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The Gaze and the Senses.

Giulio Romano and Erotic Art of the Sixteenth Century

Guido
Rebecchini

Thirty years after the memorable Giulio Romano exhibition of 1989, Palazzo Te once again hosts the enigmatic and sensational painting in which the artist represented two lovers voluptuously stretching out on a grand canopied bed.¹

With its metallic splendour and mysterious iconography, the painting—newly revived by conservation—takes its place at the heart of the present exhibition (cf. cat. 30), which seeks to explore the connections between art and eroticism, vision and pleasure, and desire and imagination, and to more broadly reflect on the relationship between art, the body and sexuality in the Renaissance, as significantly found in recent art-historical research.² Drawing inspiration from the *Two Lovers* in the Hermitage, we have sought to examine and delve into the subject of erotic art, beginning with its manifestations in the painting of Raphael, and in that of his workshop, and then highlighting the propulsive role played by Giulio Romano in disseminating it through sixteenth-century Italy.

With these objectives in mind, we have picked up one of the threads from the 1989 exhibition. The 598 pages of its fundamental catalogue put to good use a whole era of research begun in the 1930s with Ernst Gombrich's dissertation on Palazzo Te and consolidated through the fundamental monograph of 1958 by Frederick Hartt; and it introduced numerous and stimulating prompts for interpretation and research.³ Parallel to this, Daniela Ferrari was establishing archival documentation on Giulio Romano, drawn on by the authors of the 1989 catalogue.⁴ The wealth and quality of the contributions generated on that occasion, the novelty of topics under discussion and the quantity of textual and visual sources made available through that exemplary collective research project laid the groundwork for all subsequent study of Giulio Romano, the favourite pupil of Raphael who then became, as Giorgio Vasari recognised, a brilliant impresario and court artist, and a prolific and lively inventor of images in every field of art and on every scale, from town planning and architecture, painting and sculpture to designing textiles, furnishings and individual objects.⁵

It was in the 1989 catalogue that Bette Talvacchia addressed the theme of eroticism in the art of Giulio, pointing out its relationship with contemporary antiquarian culture and thus planting the seeds for the publication a decade later of her important volume on the *Modi*—the series of pornographic images designed by Giulio, put into print by Marcantonio Raimondi and then coupled with obscene sonnets by Pietro Aretino.⁶ With the same logic in mind, the present exhibition opens with an evocation of the sensuousness of ancient sculpture and then follows the career of Giulio Romano from his beginnings in Raphael's workshop (ca. 1515-1520) to his time in Rome as independent artist (1520-1524) and concluding with his long Mantuan period (1524-1546). An in-



investigation of Giulio's role as inventor of erotic subjects also led us to broaden our gaze to other Italian cities, where the intense circulation of prints and drawings prompted the proliferation of erotically-charged works in various media, such as tapestries, majolica and small bronzes.

The exhibition thus draws attention to the importance of the sixteenth-century rediscovery of the erotic dimension of ancient sculpture and classical mythology, which was so rich in references to the overwhelming passions of the gods—as illustrated by Maurizio Bettini's essay and a selection of works of art beginning with a figure of *Venus Genetrix* (cf. cat. 1), which may have been owned by Giulio Romano himself. In fact the erotic element in Italian art is inconceivable without the example of Antiquity—without the statues of Venus that emerged from excavations, restored and displayed in the collections of princes and cardinals, without the ancient images of reclining nymphs, nude or half-nude, without Pliny's anecdotes of statues that were so arousing that their observers were incapable of controlling their impulses, without the myth of Pygmalion, who fell in love with the statue he had carved, or without the stories of the sensual, passionate loves narrated by Ovid in the *Metamorphoses* and the *Ars amatoria*, or by Apuleius in the *Golden Ass* (cf. cat. 9).

In this context, the emergence around Raphael's workshop of eroticism and sexuality as artistic subjects is to be regarded as something profoundly linked to the visual and literary culture in which it manifested itself.⁷ In sixteenth-century Italy, eroticism was imagined, literally, through the lens

1. Roman Art, *Venus Pudica*, 1st century BCE, marble, h 153 cm. Florence, Uffizi Gallery, inv. 1914 n. 224



of the Antique, which provided stimuli and models through which artists could exercise their own creativity. Both Raphael's *Formarina*, for example (here represented by an early copy: cat. 28), and the figure of Psyche ensconced with Cupid in the wedding banquet scene of the Loggia of the Farnesina in Rome (seen in a sixteenth-century copy after a lost prototype by Raphael: cat. 10), reinterpret the gestures of the ancient *Venus Pudica* (fig. 1). The *Modi* themselves, presented by James Grantham Turner, were a reworking of the lovemaking positions seen in so-called *spintriae* (cf. cat. 19), ancient Roman triumphal numbered tokens with erotic scenes, both heterosexual and homosexual, and other ancient artefacts.

