2013

Power and Nostalgia in Eras of Cultural Rebirth: The Timeless Allure of the Farnese Antinous

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POWER AND NOSTALGIA IN ERAS OF CULTURAL REBIRTH:

THE TIMELESS ALLURE OF *THE FARNESE ANTINOUS*

by

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SUBMITTED TO SCRIPPS COLLEGE IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE DEGREE OF BACHELOR OF ARTS

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PROFESSOR GEORGE GORSE

MAY 3, 2013

Acknowledgements

To Professor Rankaitis for making sure I could attend the college of my dreams and for everything else. I owe you so much.

To Professor Novy for encouraging me to pursue writing. Your class changed my life. Don't stop rockin!

To Professor Emerick for telling me to be an Art History major.

To Professor Pohl for your kind words of encouragement, three great semesters, and for being the only person in the world who might love *Gladiator* more than I do!

To Professor Coats for being a great advisor and always being around to sign my many petition forms and for allowing me to pursue a degree with honors.

To Professor Gorse for always having a great book (or five!) to recommend and for being such a great help during my thesis process.

To Professor Gadeyne, Professor Tuck-Scala, and Paolo for making me want to move to Rome and for giving me the idea for my thesis topic!

To Lara Colvin for being so understanding about work all semester!

To Corinna Cotsen for believing in me and for giving me the chance to finally see Greece.

To Professor Roselli for working so hard to help me get funding for my trip to Greece!

To Professor Berenfeld for teaching me everything I know about Classical art and archaeology and for helping me so much with everything these past two semesters. I can't think of many professors more invested in their students' success. Without your classes, I never would have realized what I want to do with my life.

To my wonderful friends, who have always been so incredibly supportive of me, especially in these last few months. I can't believe we're all graduating!

To my dad, for letting me go to Scripps and never insisting I study something practical.

And most of all,

To my mom, I couldn't have done this without you. I'm lucky to have someone who cares about me as much as you do, and I hope I can repay you someday

"The Greek word for 'return' is nostos*.* Algos *means 'suffering.' So nostalgia is the suffering caused by an unappeased yearning to return."*

--Milan Kundera*, Ignorance*

"Remembrance of things past is not necessarily the remembrance of things as they were."

--Marcel Proust

Table of Contents

List of Figures ……2

Introduction ……5

I. Concordia at Last: Antinous as Panhellenic Unifying Agent ……...……19

II. Raphael's Passion and Agostino's Pride: The Case of the Chigi Jonah ……..48

Conclusion ……79

Bibliography ……84

Figures ……....i

List of Figures

Fig. 1. Unknown, *Bust of Hadrian,* ca. 117-138 A.D.

Fig. 2. Unknown, *Portrait Medallion of Agostino* Chigi, ca. 1510.

Fig. 3. Raphael, *Self-portrait,* 1506.

Fig. 4. Unknown, *Farnese Antinous,* ca. 131-137 A.D.

Fig. 5. Map, *Roman Empire at its Greatest Extent.*

Fig. 6. *Aedicula Antinoi: A Small Shrine of Antinous.* Private Residential Shrine 2013.

Fig. 7. Unknown, *Farnese Antinous,* frontal view, ca. 131-137 A.D.

Fig. 8. Unknown, *Farnese Antinous,* profile, ca. 131-137 A.D.

Fig. 9. Unknown, *Farnese Antinous*, with other figures in Gallery,ca. 131-137 A.D.

Fig. 10. Raphael, *Pope Julius II*, 1511-1512.

Fig. 11. Bernini, *Death Raising Chigi Family Crest,* ca. 1655-1661.

Fig. 12. Bramante and others, *Exterior of Santa Maria de Popolo*, ca. 1470's.

Fig. 13. Raphael and others, *Altar of the Chigi Chapel* (Sculpture of Jonah to the left), ca.1520.

Fig. 14. Executed by Lorenzetto, based on design by Raphael, *Jonah*, 1520.

Fig. 15. Executed by Lorenzetto, based on design by Raphael, *Jonah*, frontal view, 1520.

Fig. 16. Map: *The Empire of Alexander 334-323 B.C.*

Fig. 17. Unknown, Commissioned by Hadrian, *The Pantheon,* 126 AD.

Fig. 18. Unknown, Commissioned by Hadrian, *The Pantheon,*126 AD.

Fig. 19. Unknown, Commissioned by Hadrian, *Mausoleum of Hadrian (Castel St. Angelo),* ca. 135-139 AD.

Fig. 20. Unknown, Commissioned by Augustus, *Mausoleum of Augustus*, 28 B.C.

