

Chapter 5

Giancarlo Fiorenza

Apollo Dismembered: Love, Initiation, and Idolatry in an Engraving by Marcantonio Raimondi

The Renaissance conception of Apollo as lover focused on the god's unrequited passion for the nymph Daphne, a myth indelibly popularized by Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. In Italy, the narrative of Apollo giving chase to Daphne through the woods, and her subsequent transformation into a laurel tree, permeated Renaissance literature and the visual arts. For example, it governs a series of poems in Petrarch's fourteenth-century *Rime sparse*, setting the stage for the poet's own quest to describe and obtain his beloved Laura, also a metaphor for the immutable laurel (*lauro* in Italian). Like that of his divine mentor, Petrarch's amorous pursuit is sublimated in the poetic voice: instead of his elusive Laura, the lover attains the laurel crown of poetic achievement.¹ Whereas Petrarch exposes the instability of the self in love through the poetics of metamorphosis, Ovid has Apollo proclaim triumph through loss: 'My hair, my lyre, my quiver shall always be entwined with thee, O laurel. With thee shall Roman generals wreath their heads, when shouts of joy shall acclaim their triumph, and long processions climb the Capitol'.² The themes of victory and celebration, both poetic and military, correspond to the representation of Apollo in the Italian Renaissance as the supreme archer and powerful sun god, leader of the Muses and patron of poets. Images of a handsome, corporeal god appear in numerous works of art from the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries, by artists ranging from Antonio del Pollaiuolo to Dosso Dossi.

¹ See the introduction to *Petrarch's Lyric Poems: The 'Rime Sparse' and Other Lyrics*, trans. and ed. Robert Durling, Cambridge, MA, 1976, 26–33; and John Freccero, 'The Fig Tree and the Laurel: Petrarch's Poetics', in *Literary Theory/Renaissance Texts*, ed. Patricia Parker and David Quint, Baltimore, 1986, 20–32.

² Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. Frank Justus Miller, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, MA, 1966, 1.558–61: 'semper habebunt/te coma, te citharae, te nostrae, laure, pharetrae;/tu ducibus Latiis aderis, cum laeta Triumphum/vox canet et visent longas Capitolia pompas'.

Given Apollo's virile status, how did Renaissance writers and artists reconcile his corresponding love for men? This characteristic of the god was not lost on the Renaissance literary imagination but sparsely represented in the visual arts. This essay will investigate the earliest and most fascinating Renaissance portrayal of homosocial desire featuring Apollo: the engraving of *Apollo and His Lover* by the Bolognese artist Marcantonio Raimondi (fig. 1).³ Signed with the artist's monogram and dated April 9, 1506, this print daringly showcases male companionship. I concur with the contention of other art historians that Raimondi both designed and executed it while he was still active in his native Bologna, prior to his trip to Venice.⁴ Apollo (who appears at the left) embraces his partner, a physical connection filled with sexual innuendo, and that is heightened by the appearance of Eros at the lower right, who encourages the youth and attempts to strip him of his clothing. Apollo's companion has been traditionally labeled Hyacinth, but this identification is far from certain given the visual and literary evidence. Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (10.162–219) is the best-known classical source of their love affair. The poem relates how Apollo fell in love with Hyacinth, a Spartan youth. In a demonstration of their athleticism, the two stripped bare, rubbed themselves with oil, and displayed their respective skills at throwing the discus. Apollo launched one to the heavens, but on its descent it struck Hyacinth on the head and killed him. From his blood sprang a flower, the hyacinth, a beautiful memorial to the god's enduring love for the youth.

Despite Ovid's vivid narrative, reading the *Metamorphoses* fails to explain the peculiar imagery of Raimondi's engraving. The discus and hyacinth flower are noticeably absent, and there is no sign of impending tragedy. I propose that the male figure, rather than being Hyacinth, is King Admetus, whom Apollo served as herdsman.⁵ Apollo's desire for Admetus was a subject of Alexandrian invention, and Latin elegiac poets later defined Apollo's work for the king in terms of a *servitium amoris*.⁶ The erotic treatment of the story was also current in Renaissance literature. But this new identification goes beyond a mere iconographic clarification, because it also explains Apollo's peculiar characteristics in the engraving: the god appears in his pastoral identity—an embodied bucolic deity—wearing a goatskin cloak and crowned with ivy leaves mixed with tiny flowers, not laurel. Additionally, Apollo's bow and quiver hangs on the tree behind him, and instead of his ancient seven-stringed lyre or harp (or even a modern *lira da braccio*), Raimondi has introduced the panpipes, also known as the syrinx (or shepherd's pipe), tied to a branch at the left. While Ovid relates that Apollo engaged in two musical competitions using his lyre (victorious over Pan, who played pipes, and Marsyas, who played flute), in Raimondi's print the syrinx features as an attribute of Apollo, not a competition trophy. These pastoral

³ On this engraving, see Innis Shoemaker and Elizabeth Broun, *The Engravings of Marcantonio Raimondi*, exh. cat., Lawrence, 1981, 64–65; *Bologna e l'umanesimo 1490–1510*, ed. Marzia Faietti and Konrad Oberhuber, Bologna, 1988, 136–37; David Landau and Peter Parshall, *The Renaissance Print: 1470–1550*, New Haven and London, 1994, 305; and Guy Tal, 'The Missing Member in Marcantonio's *Apollo and his Lover*', *Print Quarterly*, 26, no. 4, December 2009, 335–46. I examine this and other early engravings by Raimondi in my essay 'Marcantonio Raimondi's Early Engravings: Myth and Imitation in Renaissance Bologna', in *Bologna: Cultural Crossroads from the Medieval to the Baroque: Recent Anglo-American Scholarship*, ed. Gian Mario Anselmi, Angela De Benedictis, and Nicholas Terpstra, Bologna, 2013, 13–25.

⁴ See the observations by Konrad Oberhuber in *Bologna e l'umanesimo*, 71, 77–79, 136–37; Shoemaker, *The En-*

gravings of Marcantonio Raimondi, 64; and Tal, 'The Missing Member', 335. The print weds the general composition of Albrecht Dürer's engraving of *Adam and Eve* of 1504 with Raimondi's sense of plasticity. On Raimondi's printmaking enterprise in general, see Lisa Pon, *Raphael, Dürer, and Marcantonio Raimondi: Copying and the Italian Renaissance Print*, New Haven and London, 2004.

⁵ Tal, 'The Missing Member', 338–39, has tentatively suggested that Apollo's companion is Cyparissus.

⁶ See Frank Copley, 'Servitium amoris in the Roman Elegists', *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 78, 1947, 285–300; and G. Solimano, 'Il mito di Apollo e Admeto negli elegiac latini', in *Mythos: scripta in honorem Marii Untersteiner*, Genoa, 1970, 255–68.



1. Marcantonio Raimondi, *Apollo and his Lover*, 1506. Engraving, 28.5 x 22.5 cm. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art. Gift of Felix M. Warburg and his family, 1941 (41.1.2).

motifs serve as further evidence linking Raimondi's invention to the fable of Apollo's desire for Admetus. Even more peculiar, Apollo is anything but virile and agile in this depiction: he is missing his penis. Konrad Oberhuber, Innis Shoemaker, and David Landau and Peter Parshall, among others, have aptly noted that this detail suggests Raimondi is treating the god as a statue, but more at issue is that the artist renders Apollo as an ancient fragment—a *ruined* statue. Apollo's body is quite awkward, as if its parts have been broken and inadequately reattached, especially his distorted right arm. The god's disabled body requires him to use a crutch, whereas his companion rests his arms on a long, straight staff, appearing strong and stable (a phallic pun).⁷ Indeed, Apollo appears feminine, shyly averting his eyes, as opposed to his partner who looks straight out of the composition and engages the viewer. A wonderful dialectic opens up between the couple regarding absence and presence: Apollo's body is fully revealed, leaving no speculation about his lack, whereas his companion's penis is concealed.