As well as figurative models and literary images, Antiquity also offered the intellectual parameters for appreciating such works: reading Horace's *Ars poetica*, one could learn that the purpose of poetry and painting was to provide not only education but pleasure.⁸ It was on these foundations—for the first time since the classical era—that Raphael, Giulio Romano and the other authors represented here gave back to eroticism its own poetic and artistic dignity, bringing about a formidable expansion of what could be represented in artistic subject-matter, and fostering new opportunities for aesthetic enjoyment and collecting.

The very places where these works were appreciated had profound links with the ancient world, and in particular the concept of *otium*—repose or respite after civic activities, to be specially en-

2. Raphael, *Galatea*, ca. 1514, fresco, 295 × 225 cm. Rome, Villa Farnesina

joyed in the setting of a villa. It is hardly a coincidence, then, that erotic subjects in painting first make their appearance, both in Rome and Mantua, in suburban villas or intimate, refined settings such as a *stufetta*, a domestic thermal structure with a specifically antiquarian character. Such places were less restricted by social convention than ones in a traditional city palazzo, in which the norms of decorum—that is, the appropriateness of images to the function of the setting in which these were displayed—imposed restrictions to the kind of images that were socially acceptable. Suburban villas, on the other hand, had leisure as their objective and thus allowed for broader limits with respect to the aesthetic and social norms of city life.⁹ In Classical texts, and then the Italian literary tradition, from Boccaccio to the early Cinquecento, as in Pietro Bembo's *Asolani*, the villa was already established as the place where one was permitted to express one's sentiments and desires, and where earthly love could be given free rein and become a topic of conversation, often taking on a playful, leisurely and pleasurable character. In this context, we may note that early sixteenth-century Rome saw a proliferation of suburban buildings with refined *all'antica* decorations often threaded by erotic references. In Raphael's Villa Medici on Monte Mario, known as Villa Madama, for example, the decoration—carried out in part by Giulio Romano himself—gives ample space to the figure of *Venus Genetrix*,¹⁰ while in the villa of Baldassarre Turini on the Janiculum (now Villa Lante), designed by Giulio, we not only find a series of small frescoes illustrating the story of Cupid and Psyche but also a group of eight female figures in oculi, one of which is a very early copy of Raphael's *Fornarina*.¹¹ Among these buildings, the villa of Agostino Chigi, known as the Farnesina, designed and partly decorated by Baldassarre Peruzzi, with the interventions of Sebastiano del Piombo, Sodoma and Raphael and his workshop, stands out for the splendour of its decoration and for its explicitly erotic character, which made it an exemplary prototype for the artistic era explored by this exhibition (cf. the essay by Linda Wolk-Simon in this catalogue). The splendid *Galatea* by Raphael (fig. 2) and the manifold nudes in the Loggia di Amore e Psiche, widely disseminated thanks to the prints by Marcantonio Raimondi and his pupils (cat. 3-6 and 11-12), became points of reference for both artists and patrons. The celebrated fruits and vegetables that unequivocally call to mind male and female genitals, barely hidden among the festoons on the vault of the loggia (cf. fig. 9 in the essay by Linda Wolk-Simon), enhance their erotic dimension, and introduce a sharp touch of wit. This is eloquently paralleled in the so-called burlesque poetical compositions of that time, in which the various types of orchard produce offer innumerable occasions for sexually-founded metaphors (cf. the essay by Antonio Geremicca). Such humour is also well reflected in a facetious anecdote of the time, according to which Raphael, responding to a lady who thought it opportune to cover the 'vergogna' ('shameful part') of Mercury in the Loggia di Amore e Psiche, asked her flipantly why she did not wish him instead to cover the figure of Polyphemus 'which you raved about to me, and whose *vergogna* is so big?'.¹² The same irreverent wit spreads across the walls of Camera di Amore e Psiche in Palazzo Te (cf. the essay by Barbara Furlotti). Here, Giulio Romano plays wickedly with the narratives, as in the coupling of Jupiter and Olympias (cf. fig. 7 in the essay by Barbara Furlotti), or that of Pasiphae and the bull, somewhere between the grotesque and perverse, as well as in startling details such as the figure of a river god, with his long, flowing white beard, reclining in the landscape and caught in the middle of an improbable union with a swan, in a curious inversion of the myth of Leda. The next scene, which is frankly comical, shows Mars, his sword drawn, chasing after poor Adonis, evidently caught in the act with Venus, who begs her powerful lover to allow the unfortunate huntsman to flee, naked (cf. fig. 3 in the essay by Maurizio Bettini).

