

Giulio Romano's *Lovers*: A Reflection on its Visual Sources and Literary Associations

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In the *Life of Giulio Romano*, Giorgio Vasari described the large erotic painting now in the Hermitage Museum, *The Lovers* (fig. 1),¹⁾ as follows: "a youth and a girl embracing in bed and caressing each other, while an old woman behind a door is peeping at them. These figures are slightly less than natural size and very graceful."²⁾ Vasari saw this rather lascivious work at an uncertain date in the house of Vespasiano Gonzaga, and stated explicitly that it had been presented by Duke Federico Gonzaga of Mantua to Vespasiano together with a small *Nativity*, also by Giulio's hand. At the death of Duke Federico in 1540, Vespasiano, the future Duke of Sabbioneta, was only about nine years old. Perhaps, the two paintings were a part of the legacy of Duke Federico to Vespasiano who would later become a noted collector of works of art.

Despite the total lack of documentary evidence, there is a general consensus, on a stylistic basis, in dating the *Lovers* to around 1524, immediately after Giulio's arrival in Mantua.³⁾ We know nothing about the original setting for this panel, but its large, horizontal format (163 x 337 centimeters) seems to suggest that it was designed to be set on a specific wall above a princely couch. In fact, we find a comparable case in Botticelli's *Primavera* (Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence) which has a very similar width (314 centimeters). The 1499 inventory of the Florentine palace of Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de' Medici published by John Shearman unequivocally showed that the Botticelli panel was hung above a "letucio" of the exact same width, which was most probably a part of the original arrangement of the room.⁴⁾ The thematic choice of the Hermitage painting internally supports the supposition of a similar location, and, in any case, this rather licentious image must have been reserved for a most private quarter of Duke Federico's residence.

Unlike his mention of Titian's *Venus of Urbino*, Vasari's description of the Hermitage *Lovers* avoids applying any names of mythological characters to the depicted couple.⁵⁾ This is understandable, since with all its highly idealized mode of representation, any specific attribute is lacking in

these lovers, and the intrusion of the procuress-like old woman to the right of the composition sharply conflicts with pictorial conventions of an elevated world of mythology. On the other hand, scholars have attempted in the past to give these lovers some specific names of mythological or historical characters: "Mars and Venus," or "Alexander and Roxana."⁶⁾ As is shown in the present-day title given to the picture, these denominations failed to convince modern scholarship, while we still are somewhat hesitant to consider the scene as being no more than an erotic genre representation.⁷⁾ This situation itself is typical of the recent discussions of the erotic imagery of the Renaissance, with quite contrasting interpretative attempts which are summarized as, to quote Mary Pardo's terms, "allegorist" and "literalist" attitudes.⁸⁾ In short, we might be endlessly puzzled about, as two poles apart, whether the beautiful female nude reclining on the bed is Venus or a courtesan, and whether the depicted setting is the goddess's regal bedroom or an ennobled brothel.

How should we confront this interpretative conundrum in the case of the Hermitage *Lovers*? If we are not given any clue to decide which of the two alternative interpretations is "correct," one possible solution is obviously to regard the woman as at once Venus *and* a courtesan/mistress, leaving the possibility of multiple readings open according to the beholders' modes of perception. Giulio Romano was no naive artist regarding thematic inventions, and the ambiguity may well have been quite deliberate. As Sylvia Ferino Pagden has aptly noted, a remarkable feature of the *Lovers* lies in its playful effect of surprise, with its contrasting veins of the elevated and the lower, the noble and the vulgar, the serious and the burlesque.⁹⁾ The idealized beauty of the lovers is only emphasized so that the beholder may be amused by these very contrasts. This kind of comment might sound rather arbitrary, but, as we will see below, visual traditions and literary contexts related to this image provide ample justification for such a modality of reception. In this essay, I will attempt to reconstruct, or at least sketch out, a part of the imaginative framework for Giulio's bedroom scene, discussing its lineage in figurative traditions and the rich literary associations surrounding this image.