Because this is the first Renaissance representation of homosocial desire to include Apollo, the engraving's broad currency would have challenged and broadened viewers' expectations about the 'nature' of the god, the power and driving force that defined his existence, as Cicero explained the term in his first-century BCE philosophical work *The Nature of the Gods* (*De natura deorum*), published in Italy in 1471. The distinctive character of Raimondi's engraving resists conventional allegorical interpretations, which are often defensive in tone, determined as they are to moralize and adapt ancient myth into a Christian context that offers didactic exempla.⁸ Guy Tal has recently read Apollo's dismemberment as a violent castration, as punishment resulting from the crime of sodomy, serving as an admonition for Renaissance viewers.⁹ While evidence of Renaissance legislation against sodomy can support this interpretation, I see Raimondi's print in a non-castigatory light, with Eros playing a prominent role. The imagery lies somewhere between homosocial desire, defined by Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick as the affective force that structures and binds male relationships, and the more explicit sexual connotations of homoeroticism.¹⁰ The print engenders questions about Apollo's pastoral identity and how it coincides with his love for men in ancient myth and in the Renaissance literary and artistic imagination. Humanist investment in mythology celebrated its diversity and *copia*, privileging philological expansion and the power of poetic eloquence—not fixed allegorical definitions—to lead to objective truth.¹¹ In Renaissance Bologna, the interest in the rare, the ambiguous, and the bizarre dominated investigations into the literary and visual remains of antiquity.¹² In this regard, Raimondi's engraving complements the social and artistic pursuits of humanistic circles throughout Italy, where

⁷ For the crutch motif, see Tal, 'The Missing Member', 343–45.

⁸ See, for example, the commentaries on the myth of Apollo and Daphne in *Latin Commentaries on Ovid from the Renaissance*, intro. and trans. Ann Moss, Signal Mountain, 1998.

⁹ Tal, 'The Missing Member', 343–46.

¹⁰ Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire*, New York, 1985. See further *Before Sexuality: The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World*, ed. David M. Halperin, John J. Winkler and Froma I. Zeitlin, Princeton, 1990; David M. Halperin, *How to Do the History of Homosexuality*, Chicago, 2002; and Louis Crompton, *Homosexuality and Civilization*, Cambridge, 2006.

¹¹ See Gian Mario Anselmi, 'Mito classico e allegoresi mitologica tra Beroaldo e Codro', *Studi e Memorie per la*

Storia dell'Università di Bologna, 3, 1983, 157–85; and Gian Mario Anselmi, 'Beroaldo, Codro e il mito classico: Bologna crocevia', in Gian Mario Anselmi, *Letteratura e civiltà tra Medioevo e Umanesimo*, Rome, 2011, 173–96.

¹² From a literary perspective, see John D'Amico, 'The Progress of Renaissance Latin Prose: The Case of Apuleianism', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 37, no. 3, 1984, 351–92. From an artistic perspective, see below.

¹³ For additional sources on Apollo as an Arcadian and pastoral deity, see Lilio Gregorio Giraldi, *De deis gentium*, 1548; reprint, New York and London, 1976, 308; 313; Natalis Conti, *Mythologiae*, 1567; reprint, New York and London, 1976, 108v–09r; and Elizabeth Cropper and Charles Dempsey, *Nicolas Poussin: Friendship and the Love of Painting*, Princeton, 1996, 303–12, regarding Poussin's extraordinary *Apollo and Daphne* (Paris, Musée du Louvre).

homoerotic imagery in ancient myth carried a charged symbolism of poetic hermeneutics and helped mediate intellectual and social bonds among men. This essay will focus on the print's cultivation of a homosocial ethos and further address Apollo's physical condition: his dismembered state can be read as an attribute of the god, accentuating his beauty by inviting comparisons with ancient sculptural fragments. At the same time, Raimondi visualizes Apollo's descent from the heavens as a broken idol or simulacrum to serve and love a mortal, offering a discourse on image-making across various artistic media.

Raimondi bypasses conventional Renaissance descriptions of Apollo to cast him as a pastoral god. The shepherd's pipes at his side are traditionally associated with the Arcadian god Pan—said to be its inventor, and the first to play pastoral songs when he mourned the death of the nymph Syrinx, the object of his frustrated desire, at the river Ladon—but it is important to note that Apollo was equally worshipped as an Arcadian deity in antiquity. Cicero testifies to this in his *Nature of the Gods* (3.23 [57]), stating that the Arcadians called the god Apollo Nomios ('pastoral Apollo') and that he gave that people their laws.¹³ It was in his role as a pastoral god that Apollo tended the cattle of Admetus, the king of Pharae in Thessaly, as divine punishment for killing the Cyclopes.¹⁴ Apollo's year-long bucolic servitude features in the celebrated play *Alcestis* by the fifth-century BCE Greek tragedian Euripides, which was published first in its original language in Florence around 1495, and again in 1503 by the Venetian press of Aldus Manutius. In the play, Euripides specifies that as he tended the herds in the hilly pastures, Apollo played 'pastoral wedding songs', not on his lyre, but 'on the pipes of Pan'.¹⁵ Furthermore, although he came to Thessaly to live as a shepherd and perform menial labor, the god nonetheless maintained his bow out of habit, just as we see in Raimondi's print. Euripides's play was the first text to assign the panpipes to Apollo during his bucolic service for Admetus, an attribute not lost in later classical literature. Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (2.682), for instance, states that Apollo abandoned his lyre for the 'pipe of seven unequal reeds' (*alterius dispar septenis fistula cannis*) in order to pasture the king's animals. It is also worth noting that in his book *On Discovery*, published in Venice in 1499, the Italian scholar Polydore Vergil claims that whereas many believe that Pan invented the syrinx at the river Ladon, '[t]here are those, however, who attribute this [invention] to Apollo'.¹⁶

The instrument's inclusion helps identify Apollo's male companion as Admetus, not Hyacinth. Beyond associating Apollo with his role as herdsman of the king, the syrinx had a powerful erotic effect on nature and man. The pastoral songs Apollo played were a type of aphrodisiac, stimulating the animals to mate to such a degree that the king's heifers produced twins.¹⁷ The pastoral also served as an

¹⁴ The appreciation of this myth in Renaissance Bologna is affirmed by Antonio Urceo, known as Codro (1446–1500), the poet and scholar of Greek, who commends Apollo's pastoral nature, noting that the Greeks called him Apollo Nomios when he was a shepherd for king Admetus in Thessaly; see his ninth *Sermones* (*Habitus in laudem vitae pastoriciae*), first published in 1502, but I have consulted *Orationes seu sermones ut ipse appellabat*, Paris, 1515, 69v.

¹⁵ Euripides, *Alcestis*, trans. David Kovacs, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, MA, 1994, 564–79. I have provided a more literal translation for clarity.