Fig. 21. Unknown, Commissioned by Hadrian, *Temple of Zeus Olympios,* 125 A.D.

Fig. 22. Unknown, *Arch of Hadrian,* ca. 130-131 A.D.

Fig. 23. Unknown, A*ntinous as Osiris*, ca. 131–138 A.D.

Fig. 24. *Hunting Tondi* on Arch of Constantine, ca. 130–138 A.D. (reused on the Arch of Constantine 315 A.D.)

Fig. 25. Unknown, *Kroisos Kouros*, ca. 540-515 B.C.

Fig. 26. Unknown, *Obelisk of Antinous*, ca. 130-136 A.D.

Fig. 27. Unknown, *Antinous as Sylvanus,* ca. 130-138 A.D.

Fig. 28. Unknown, *Antinous as Dionysus,* ca. 130-138 A.D.
Fig. 29. Unknown, *Delphi Antinous*, ca. 130-138 A.D.
Fig. 30. Unknown, *Hope Antinous,* ca. 130-138 A.D.
Fig. 31. Unknown, *Antinous as Apollo Lyceios,* ca. 130-138 A.D.
Fig. 32. Polykleitos, *Doryphoros*, ca. 1st century B.C.
Fig. 33. Polykleitos, *Doryphoros*, head, ca. 1st century B.C.
Fig. 34. Copy of Praxiteles, *Apollo Sauroctonus,* ca. 1st-2nd Centuries A.D.
Fig. 35. Roman Chamber of Commerce with Façade from Temple of Hadrian, 145 A.D.
Fig. 36. Baldassarre Peruzzi, *Villa Farnesina*, ca.1506-1510.
Fig. 37. Baldassarre Peruzzi, *Sala delle Prospettiva of Villa Farnesina*, ca. 1506-1510.
Fig. 38. Baldassarre Peruzzi, *Loggia of Galatea*, 1511.
Fig. 39. Baldassarre Peruzzi, *Loggia of Galatea*, ceiling, 1511.
Fig. 40. Il Sodoma, *The Nuptials of Alexander and Roxanne,* 1517.
Fig. 41. Il Sodoma, *The Women of Darius's Family before Alexander the Great*, 1517.
Fig. 42. Raphael, *The School of Athens,* 1511.
Fig. 43. Raphael, *The Triumph of Galatea,* 1512.
Fig. 44. Raphael, *Loggia of Psyche*. Fresco 1517-18.
Fig. 45. Raphael, *Mercury,* 1517-18.
Fig. 46. Raphael, *Wedding Banquet of Cupid and Psyche,* 1517-1518.
Fig. 47. Raphael, *Council of the Gods,* 1517-1518.
Fig. 48. Raphael, *Mercury Brings Psyche up to Olympus*, 1517-18.
Fig. 49. Bramante and others, *Exterior of Santa Maria de Popolo*, ca. 1470's.
Fig. 50. Bramante and others, *Interior, Church of Santa Maria de Popolo*, ca.1470's.
Fig. 51. Raphael (later Bernini), *Chigi Chapel*, ca. 1520.
Fig. 52. Floorplans of Pantheon and Chigi Chapel.
Fig. 53. Close-up of entrance pilasters, *The Pantheon,* 126 AD.
Fig. 54. Raphael. *Pilasters in Chigi Chapel*, ca. 1513-1515.
Fig. 55. Dome of *The Pantheon,*126 AD.
Fig. 56. Raphael, *Dome of the Chigi Chapel*, ca. 1513-1515.
Fig. 57. Raphael, *Dome of the Chigi Chapel*, ca. 1513-1515.
Fig. 58. Chigi Chapel "Pyramid," ca. 1513-1515.
Fig. 59. Chigi Chapel Frieze, ca. 1513-1515.
Fig. 60. Executed by Lorenzetto, based on design by Raphael, *Elijah*, 1520.

Fig. 61. Comparison of Head of *Farnese Antinous* and Chigi Chapel *Jonah.*

Fig. 62. Tomb of Raphael, *Pantheon,*126 A.D.

Fig. 63. Bernini, *Porta del Popolo*. 1655.

Fig. 64. Annibale Carracci and others, *View of the Farnese Gallery*, 1597-1608.

Fig. 65. Annibale Carracci, *The Rape of Ganymede by Jupiter's Eagle*, 1597.

Fig. 66. Anton von Maron, *Portrait of Johann Winckelmann*, 1768.

