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**Marcantonio Raimondi's Early Engravings:
Myth and Imitation in Renaissance Bologna**

Around 1504, Marcantonio Raimondi produced an engraving of Giovanni Filoteo Achillini (1466-1538), showing the Bolognese humanist and poet singing his verses and playing a stringed instrument as he sits next to a winding stream (PLATE 1).¹ The print offers an ideal, lyrical image of Achillini, who would come to establish an academy in Bologna in 1511 known as the *Viridario* (Pleasure Garden), 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. Notably, the poet celebrated Raimondi's print in his vernacular epic *Viridario*, which he completed at the end of 1504 and published in 1513.² Near the conclusion of 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».³ The negotiation between representation and reality, literary and visual description, and ancient and modern achievements defines Raimondi and Achillini's artistic 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.

Achillini's *Viridario*, which recounts the fortunes of King Minos of Crete and his chil-

¹ On this engraving, see *Bologna e l'umanesimo 1490-1510*, a cura di M. FAIETTI – K. OBERHUBER, Bologna, Nuova Alfa, 1988, pp. 123-25; and D. LANDAU – P. PARSHALL, *The Renaissance Print. 1470-1550*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1994, pp. 99-100.

² G.F. ACHILLINI, *Viridario*, Bologna, Hieronymo di Plato, 1513. For a study of Achillini and his literary career, see P.M. TRAVERSA, *Il Fidele di Giovanni Filoteo Achillini. Poesia, sapienza e "divina" conoscenza*, Modena, Mucchi, 1992.

³ ACHILLINI, *Viridario*, c. 188v: «Consacro anchor Marcantonio Raimondo / Che imita de gli antiqui le sante orme / Col disegno e bollin molto e profondo / Come se veden 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 – PARSHALL, *The Renaissance Print*, p. 99.

dren, endorses a classical brand of literary imitation that is important to understanding the making and reception of Raimondi's early Bolognese engravings. The text espouses assimilation and transformation, usefulness and delight, variety and order, and lends itself well to a theory of visual imitation. In the dedication of the *Viridario* to Giovanni de' Medici, the newly elected Pope Leo X, Achillini invokes Horace's doctrine that successful poetry combines profit and pleasure (*giovare e delectare*), and he further praises Aesop's fables as exemplary in this arena. Poetry, like a well-ordered garden (*viridario*), must display a multitude of colors and contain both variety and order (*varietà e l'hordine*) in order to maintain its splendor.⁴ Expanding on this garden metaphor, Achillini advises poets to temper seriousness with wit and humor, thereby making their verses both instructive and palpable to readers, not unlike tasting bitter fruit among sweet and ripe ones on a tree (*siano frutti alcuni acerbi o corrotti et alcuni altri alla sua perfettion e con grata maturità*). The emphasis on sweet eloquence (*delectatione*), which colors the writing style of the *Viridario*, also characterizes Raimondi's image of Achillini, an engraving which stages the inspirational pursuit of music and verse within a pleasing landscape setting. Indeed, as this essay will examine, Raimondi proved clever in heightening the effects of beauty and artifice through contrasting themes in his early engravings.

The use of garden metaphors in connection with literary style and imitation also occurs in the famous commentary on *The Golden Ass*, published in 1500 by Achillini's Bolognese colleague, the humanist Filippo Beroaldo the Elder (1453-1505). In his preface, Beroaldo states that when he writes, it is his custom to have «neatly woven in little flowers plucked from the meadow of learning, and I have frequently added extra details [*parerga*] as painters do, so that the flagging reader might be refreshed».⁵ Beroaldo implies that he paints with words, setting the stage for his extended commentary on Apuleius's use of the phrase «art rivaling nature» (*ars aemula naturae*). His text provides insight into the naturalistic quality and creative power of art, and he cites numerous classical authors on the topic. It is in this discussion that Beroaldo invokes Francesco Francia's *Adoration of the Child* (the Bentivoglio Altarpiece) of 1499, which was commissioned by Anton Galeazzo Bentivoglio to commemorate his recent pilgrimage to Jerusalem.⁶ Francia (c1450-1517), the painter

⁴ ACHILLINI, *Viridario*, cc. 2r-3v. On imitation theory in the Renaissance, see G.W. PIGMAN, *Versions of Imitation in the Renaissance*, «Renaissance Quarterly», 33 (1980), pp. 1-32; T. GREENE, *The Light in Troy. Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry*, New Haven-London, Yale University Press, 1982; D. QUINT, *Origin and Originality in Renaissance Literature. Versions of the Source*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1983; and M.L. MCLAUGHLIN, *Literary Imitation in the Italian Renaissance. The Theory and Practice of Literary Imitation in from Dante to Bembo*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1995.

