulted as whores by disappointed lovers, their names scratched with violent lines. Service was also described as a debasing experience and courtly life as a sea of deceits likely to ruin the courtiers. The very myth of Urbino does not find much support on the walls of the Palace (where the palace itself, however, was drawn, Sarti, 2017, 36, 84): several graffiti describe in fact the city as a boring and tiring place. Writings and drawings on the walls contribute to illustrate a variety of emotions linked to love, the ambivalences of service, and the tensions between the myth of Urbino and everyday realities, also establishing an interesting comparison or dialogue between sources written on paper and evidence carved into the wall.

The research carried out so far, that has implied extensive photographing of the walls of the Palace, and the interpretation of several hundreds of writing and drawings out of a total possibly reaching 5,000, showing the potential of such a source, calls for more systematic study: a good reason, in addition to many others, to consider wall writings and drawings as a component of the cultural heritage to be preserved, studied, interpreted and exhibited. Such an approach is much needed. Since I started my research in the late 1990s, and then more systematically in the 2000s, some door jambs that I luckily photographed, started to crumble, and have been recently removed and replaced with new ones. Furthermore, still in the 2010s, some otherwise welcome refurbishment works, have nonetheless made less readable or possibly even effaced the graffiti on some door jambs.<sup>100</sup> While in recent years a new awareness of the importance of historical graffiti has developed, the approach that considers them (especially those on artworks such as paintings and frescoes) as human damage to be removed is not overcome.<sup>101</sup> Hopefully, the little masterpieces like the lady illustrated in this article, alongside with the refined quotations, on the walls, of poems, the clues of the sad frustrations of some courtiers, or the moving testimonies of loves of the past, will contribute to convincing a larger number of scholars, curators of the cultural heritage, and simple history lovers of the value of wall writing and drawing, that cannot be dismissed as meaningless scribbles. On the other hand, while also the wildest scribbles tell us something about the past, they testify to writing and drawing practices and skills, ways of 'appropriating' spaces, of circulating of contents among different supports, and provide insights on a huge variety of themes, ranging from individual emotions to big snowfalls, from the statures of lackeys to the tags of a duchess, from the 1683 victory of the Holy Roman Emperor in the war against the Turks to the annoying blowing of the wind ... Over the centuries, a crowd of people entrusted words, drawings, and signs to the walls; in some cases possibly rather inadvertently and cursorily, in many other cases with the

<sup>100</sup> I refer in particular to the refurbishment in the so called Sala degli Angeli.

<sup>101</sup> See for instance the case of the chapel of Santa Maria dei Campi in Lenta (Vercelli, Italy), also called Madonna di Campagna, where recent restoration has rendered illegible, as reported by Plesch (2010, 143), several graffiti that could be read until a few years ago.

evident consciousness of the durability of writing and drawing made on stones and the more or less explicit will to leave a testimony 'A.P.R.M.' as written at least in one case, that is 'ad perpetuam rei memoriam', to eternal memory (Sarti 2017, 128, 161). It is our responsibility to take these messages from the past seriously.<sup>102</sup>