¹⁶ Polydore Vergil, *On Discovery*, ed. and trans. Brian Copenhaver, Cambridge, MA, 2002, 1.15.4: 'Sunt tamen qui hoc Apolloni attribuant'. See also Apollodorus, *The Library*, trans. James Frazer, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, MA, 1961, 3.10.2: '... when Apollo heard the

lyre, he gave the kine in exchange for it. And while Hermes pastured them, he again made himself a shepherd's pipe and piped on it. And wishing to get the pipe also, Apollo offered to give him the golden wand which he owned while he herded the cattle. But Hermes wished both to get the wand for the pipe and to acquire the art of divination. So he gave the pipe and learned the art of divining by pebbles'.

¹⁷ Apollodorus, *The Library*, 3.10.4: 'So he [Apollo] went to Admetus, son of Pheres, at Pherae, and served him as herdsman, and caused all the cows to drop twins'; and see n. 18 below. As Jennifer Lynn Larson, *Greek Nymphs: Myth, Cult, Lore*, Oxford, 2001, 96, explains, the sexual arousal of pastoral divinities in turn stimulated the animals they protected, as in the case of Apollo.

appropriate context to celebrate homosocial desire, notably in Virgil's second *Eclogue*, in which the poet sings of Corydon's yearning for the young Alexis. The shepherd offers Alexis many gifts, and boasts that he will teach him how to play the panpipes (2.3.31–39), but his efforts to win Alexis's favor are in vain. It is this implicit desirous bond between men, a bond connected to rites of passage and initiation within the pastoral that may have prompted Alexandrian poets to recast the story of Apollo's servitude to Admetus in terms of a sexual relationship between god and king. Callimachus directly refers to this male erotic in his *Hymn to Apollo*, reporting that Apollo was 'fired with love' for the young Admetus and served him out of desire, not as punishment.¹⁸ Plutarch's *Erotikos* (17 [761E]) and Nonnus's *Dionysiaca* (10.322–25), among other ancient sources, further testify to Apollo's yearning for Admetus, the latter speaking of the 'sweet sting of love' that pierced the god.¹⁹ Admetus was famed for his hospitality, and it was for this reason that the god chose to be with the king during his sentence, through which the two mutually advanced one another's interests. Prior to his marriage to Alcestis, Admetus needed a mentor to reach his full maturity. Apollo went so far as to yoke a boar and a lion to a chariot, which Admetus drove to Pelias to win Alcestis's hand in marriage, in a competition devised by her father.²⁰

Highly relevant to Raimondi's engraving, Latin elegists developed Apollo's love for Admetus in an ironic manner, setting an important precedent for Renaissance poets. Tibullus's *Elegy* 2.3 casts the most compelling image of Apollo in the role of *servitium amoris*, claiming that the god was so enchanted by Admetus that he willfully took on tasks not even fit for a slave in order to please the king.²¹ Tibullus draws an analogy between his own desire for his beloved Nemesis, who has moved to the countryside, with that of Apollo, emphasizing that 'Love had triumphed over all resources of the healer's art' (*quidquid erat medicae vicerat artis amor*).²² The power of love equally forces poet and god to become farmers in order to win the favor of their respective objects of desire. But Apollo's devotion garners only a debased transformation, as he humiliates himself in the eyes of the other deities, becoming almost unrecognizable in appearance. Ovid also explains in his *Ars amatoria* (2.239–42) that by assuming a subservient role Apollo strips himself of his pride in the name of love. The poet's *Metamorphoses* (2.679–86) goes so far as to reprove Apollo as a poor herdsman, distracted by thoughts of love and playing music on the shepherd's pipe, causing his cattle to wander off whereupon they were stolen by Mercury. This is the Apollo viewers encounter in Raimondi's print, the god of health rendered disabled: emasculated and humbled, with eyes downcast and embracing Admetus expectantly.

¹⁸ Callimachus, *Hymns*, trans. A. W. Mair, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, MA, 1960, 2.47–54: 'Phoebus and Nomius we call him, ever since the time when by Amphrysus he tended the yoke mares, fired with love of young Admetus. Lightly would the herd of cattle wax larger, nor would the she-goats of the flock lack young, whereon as they feed Apollo casts his eye; not without milk would the ewes be nor barren, but all would have lambs at foot; and she that bare one would soon be the mother of twins'. See further Frederick Williams, *Callimachus, Hymn to Apollo: A Commentary*, Oxford, 1978.

¹⁹ Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, trans. W. H. D. Rouse, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, MA, 1940.

²⁰ Apollodorus, *The Library*, 1.9.15: 'When Admetus reigned over Pherae, Apollo served him as his thrall, while Admetus wooed Alcestis, daughter of Pelias. Now Pelias had promised to give his daughter to him who should yoke a lion and a boar to a cart, and Apollo yoked

and gave them to Admetus, who brought them to Pelias and so obtained Alcestis'.

²¹ For a discussion of Tibullus's ironic characterization of Apollo, see Copley, 'Servitium amoris', 285–300. The 'slave of love' motif appears in the Alexandrian texts, but was only fully developed by Latin elegists.

²² Tibullus, *Elegies*, trans. J. P. Postgate, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, MA, 1966, 2.3.14. As Michael Putnam, *Tibullus: A Commentary*, Norman, 1979, 168, notes: 'The implied comparison between Nemesis and Admetus exemplifies the ease with which ancient writers in general moved back and forth between heterosexual and homosexual themes'.

²³ See Gilbert Tournoy's 'Apollo and Admetus: The Forms of a Classical Myth through the Middle Ages and the Renaissance', in *Forms of the 'Medieval' in the 'Renaissance': A Multidisciplinary Exploration of a Cultural Continuum*, ed. George Hugo Tucker, Charlottesville, 2000, 175–

A number of Renaissance poets also invoked the myth of Apollo's servitude for Admetus as an analogy for the lengths they would go to win the love of their object of desire, generally a woman.²³ In his poem *Ad Anthiam* (*Eroticon* 4.1), the celebrated Ferrarese writer Tito Vespasiano Strozzi (1424–1505) offers a clever imitation of Tibullus, which highlights Apollo's transformation into a cowherd and shepherd and emphasizes the pastoral elements of the ancient fable.²⁴ In fact, Strozzi declares that Apollo bound his hair with a wreath of poplar, not laurel (*Populeis ramis, pro lauri fronde, corona/ Cinxerat impexam nexa sine arte comam*), and substituted the reed pipe for his Aonian lyre in order to sing properly of his love (*Perditus ipse suos illic cantabat amores/ Carmine Phœbeis conveniente modis./ Aoniaeque vicem citharae supplerat amanti/ Stridula septenis canna foraminibus*).²⁵ Not only did Renaissance verse renew the classical slave metaphor, but Strozzi's *Ad Anthiam* helps explain the distinctive attributes of Apollo in Raimondi's 1506 engraving: the panpipes and the abandonment of his laurel crown signal his lovesickness and unabashed homoerotic desire.

As for Apollo's ivy crown in the print, J. B. Trapp has demonstrated that by Virgil's time it was a well-established poetic convention for the pastoral and the lyric poet.²⁶ In both antiquity and the Renaissance, the ivy was synonymous with the laurel to symbolize and commemorate poetic achievement; likewise, ivy carried connotations of learning associated with fictive invention. It appears Raimondi adorned Apollo with the ivy crown specifically to reject the laurel's association with Daphne and male-female love. Taken together, the novel motifs in this engraving suggest that Apollo was singing pastoral love songs and set aside his syrinx as well as his bow and quiver in order to embrace Admetus in an amorous gesture.