Eroticism is thus closely connected with laughter: we laugh at the gods, at *double entendres*, allusions, inversion of roles, and promiscuity, as Rodolfo Martini also proposes in his analysis of *spintriae* (cf. cat. 19). These aspects make it possible to emphasise how, in addition to what was inspired by Antiquity, erotic subject-matter drew life-blood from a second guiding principle of contemporary culture: the polemical reaction to the rarefied poetic images of courtly love, which were dominant at that time. According to this conception, which permeates the rhymes of Petrarch's love poems, and which in the sixteenth century found its highest formal expression in Pietro Bembo's icy, flawless verses, the beloved constitutes a paradigm of beauty, both exterior and interior, forever unattainable and a source of perennial languor and painful frustration.¹³ Faced by this vision of feminine love and beauty, a multi-faceted and vigorous anti-Petrarch current emerged in the first decades of

the century, subverting the existing parameters and returning to art its aspect of pleasing the senses.¹⁴ This was expressed through the burlesque, cheeky verses mentioned above, but also through novellas and plays, which were adored by public and courts alike. For example, the prologue to Pietro Aretino's *Cortigiana*, written around 1525 and set in Rome, openly mocks the elevated terms used by Petrarch and his followers, such as 'refulgent rubies,' 'silken pearls,' 'limpid words' and 'honey-eyed glances,' and the author instead yields to the colourful language of Eros.¹⁵

This exhibition thus invites our reflection on the link between art and pleasure, and between viewing and desire. Such connections were already very clear to Leonardo da Vinci, whose discussion of the superiority of painting or poetry clearly favoured the first, because 'Painting presents the impression which the artist wished to convey all at once and gives as much pleasure to the noblest sense [sight] as any work created by nature.'¹⁶ Painting, then, like nature, thanks to its communicative immediacy allows the beholder to 'activate' images and draw from them an exquisitely visual pleasure. Stimulated by the depiction of amorous scenes, viewers therefore participate in the emotions represented before them, to the point of wishing to empathetically repeat their experience of them. Again on this subject, Leonardo wrote in his notes that 'Other artists have represented acts of wantonness and lust which kindled these passions in the beholders.'¹⁷ This mechanism is literally staged in a play that was much appreciated during the Renaissance, *The Eunuch* by Terence, in which one of the characters, Cherea, finding himself (thanks to a subterfuge) with his beloved in the house of the prostitute Thais, stops to look at a painting of the union of Jupiter and Danaë. The work ignites his desire for his beloved and prompts him to imitate the god, later telling the story to a friend of his: 'Was I, a mere mortal, not to do the same? I did just that—and gladly.'¹⁸