First, let us note a quite apparent feature of Giulio's interior scene: the majority of its composition is solely occupied by a gorgeous bed. I think this compositional



fig.1 Giulio Romano, *The Lovers*, The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg

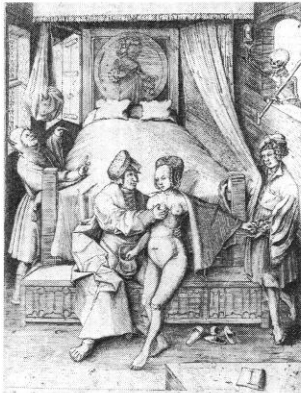


fig.2 Monogrammist I., *The Interior with ill-suited lovers, a fool and Death*, engraving



fig.3 Israhel van Meckenem, *The Couple Seated on the Bed*, engraving



fig.4 Israhel van Meckenem, *The Organ Player*, engraving

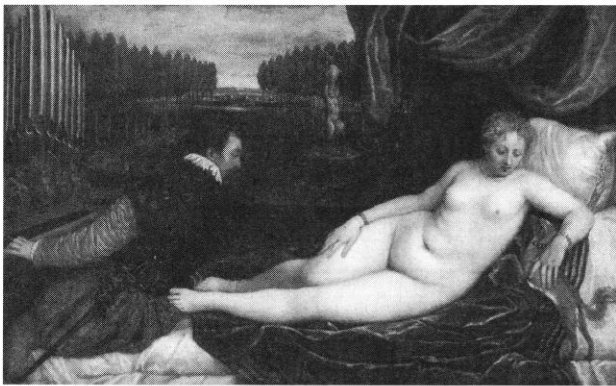


fig.5 Titian, *Venus with an Organ Player*, Museo del Prado, Madrid

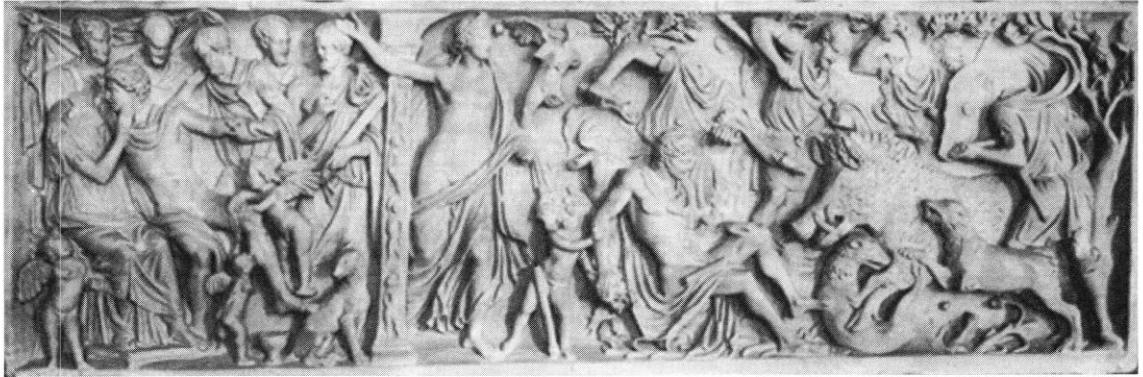


fig.7 Adonis and Venus sarcophagus, Roman, 2nd century A.D., Palazzo Ducale, Mantua



fig.6 Enea Vico (after Parmigianino), *Venus and Mars Embracing as Vulcan Works at his Forge*, engraving



fig.8 Giulio Romano, *Apollo and Cypris (?) embracing*, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm

idea ultimately traces back to the northern tradition of genre-allegorical representation of "lovers on the bed." For example, a comparison with the Monogrammist L's small print representing the *Interior with ill-suited lovers, a fool and Death* (fig. 2)¹⁰ reveals, with all its totally different style, medium and dimensions, a close parallel with Giulio's pictorial ideas: the large bed with an erotic couple, someone watching secretly from outside, and the motif of slippers alluding to domesticity and intimacy. Above all, a sort of satirical mood, common to both of the images, arises from the same dual structure of the narrative: the psychological projection of the beholder's self may fall upon the male lover absorbed in erotic act, and at the same time, upon the sarcastic "Peeping Tom" of the love affairs. Further, the ring of keys hanging from the old

woman's waist in Giulio's picture is quite comparable with the same motif in Israhel van Meckenem's *Couple Seated on the Bed* (fig. 3), where the motif's sexual meaning is rendered more apparent by being positioned at the woman's lap.¹¹