⁵ F. BEROALDO, *Commentarii in asinum aureum Lucii Apuleii*, Bologna, Benedictus Hectoris, 1500, c. 2v; cited and translated in J.H. GAISSER, *The Fortunes of Apuleius and the Golden Ass. A Study in Transmission and Reception*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2008, pp. 224, 229.

⁶ See M. BAXANDALL – E. GOMBRICH, *Beroaldus on Francia*, «Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes», 25 (1962), pp. 113-15; and E. NEGRO – N. ROIO, *Francesco Francia e la sua scuola*, Modena, Artioli, 1998, pp. 144-46.

and goldsmith, was Raimondi's teacher, and the two 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.⁷ Francia's elegant mixing of clashing colors on his palette to imitate reality provides yet another simile for Beroaldo's own imitative process. Additionally, as Julia Haig Gaisser has noted, Beroaldo sees the commission surrounding Francia's altarpiece for S. Maria della Misericordia in Bologna as an example of an exciting contemporary and local event that would stick in the minds of the audience and therefore help drive the main points home of his commentary.⁸ His text not only flatters Francia and his Bentivoglio patron, but moreover provides strong evidence that a learned audience in Bologna would have readily made critical assessments between literary and visual eloquence.

Achillini and Beroaldo advocate complementary theories of imitation that provide a rich context in which to investigate the eloquent imagery of Raimondi's early Bolognese engravings, in particular his mythological subjects. This essay will take three engravings as case studies: *Pyramus and Thisbe*, *Apollo and his Lover*, and *Aphrodite Wringing her Hair*. These prints reveal how Raimondi weaves together various and at times unusual visual and literary sources, both ancient and modern, in order to create vivid and enticing images that are simultaneously learned and delightful. Raimondi also emphasizes sweet eloquence (*delectatione*) in these works through the portrayal of the nude body, prompting viewers to compare his artifice with reference to poetic description and other artistic media.

Raimondi's earliest dated print of 1505 shows the tragic narrative of Thisbe discovering the suicide of her lover Pyramus, derived from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (IV 55-156) (PLATE 2).⁹ A manuscript containing a vernacular prose translation of the text, composed by an unidentified Bolognese author from the later part of the fifteenth century, is dedicated to Giovanni II Bentivoglio (1443-1508; ruled 1463-1506), testifying to the fable's popularity at court.¹⁰ Raimondi adapts his classical subject of love and loss and filters it through the language of sculpture, both in terms of theory and practice, which is manifest in the

⁷ See L. FRATI, *Di alcuni amici di Francia*, «Atti e Memorie della R. Deputazione di Storia Patria per le provincie di Romagna», 6 (1916), pp. 219-37; G.M. ANSELMINI – S. GIOMBI, *Cultura umanistica e cenacoli artistici nella Bologna del Rinascimento*, in *Bologna e l'umanesimo*, pp. 1-16; D. THORNTON, *The Scholar in his Study. Ownership and Experience in Renaissance Italy*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1997, p. 86; and J. WARREN, *Francesco Francia and the Art of Sculpture in Renaissance Bologna*, «Burlington Magazine», 141 (1999), pp. 216-25.

⁸ GAISSER, *The Fortunes of Apuleius*, pp. 225-26; BEROALDO, *Commentarii in asinum aureum*, c. 34v. See further BAXANDALL – GOMBRICH, *Beroaldus on Francia*, pp. 113-15.

⁹ On this engraving, see I. SHOEMAKER – E. BROUN, *The Engravings of Marcantonio Raimondi*, Lawrence, Spencer Museum of Art, 1981, pp. 56-57; and FAIETTI – OBERHUBER, *Bologna e l'umanesimo*, 127-28. The German artist Hans Wechtlin imitated and adapted Raimondi's print in a color woodcut from c.1510.