Some of the works on display document how the very act of seeing what is usually hidden, forbidden or private constitutes a form of pleasure. Indeed on several occasions, voyeurism is literally represented through the presence, in erotic scenes, of figures who watch an act of love being performed, as witnesses and alter egos of the beholders themselves. Such is the case of Abimelech, who spies on the amorous encounter of Isaac and Rebecca, as painted by Giulio Romano in the Vatican Loggia; of Philip, who watches the scandalous moment of Jupiter seducing Olympias, a union that produced Alexander the Great (cf. fig. 7 in the essay by Barbara Furlotti); or of the old woman in the doorway beside the two lovers in Saint Petersburg (cf. cat. 30), and again in one of the scenes of the *Modi* (position 9), in a drawing by Giulio Romano's workshop in the Louvre (cf. cat. 15) and in an engraving by Gian Giacomo Caraglio of *Mercury, Aglauros and Herse* (cf. cat. 36) discussed by Edward Wouk. The theme of voyeurism was also a key element in the literature of the time. Ludovico Ariosto makes ample recourse to it in his *Orlando furioso* (1532), in which the protagonists and above all the readers look with passion, pain and arousal at the female body, whose beauty is repeatedly compared to a work of art. Ruggiero, for example, is vanquished by his vision of the perfect and sensual Alcina: 'Her shape is of such perfect symmetry / as best to feign the industrious painter knows' (VII, 11).¹⁹ Further on, Ruggiero feels the pains of love for Bradamante awakening in him at the sight of the naked Angelica tied to a rock, her beauty such that she seemed to him like 'some statue ...of alabaster made, or marble rare' (X, 96). And then Orlando, drawn by compassion to free the naked Olympia imprisoned on the island of Ebuda, rushes to free her as she tries to cover herself: 'she turned her in the guise / of Diana framed by artists, who portray / her carved or painted, as in liquid font / she threw the water in Actaeon's front. / For, as she can, her waist she hides, and breast' (XI, 58-59). Voyeurism as a way of enhancing erotic experience also emerges in the *Ragionamento della Nanna e della Antonia*, a memorable pornographic tale by Pietro Aretino, in which Nanna, a novice in the convent of Santa Nafissa, watches an orgy being merrily performed in the neighbouring cell through a crack in the wall. In mid-copulation there, the general of the religious order has 'the grim face which in the Belvedere that marble figure makes at snakes that kill him,' that is, the celebrated *Laocoön*.²⁰ In these examples, art and sensuality end up overlapping each other, so that the aesthetic experience simultaneously becomes an erotic one, and vice versa.

This level of sixteenth-century erotic consciousness implies an almost exclusively male point of view: it is mainly a man who loves or adores, who is consumed by love, and the author and implicit spectator of erotic images is always male. Yet it was not just men who enjoyed them. In Aretino's *Ragionamento della Nanna e della Antonia* cited above, the first of these women tells the sec-



ond about a room in the convent decorated with erotic subjects, including a wall with illustrations of 'all the ways one can screw' ('tutte le vie che si può chiavare'), with an evident echo of the *Modi*. This prompts Antonia's wish 'in any way she can to see these paintings one day.'²¹ In fact, paintings of 'naked women' did not appear exclusively in male residences, being frequently found among the adornments of courtesans' houses in Rome and Venice, where they certainly helped to arouse lovers' imaginations and were also visible to landladies and their guests, in a climate where homosexuality and heterosexuality were fluid concepts.²² Nor was the role of women in such depictions always or necessarily passive. A masterpiece such as Titian's *Venus of Urbino* (fig. 3), in which the painted figure's confident and seductive gaze meets that of the beholder, may be the most emblematic image of a paradoxical reversal of points of view. In this instance, it is the woman represented in the painting who takes on the active role of observer, producing an effect of alienation which still endures today if one notices the occasionally bewildered reactions of visitors to the Uffizi Gallery. Along similar lines, we can consider Giulio Romano's female figure in the picture now in the Pushkin Museum (cf. cat. 29), who is certainly a courtesan (a high-profile prostitute), returning the viewer's gaze with icy confidence. Indeed these female characters, both artistic and literary, were not only objects of erotic exploitation but also representations of women who, aware of their own powers of seduction, could assert their femininity, presence and determination.²³ This context is also reflected in modern social history, which is commendably rediscovering the sometimes active, free and subversive role of courtesans and gentlewomen.

However, it is only on rare occasions that we perceive the presence of a real person in an image—for example, a model—as in the drawing probably by Giulio Romano of a girl seen in profile (cf. cat. 13), where the physical features are not strictly ideal and the spontaneity of the pose be-