Incidentally, a similar conceptual parallelism may be observed between Israhel van Meckenem's *Organ Player* (fig. 4) and Titian's versions of *Venus with an Organ Player* (fig. 5), suggesting that the great master of female beauty knew such print images of erotic allegory.¹² Also, the northern inspiration for bedroom scenes of the High Renaissance is indicated by the typically northern motif of window appearing in *Venus and Mars Embracing as Vulcan Works at his Forge*, engraved by Enea Vico after Parmigianino's design (fig. 6),¹³ which obviously belongs

to the same family of erotic imagery as Giulio's *Lovers*.

I believe that the northern genre-allegorical tradition was appropriated by Raphael and his circle, where its inherent moral allegory was largely - but perhaps not totally - discarded, while the representational style was entirely renewed in classifying sense. Needless to say, the figurative repertoire of antique art played a crucial role in this process. In the case of the Hermitage *Lovers*, I think that Giulio was directly inspired by the figures of Adonis and Venus embracing in a well-known Roman sarcophagus, now in the Palazzo Ducale of Mantua (fig. 7).¹⁴⁾ The relation is not that of mere imitation, but rather of skillful adaptation. The positions of the male and female characters are reversed, but some characteristic motifs - the cheek-to-cheek caress, the snuggling pose of the figure to the right, and the arm put around the other figure's neck - are quite indicative of Giulio's reference to this particular visual source.

In the early sixteenth century this Adonis sarcophagus was in the collection of the sculptor Andrea Bregno in Rome where it was drawn by Amico Aspertini on a sheet in the Wolfegg Codex,¹⁵⁾ and later in the same century, possibly in 1583, it entered the collection of Vespasiano Gonzaga in Sabbioneta, the very owner of the Hermitage *Lovers*.¹⁶⁾ Nothing is known about the whereabouts of this relief during the period in between, but it seems almost certain that the antique piece was known to Giulio. As was recently demonstrated by Francesca Vinti, the relief couple was more literally copied by the artist in a drawing now in Stockholm, representing *Apollo and Cypris* (?) embracing (fig. 8).¹⁷⁾ I also suspect that the figures of men attacking the boar in the right part of the same sarcophagus may have inspired some of the soldiers in battle in the fresco *Battle of Constantine* in the Vatican.

Iconographically, the couple on the sarcophagus does not represent an amorous pleasure, but rather the tragic moment when the fatally wounded Adonis expires in Venus's arms. The visual representation of this intertwined pair was, however, a formulaic motif in ancient art which could be applied to both love scenes and death scenes. Michael Koortbojian acutely observed that this interchangeability enabled the designer of the Mantuan sarcophagus to put the embrace scene at the left end of the frieze, thus conflating the beginning (Venus's caress at the departure of Adonis) and the end (Venus's final embrace)

of the narrative.¹⁸⁾ Indeed, helped by this stereotypical quality of the motif, Giulio Romano could easily adapt the couple of the antique relief for a voluptuous embrace on a bed.

If Giulio drew inspiration from this typical representation of "Adonis and Venus embracing" in ancient art, this may provide useful indications for our inquiry regarding which kind of imaginative associations may have been evoked in the minds of Renaissance beholders of the Hermitage *Lovers*. I owe again to Koortbojian the interesting observation that the stereotyped representation of these ideal lovers finds an impressive description, or *ekphrasis*, in the *Idyll XV* of Theocritus.¹⁹⁾ Two women from Syracuse, Gorgo and Praxinoa, go to see the Adonis Festival in Alexandria. After a rather comical struggle through a terribly crowded street, they see a tapestry with an embroidered image of Adonis on the couch. Then, Praxinoa exclaims:

Such cloths! They're never the work of human hands.
Look at the artists' figures. Here's one that stands
Getting his breath back, another that seems to move.
And there's Adonis, our handsome prince of love,
Lolling on his silver chair, cheeks touched with down-
Adonis, our darling on earth and in Acheron.²⁰⁾

The vivid visual image evoked by the woman will be soon complemented by the singer's solemn dirge, in which the amorous embrace of Adonis and Venus on the bridal bed is further described:

O splendours of the couch! Carved eagles bear
An ivory Ganymede through golden sky,
And soft as sleep the purple blankets lie.
Let Samos and Miletus say with pride,
"Our looms have served Adonis and his bride."
Eighteen years young! the down still on his face,
He holds the goddess in a flushed embrace,
As she holds him and kisses his smooth lips.²¹⁾

If Ferino Pagden has suggested the possibility that Giulio's *Lovers* may be based on an unidentified *ekphrasis* of an antique painting,²²⁾ I think the Adonis tapestry of Theocritus has a good claim to be a plausible source. Theocritus's text is not a mere narrative but a description of an imaginary work of art, which must have more easily

induced emulation by a Renaissance artist. This is hard to prove definitively, since specific coincidences between the text and the image are lacking.²³⁾ However, the emphasis on the luxuriant bed in the text is certainly suggestive, and the youth depicted by Giulio better accords with the description of young Adonis (“Eighteen years young! the down still on his face”) than with fully adult Mars.

Theocritus’s Adonis is a heroic, tragic figure symbolizing death and rebirth, but of course his persona has another dimension, especially in a comic vein: he is preeminently the prototype of young, beautiful paramour. Koortbojian notes that the stereotyped representation of “Adonis and Venus embracing” is also alluded to in a parodic manner in Plautus’s comedy, *The Brothers Menaechmus*.²⁴⁾ One of the twin brothers Menaechmus, on his way to visit his mistress, meets the parasite Peniculus, and compares himself with Adonis:

Men. Tell me, have you ever seen a wall painting showing the eagle making off with Catameitus [Ganymede], or Venus with Adonis?

Pen. Often. But what have such pictures got to do with me?

Men. (revealing the mantle) Come, cast your eye on me. Do I look at all like them?

Pen. What sort of a get-up is that?

Men. Say that I’m a splendid fellow.²⁵⁾

The parodic association between the idealized image of “prince of love” and a pretentious youth visiting a courtesan closely parallels the contrasting aspects of Giulio’s visual representation. Citing Plautus’s comedy for the interpretation of the Hermitage painting is not out of context. *The Brothers Menaechmus* was a favorite piece at the Ferrarese court and was performed there in 1486 and 1491, on the latter occasion for the wedding of Anna Visconti and Alfonso d’Este, the maternal uncle of Federico Gonzaga.²⁶⁾ Later, it was produced again in Rome in 1511, and this time Federico Gonzaga himself, then the hostage of Pope Julius II, was present at the performance.²⁷⁾

We have a further link. The Plautine story of the twin brothers Menaechmus, whose action turns on the amusing intricacy caused by people’s mistaking one for the other, directly inspired the *Calandria*, the famous and only extant

comedy written by Bernardo Dovizi da Bibbiena.²⁸⁾ This relation was so obvious to a contemporary audience that Castiglione felt it necessary to defend it against the charge of being a mere imitation of Plautus in his prologue given at the piece’s first performance in Urbino in 1513.²⁹⁾ Castiglione rightly emphasized the “modernity” of Bibbiena’s comedy: despite a quite similar setting, the plot is more complicated (the twins are now male and female), and a new, vivid sensibility for contemporary life permeates the piece. The twins, Lidio and Santilla, were separated in their childhood in Modon, and thanks to vicissitudes of fortune now both are in Rome without knowing each other. Lidio frequents his lover Fulvia, wife of Calandro, in female guise, while Santilla lives as male assuming his brother’s name Lidio. Their perfect resemblance and sexual reverse produce many comical complications, especially with Fulvia and stupid Calandro, in which indecent and erotic allusions abound. Finally, the twins recognize one another and everything reaches a happy ending.