Significantly, it was while guarding the herds of King Admetus that Apollo pursued and lost Daphne. A number of Renaissance poets suggested that Apollo's frustrated love for the nymph did not automatically lead to sublimation, but instead helped explain why he shunned the female sex and turned to male lovers. Such a defense of homosexuality is found in Gian Giacomo Caraglio's *Apollo and Hyacinth*, one of a series of engravings devoted to the loves of the gods that he executed in 1527 (fig. 2). The octave under the image explains that one should not blame Apollo for renouncing women and turning to men because he tried and failed with Daphne: 'It is no fault of mine if I appreciate the cheeks of my lad more than jewels and gold since love was so cruel and mean to me', as the voice of the god relates.²⁷ The verse attached to Caraglio's engraving further implies that Apollo obtains his true object of desire, in this case Hyacinth ('I concede to him the palm of every honor'), through his failed

203, who provides a comprehensive list of classical and Renaissance authors invoking the myth.

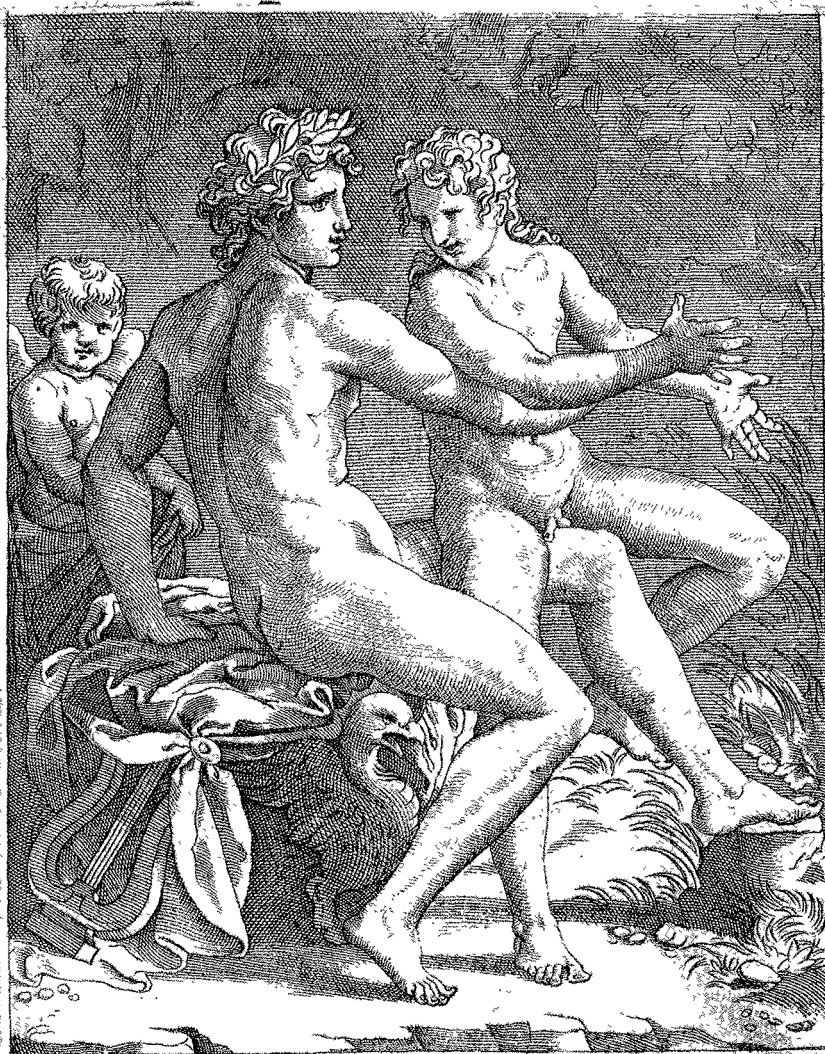
²⁴ Anita Della Guardia, *Tito Vespasiano Strozzi: Poesie latine tratte dall'Aldina e confrontate coi codici*, Modena, 1916, 85–89. Strozzi's poem was published by the Aldine press in Venice in 1513, but the poet was well known to humanists in Bologna during his lifetime. See also Tournoy, 'Apollo and Admetus', 179–80.

²⁵ Della Guardia, *Tito Vespasiano Strozzi*, lines 41–42; 45–48. Tournoy, 'Apollo and Admetus', 175–203, cites a number of Renaissance texts revealing how humanists and poets mistakenly believed Apollo's object of desire while guarding the herds of Admetus was a woman, not the young king. This misinterpretation of the myth most likely derives from the generalities and gender ambiguity of the respective verses of Latin elegists. However, the clear homoerotic variations of the myth were well known in the Renaissance, especially considering the sophis-

ticated study of Greek in Ferrara and Bologna in the fifteenth century. Despite Tournoy's argument to the contrary, it seems more likely that Strozzi deliberately measures his love for a woman against Apollo's desire for Admetus, just as Tibullus does in his elegy.

²⁶ J. B. Trapp, 'The Owl's Ivy and the Poet's Bays: An Enquiry into Poetic Garlands', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 21, nos. 3/4, 1958, 227–55. See Virgil's *Eclogues* 7.25–26 and 8.11–13 for the ivy garland.

²⁷ Translation by Madeline Cirillo Archer, *Italian Masters of the Sixteenth Century: Commentary* (The Illustrated Bartsch, vol. 28), New York, 1995, 205. On the series as a whole, see James Grantham Turner, 'Caraglio's Loves of the Gods', *Print Quarterly*, 24, no. 4, December 2007, 359–80; and *Art and Love in Renaissance Italy*, ed. Andrea Bayer, New York, 2008, 205–8.



Apollo di Hyacintho.

Nesun mincolpi, se del mio donzello pero son fatto a quel desio ribello
 le guance io prezzo piu che gemme et oro et ardo sol per questo, et discoloro
 da poi che mi fu amor si crudo, et fello et si mi piace ognhor lei no uia salma
 per quella onde uerdeggia il uago alloro chio le concedo dogni honor la palma

pursuit of Daphne. This creative line of reasoning, in which Apollo cements his relationship with Hyacinth through the loss of Daphne, can also be found in Angelo Poliziano's *Orfeo*, a vernacular play which was first produced in Mantua in 1480. Poliziano cites the love between Apollo and Hyacinth, along with other homosexual encounters among the gods, to defend Orpheus's abstinence with regard to the female sex.²⁸ Orpheus, of course, was the offspring of Apollo and equally frustrated in his love of women, having lost Eurydice twice. Along the same lines, Raimondi revises Apollo's punishment and servitude to showcase his pastoral nature as a divine lover of men.

Caraglio's engraving is much more playfully erotic than Raimondi's image, which has more to do with rites of initiation, male bonding, and education than with explicit sex.²⁹ In both subject and theme—the descent of a god to serve, mentor, and love a young king—Raimondi's engraving is an emblem of humanist instruction in the Renaissance. A large body of recent scholarship has demonstrated that a homosocial ethos characterized the confluence of humanism, poetry, and art throughout Italy.³⁰ Some of the more transgressive and explicitly homoerotic encounters of classical mythology, chief among them Jupiter's abduction of Ganymede, served to define the activity of poetic hermeneutics coinciding with rites of initiation.³¹ Moreover, the long tradition of exchanging literary and visual works of art for affection or favors suggests that Raimondi's print served as a gift or go-between—a token of a bond—among members of learned social groups.³² A relevant example concerns the fifteenth-century Italian medalist Hermes Flavius de Bonis, also known as Lysippus, who fabricated a

²⁸ Cited in James Saslow, *Ganymede in the Renaissance: Homosexuality in Art and Society*, New Haven and London, 1986, 31.