### Works Cited

#### Printed Sources

- Albury W.R. (2014), *Castiglione's Allegory: Veiled Policy in 'The Book of the Courtier' (1528)*, Farnham, Ashgate.
- Angoulême Marguerite d' (1833 [1558]), *Contes de Marguerite de Valois, Reine de Navarre*, tome 1, Paris, Delongchamps.
- Baldi Bernardino (1590), *Versi e prose di monsignor Bernardino Baldi da Urbino abbate di Guastalla. De i versi. La nautica, L'egloghe miste, I sonetti romani, Le rime, varie, La fauola di Leandro di Museo. Delle prose. Vn dialogo della dignità, L'arciere ouero della felicità del principe dialogo, La descrizione del palazzo d'Urbino. Cento apologi*, In Venetia, appresso Francesco de' Franceschi senese.
- Batini Giorgio (1968), *L'Italia sui muri*, Firenze, Bonechi Editore.
- Benevolo Leonardo and Paolo Boninsegna (1986), *Urbino*, Roma-Bari, Laterza.
- Benzoni Gino (2006), 'Lorenzo de' Medici duca di Urbino', in M. Caravale, dir., *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 66 Roma, Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, <[http://mss.bmlonline.it/s.aspx?Id=AWOIea3D-I1A4r7GxMHrE&c=Plautus#/book](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/lorenzo-de-medici-duca-di-urbino_(Dizionario-Biografico)/></a>, accessed 10 January 2020.</p>
<p>Bernini Dante (2000), <i>Catalogo Della Rovere: racconto del ducato estinto</i>, Urbino, Editrice Montefeltro.</p>
<p>Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana Teca Digitale, Florence, <<a href=)>, accessed 10 January 2020.
- Bombaci Gasparo (1640), *Memorie Sacre de gli Hvomini Illustri per titoli, e per fama di Santità della città di Bologna e de' santi suoi protettori*, In Bologna, per Giacomo Monti e, Carlo Zenero.
- Bowen William (2003), 'The Contribution of French Musicians to the Genesis of the Italian Madrigal', *France in Italy / La France dans l'Italie*, special issue of *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme* New Series, 27, 2, 101-114.
- Brock Geoffrey, ed. (2012), *The FSG Book of Twentieth-Century Italian Poetry. An Anthology*, New York, Farrar Straus Giroux.
- Burke Peter (1995), *The Fortunes of the Courtier. The European Reception of Castiglione's Cortegiano*, Cambridge, Polity Press.
- Carrara Enrico (1909), *La poesia pastorale*, Milano, Vallardi.
- Castiglione Baldesar (1528), *Il libro del cortegiano del conte Baldesar Castiglione*, Venezia, eredi di Aldo Manuzio il vecchio & Andrea Torresano il vecchio (In Venetia, nelle case d'Aldo Romano, & d'Andrea d'Asola suo suocero).
- Castiglione Baldesar (1955), *Egloga Tirsi*, in Id., *Il Cortegiano con una scelta delle Opere minori*, ed. by B. Maier, Torino, UTET, 547-571.
- Castiglione Baldassarre (1997), *The Book of the Courtier*, trans. by Sir T. Hoby (1561), edited by Walter Raleigh, (London, David Nutt, 1900), transcribed by R.S. Bear, University of Oregon online edition, <<https://scholarsbank.uoregon.edu/xmlui/bitstream/handle/1794/671/courtier.pdf>>, accessed 10 January 2020.
- Castiglione Baldassar (2003), *Il libro del Cortegiano*, Introduction by A. Quondam, N. Longo ed., Milano, Garzanti.
- Castiglione Baldassarre (2016), *Lettere famigliari e diplomatiche*, G. La Rocca, A. Stella and U. Morando eds, Torino, Einaudi, 3 vols.

<sup>102</sup> As I have explained in the Editorial to this volume, such an approach does not mean to allow new writing and drawings to be made on monuments and artworks; today we have other walls (especially digital ones) where we can write.