In his brief but penetrating discussion of the Hermitage painting, Paul Barolsky cited a passage from the *Calandria* to illustrate the sexual connotation of the Italian word *chiave* (key).³⁰⁾ I think, however, the context which links Bibbiena’s comedy and Giulio’s *Lovers* is historically more specific. After the first Urbino performance, the *Calandria* was staged in Rome in 1514 in honor of Isabella d’Este, Federico Gonzaga’s mother, with Baldassare Peruzzi’s stage design.³¹⁾ Then in Mantua, the piece was presented in 1520, shortly after young Federico’s succession to the marquisate (1519), and again in 1532, shortly after the marquisate’s elevation to the dukedom (1530) and the Duke’s marriage with Margherita Paleologa (1531).³²⁾ Undoubtedly, the comedy was perfectly familiar to both the painter and the patron of the Hermitage *Lovers*, possibly even a most favorite piece of the latter.

So, it is only natural to suppose that Giulio’s bedroom scene may have been wittily designed to *recall* the patron Federico the amorous pleasure of the paramour Lidio and his lover Fulvia, although the painting does not specifically *represent* it. One detail in the painting is quite indicative: the woman on the bed reaches her left hand as if to unveil and verify the young man’s genitals. In Act IV of the *Calandria*, Fulvia receives Santilla, believing her to be Lidio, and falls in despair to find him (her) female. She storms at the magician Ruffo: “Elas, you converted my

Lidio into female. *I groped and touched it. I find everything else as usual, except its presence in him.*"³³⁾ Then, the magician promises the remedy ("Not only you will see it, but will touch it with your hand"), and true Lidio, as if to have returned male by magic, goes to Fulvia. A very similar male/female intrigue is found in an amusing episode in Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* (first published in 1516 in Ferrara, in the form of forty canti), where a princess falls in ardent love with female warrior Bradamante. Then Ricciardetto, Bradamante's brother, satisfies the princess's desire, making her believe that he is Bradamante magically changed male.³⁴⁾ Also here, the erotic sense of touch is evoked in a bedroom scene: "as she touches and sees what she has so desired..."³⁵⁾ Did the woman's gesture in the painting not remind Duke Federico of these erotically comical episodes?

The old woman - a procuress, servant or nurse - is an indispensable comic character who helps paramours and mistresses in their love affairs. In Giulio's painting, her finger is on the ring attached to the outside of the door, which should mean that she is now leaving the room,³⁶⁾ satisfied with her own successful arrangements. The dog jumping on her lap, a symbol of the amorous fidelity of the lovers, seems to be trying to let her out to leave them alone with their pleasure. Besides being a common attribute, the dog may be related to another episode narrated in the canto XLIII of *Orlando Furioso*, whose scene is incidentally set in Mantua: a young paramour, appropriately named Adonio, fulfills his desire for the chaste wife Argia, with the magical help of the sorceress Manto in the guise of a little dog.³⁷⁾

The cat under the bed is, conversely, a remnant of common moral allegory about love and apparently indicates its sinister aspects. The motif finds a counterpart in the harsh dispute between Lidio and the preceptor Polinico in Act I of the *Calandria*, in which the latter admonishes: "Don't you know that the companions of love are wrath, hatred, hostility, discord, ruin, poverty, suspicion, ... ?"³⁸⁾ In this way, the cat complements the voluptuous scene, adding to it a common admonitory component of the Renaissance discourses on love.

Comedies, whether ancient or modern, do not directly describe erotic acts, but do stimulate the audience's erotic imagination with vividly allusive conversations. In a sense, painting could offer something equivalent to this imagined

world. In a broader theoretical perspective, Mary Pardo writes: "The critical appraisal of the figurative arts in the Renaissance was implicated in a large-scale reassessment of sensory experience - a reassessment in which the experience of the erotic played a crucial part. ... The rendering of erotic subjects became a kind of test-case for the sensory 'truth' of the work of art."³⁹⁾ In this process of erotic experience, literary imagination and visual image fruitfully cooperated. I think that Federico Gonzaga's experiences at court theaters were a prerequisite for his understanding of Giulio's *Lovers*, and the artist could count on the Duke's visual "literacy" in front of his work.