3. Titian, *Venus of Urbino*, 1532-1534, oil on canvas, 119 × 165 cm. Florence, Uffizi Gallery, inv. 1890 n. 1437



trays a life study.²⁴ These are models and lovers, like the elusive Margherita Luti, loved by Raphael, or a certain Caterina written about by Benvenuto Cellini, who are transformed through works of art into classical divinities, scarcely retaining the memory of their true appearance.²⁵ In her essay, Madeleine Viljoen explores the idea of Raphael's workshop as a space in which classicism and eroticism are inextricably intertwined. Moreover, there are also pertinent examples provided by the classical world. Pliny recounts, for instance, how Apelles painted the face of the beautiful Campaspe, whom he loved, in the guise of a *Venus Anadyomene*, that is, Venus rising naked from the waters.²⁶ The same request was made of Titian when Cardinal Alessandro Farnese let it be known that the face of the *Danaë* now in the Capodimonte Museum should bear the features of his beloved (fig. 4).²⁷ These female figures thus fluctuate between an idealised dimension and actual presence, sometimes creating an interpretative short circuit, as in the case of the *Venus of Urbino*, mentioned earlier, or Raphael's *Fornarina*, who is both a Venus and, according to long-held tradition, the painter's lover.²⁸ Notwithstanding the truly explicit nature of these works, the model 'disappears' and turns into a mythological figure, an ideal of beauty, and a metaphor for the power of art to evoke that ideal. In Elizabeth Cropper's view, not only is the representation of female beauty a metaphor for pictorial beauty, but in images like these 'the portrait of a beautiful woman belongs to a distinct discourse from which the woman herself is necessarily absent. In portraying his mistress, it is the art of painting that the painter desires to possess.'²⁹

Situated at the intersection of these antiquarian, poetic, artistic and literary currents, Palazzo Te disrupted the figurative culture of Italian and European courts by introducing new subject-matter, no small part of which involved the erotic component of its decoration. Although it is focused on Rome and Mantua, our exhibition aims for example to highlight the singular coin-

4. Titian, *Danaë*, 1544-1545, oil on canvas, 116,5 × 168,5 cm. Naples, Museo di Capodimonte, inv. Q 134



5. Parmigianino, *Amor Carving His Bow*, ca. 1535, oil on panel, 135.5 × 65 cm. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. GG 275

cidence of subjects invented by Giulio Romano and those represented in the Palazzo del Principe in Genoa (1529-1533), which was conceived and decorated by Perino del Vaga for Andrea Doria: this relationship is illustrated by the startling detail of the sleeve of the dress dropped at the foot of the bed, placed in a very similar position both in the tapestry cartoon with Jupiter and Danaë by Perino (cf. cat. 40) and in Giulio Romano's *Two Lovers* (cf. cat. 30), two works presented here for the first time facing one another. Looking instead towards the Veneto, one sees how the impact of Giulio's innovations merged with the idyllic world of pictorial eroticism already present in works such as Giorgione's *Dresden Venus*, the *Pastoral Concert* by the young Titian in the Louvre or his *Three Ages of Man* in Edinburgh. The repeated contacts of the great Venetian painter with the court of Mantua and his frequent interaction with Aretino in Venice undoubtedly induced him to deepen the erotic vein of his works, starting with the *Venus of Urbino* (fig. 3). In the Po Valley region, Giulio's uninhibited approach to erotic art also stimulated the sensitivity of an otherwise devout artist such as Correggio, who had extensive access to the court of Federico II Gonzaga and painted for him a series of four pictures of the loves of Jupiter, including the magnificent young *Danaë* which brings the exhibition to a close (cf. cat. 43). Beginning in the 1520s, the success of erotic subjects in painting involved all the major artists of the period, including the restless Parmigianino, whose rare copy of one of the lost *Modi* by Giulio (cf. cat. 21) is exhibited for the first time and, together with other drawings of homosexual and heterosexual subjects, forms part of a remarkable body of erotic works culminating in the *Amor Carving His Bow* in Vienna (fig. 5). This trend even ended up attracting an artist such as Michelangelo, who painted a highly sensual *Leda* for the Duke of Ferrara Alfonso d'Este, Federico II Gonzaga's uncle, and already the patron of a celebrated series of mythological erotic paintings for a private *camerino* (cf. cat. 42).³⁰

The circulation of this kind of imagery was so widespread that in a burning critique of the Roman Curia published in 1528, Erasmus of Rotterdam sarcastically wrote: 'In paintings our gaze is held more by Jupiter coming down through the roof into the lap *Danaë* than by Gabriel announcing the heavenly conception to the holy Virgin; we get far more delight from Ganymede snatched up by the eagle than from Christ ascending into heaven; our eyes dwell on representations of the festivals of Bacchus and Terminus, full of vice and obscenity, rather than on Lazarus recalled to life or Christ baptized by John.'³¹ These accusations of hedonism looked forward to a radical change in the historical, political and cultural climate that was soon to put an end to the freedom with which the joys of the senses were represented in the period addressed by this exhibition. Already in the early 1540s, with the growing needs for Church reform in the lead-up to the Council of Trent (1545-1563), the depiction of the naked body, not to mention erotic subjects, was no longer admissible in public works, as evidenced by the harsh criticisms made as early as 1541 of Michelangelo's figures in the *Last Judgement*.³² However, far from the Papal city, and for some years still, Giulio Romano's expressive freedom was to stimulate a new generation of artists, as may be seen in Palazzo Chiericati in Vicenza, where soon after 1550 Domenico Brusasorci could still present an exact copy of the vault of the Sala del Sole e della Luna in Palazzo Te (fig. 6), with a bold, disconcerting glimpse of Apollo's genitals, highlighted by the artist to make the god an object of public derision, and—once again—to make us smile.