- Celli Luigi (1892), *Storia della sollevazione di Urbino contro il Duca Guidobaldo II Feltrio Della Rovere dal 1572 al 1574: da Documenti inediti dell'Archivio Vaticano*, Torino-Roma, L. Roux e C.
- CELT: Corpus of Electronic Texts: a project of University College, Cork College Road, Cork, Ireland, <<http://www.ucc.ie/celt>>, Text ID Number: E910001-004, <<https://celt.ucc.ie/published/E910001-004.html>>, accessed 10 January 2020.
- Centurione Agostino (1839), *Stanze*, in *Scelta di poesie liriche, dal primo secolo della lingua fino al 1700*, Firenze, F. Le Monnier e compagni, 297-304.
- Carboni Baiardi Giorgio, Giorgio Chittolini and Pietro Floriani, eds, (1986), *Federico di Montefeltro. Lo Stato, le arti, la cultura*, Roma, Bulzoni.
- Choral Wiki, <[http://www1.cpdll.org/wiki/index.php/A\\_Dio,\\_Florida\\_Bella\\_\(Claudio\\_Monteverdi\)](http://www1.cpdll.org/wiki/index.php/A_Dio,_Florida_Bella_(Claudio_Monteverdi))>; <[http://www1.cpdll.org/wiki/index.php/Qui\\_rise,\\_O\\_Tirsi\\_\(Claudio\\_Monteverdi\)](http://www1.cpdll.org/wiki/index.php/Qui_rise,_O_Tirsi_(Claudio_Monteverdi))>, accessed 10 January 2020.
- Clough C.H. (1981), *The Duchy of Urbino in the Renaissance*, London, Variorum Reprints.
- Correggio Nicolò da (2020), *Rime*, <[http://www.bibliotecaitaliana.it/testo/bibit000746#bi\\_f](http://www.bibliotecaitaliana.it/testo/bibit000746#bi_f)>, accessed 10 January 2020.
- Cuccoli Ercole (1897), *M. Antonio Flaminio*, Bologna, Zanichelli.
- Dal Poggetto Paolo (2003), *La Galleria Nazionale delle Marche e le altre Collezioni nel Palazzo Ducale di Urbino*, Urbino-Roma, Novamusa del Montefeltro-Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato. English edition, *The National Gallery of the Marche and other collections in the Ducal Palace in Urbino*, Urbino-Roma, Novamusa del Montefeltro-Istituto poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 2003.
- Dal Poggetto, Paolo (2006), *Guide to the Galleria Nazionale delle Marche in the Palazzo Ducale at Urbino*, Roma, Gebart.
- Dennistoun James (1851), *Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino Illustrating the Arms, Arts, and Literature of Italy from 1440 to 1630*, London, Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans.
- Eustace Nicole, Eugenia Lean, Julie Livingston, Jan Plamper, W.M. Reddy and B.H. Rosenwein (2012), 'AHR Conversation: The Historical Study of Emotions', *The American Historical Review* 117, 5, 1487-1531, doi: 10.1093/ahr/117.5.1487.
- Ferente Serena (2009), 'Storici ed emozioni', *Storica* XV, 43-44-45, 371-392, doi: 10.1400/143235.
- Ferrario Giulio, ed. (1808), *Poesie pastorali e rusticali, raccolte ed illustrate con note dal dott. Giulio Ferrario*, Milano, Società Tipografica de' Classici Italiani.
- Festa dell'Aquilone, <<http://www.festaquilone.it/>>, accessed 10 January 2020.
- Flaminio Marcantonio (1978), *Lettere*, a cura di Alessandro Pastore, Roma, Edizioni dell'Ateneo e Bizzarri.
- Fleming Juliet (2001), *Graffiti and the Writing Arts of Early Modern England*, London, Reaktion Books.
- Fontebuoni Luisa (1985), 'Destinazioni d'uso dal sec. XV al XX', in M.L. Polichetti, ed., 185-288.
- Francesco Petrarch & Laura deNoves, <[http://petrarch.petersadlon.com/read\\_trionfi.html?page=I-I.en](http://petrarch.petersadlon.com/read_trionfi.html?page=I-I.en)>; <[http://petrarch.petersadlon.com/read\\_trionfi.html?page=III-II.txt](http://petrarch.petersadlon.com/read_trionfi.html?page=III-II.txt)>; <<http://petrarch.petersadlon.com/canzoniere.html?poem=243>>, accessed 10 January 2020.
- François Michel (1960 [1943]), 'Introduction' in Marguerite de Navarre, *L'Heptaméron*, i-xx.
- Frommel C.L. (2004), 'Il Palazzo Ducale di Urbino e la nascita della residenza principesca del Rinascimento', in F.P. Fiore, ed., *Francesco di Giorgio alla corte di Federico da Montefeltro. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Urbino, Monastero di Santa Chiara, 11-13 ottobre 2001*, Firenze, Olschki, 167-196, doi: 10.1400/47960.
- Geertz Clifford (1973), *The Interpretation of Cultures*, New York, Basic Books.
- Gherardi Pompeo and Ettore Gherardi (1890), *Guida di Urbino*, Urbino, Tip. della Cappella.
- Guidobaldi Nicoletta (1995), *La musica di Federico. Immagini e suoni alla corte di Urbino*, Firenze, Olschki.
- Höfler Jerez (2004), *Der Palazzo Ducale in Urbino unter den Montefeltro (1376-1508). Neue Forschungen zur Bau- und Ausstattungsgeschichte*, Regensburg, Schnell & Steiner.
- Le Roux de Lincy Antoine (1859), *Le livre des proverbes français précédé de recherches historiques sur les proverbes français et leur emploi dans la littérature du Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance*, seconde édition, tome II, Paris, A. Delahays, 2 vols.
- Lockwood Lewis (1979), 'Jean Mouton and Jean Michel: New Evidence on French Music and Musicians in Italy, 1505-1520', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 32, 2, 191-246, doi: 10.1525/jams.1979.32.2.03a00010.