Barolsky and Pardo have already noted the Hermitage painting's close affinity with the world of comedy of the period.⁴⁰⁾ My attempt was in their line, and aimed to show that the painting was not a mere lascivious genre scene, but was based on rich traditions of visual and literary representations and must have been perceived as such. Certainly, Giulio Romano sensibly avoided including any motif or attribute specifying a particular narrative, and the deliberately equivocal image could be read on diverse levels of meaning. However, the multiplicity is not infinite, but is circumscribed by specific literary associations shared by the artist and the patron. In this sense, the beautiful youth on the bed could be viewed as Adonis the prince of love, Bibbiena's Lidio, Ariosto's Ricciardetto or Adonio (all successful paramours!), and perhaps several others of the type. Ultimately, it could even offer witty and flattering allusions to Federico Gonzaga, who himself was in ardent and illicit love with his mistress Isabella Boschetti.⁴¹⁾

The Hermitage *Lovers* is preeminently a demonstration piece. Its relation to the traditions mentioned above is not to be viewed in terms of "influence," but can be best understood in the context of *paragone*: in its glamoring beauty of nude figures, it emulates the ancient imagery of mythological lovers; in its playful, witty invention, it competes with renowned authors of comedy, ancient and modern. The artist's contrasting juxtaposition of the idealized mode of representation derived from antique model and the modern, this-worldly sensibility runs parallel with topical debates of the period concerning the relative superiority of Latin and the vernacular as literary language. In praise of Giulio Romano, indeed, Pietro Aretino aptly dubbed his artistic concepts "anticamente moderni e modernamente antichi."⁴²⁾