²⁹ See Patricia Simons, 'Hercules in Italian Renaissance Art: Masculine Labor and Homoerotic Libido', *Art History*, 31, no. 5, 2008, 632–64, for more physically-charged homoerotic imagery in the Renaissance.

³⁰ See, among other excellent examples, Michael Rocke, *Forbidden Friendships: Homosexuality and Male Culture in Renaissance Florence*, Oxford, 1996; Leonard Barkan, *Transuming Passion: Ganymede and the Erotics of Humanism*, Stanford, 1991; Saslow, *Ganymede in the Renaissance*; Stephen Campbell, *Cosmè Tura of Ferrara: Style, Politics and the Renaissance City, 1450–1495*, New Haven and London, 1997, 29–51; Michael Wyatt, 'Bibbiena's Closet: Interpretation and the Sexual Culture of a Renaissance Papal Court', in *Queer Italia: Same-Sex Desire in Italian Literature and Film*, ed. Gary Cestaro, New York, 2004, 35–53; and Ulrich Pfisterer, *Lysippus und seine Freunde: Liebesgaben und Gedächtnis im Rom der Renaissance, oder: Das Erste Jahrhundert der Medaille*, Berlin, 2008, 258–86.

³¹ Barkan, *Transuming Passion*, 50, observes: 'Ganymede's flight into heaven, which acted as the charter for a Plato-inspired vision of pedagogy, pederasty, and initiation, now becomes an emblem of hermeneutic recuperation of the potentially immoral remains of antiquity, justifying it in the highest terms and making poetry and interpretation a self-conscious part of the activity of humanism'. That humanist circles and the burgeoning literary academies throughout Italy also cultivated male bonding and homoerotic encounters among their members was no secret. The elite members of the Roman Academy, founded by Pomponio Leto (1427–98), provide a

clear example. In a letter of 1501 addressed to Niccolò Machiavelli, the Florentine Agostino Vespucci relates the travails of a young poet named Raffaello Pulci who was always to be found in the protective company of four prostitutes: 'he said to me that he worries that because he has a certain reputation for being a poet, and that the Roman Academy wants to induct him, he does not want to run the risk of being molested'; cited and translated by Ingrid Rowland, *The Culture of the High Renaissance: Ancients and Moderns in Sixteenth-Century Rome*, Cambridge, 1998, 24. See also Linda Wolk-Simon, 'Rapture to the Greedy Eyes': Profane Love in the Renaissance', in *Art and Love in Renaissance Italy*, 43–58.

³² This extends back to Antonio Beccadelli's *Hermaphroditus* of 1425, which the poet dedicated to Cosimo de' Medici, and contains sexually explicit Latin epigrams, many of which were dedicated to sex between males. As Michael Rocke notes in *Forbidden Friendships*, 43: 'By dedicating the book to Cosimo, he probably hoped to gain the eminent benefactor's patronage, perhaps not so much because he would have fully approved of its subjects or shared its sentiments as out of appreciation of its elegant Latin form and imitation of the classics. Nonetheless, Beccadelli must have had good reason to believe that Cosimo would have found the sexual content and message of the *Hermaphroditus* inoffensive'. On the topic of gifts in the Renaissance, especially works on paper (most notably by Michelangelo), see Alexander Nagel, 'Gifts for Michelangelo and Vittoria Colonna', *Art Bulletin*, 79, no. 4, December 1997, 647–68; Michael Hirst, *Michelangelo and his Drawings*, New Haven and London, 1988, 105–18; and Leonard Barkan, *Michelangelo: A Life on Paper*, Princeton, 2011, 227–34.

medal in 1474 to commemorate his loving friendship with the late Siennese Alessandro Cinuzzi (1458–74). The obverse of the medal labels Cinuzzi as ‘adolescentiae princeps’, and the inscribed reverse refers to the youth as Apollo (‘HERMES FLAVIUS APOLLINI SVO CONSECRAVIT’), and features Eros riding the back of Pegasus.³³ The literary and visual evidence confirms that the figure of Apollo was already embedded in the homosocial nexus of artists and the elite in Italy by the time Raimondi

executed his print.³⁴

The engraving’s intellectual strength, with its emphasis on the pastoral attributes of Apollo, suggests the assistance of a humanist advisor. It is well known that Raimondi and his teacher Francesco Francia (ca. 1450–1517), the painter and goldsmith, circulated with the leading humanists in Bologna, who extolled these artists in their writings and collaborated with them in the production of both sacred and secular works.³⁵ Raimondi was closely associated with Giovanni Filoteo Achillini (1466–1538), the humanist and poet who founded an academy in Bologna in 1511 known as the ‘Pleasure Garden’ (‘Viridario’), which was dedicated to the study of antiquity, from Greek and Latin literature to ancient art. Achillini also owned an exceptional collection of ancient marble statues and inscriptions. Early in his career, Raimondi produced a lyrical engraving of Achillini (ca. 1504), showing the Bolognese poet singing his verses and playing on a stringed instrument as he sits next to a winding stream (fig. 3).³⁶ In turn, the poet celebrated this print in his vernacular epic *Viridario*, which he completed at the end of 1504 and published in 1513.³⁷ Near the conclusion of



3. Marcantonio Raimondi, Giovanni Filoteo Achillini, c1504. Engraving, 18.4 x 13.4 cm. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts; Harvey D. Parker Collection, P1205.

³³ See Pfisterer, *Lysippus und seine Freunde*, 60–74.

³⁴ See further Saslow, *Ganymede in the Renaissance*, 106–13, for homoerotic imagery concerning Apollo.

³⁵ See Lodovico Frati, ‘Di alcuni amici di Francia’, *Atti e Memorie della R. Deputazione di Storia Patria per le provincie di Romagna* 6, 1916, 219–37; Emilio Negro and Nicosetta Roio, *Francesco Francia e la sua scuola*, Modena, 1998; Gian Mario Anselmi and Samuele Giombi, ‘Cultura umanistica e cenacoli artistici nella Bologna del Rinascimento’, in *Bologna e l’umanesimo*, 1–16; Landau and Parshall, *The Renaissance Print*, 99–100; Jeremy Warren, ‘Francesco Francia and the Art of Sculpture in Renaissance Bologna’, *Burlington Magazine*, 141, 1999, 216–25; and Dora Thornton, *The Scholar in his Study: Ownership and Experience in Renaissance Italy*, New Haven and London, 1997, 86, for the relationship between Francia and the humanist Bartolomeo Bianchini.

³⁶ On the print, see *Bologna e l’umanesimo*, 123–25; Landau and Parshall, *The Renaissance Print*, 99–100.

³⁷ Giovanni Filoteo Achillini, *Viridario*, Bologna, 1513; and see Fiorenza, ‘Marcantonio Raimondi’s Early Engravings’.

³⁸ Achillini, *Viridario*, 188v: ‘Consacro anchor Marcantonio Raimondo/Che imita de gli antiqui le sante orme/ Col disegno e bollin molto è profondo/Come se vedean sue vaghe erree forme/Hamme retratto in rame come io scrivo/Chen dubio di noi pendo quale è vivo’. The translation is adapted from Landau and Parshall, *The Renaissance Print*, 99.

³⁹ This is also noted by Tal, ‘The Missing Member’, 345.