- Lowinsky E.E. (1968), *The Medici Codex of 1518, a Choirbook of Motets Dedicated to Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 3 vols.
- Luisi Francesco (1999), 'Orientamenti Musicali dopo *Aminta*. Tasso e la corte roveresca', in G. Arbizzoni, G. Cerboni Baiardi, T. Mattioli and A.M. Ossani, eds, *Il merito e la cortesia. Torquato Tasso e la Corte dei Della Rovere. Atti del convegno, Urbino-Pesaro, 18-20 settembre 1996*, Ancona, Il Lavoro editoriale, 311-321.
- Magaletta Giuseppe (1992), *Teatro musica e danza a Urbino nel Rinascimento*, Urbino, Editrice Montefeltro.
- Marguerite de Navarre (1558a), *Histoires des amans fortunez*, Paris, Gilles Gilles.
- Marguerite de Navarre (1558b), *Histoires des amans fortunez*, Paris, Benoist Prevost.
- Marguerite de Navarre (1960 [1943]), *L'Heptaméron*. Texte établi sur les manuscrits avec une introduction, des notes et un index des noms propres par Michel François, Paris, Garnier.
- Marguerite de Navarre (1984), *The Heptameron*, translated with an introduction by P.A. Chilton, Harmondsworth-New York, Penguin Books.
- Marraccini Manuele (2015), *Un Palazzo da leggere*, MA dissertation in Cultural heritage photography, Isia, Urbino.
- Marraccini Manuele, Angelo Rubino and Matteo Dellepiane (2017), 'Applicazione tecniche della fotografia per conservazione e restauro', in R. Sarti *et al.*, 193-220.
- Matt S.J. (2011), 'Current Emotion Research in History: Or, Doing History from the Inside Out', *Emotion Review* 3, 1, 117-124, doi: 10.1177/1754073910384416.
- Mellange de chansons tant des vieux auteurs que des modernes, a cinq, six, sept, et huict parties* (1572), Paris, Par Adrian le Roy et Robert Ballard.
- Mini-Minimuseo, <<https://www.beniculturali.it/mibac/multimedia/MiBAC/minisiti/fornarina/for0.html>>, accessed 10 January 2020.
- Mochi Onori Lorenza (n.d.), 'Fornarina', <<https://www.beniculturali.it/mibac/multimedia/MiBAC/minisiti/fornarina/menu.html>>, accessed 10 January 2020.
- Mochi Onori Lorenza, ed. (2009), *Raffaello e Urbino: la formazione giovanile e i rapporti con la città natale*, Milano, Electa.
- Monteverdi Claudio (1614), *Il Sesto Libro de Madrigali a cinque voci*, Venezia, Stampa del Gardano.
- Moroni Gaetano (1844), *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica da S. Pietro sino ai nostri giorni specialmente intorno ai principali santi*, vol. 26, Venezia, Dalla Tipografia Emiliana.
- Motta Uberto (2003), *Castiglione e il mito di Urbino: studi sull'elaborazione del 'Cortegiano'*, Milano, Vita e Pensiero.
- Motta Uberto (2004), 'Per Elisabetta. Il ritratto della duchessa di Urbino nel "Cortegiano" di Castiglione', *Lettere Italiane* LVI, 3, 442-461.
- Mutini Claudio (1979), 'Castiglione, Baldassarre', in A.M. Ghisalberti dir., *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 22, Roma, Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, <[http://www.letteraturaitaliana.net/pdf/Volume\\_2/t44.pdf](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/baldassarre-castiglione_(Dizionario-Biografico)/></a>, accessed 10 January 2020.</p>
<p>Nicot Jean (1606), <i>Proverbia</i>, in <i>Thresor de la langue francoyse, tant ancienne que moderne</i>, Paris, D. Douceur, n.p.</p>
<p>Olsen Harald (1971), <i>Urbino</i>, Copenhagen, Bogtrykkeriet Hafnia.</p>
<p>Palazzi G.A. (1575), <i>I discorsi di M. Gio. Andrea Palazzi sopra l'impresa: recitati nell'Academia d'Urbino con la tauola delle cose più notabili, che in loro si contendono</i>, In Bologna, per Alessandro Benacci.</p>
<p>Perkins L. (1969), 'Review of <i>The Medici Codex of 1518, a Choirbook of Motets Dedicated to Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino</i> by Edward E. Lowinsky', <i>The Musical Quarterly</i> 55, 2, 255-269.</p>
<p>Petrarca Francesco (1957), <i>Trionfi</i>, G. Bezzola ed., on text prepared by R. Ramat, Milano, Rizzoli (re-published by Einaudi, <<a href=)>, accessed 10 January 2020).
- Petrarca Francesco (1976), *Rime*, G. Bezzola ed., Milano, Rizzoli.
- Piperno Franco (2001), *L'immagine del Duca. Musica e spettacolo alla corte di Guidubaldo II Duca di Urbino*, Firenze, Olschki.
- Piperno Franco (2014), 'Introduction', in L. Meldert, *Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci (Venice, 1578)*, Franco Piperno, ed., Middletown, A-R Editions, vii-xix.