Notes

- 1) The State Hermitage Museum, inv. no. 223. Oil on canvas (transferred from panel in 1834), 163 x 337 cm. For standard references, see F. Hartt, *Giulio Romano*, New Haven, 1958 [reprint: New York, 1981], pp. 217-218; S. Ferino, in *Giulio Romano* (exh. cat.), Palazzo Te - Palazzo Ducale, Mantua, 1989, pp. 274-275; T. Kustodieva, *The Hermitage Catalogue of Western European Painting: Italian Painting Thirteenth to Sixteenth Centuries*, Florence, 1994, pp. 214-215, no. 113.
- 2) G. Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori* [1550, 1568], ed. G. Milanesi, 9 vols., Florence, 1878-85 [reprint: Florence, 1906], V, p. 546.
- 3) See Hartt, loc. cit.; S. Ferino, loc. cit.
- 4) J. Shearman, "The Collections of the Younger Branch of the Medici," *Burlington Magazine*, vol. CXVII, 1975, pp. 12-27 (esp. p. 25, no. 38); see also H. Bredekamp, *Boticelli. Primavera*, Modena, 1996 [original German ed. Frankfurt a.M., 1988], p. 24.
- 5) For Vasari's description of *Venus of Urbino*, see Vasari, *Le vite* ... cit., VII, p. 443.
- 6) See Kustodieva, *The Hermitage Catalogue* ... cit., p. 214.
- 7) Hartt (*Giulio Romano* ... cit., p. 218) is inclined to see a specific narrative in the painting. More recently, in her detailed discussion of this painting, S. Ferino Pagden ("I due amanti di Leningrado," in *Giulio Romano: Atti del Convegno internazionale di Studi su «Giulio Romano e l'espansione europea del Rinascimento» [Mantova, Palazzo Ducale - Teatro scientifico del Bibiena, 1-5 ottobre 1989]*, Mantua, 1989, pp. 227-236) still considers that the scene is likely to be based on some textual source (p. 234).
- 8) M. Pardo, "Artifice as Seduction in Titian," in J. G. Turner (ed.), *Sexuality and Gender in Early Modern Europe: Institutions, Texts, Image*, Cambridge, 1993, pp. 59-60.
- 9) Ferino Pagden, "I due amanti di Leningrado," ... cit., p. 233.
- 10) F. W. H. Hollenstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etching and Engravings and Woodcuts ca. 1450-1700*, vol. 10, Amsterdam, 1954, p. 244, no. 99. See also, E. de Jongh and G. Luijten, "Impressions of reality: genre prints in the Netherlands, 1550-1700," in *Mirror of Everyday Life: Genreprints in the Netherlands 1550-1700* (exh. cat.), Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam, 1997, p. 11, fig. 9.
- 11) For van Meckenem's print, see M. Lehrs, *Geschichte und kritischer Katalog des deutschen, niederländischen und französischen Kupferstichs im XV. Jahrhundert*, 16 vols., Vienna, 1908-34, vol. IX, no. 508.
- 12) For van Meckenem's print, see Lehrs, *Geschichte* ... cit., vol. IX, no. 507. For the interpretations of Titian's versions of *Venus with an Organ Player*, see, among others, E. Panoofsky, *Problems in Titian: Mostly Iconographic*, London, 1969, pp. 119-125 and R. Goffen, *Titian's Women*, New Haven and London, 1997, pp. 159-169.
- 13) J. Spike (ed.), *The Illustrated Bartsch 30: Italian Masters of the Sixteenth Century. Enea Vico*, New York, 1985, no. 271 (294).
- 14) Mantua, Museo del Palazzo Ducale, inv. gen. no. 6734. See P. P. Bober and R. O. Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture: a Handbook of Sources*, London, 1986, pp. 64-65, no. 21; L. Ventura, *Il collezionismo di un principe: La raccolta di marmi di Vespasiano Gonzaga Colonna*, Modena, 1997, pp. 87-90, no. 63.
- 15) G. Schweikhart, *Der Codex Wolfegg. Zeichnungen nach der Antike von Amico Aspertini*, London, 1986, pp. 86-87, Abb. 18. The drawing is inscribed: "andare in monte caualo in chasa de mestro andrea scarpelino."
- 16) Ventura (*Il collezionismo* ... cit., pp. 103-104) cites two documents dated 1583 about Vespasiano Gonzaga's request for permission to export some antique sculptures from Rome, but without specifying which sculptures.
- 17) F. Vinti, *Giulio Romano Pittore e l'antico*, Florence, 1995, pp. 12-13. The drawing is in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, inv. no. 347. See also Hartt, *Giulio Romano* ... cit., p. 305, no. 298, fig. 517.
- 18) M. Koortbojian, *Myth, Meaning, and Memory on Roman Sarcophagi*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2000, pp. 41-46.
- 19) *Ibid.*, p. 40, note 67.
- 20) Theocritus, *The Idylls*, translated with an introduction and notes by R. Wells (Penguin Classics), London, etc., 1988, XV: 82-86.
- 21) *Ibid.*, XV: 125-131.
- 22) Ferino Pagden, "I due amanti di Leningrado," ... cit., p. 234.
- 23) In the painting, "the purple blankets" are not included, nor does the relief carved on the bed represent the rape of Ganymede, but rather a satyr assaulting a nymph.
- 24) Koortbojian, *Myth*, ... cit., p. 40, note 67.
- 25) Plautus, *The Two Menaechmuses*, in *Plautus*, translated by P. Nixon (Loeb Classical Library), vol. 2, Cambridge and London, 1977, 143-147.
- 26) B. L. Rutledge, *The Theatrical Art of the Italian Renaissance: Interchangeable Conventions in Painting and Theater in the Late Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries*, Ph. D. Dissertation, The University of Michigan, 1973, pp. 171-172, 194; A. d'Ancona, *Origini del teatro italiano*, 2nd ed., Rome, 1891, vol. II, pp. 128, 130.
- 27) Rutledge, *The Theatrical Art* ... cit., p. 215; D'Ancona, *Origini* ... cit., vol. II, p. 80.
- 28) For the text, see Bibbiena, *La Calandria*, ed. by P. Fossati, Turin, 1967. Bibbiena's comedy was published in Venice in 1523 (Nicolo & Dominico dal lesus), and in Rome in 1524 (F. M. Calvo).
- 29) B. Castiglione, "Prologo," in Bibbiena, *La Calandria*, cit., p. 16.
- 30) P. Barolsky, *Infinite Jest: Wit and Humor in Italian Renaissance*, London, 1978, pp. 132-133.
- 31) Rutledge, *The Theatrical Art* ... cit., p. 222.
- 32) P. Fossati, "Nota bio-bibliografica," in Bibbiena, *La Calandria*, cit., p. 9.
- 33) Bibbiena, *La Calandria*, cit., p. 76.
- 34) L. Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*, ed. by L. Caretti, 2 vols., Milan, 1985, canto 25, XXVI-LXIX. The canto 25 of the definitive edition corresponds to the canto 23 of the first edition of 1516. For a discussion of this particular episode in the context of the High Renaissance aesthetics related to sexual ambiguity, see F. Jacobs, "Aretino and Michelangelo, Dolce and Titian: *Femmina, Masculo, Grazia*," *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 82, no. 1, March 2000, p. 60.
- 35) *Ibid.*, canto 25, LXVII.
- 36) Ferino Pagden ("I due amanti di Leningrado," ... cit., p. 233) draws attention to the ambiguity of the old woman's action, but she is inclined to see here an entering action.
- 37) *Orlando furioso*, cit., canto 43, LXXII-CXXXIV. The canto 43 of the definitive edition corresponds to the canto 39 of the first edition of 1516.
- 38) Bibbiena, *La Calandria*, cit., p. 26.
- 39) Pardo, "Artifice ...," cit., p. 55.
- 40) Barolsky, *Infinite Jest* ... cit., pp. 132-133; Pardo, "Artifice ...," cit., p. 69 ("something like a scene from ancient comedy").
- 41) For a summary account of Federico's marital politics and his relation to Isabella Boschetti, see E. Verheyen, *The Palazzo del Te in Mantua: Images of Love and Politics*, Baltimore and London, 1977, pp. 18-21; G. Benzoni, "Federico II Gonzaga," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 45, Rome, 1995, pp. 711-715.
- 42) In a letter to Giulio Romano dated June 1542. See F. Pertile and E. Carnesca (eds.), *Lettere sull'arte di Pietro Aretino*, 4 vols., Milan, 1957-60, vol. 1, p. 215, no. CXLII.