¹⁰ *La Istoria di Piramo e Tisbe*, in *Collezione di opera inedite o rare dei primi tre secoli della lingua*, a cura di C. CAVARA, Torino, Unione Tipografico Editrice, 1861, pp. 181-204. See further B. BENTIVOGLI, *La poesia in volgare. Appunti sulla tradizione manoscritta*, in *Bentivolorum Magnificentia. Principe e cultura a Bologna nel Rinascimento*, a cura di B. BASILE, Roma, Bulzoni, 1984, pp. 177-222.

high emotional tenor of the print. Raimondi may have known Pomponius Gauricus's *De sculptura*, published in Florence in 1504, and dedicated to Ercole I d'Este of Ferrara. With sections on physiognomy and animation, Gauricus commends the rendering of emotional states in sculpture for its arousing impact on the viewer. The ancient sculptor Lysippos stands as a model of excellence for modern artists in his ability to convey human emotion, notably through the imitation of nature.¹¹ The pathos of Raimondi's *Thisbe and Pyramus* echoes a number of polychrome terracottas depicting the *Lamentation* that were produced in Bologna and throughout the Emilia region in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The most famous example is Niccolò dell'Arca's *Lamentation* ensemble in Santa Maria della Vita in Bologna, dating to the early 1460s, with the unforgettable image of the Magdalene screaming in anguish over the body of Christ (PLATE 4).¹² Her windswept drapery and dramatic gestures directly inform the image of Thisbe in Raimondi's print, who also rushes in on the scene as she agonizes over the lifeless body before her. Moreover, Pyramus, who has plunged his sword into the right side of his torso, mirrors the dead Christ and the wound he received by the centurion (PLATE 5).

But this correspondence with Niccolò dell'Arca's *Lamentation* should not necessarily lead to a moralized interpretation of Raimondi's print. Gian Mario Anselmi has demonstrated that 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.¹³ Furthermore, the Bolognese poet and scholar of Greek, Antonio Urceo, known as Codro (1446-1500), endorses the power of fable as a form of hermeneutics in his ninth *Sermones (Habitus in laudem vitae pastoriciae)*, which was first published in 1502. Codro cites Priscian's definition of fable that connects word and image, imagination and discovery: «Fable is fictional discourse showing forth by credible arrangement an image of truth» (*Fabula est oratio ficta verisimili dispositione imaginem exhibens veritatis*).¹⁴ While Codro's appreciation of the generative force of *fabula* carries some moral charge, it also corroborates Boccaccio's late-fourteenth-century definition of poetry as «a sort of fervid and exquisite invention [*invenire*], with fervid expression, in speech or writing, of that which the mind has invented».¹⁵ These definitions help us understand how

¹¹ P. GAURICUS, *De Sculptura* (1504), eds. and trans. A. CHASTEL – R. KLEIN, Geneva, Droz, 1969, pp. 222-25, for Lysippos's powers of showing emotion in his art as praised by Propertius (*Elegy* III 9, 9).

¹² See Niccolò dell'Arca. *Il Compianto sul Cristo di Santa Maria della Vita*, a cura di G. AGOSTINI e L. CIAMMITTI, Bologna, Nuova Alfa, 1985.

¹³ G.M. ANSELMI, *Mito classico e allegoresi mitologica tra Beroaldo e Codro*, «Studi e Memorie per la Storia dell'Università di Bologna», 3 (1983), pp. 157-85; and G.M. ANSELMI, *Beroaldo, Codro e il mito classico. Bologna crocevia*, in Id., *Letteratura e civiltà tra Medioevo e Umanesimo*, Roma, Carocci, 2011, pp. 173-96.

¹⁴ I have consulted the following edition: A. URCEO (CODRO), *Orationes seu sermones ut ipse appellabat*, Paris, Joanne Paruo, 1515, c. 68v. On Priscian's definition of fable from his *Praeexercitamina*, see D. KELLY, *Medieval Imagination. Rhetoric and the Poetry of Courtly Love*, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1978, p. 29. See further ANSELMI, *Beroaldo, Codro e il mito classico*, p. 192.

¹⁵ G. BOCCACCIO, *Genealogie deorum gentilium libri*, a cura di V. ROMANO, II, Bari, Laterza, 1951, p.

Bolognese humanists would have admired Raimondi's mythological images not so much from an iconographic or allegorical standpoint, but as more imaginative and inventive, resulting from a process of discovery with reference to ancient fable.