6. Domenico Brusasorci, *The Chariots of Apollo and Diana*, 1557-1558, fresco. Vicenza, Palazzo Chiericati, Sala del Firmamento

- 1 Mantova 1989. The exhibition was followed by a symposium, with proceedings published in *Giulio Romano* 1989.
- 2 Wolk-Simon, in New York 2008b; Turner 2017a; Burke 2018; Los Angeles-London 2018; Rubin 2018.
- 3 Gombrich 1984 (now in Gombrich 2016); Hartt 1958.
- 4 *Repertorio* 1992. One of the particularly important results of the 1989 exhibition was the monograph on Palazzo Te by Amedeo Belluzzi, who was among its curators: this is a two-volume work with a systematic series of images made after the 1984-1990 conservation of the palace by the Istituto Centrale del Restauro (Belluzzi 1998 and *L'Istituto centrale* 1994). Subsequent studies on Giulio's Mantuan career include Agosti 1998; Rebecchini 2002a; Rebecchini 2003; L'Occaso 2011; Rebecchini 2012; *Giulio Romano* 2014; and L'Occaso 2016. For his architectural work in Mantua one may now also consult Adorni 2012, while Maurer 2019 offers a new reading of Palazzo Te in the light of gender studies. A very recent update on what we know about Giulio's Mantuan oeuvre appears in L'Occaso 2019.
- 5 For the international resonance of the 1989 exhibition, see New York 1999.
- 6 Talvacchia 1999.
- 7 Findlen 1993.
- 8 Lee 1940, pp. 226-228.
- 9 On the Renaissance villa see at least Ackerman 1992 and Coffin 1979.
- 10 Elet 2017, pp. 74-75.
- 11 Lilius 2005, pp. 121-128.
- 12 This *facezia* is mentioned by Paolo Giovio in a letter to Girolamo Scarnapeco datable to 1534-1535; see Giovio 1999, p. 340 and Wolk-Simon 2008, p. 43.
- 13 On Petrarchism and the visual arts see Cropper 1976; Bettini 1992; Bolzoni 2008.
- 14 Graf 1888.
- 15 Aretino 2003a, p. 56.
- 16 Richter 1970, I, p. 60.
- 17 Richter 1970, I, p. 64. Later Gian Paolo Lomazzo would observe how a painting 'con moti al naturale' would have made an observer desire 'a beautiful young woman for a wife, having seen her naked' ('una bella giovane per moglie vedendone una ignuda'); see Lomazzo 1973, p. 95.
- 18 Terentius, *Eunuchus*, III, V: 'ego homuncio hoc non facerem? ego illud vero ita feci ac lubens.' English translation by John Barsby in Terence 2001, I, pp. 379-380.
- 19 Translations from Ariosto are based on William Stewart Rose's translation (1823) revised by Frank Dabell.
- 20 Aretino 1988, pp. 89-91, translated by Frank Dabell.
- 21 Aretino 1988, p. 86.
- 22 Burke 2018, p. 58.
- 23 Ruggiero 2006.
- 24 Davidson 1987; Bernstein 1992, pp. 57-58.
- 25 Cellini 1982, p. 355.
- 26 Pliny 1995, p. 325.
- 27 Zapperi 1991.
- 28 Brown, Oberhuber 1978. For a reading of the fusion between ancient sculptural prototypes and contemporary poetics about feminine beauty, see also Rebecchini 2016. See also Burke 2018, pp. 125-157.
- 29 Cropper 1986, p. 190.
- 30 Torino-Bonn 2007. For Alfonso's *camerino*, see at least London 2003, pp. 101-111 and Farinella 2014, pp. 487-643.
- 31 Erasmus of Rotterdam 1986, p. 396.
- 32 Barnes 1998; Schlitt 2005.