- Plesch Véronique (2010), 'Destruction or Preservation? The Meaning of Graffiti at Religious Sites', in V. Chieffo Raguin, ed., *Art, Piety and Destruction in European Religion, 1500-1700*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 137-172.
- Poissnot Bénigne, (1996 [1586]), *Nouvelles histoires tragiques*, edited by J.-C. Arnould and R.A. Carr, Genève, Librairie Droz.
- Polichetti M.L. (1985a), *Nuovi elementi per la storia del palazzo: restauri e ricerche*, in Ead., ed., 139-179.
- Polichetti M.L., ed. (1985b), *Il Palazzo di Federico da Montefeltro*, Urbino, Quattroventi.
- Polo Museale Fiorentino <<http://www.polomuseale.firenze.it/catalogo/scheda.asp?nctn=00287212&value=1>>, accessed 10 January 2020.
- Questa Cesare (1985), *Parerga Plautina. Struttura e tradizione manoscritta delle commedie*, Urbino, Quattroventi.
- Quondam Amedeo (1980), 'La "forma del vivere". Schede per l'analisi del discorso cortigiano', in C. Ossola, A. Prosperi, eds, *La corte e il Cortegiano*, vol. 2, *Un modello europeo*, A. Prosperi, ed., Roma, Bulzoni, 15-68.
- Quondam Amedeo (2000), *"Questo povero Cortegiano": Castiglione, il libro, la storia*, Roma, Bulzoni.
- Quondam Amedeo (2003), 'Introduzione', in B. Castiglione, vii-li.
- Quondam Amedeo (n.d.) (dir.), *Baldassarre Castiglione*, <<http://www.internetculturale.it/directories/ViaggiNelTesto/castiglione/index.html>>, accessed 10 January 2020.
- Repertorium Pomponianum, <[http://www.repertoriumpomponianum.it/pomponiani/campano\\_giannantonio.htm](http://www.repertoriumpomponianum.it/pomponiani/campano_giannantonio.htm)>; <[http://www.repertoriumpomponianum.it/pomponiani/sulpizio\\_verulano.htm](http://www.repertoriumpomponianum.it/pomponiani/sulpizio_verulano.htm)>, accessed 10 January 2020.
- Rifkin Joshua (2009), 'The Creation of the Medici Codex', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 62, 3, 517-570, doi: 10.1525/jams.2009.62.3.517.
- Rime di diversi ecc. autori, in vita, e in morte dell'Ill. S. Liuisa Colonna (1555)*, Roma, Antonio Barrè.
- Rosenwein B.H. (2016), *Generations of Feelings: a History of Emotions, 600-1700*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Rossi Guido and Piergiorgio Peruzzi (1967), *Cronache della prima metà del Cinquecento per la storia del Ducato di Urbino*, vol. II, 1169-1279, Urbino, Argalia.
- Ruggiero Raffaele (2016), 'Cesare Borgia in piedi e in ginocchio, tra Machiavelli e Castiglione', in R. Ruggiero, ed., *Lessico ed etica nella tradizione italiana di primo Cinquecento*, Lecce, PensaMultimedia, 255-270.
- Sampson Lisa (2006), *Pastoral Drama in Early Modern Italy. The Making of a New Genre*, Abingdon-New York, Modern Humanities Research Association-Routledge.
- Sarti Raffaella (2007), 'Graffiti d'antan. A proposito dello scrivere sui muri in prospettiva storica', *Polis. Ricerche e studi su società e politica in Italia*, 21, 3, 399-428, doi: 10.1424/25691.
- Sarti Raffaella (2009), 'Renaissance Graffiti. The case of the Ducal Palace of Urbino', in S. Evangelisti and S. Cavallo, eds, *Domestic Institutional Interiors in Early Modern Europe*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 51-82.
- Sarti Raffaella (2011), '“È un paese da cucù”. A proposito dei graffiti di Palazzo Ducale', in *UniurbPost*, 8 June 2011, <<http://post.uniurb.it/?p=1292/>>, accessed 10 January 2020.
- Sarti Raffaella (2015), *Servo e padrone, o della (in)dipendenza. Un percorso da Aristotele ai nostri giorni*, vol. I, *Teorie e dibattiti, Quaderni di Scienza & Politica* 2, <<http://scienzaepolitica.unibo.it/pages/view/supplement>>, accessed 10 January 2020.
- Sarti Raffaella (2017), 'La pietra racconta. Un palazzo da leggere', in R. Sarti et al., 14-189.
- Sarti Raffaella (2018), 'Botschaften aus der Vergangenheit. Graffiti und Inschriften im Herzogspalast von Urbino', *Der Deutschunterricht. Beiträge zu seiner Praxis und wissenschaftlichen Grundlegung*, LXX, 4, 76-81.
- Sarti Raffaella, Manuele Marraccini, Angelo Rubino and Matteo Dellepiane (2017), *La pietra racconta. Un palazzo da leggere*, Urbina, Arti Grafiche Stibu.
- Segarizzi Arnaldo (1913), *Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al senato*, vol. II, Milano-Urbino, Bari, Laterza.
- Shephard Tim (2010), 'Constructing Identities in a Music Manuscript: The Medici Codex as a Gift', *Renaissance Quarterly* 63, 1, 84-127, doi: 10.1086/652534.
- Solerti Angelo (1895), *Vita di Torquato Tasso*, vol. 1, Torino-Roma, Loescher.