With his *Pyramus and Thisbe*, Raimondi concentrates on the rhetoric of pathos inherent in the Ovidian fable, and he cleverly develops his imagery with examples from modern art for comparison and judgment by his Bolognese audience. The print contrasts the tragedy of the narrative with the beauty of nude forms. All the while the print retains an antique spirit through its ornaments (*parerga*). The tomb at the right with its inscription «S. R. N.» caters to the impressive study and collections of ancient epigraphy by such Bolognese humanists as Cesare Nappi and Achillini.¹⁶ In addition, Raimondi has created a composite landscape, with its mixture of Arcadian and northern details. The tree in the foreground (probably meant to be a mulberry) also serves as a testimony to the undying love of the couple according to the myth.

Raimondi further meditates on the theme of love in his *Apollo and His Lover*, the earliest portrayal of homosocial desire featuring Apollo in the Renaissance (PLATE 3).¹⁷ Signed with the artist's monogram and dated April 9, 1506, this print daringly showcases male companionship. I concur with 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.¹⁸ 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. The key to his identity resides in Apollo's peculiar characteristics: 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

699; English trans. C.G. OSGOOD, *Boccaccio on Poetry. Being the Preface and the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Books of Boccaccio's Genealogia deorum gentilium*, Indianapolis-New York, The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1956², p. 39.

¹⁶ On antiquarianism in Bologna, see S. DE MARIA, *Fra Corte e studio. La cultura antiquaria a Bologna nell'Età dei Bentivoglio*, in *Il contributo dell'Università di Bologna alla storia della città. L'èvo antico*, a cura di G. MANSUETTI – G. SUSINI, Bologna, Istituto per la Storia di Bologna, 1989, pp. 151-216.

¹⁷ On this engraving, see SHOEMAKER – BROWN, *The Engravings of Marcantonio Raimondi*, pp. 64-65; FAIETTI – OBERHUBER, *Bologna e l'umanesimo*, pp. 136-37; LANDAU – PARSHALL, *The Renaissance Print*, p. 305; and G. TAL, *The Missing Member in Marcantonio's Apollo and his Lover*, «Print Quarterly», 26 (2009), pp. 335-46.

¹⁸ SHOEMAKER – BROWN, *The Engravings of Marcantonio Raimondi*, p. 64; FAIETTI – OBERHUBER, *Bologna e l'umanesimo*, pp. 71, 77-79, 136-37; and TAL, *The Missing Member*, p. 35. The print weds the general composition of Albrecht Dürer's engraving of *Adam and Eve* of 1504 with Raimondi's sense of plasticity.

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.

Raimondi bypasses conventional Renaissance descriptions of Apollo to cast him as a pastoral god, and it is important to note that Apollo was worshipped as an Arcadian deity in antiquity. Cicero, among others, testifies to this in his *Nature of the Gods* (III 23 [57]), stating that the Arcadians called the god Apollo Nomios (pastoral Apollo) and that he gave that people their laws.¹⁹ 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. Codro attests to the currency of this myth in Bologna by celebrating the pastoral existence in his ninth *Sermones* (*Habitus in laudem vitae pastoriciae*), previously mentioned. In advocating the moderation and simplicity of pastoral life, Codro states that such an existence was original to man and gods alike, and he commends Apollo's pastoral identity – or his civilizing force as a tamer of nature and facilitator of social bonds – noting that the Greeks called him Apollo Nomios when he was a shepherd for king Admetus in Thessaly.²⁰ The myth of Apollo's bucolic servitude helps us identify the god's companion in Raimondi's print as Admetus.²¹

Apollo's year-long service for Admetus 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».²² 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 labor for Admetus, an attribute not lost in later classical literature. Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (II

¹⁹ On Apollo as an Arcadian and pastoral deity, see L.G. GIRALDI, *De deis gentium*, 1548, reprint, New York-London, Garland Publishing, 1976, pp. 308; 313; N. CONTI, *Mythologiae*, 1567, reprint, New York-London, Garland Publishing, 1976, pp. 108v-109r; and E. CROPPER – C. DEMPSEY, *Nicolas Poussin. Friendship and the Love of Painting*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1996, pp. 303-12, regarding Poussin's extraordinary *Apollo and Daphne* (Paris, Musée du Louvre).

²⁰ CODRO, *Sermones*, c. 69v: «[...] Pascebatque suas ipse senator/ oves et ipse Apollo dues medicinae, / dues citharationis, dues auguriorum / dues poctarum, dues sagittandi/ Admeti thessaliae regis pavit armenta, / unde et Apollo nomios graecae / dictus est i pastoralis [...]».