* 英文の校閲にはマーサ・J・マクリントク博士のお世話になった。記して謝意を表したい。アリスト『狂えるオルランド』、ピッピエーナ『カランドリア』の16世紀前半の諸版に関する情報は、平成15年度科学研究費補助金「テントレットの絵画と同時代出版文化の関係に関する研究」(基盤研究C[2]、研究代表者越川倫明)により平成15年9月にロンドン、ブリティッシュ・ライブラリーで行なった調査に基づいている。

Summary

ジュリオ・ロマーノの《恋人たち》 —— 視覚的典拠と文学的連想に関する考察 —— 越川倫明

本稿は、ジュリオ・ロマーノが寝台に横たわる裸体の男女を描いた大型の油彩画《恋人たち》(サンクト・ペテルブルク、エルミタージュ美術館所蔵)をとりあげ、その視覚的典拠と主題解釈について論ずる。ルネサンスのエロティック絵画をめぐる解釈にしばしば起こるように、この作品に関する議論も、そこに物語のないし寓意的内容を見ようとする立場と、単刀直入なエロティック絵画とみなそうとする立場のあいだを揺れ動いてきた。しかし、前者の見方からはこれまで典拠となるテキストは特定されておらず、一方、後者の見方は、ルネサンスの絵画表象がもつ意味内容の豊かな重層性を不当に単純化してしまう危険をはらむように思われる。本稿では、当該作品の視覚的典拠として北方の寓意的・風俗的版画の伝統および古代ローマの石棺浮彫りに表されたアドニスとウェヌス像を指摘するとともに、このイメージが成立した文学的バックグラウンドとして古代およびルネサンスのいくつかの詩と喜劇作品を想定してみたい。その結果、画家とパトロン双方によって共有されたであろう視覚的・文学的連想の系譜が浮かび上がり、高貴な古典性と猥雑な喜劇性のあいだを易々と往来する機知に富んだ絵画構想が明らかになるだろう。