- Sorini Simone (2012), *Leonard Meldert. L'ultimo grande maestro fiammingo in Italia. Opere sacre ritrovate e nuove ipotesi interpretative*, Narni, Lapolidedrica.
- Tontini Alba (2010), *Censimento critico dei manoscritti plautini. II. Le biblioteche italiane*, Roma, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Scienze e Lettere.
- Ugolini Filippo (1859), *Storia dei conti e duchi d'Urbino*, vol. II, Firenze, Grazzini, Giannini e C.
- Villa Marianna (2009), 'Musica alla corte di Urbino. Plutarco e il Cortegiano', *Humanistica. An International Journal of Early Renaissance Studies* 4, 1, 53-63.
- Wikipedia, <[https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ritratto\\_di\\_Fedra\\_Inghirami#/media/File:Inghirami\\_Raphael.jpg](https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ritratto_di_Fedra_Inghirami#/media/File:Inghirami_Raphael.jpg)>; <[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Medici\\_Codex](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Medici_Codex)>; <[https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jean\\_Mouton](https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jean_Mouton)>; <[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jean\\_Mouton](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jean_Mouton)>, accessed 10 January 2020.
- Wikisource, <[https://it.wikisource.org/wiki/Egloga\\_\(Benivieni\)](https://it.wikisource.org/wiki/Egloga_(Benivieni))>, accessed 10 January 2020.
- Zampetti Pietro and Rodolfo Battistini (1985), 'Federico da Montefeltro e il Palazzo Ducale', in M.L. Polichetti, ed., 51-66.