²¹ G. TOURNOY, *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. G. H. TUCKER, Charlottesville, Rockwood Press, 2000, pp. 175-203, provides a comprehensive list of classical and Renaissance authors invoking the myth. TAL, *The Missing Member*, pp. 338-39, has tentatively suggested that Apollo's companion is Cyparissus. He reads Apollo's dismemberment as a violent castration, as punishment resulting from the crime of sodomy, serving as an admonition for Renaissance viewers. 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.

²² EURIPIDES, *Alcestis*, trans. D. KOVACS, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1994, 564-579. I have provided a more literal translation for clarity.

682), for instance, states that Apollo abandoned his lyre for the «pipe of seven unequal reeds» (*alterius dispar septenis fistula*) in order to pasture the king's animals.²³

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.²⁴ The subject of Apollo's desire for Admetus was an Alexandrian invention. Callimachus directly refers to this male erotic in his *Hymn to Apollo*, reporting that Apollo (Nomios) was «fired with love» for the young Admetus and served him out of desire, not as punishment.²⁵ Plutarch's *Erotikos* (XVII [761E]) and Nonnus's *Dionysiaca* (X 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.²⁶ Latin elegiac poets later defined Apollo's work for the king in terms of a *servitium amoris*.²⁷ The erotic treatment of the story was also current in Renaissance literature, corresponding to the figure of Eros who plays an active role in Raimondi's print.²⁸ I have argued elsewhere that Raimondi's engraving complements the social and artistic pursuits of humanistic circles throughout Italy, where homoerotic imagery in ancient myth carried a charge association with poetic hermeneutics and helped mediate intellectual and social bonds among men.²⁹

For this study, I will concentrate on the detail of Apollo's missing penis as it relates to Raimondi's imitation of the antique. Konrad Oberhuber, Innis Shoemaker, and Peter Par-

²³ 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, «[r]here are those, however, who attribute this [invention] to Apollo»; P. VERGIL, *On Discovery*, ed. and trans. B. COPENHAVER, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 2002, I 15.4.

²⁴ E.K. SEDGWICK, *Between Men. English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1985. See further D.M. HALPERIN – J.J. WINKLER – F.I. ZEITLIN (eds.), *Before Sexuality. The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1990; D.M. HALPERIN, *How to Do the History of Homosexuality*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2002; and L. CROMPTON, *Homosexuality and Civilization*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 2006.

²⁵ CALLIMACHUS, *Hymns*, trans. A.W. MAIR, II, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1960, 47-54: «Phoebus and Nomius we call him, ever since the time when by Amphrysus he tended the yokemares, 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 F. WILLIAMS, *Callimachus, Hymn to Apollo. A Commentary*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1978.

²⁶ NONNUS, *Dionysiaca*, trans. W.H. D. ROUSE, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1940.

²⁷ See F. COPLEY, *Servitium amoris in the Roman Elegists*, «Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association», 78 (1947), pp. 285-300.

²⁸ See TOURNOY, *Apollo and Admetus*, pp. 175-203. Tournoy 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 derives from the generalities and gender ambiguity of the verse of Latin elegists. However, the clear homoerotic variations of the myth were well known in the Renaissance, especially considering the sophisticated study of Greek in Bologna in the fifteenth century.

²⁹ See my forthcoming essay, *Apollo Dismembered. Love, Initiation, and Idolatry in an Engraving by Marcantonio Raimondi*, in M. KOOS – J. KOHL – A. RANDOLPH (eds.), *Renaissance Love. Eros, Passion, and Friendship in Italian Art around 1500*.

shall and David Landau, 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. Although highly sensual, Apollo's body is quite awkward, as if its parts have been broken and incomprehensively 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).³⁰ Indeed, Apollo appears feminine, shyly averting his eyes, as opposed to his partner who looks straight out of the composition and engages the viewer.

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 seems to poke fun at his image of Apollo, whose dismembered state resembles the knots in the tree behind him.³¹ It is worth noting that Beroaldo admired the writing style of Apuleius for its charm, eloquence, and use of rare and archaic diction, stating that the *Golden Ass* is «put together with such wit and refinement of style and such elegance of uncommon expressions [...]».³² This quest for the curious and the playful in ancient literature can be likened to the striking visual language of Raimondi's engraving. In addition, Achillini praised the works of the Bolognese painter Amico Aspertini (c1474-1552), many of which are littered with ancient ruins and pieces of sculpture, seeing his imagery as equally learned and «bizarre».³³ 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.³⁴ Apollo's dismemberment is arguably a mark of prestige, a lack that, paradoxically, increases the figure's attractiveness.³⁵

³⁰ For the crutch motif, see TAL, *The Missing Member*, pp. 343-45.