⁴⁰ For studies on the appropriation of ancient fragments in Renaissance art, see Leonard Barkan, *Unearthing the Past: Archaeology and Aesthetics in the Making of Renaissance Culture*, New Haven and London, 1999, 119–

the poem Achillini extols many of his Bolognese contemporaries, artists and poets alike, including Raimondi: 'I also consecrate Marcantonio Raimondi, who imitates the masters of antiquity, and who is skillful both in drawing and with the burin, as is clear in his beautiful engraved plates. And he has made of me, as I'm writing, a portrait on copper, such that I am now in doubt, which one is more alive'.³⁸ The negotiation between representation and reality, literary and visual description, and ancient and modern achievements defines Raimondi and Achillini's relationship in terms of both theory and practice. Poet and printmaker exchange professional portraits of one another, one in verse and the other in an image, promoting their shared interests in the literary, visual, and performing arts. Accordingly, Raimondi's *Apollo and His Lover* can be seen in a similar light as both subject and object of humanist instruction, espousing a homosocial bond related to the activities of poetics and pedagogy.

But what about Apollo's missing penis? We can interpret the god's dismemberment as a loss of masculinity, depriving Apollo of his potency and serving as a comment, perhaps, on the non-generative nature of his union with Admetus. Raimondi also seems to poke fun at his image Apollo, whose dismembered state resembles the knots in the tree behind him.³⁹ On the other hand, Apollo's imperfect state can be seen as a sign of beauty, full of potential, on account of his body's association with the remains of antiquity. For Renaissance viewers, fragments were a sign of antiquity and therefore possessed beauty.⁴⁰ Apollo's dismemberment is arguably a mark of prestige, a lack that, paradoxically, increases the figure's attractiveness. A number of other Renaissance artists went to great lengths to make their works appear ancient and fragmented, the most famous cases being Michelangelo's *Sleeping Cupid* and *Bacchus* (also missing its penis) at the close of the fifteenth century.⁴¹ It is also worth noting that Achillini praised the works of the Bolognese painter Amico Aspertini (ca. 1474–1552), many of which are littered with ancient ruins and pieces of sculpture, seeing them as equally learned and 'bizarre'.⁴²

The ancient sources of Raimondi's print are still debated. The composition is intimately related to an engraving of ca. 1506 by the Bolognese artist Jacopo Francia, the son of Francesco Francia, which is designed after a Roman Bacchic sarcophagus showing a male couple embracing in a similar manner.⁴³ Nevertheless, following the observation of others, I would argue that Raimondi's most immediate and recognizable ancient model, both formally and conceptually, is the celebrated ancient statue known as the *Apollo Belvedere* (fig. 4), discovered with its arms broken off and penis missing. Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere acquired this fragmented statue in 1489 and displayed it in the garden he established beside his principal residence at SS. Apostoli in Rome.⁴⁴ When the cardinal became pope in 1503, as

207; Giancarlo Fiorenza, *Dosso Dossi: Paintings of Myth, Magic, and the Antique*, University Park, 2008, 127–60; and Sandro De Maria, 'Fra Corte e studio: La cultura antiquaria a Bologna nell'Èta dei Bentivoglio', in *Il contributo dell'Università di Bologna alla storia della città: L'èvo antico*, ed. Guido Mansuelli and Giancarlo Susini, Bologna, 1989, 151–216. On the relationship of Renaissance prints and ancient fragments, see Christian Kleinbub, 'Bramante's Ruined Temple and the Dialectics of the Image', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 63, no. 2, 2010, 412–58.

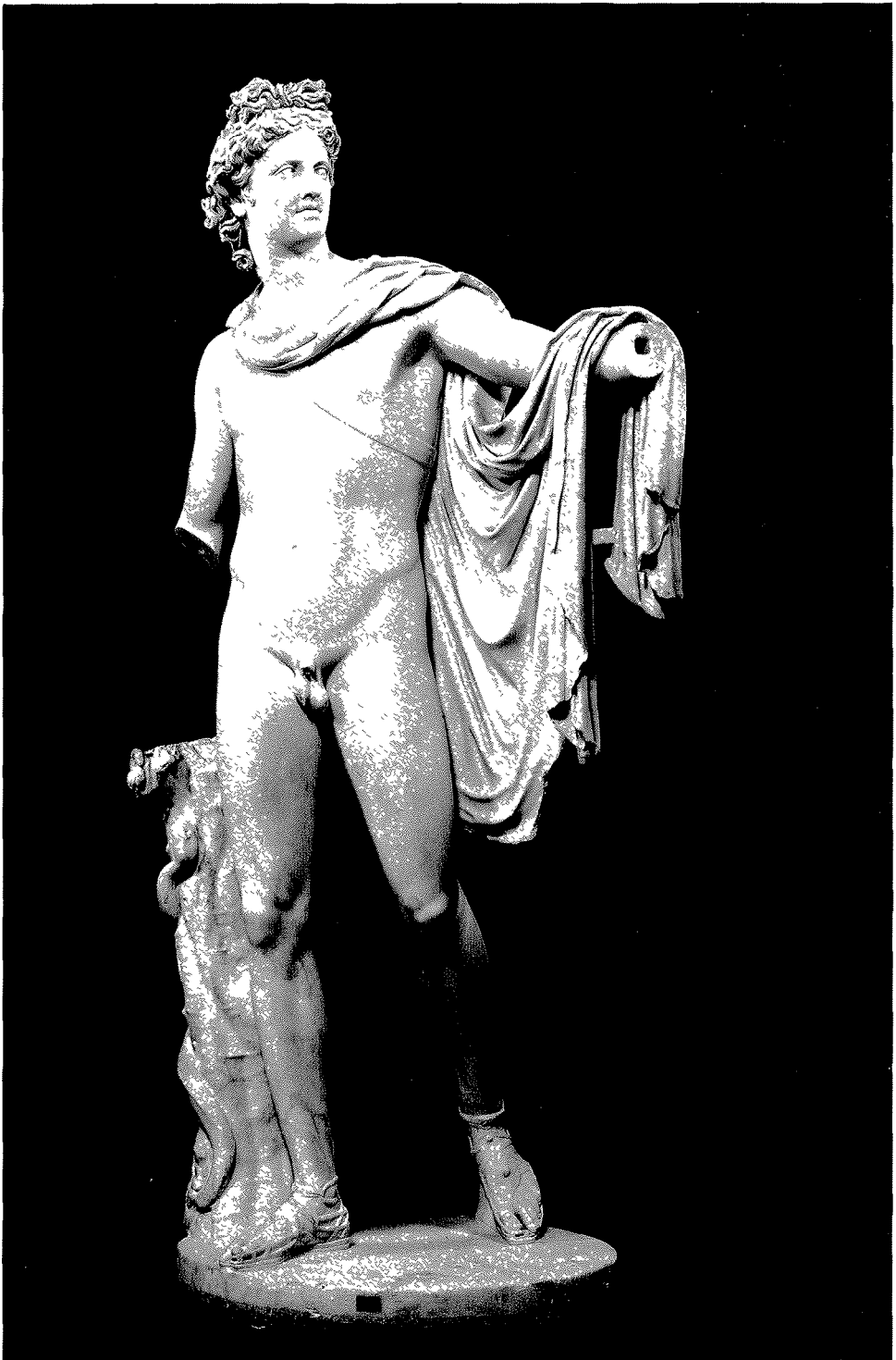
⁴¹ See Linda Koch, 'Michelangelo's *Bacchus* and the Art of Self-Formation', *Art History*, 29, no. 3, 2006, 345–86; esp. 349–51; and Michael Hirst and Jill Dunkerton, *The Young Michelangelo: The Artist in Rome 1496–1501*, London, 1994, 13–35.