*Sitography: Links to the virtual tour of the Palazzo Ducale of Urbino*

- La pietra racconta. Un palazzo da leggere*, Urbino, Palazzo Ducale, 29 March-21 Mai 2017, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Isia Urbino, Università degli Studi di Urbino 2017, <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/>>, accessed 10 January 2020:
- <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/3-2/>>;
  - <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/81-2/>>;
  - <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/appartamento-roveresco-prima-sala/>>;
  - <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/39-2/>>;
  - <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/loggia-piano-nobile/>>;
  - <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/consulta/amori-e-malinconie-al-balcone/>>;
  - <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/27-2/>>;
  - <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/annessi-cucine/>>;
  - <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/62-2/>>;
  - <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/appartamento-jole-quinta-sala/>>;
  - <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/38-2/>>;
  - <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/65-2/>>;
  - <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/appartamento-melaran-ci-prima-sala/>>;
  - <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/73-2/>>;
  - <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/17-2/>>;
  - <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/67-2/>>;
  - <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/camera-letto-duchessa/>>;
  - <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/75-2/>>;
  - <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/74-2/>>;
  - <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/76-2/>>;
  - <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/36-2/>>;
  - <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/68-2/>>;
  - <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/sala-udienze/>>;
  - <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/50-2/>>;
  - <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/49-2/>>;
  - <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/64-2/>>;
  - <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/37-2/>>;
  - <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/20-2/>>;
  - <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/16-2/>>;
  - <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/19-2/>>;
  - <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/salotto-della-duchessa/>>;
  - <<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/10-2/>>;

<<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/sala-della-jole/>>;  
<<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/7-2/>>;  
<<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/9-2/>>;  
<<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/57-2/>>;  
<<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/sala-del-trono/>>;  
<<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/23-2/>>;  
<<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/ingresso/>>;  
<<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/22-2/>>;  
<<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/87-2/>>;  
<<http://www.isiaurbino.net/palazzodaleggere/consulta/la-noia-delle-guardie-svizzere/>>.