³¹ This is also noted by TAL, *The Missing Member*, p. 345. Significantly, the *Apollo Belvedere*, to be discussed below, served as the basis for the title page of the 1513 edition of the *Pasquinades*, the popular, satirical poems inspired by and attached to the Roman statue known as *Il Pasquino*. Using the voice of the *Pasquino*, one poem longs for the statue's former uncorrupted state: «Cum robustos erat penis mihi, amabar ubique; / nunc sortem rider turba fututa mean» ("When my penis was vigorous I was loved everywhere; now the fucking crowd ridicules my fate"); cited and translated in L. BARKAN, *Unearthing the Past. Archaeology and Aesthetics in the Making of Renaissance Culture*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1999, p. 221. It follows that Raimondi's print could have inspired such a range of reactions, from admiration to satire.

³² Cited and translated in GAISSER, *The Fortunes of Apuleius*, p. 202; BEROALDO, *Commentarii in asinum aureum*, c. 1v. See further J. D'AMICO, *The Progress of Renaissance Latin Prose. The Case of Apuleianism*, «Renaissance Quarterly», 37 (1984), pp. 351-92: 365-66.

³³ ACHILLINI, *Viridario*, c. 187v. On Aspertini, see M. FAIETTI – D. SCAGLIETTI KELESCIAN, *Amico Aspertini*, Modena, Artioli, 1995.

³⁴ For studies on the appropriation of ancient fragments in Renaissance art, see BARKAN, *Unearthing the Past*, pp. 119-207; and G. FIORENZA, *Dosso Dossi. Paintings of Myth, Magic, and the Antique*, University Park, Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008, pp. 127-60. On the relationship of Renaissance prints and ancient fragments, see C. KLEINBUB, *Bramante's Ruined Temple and the Dialectics of the Image*, «Renaissance Quarterly», 63 (2010), pp. 412-58.

³⁵ A number of other Renaissance artists went to great lengths to make their works appear ancient and frag-

The ancient sources of Raimondi's print are still debated. The composition is intimately related to an engraving of c1506 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.³⁶ 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* (PLATE 6), 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.³⁷ When the cardinal became pope in 1503, as 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 north Italy, citing drawings after the statue.³⁸ 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.³⁹ 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 and making his Apollo a coveted fragment. By fur-

mented, with the most famous cases concerning Michelangelo's *Sleeping Cupid* and *Bacchus* (also missing its penis) at the close of the fifteenth century; see L. KOCH, *Michelangelo's Bacchus and the Art of Self-Formation*, «Art History», 29 (2006), pp. 345-86: 349-51. Benvenuto Cellini praised Raimondi for representing figures in the style and manner of the Greeks; *The Treatises of Benvenuto Cellini on Goldsmithing and Sculpture*, trans. C.R. ASHBE, New York, Dover, 1967, p. 6. M. VILJOEN, *Prints and False Antiquities in the Age of Raphael*, «Print Quarterly», 21 (2004), pp. 235-47: 235, observes that Raimondi subjected several of his prints «to techniques that were designed to replicate certain qualities of ancient sculpture».

³⁶ See FAIETTI – OBERHUBER, *Bologna e l'umanesimo*, pp. 290-92; and the image of Pan in drawing by Martaen van Heemskerck of the antiquities in the Palazzo Santacroce, Rome; reproduced by TAL, *The Missing Member*, 339.

³⁷ A comprehensive study of the discovery, display, and multiple transfers of the *Apollo Belvedere* while in the possession of Giuliano della Rovere is provided by S. MAGISTER, *Arte e politica. La collezione di antichità del Cardinale Giuliano della Rovere nei palazzo ai Santi Apostoli*, Roma, STI, 2002, pp. 536-44. See also C.L. FROMMEL, *I tre progetti bramanteschi per il Cortile del Belvedere*, in *Il cortile delle statue. Der Statuenhof des Belvedere im Vatikan*, eds. M. WINNER – B. ANDREA – C. PIETRANGELI, Mainz am Rhein, Philipp von Zabern, 1998, pp. 17-66.