⁴² Achillini, *Viridario*, 187v. On Aspertini, see Marzia Fai-

etti and Daniele Scaglietti Kelesian, *Amico Aspertini*, Modena, 1995; and Marzia Faietti, 'Aspertini e i due fratelli Achillini', in *Santi, poeti, navigatori: Capolavori dai depositi degli Uffizi*, Florence, 2009, 42–7.

⁴³ See *Bologna e l'umanesimo*, 290–92. See also the image of Pan in a drawing, by Martaen van Heemskerck, of the antiquities in the Palazzo Santacroce, Rome; reproduced by Tal, 'The Missing Member', 339.

⁴⁴ A comprehensive history of the discovery, display, and multiple transfers of the Apollo Belvedere while in the possession of Giuliano della Rovere is provided by Sara Magister, *Arte e politica: La collezione di antichità del Cardinale Giuliano della Rovere nel palazzo ai Santi Apostoli*, Rome, 2002), 536–44. See also Christoph Luitpold Frommel, 'I tre progetti bramanteschi per il Cortile del Belvedere', in *Il cortile delle statue: Der Statuenhof des Belvedere im Vatikan*, ed. Matthias Winner, Bernard An-



4. *Apollo Belvedere*, 2nd century C.E. Marble, 224 cm. Vatican City: Museo Pio-Clementino, Musei Vaticani.

Julius II, he transferred the statue first to the Vatican in 1508, and then to the Belvedere courtyard, still in its fragmented condition, in 1511. In an important article from 1968, Matthias Winner demonstrated the early and broad reception of the *Apollo Belvedere* in northern Italy, citing drawings after the statue.⁴⁵ While no engravings by Raimondi exist of the ancient statue until around 1511, after he relocated to Rome, Konrad Oberhuber has persuasively argued that the artist had visited the city well prior to 1506 and knew its ancient monuments well.⁴⁶ In fact, Raimondi's engraving employs the torso of the ancient statue for his image of Apollo, leaving the detail of the missing penis and awkwardly reattaching his arms. It also appears that the artist adapted the legs of the marble for the figure of Admetus.

Raimondi incorporated the detail of the missing penis to allude to the ancient statue, lending his image an antique authority, making the god a coveted fragment. It is also no coincidence that Caraglio imitated the *Apollo Belvedere* for his engraving of *Apollo and Hyacinth*, providing what Robert Gaston would call an 'erotic recharging' of the ancient prototype.⁴⁷ Raimondi's engagement and competition with ancient art is well documented. Writing in his sixteenth-century treatise on goldsmithing, Benvenuto Cellini praised Raimondi for representing figures in the style and manner of the Greeks.⁴⁸ The artist's study of ancient fragments makes his figures look deliberately old and hard, a feature that his audience would have appreciated in his attempts to replicate the experience of viewing ancient sculpture.⁴⁹

By leaving the penis absent and emphasizing the awkward reattachment of body parts, most notably the god's arms, Raimondi recycles the *Apollo Belvedere* and creates a type of idol out of the statue. The very signs of the destruction of the pagan idol cults—the fallen and fragmentary marble statues—are here revived by human artifice.⁵⁰ The artist calls attention to the vulnerability of the *Apollo Belvedere* and reinterprets the statue as a simulacrum—an artificial body, a false likeness that takes over its ancient model. Raimondi conceived his Apollo on the order of Pygmalion's Galatea: an erotic and artistic fantasy that becomes reality.⁵¹ An anonymous poet writing around 1490 and associated with

dreae, and Carlo Pietrangeli, Mainz am Rhein, 1998, 17–66.

⁴⁵ Matthias Winner, 'Zum Apoll vom Belvedere', *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, 10, 1968, 181–99; and see further Magister, *Arte e politica*, 536–44.

⁴⁶ See Konrad Oberhuber, 'Marcantonio Raimondi: Gli inizi a Bologna ed il primo periodo romano', in *Bologna e l'umanesimo*, 51–88. It is also worth noting that Amico Aspertini was in Rome sometime between 1496 and 1503, where he produced many drawings of ruined statues, for which Gunter Schweikhart, *Der Codex Wolfegg: Zeichnungen nach der Antike von Amico Aspertini*, London, 1986.

⁴⁷ Robert Gaston, 'Sacred Erotica: The Classical *Figura* in Religious Paintings of the Early Cinquecento', *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, 2, no. 2, Fall 1995, 238–64, who also emphasizes the importance of this effect through artists' study of the live model (256).

⁴⁸ *The Treatises of Benvenuto Cellini on Goldsmithing and Sculpture*, trans. C. R. Ashbee, New York, 1967, 6.

⁴⁹ Madeleine Viljoen, 'Prints and False Antiquities in the Age of Raphael', *Print Quarterly*, 21, no. 3, 2004, 235–47, has suggested Raimondi subjected several of his prints 'to techniques that were designed to replicate certain qualities of ancient sculpture' (235).

⁵⁰ On idols and other artificial bodies in art, see Michael Camille, *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art*, Cambridge, 1989; Philine Helas and Gerhard Wolf, 'The Shadow of the Wolf: The Survival of an Ancient God in the Frescoes of the Strozzi Chapel (S. Maria Novella, Florence), or Filippino Lippi's Reflection on Image, Idol, and Art', in *The Idol in the Age of Art: Objects, Devotions and the Early Modern World*, ed. Michael Cole and Rebecca Zorach, Burlington, 2009, 133–57; and Campbell, *Cosmè Tura*, 151–57.

⁵¹ As Victor Stoichita explains, given the erotic origins of the Pygmalion fable, the attractive and alluring qualities of the simulacrum underscore the seductive powers of artifice and its embodiment; *The Pygmalion Effect from Ovid to Hitchcock*, Chicago, 2008, 1–6. For the Pygmalion myth in the Renaissance, see further Walter Melion, 'Vivae dixisses virginis ora: The Discourse of Color in Hendrick Goltzius's *Pygmalion and the Ivory Statue*', *Word and Image*, 17, nos. 1–2, 2001, 153–76; and Elizabeth Cropper, *Pontormo: Portrait of a Halberdier*, Los Angeles, 1997, 92–98, in which she discusses Bronzino's *Pygmalion and Galatea*. On the simulacrum, see Jean Baudrillard, *Simulations*, trans. Paul Foss, Paul Patton, and Philip Beitchman, New York, 1983; Gilles Deleuze, 'Plato and the Simulacrum', *October*, 27, 1983, 45–56;

the Roman Academy founded by Pomponio Leto pointedly referred to the *Apollo Belvedere* as a simulacrum (*Simulacrum Apollinis marmoreum nuper inventum*), insisting, it would seem, on its idolatrous status as a material thing, a mere image that makes a claim for reality.⁵² The poet gives voice to the statue of Apollo, which praises Guiliano della Rovere as another Julius Caesar, and his house as a new Delos or Rhodes. For his part, Raimondi recasts the statue in the context of the god's bucolic service

in Thessaly, whereby Admetus is embraced not by a god who comes down to earth, but by a simulacrum animated by love. The alluring power of Apollo in Raimondi's engraving is that of an idol or simulacrum.⁵³

We can further interpret Raimondi's invention in relation to the efforts of Pier Jacopo Alari Bonacolsi, the sculptor known as Antico, especially his small gilded bronze version of the *Apollo Belvedere* (Venice, Galleria Giorgio Franchetti alla Ca' d'Oro), most likely made ca. 1498–1502 (fig. 5).⁵⁴ Antico offers an idealized recreation and restoration of the statue's missing parts and adds a greater sense of movement, accentuating the god's beauty. In a letter to Isabella d'Este of Mantua from April 1519, Antico refers to the bronzes he produced after ancient works of art, some of which he designed for Bishop Ludovico Gonzaga, as antiquities (*quelle antighità che altra volta fece per il veschovo*). What is more, Antico judges his modern creations more beautiful than ancient works (*ch'è la più bella antighità che li fuse*).⁵⁵ For Renaissance viewers, such statuettes could be labeled 'antiquities' while simultaneously appreciated for their modernity through reference to their classical origin.