³⁸ M. WINNER, *Zum Apoll vom Belvedere*, «Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen», 10 (1968), pp. 181-99; and see further MAGISTER, *Arte e politica*, pp. 536-44.

³⁹ See K. OBERHUBER, *Marcantonio Raimondi. Gli inizi a Bologna ed il primo periodo romano*, in FAIETTI – OBERHUBER (eds.), *Bologna e l'umanesimo*, pp. 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 see G. SCHWEIKHART, *Der Codex Wolfegg. Zeichnungen nach der Antike von Amico Aspertini*, London, The Warburg Institute, 1986.

ther emphasizing the awkward reattachment of the god's body parts, 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.⁴⁰ 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.⁴¹ An anonymous poet writing around 1490 and associated with 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.⁴² 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.⁴³

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 cre-

⁴⁰ On idols and other artificial bodies in art, see M. CAMILLE, *The Gothic Idol. Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989; and S. CAMPBELL, *Cosmè Tura of Ferrara. Style, Politics and the Renaissance City, 1450-1495*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1997, pp. 151-57; and P. HELAS – G. 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*, eds. M. COLE – R. ZORACH, Burlington, Ashgate, 2009, pp. 133-57.

⁴¹ As V. STOICHITA, *The Pygmalion Effect from Ovid to Hitchcock*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 2008, pp. 1-6, 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. On the simulacrum, see J. BAUDRILLARD, *Simulations*, trans. P. FOSS – P. PATTON – P. BEITCHMAN, New York, Semiotext(e), 1983; G. DELEUZE, *Plato and the Simulacrum*, «October», 27 (1983), pp. 45-56; and M. CAMILLE, *Simulacrum*, in *Critical Terms for Art History*, eds. R. NELSON – R. SCHIFF, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1996, pp. 35-48.

⁴² «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 valet / Haec mihi sit Delos: haec mihi silva Rhodos»; cited and discussed by MAGISTER, *Arte e politica*, pp. 538, 579, with further references to its manuscript origins; and by K.W. 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 Revisted*, ed. B. KENDA, London-New York, Routledge, 2006, p. 121, n. 27. The term «simulacrum» can simply mean an effigy, but it carried a more weighted meaning in terms of idolatry in Catholic Rome.

⁴³ S. CAMPBELL, *The Cabinet of Eros. Renaissance Mythological Painting and the "Studiolo" of Isabella d'Este*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2006, pp. 265-66, suggests the power of Venus comes in the form of a simulacrum in Michelangelo and Pontormo's *Venus and Cupid* of c1533.

ated c. 1498-1502 (PLATE 7).⁴⁴ 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*).⁴⁵ 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 separates Raimondi's engraving from imitations of the statue 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. In 1506, the same year Raimondi executed *Apollo and His Lover*, Giovanni del Sega produced a daring *all'antica* pictorial cycle for the palace of Alberto III Pio, ruler of the small, erudite court of nearby Carpi, which maintained close connections with the courts of Bologna and Ferrara.⁴⁶ Del Sega depicted recognizable ancient statues, including the famed *Venus Pudica*, silhouetted against expansive landscapes (PLATE 8). Although heavily restored, these statues reveal a high degree of illusion, as if recently excavated and put on display, showing fractures. For Alberto III Pio, the beauty of antiquity resided not so much in its original form, but in the way his artist ingeniously re-contextualized the material remains of the past. 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 enlivens ancient fragments, recycles and renews them with the command of his burin into images of desire.

This fascination with antiquity – with the recovery and appropriation of ancient artifacts – also fuels the creation of Raimondi's *Aphrodite Wringing Her Hair*, dated September 11, 1506 (PLATE 9).⁴⁷ The image is of *Aphrodite Anadyomene*, based on a lost painting

⁴⁴ Antico had the opportunity to study the ancient prototype during his trips to Rome in 1495 and 1497; see A.H. ALLISON, *The Bronzes of Pier Jacopo Alari-Bonacolsi, called Antico*, «Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien», 90 (1994), pp. 112-14 and A. AUGUSTI, entry in *Bonacolsi L'Antico. Uno scultore della Mantova di Andrea Mantegna e di Isabella d'Este*, a cura di F. TREVISANI – D. GASPAROTTO, Milano, Electa, 2008, pp. 208-09.

⁴⁵ TREVISANI – GASPAROTTO, *Bonacolsi L'Antico*, p. 317.

⁴⁶ For the palace decorations, see FIORENZA, *Dosso Dossi*, pp. 155-57; and *Imperatori e Dei. Roma e il gusto per l'antico nel Palazzo dei Pio a Carpi*, a cura di M. ROSSI, Carpi, Comune, 2006. On Alberto III Pio as a collector of antiquities, see A.M. 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*, a cura di A. CAVALLARO, Roma, De Luca, 2007, pp. 219-24.

⁴⁷ On the print, see SHOEMAKER – BROWN, *The Engravings of Marcantonio Raimondi*, pp. 68-69; and FAIETTI – OBERHUBER, *Bologna e l'umanesimo*, pp. 144-46.

by Apelles from Kos. Several poems from the highly popular *Greek Anthology* describe Apelles's painting as a portrayal of Aphrodite wringing the sea-foam from her hair as she rose from the water. The philological interest in the *Aphrodite Anadyomene* in Bologna emerged in the late fifteenth century by way of Florence. Angelo Poliziano wrote his own modern epigram on the *Aphrodite Anadyomene* in Greek, which he sent together with various other epigrams to Codro in 1494, in the hopes of soliciting critical comments prior to publication.⁴⁸ Codro replied that he was impressed by Poliziano's dazzling display of Greek diction. While Poliziano's modern description shares close ties with the form and character of Venus in Botticelli's *Birth of Venus*, as Charles Dempsey has shown, Raimondi's engraving offers a philologically accurate recreation of the lost painting of Apelles as described in the *Greek Anthology*.⁴⁹ In particular, the engraving emphasizes Venus wringing her hair with both hands close to her face, in keeping with the description of one epigram: «[...] holding her tresses with both hands close to her white cheeks, she wrung out the brine of the Aegean».⁵⁰ It is also notable that another epigram (XVI 178) describes Apelles's image as in pencil, allowing Raimondi's viewers to admire and judge his portrayal of Aphrodite on its graphic potency.

Raimondi accompanies his image of Aphrodite with her attributes suspended from the tree, a golden sphere and arrow, while the ship in the background refers to her role as goddess of seafarers. Just as the epigrams from the *Greek Anthology* state that the beauty of Apelles's Aphrodite carried an erotic charge, simulating nature, sensuality imbues Raimondi's image of Aphrodite with her suggestive pose. Indeed, this engraving served as a model for Antonio Lombardo's marble relief of *Aphrodite Anadyomene* (London, Victoria and Albert Museum), created sometime between 1508 and 1516.⁵¹ Raimondi most likely traveled to Venice at the end of 1506, and his engravings had an immediate impact on Venetian artists. Almost as a foil to his image of the fractured Apollo, in his representation of Aphrodite Raimondi seeks to recreate a lost antiquity, to compete with ancient artists and poets and earn the title of the new Apelles.

Raimondi's early Bolognese engravings reveal a lively cross-fertilization between art and literature that fueled the humanist culture of Renaissance Bologna. These works demonstrate how the portrayal of myth and antiquity served as a proving ground for Raimondi to rival others artists and poets, ancient and modern. Because Bolognese artists were to per-

⁴⁸ See C. MALAGOLA, *Della vita e delle opere di Antonio Codro*, Bologna, Fava e Garagnani, 1878, pp. 206-14.

⁴⁹ C. DEMPSEY, *Love and the Figure of the Nymph in Botticelli's Art*, in *Botticelli and Filippino. Passion and Grace in Fifteenth-Century Florentine Painting*, Milano, Skira, 2004, pp. 25-37; and see D.L. CLARK, *Poliziano's Kupris Anadyomene and Botticelli's Birth of Venus*, «Word and Image», 22 (2006), pp. 390-97.

⁵⁰ *The Greek Anthology*, trans. W.R. PATON, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1979, XVI 180.

⁵¹ See the entry by A. SARCHI, in *Il Camerino di alabastro. Antonio Lombardo e la scultura all'antica*, a cura di M. CERIANA, Milano, Silvana, 2004, pp. 273-75.

form in a world which obeyed the values of courtly authority and humanist approbation, it follows that Raimondi adhered to the creative models of imitation advanced by such writers as Achillini, Beroaldo, and Codro. Raimondi's engravings are symptomatic of a more profound interrelation between the verbal and visual arts that deserves greater attention.