In contrast to Antico's bronze, Raimondi's engraving emphasizes the fragmentary condition of the remains of antiquity and the imperfect reintegration of their missing parts, thereby disrupting the hierarchy between origin and imitation. What



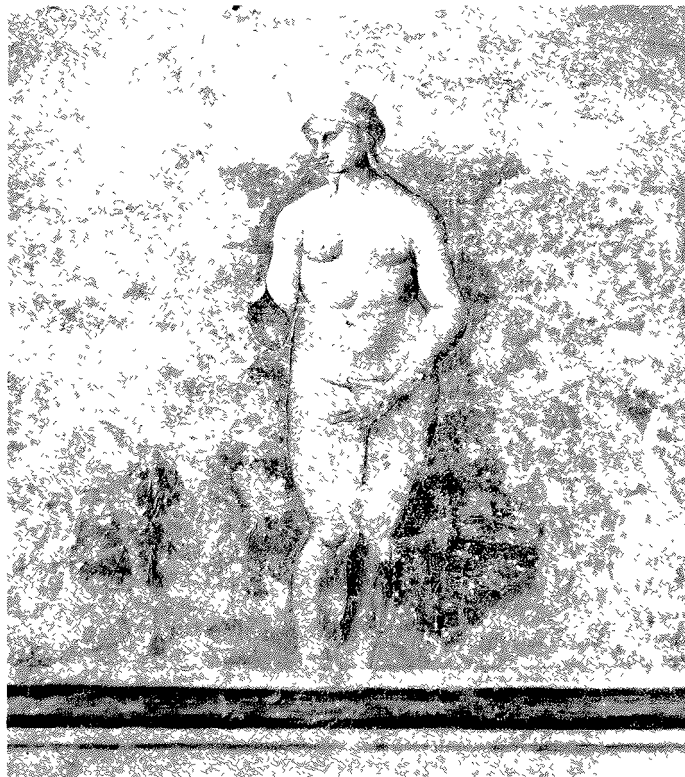
5. Pier Jacopo Alari Bonacolsi (Antico), *Apollo*, ca. 1498–1502. Bronze with gilding and silvering, 40.8 cm. Venice: Galleria Giorgio Franchetti alla Ca' d'Oro.

and Michael Camille, 'Simulacrum', in *Critical Terms for Art History*, ed. Robert Nelson and Richard Schiff, Chicago, 1996, 35–48.

⁵² 'Simulacrum Apollinis marmoreum nuper inventum. Postquam Cesarei fato cecidere penates/Et Capitolineae tecta superba domus/Ruderibus latui immensis dum Iulius alter/Haec strueret magnis atria digna deis/Tu dilecta mihi Delosque Rhodosque valete/Haec mihi sit Delos: haec mihi silva Rhodos'; cited and discussed by Magister, *Arte e politica*, 538 and 579, with further references to its manuscript origins; and Kathleen Wren

Christian, 'Poetry and 'Spirited' Ancient Sculpture in Renaissance Rome: Pomponio Leto's Academy to the Sixteenth-Century Sculpture Garden', in *Aeolian Winds and the Spirit in Renaissance Architecture: Academia Eolia Revisited*, ed. Barbara Kenda, London and New York, 2006, 121, n. 27. The term 'simulacrum' can simply mean an effigy, but it would have also carried a more weighted meaning in terms of idolatry in Catholic Rome.

⁵³ Stephen Campbell, *The Cabinet of Eros: Renaissance Mythological Painting and the 'Studiolo' of Isabella d'Este*, New Haven and London, 2006, 265–66, suggests the



6. Giovanni del Segna, *Venus Pudica*, 1506. Fresco. Carpi: Sala dei Mori, Musei Civici di Palazzo dei Pio.

separates Raimondi's engraving from other imitations of the *Apollo Belvedere* by his contemporaries is that Apollo's dismemberment features as an attribute of the god, not as an accident or the result of punitive action. For viewers of the print, the beauty of antiquity resides not so much in its original state, but in the way Raimondi ingeniously salvages and re-contextualizes the material remains of the past. In 1506, the same year as the *Apollo and His Lover*, the artist Giovanni del Segna produced a daring *all'antica* pictorial cycle in the Sala dei Mori of the palace of Alberto III Pio, ruler of small, erudite court of Carpi.⁵⁶ Del Segna depicted recognizable ancient statues, including the famed *Venus Pudica* (fig. 6), silhouetted against expansive landscapes. Although heavily restored, these statues reveal a high degree

power of Venus comes in the form of a simulacrum in Michelangelo and Pontormo's *Venus and Cupid* of ca. 1533.

⁵⁴ Antico had the opportunity to study the ancient prototype during his trips to Rome in 1495 and 1497; for studies and various proposed dates for the Venice bronze, see Ann Hersey Allison, 'The Bronzes of Pier Jacopo Alari-Bonacolsi, called Antico', *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, 89/90, 1993–94, 112–14; and Adriana Augusti, entry in *Bonacolsi l'Antico: Una scultore della Mantova di Andrea Mantegna e di Isabella d'Este*, ed. Filippo Trevisani and Davide Gasparotto,

Milan, 2008, 208–9. On Antico, see further, *Antico: The Golden Age of Renaissance Bronzes*, Washington, 2011.

⁵⁵ See *Bonacolsi l'Antico*, 317.

⁵⁶ For the palace decorations, see *Imperatori e Dei: Roma e il gusto per l'antico nel Palazzo dei Pio a Carpi*, ed. Manuela Rossi, Carpi, 2006; and Fiorenza, *Dosso Dossi*, 155–57. On Alberto III Pio as a collector of antiquities, see Anna Maria Piras, 'Una collezione di difficile ricostruzione: la raccolta di antichità di Alberto III Pio di Carpi', in *Collezioni di antichità a Roma fra '400 e '500*, ed. Anna Cavallaro, Rome, 2007, 219–24.

of illusion, as if recently excavated and put on display, showing fractures. Likewise, Raimondi did not portray an idealized recreation of the past, but instead depicted the antique as it existed in the present—imperfect and fragmented. He enlivened ancient fragments, recycled and renewed them with the command of his burin into images of desire.

The rare subject of Raimondi's engraving is matched by its wit: Apollo is alive yet lapidary, beautiful yet fragmented, amorous yet impotent. The virile sun god and divine healer is here humbled and disabled in the name of love. Raimondi offers an elegiac yet ironic image of Apollo that vacillates between the ancient and the modern, the real and the simulacrum. The force of Raimondi's representation of antiquity exists in the artistic imagination, never fully available in the remnants of the past, but enlivened through his seductive artifice.