Introduction

Sophocles, greatest, or at least most decorated, of the Greek tragedians, once wrote, "Whoever neglects the arts when he is young has lost the past and is dead to the future."[1] Few have taken these words quite so seriously as Hadrian, emperor of Rome from 117-138 A.D. (Fig.1). Better known today for his extensive artistic patronage than he is for his political maneuvers, Hadrian became obsessed with reviving the lost culture of Classical Greece in a distinctly Roman fashion.[2] His ultimate goal, it seems, was to unite the peoples of his far-flung empire in shared appreciation for their illustrious cultural inheritance. Though Hadrian and his grand scheme for the empire are now but distant memories, the numerous artworks commissioned and collected by him are a lasting testament to his nostalgic desires. Indeed, "the future" has looked kindly upon the emperor and his reign precisely because there exists such a vast amount of material evidence, much of which continues to be admired for its beauty as well as its ability to evoke a sense of wonder and mystery.

Centuries after the emperor's death, at the dawn of the High Renaissance in Rome, the papacy longed to recreate the splendor of imperial Rome at its height, "enfolding the best of all that had gone before in a truly catholic embrace."[3] The mighty humanist popes of the age learned from the decaying, yet imposing, monuments still dotting the Roman landscape that the only way to render their power, and the Christian message, truly

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[1] Fragments, l. 304 (Minos).
[2] John Addington Symonds, *Sketches and Studies in Italy*, (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1879), 62. "In a failing age he lived a restless-minded, many-sided soldier-prince, whose inner hopes and highest aspirations were for Hellas. Hellas, her art, her history, her myths, her literature, her lovers, her young heroes filled him with enthusiasm. To rebuild her ruined cities, to restore her deities, to revive her golden life of blended poetry and science, to reconstruct her spiritual empire as he had re-organised the Roman world, was Hadrian's dream."
[3] Ingrid Rowland, *The Culture of the High Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 1-2.

eternal was through patronage of the arts. Yet it was an immensely successful merchant from Siena, Agostino Chigi "il Magnifico" (1466-1520),[4] who perhaps most fully understood that embracing the past while reworking its forms to suit his own needs could only increase his influence (Fig. 2). This papal banker successfully transcended his lower-class background to become one of the greatest secular patrons of the age. Agostino Chigi is best known for his working relationship with the painter Raphael, who was also a pioneering archaeologist obsessed with recapturing, and maybe even surpassing, the beauty and grace of ancient art (Fig. 3). Chigi and Hadrian, though separated by over 1,300 years, both knew that gaining cultural preeminence by linking themselves to an idealized past through the arts was the secret to immortality. Most remarkable, however, is that both, in different ways, made use of the very same figure to help them reach their goals. This figure was Antinous, Hadrian's youthful lover and "last god of the ancient world" (Fig. 4).[5]

Hadrian, like Chigi, came to power at the height of a cultural renaissance. This period, now called the Second Sophistic, spanned the second century A.D. and marked an era of "distinctive archaism in Graeco-Roman culture."[6] Usually emphasized is the renewed emphasis on Classical Greek modes of oratory, rhetoric, and art making in Athens, but nostalgia for the grand days of the ancient past became *de rigueur* all over the eastern half of the empire, and even among Roman elites. During the Second

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[4] Ingrid Rowland, "Render Unto Caesar the Things Which are Caesar's: Humanism and the Arts in the Patronage of Agostino Chigi," *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol. 39, No. 4 (Winter, 1986), 673.
[5] So-called in a lecture given by John J. Johnston last year at The Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology in London.
[6] Jas Elsner, *Imperial Rome and Christian Triumph: The Art of the Roman Empire AD 100-450* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 170. This phenomenon will be discussed at greater length in the first chapter. The title "Second Sophistic" is rebirth of the "First Sophistic" in the 5th century B.C. in Athens. Sophist means teacher, or imparter of wisdom. In the 5th century, the term came to be associated with skills in oratory and rhetoric, and sophists were often condemned because they refused to teach without payment.

Sophistic the phenomenon of the so-called "Roman copy"—a marble statue commissioned by a wealthy Roman collector that copies a famous bronze work from the fourth or fifth century B.C.—reached its apex.[7] Even original works quoted well-known tropes of Classical sculpture, reinterpreted for the pleasure of a learned Roman audience. There is no question that Hadrian, with an almost "perverse" interest in the archaic[8] and a particular fondness for Greek literature since his days as a young scholar,[9] was both a product and admirer of this movement. Called *graeculus*, or "Greekling" in his own time (whether this was complimentary or not is uncertain), his epithet in today's history books is usually the more sophisticated "Philhellene."[10] As suggested by these titles, the context into which he was born so permeated his way of thinking that it is nearly impossible to discuss any aspect of his reign without first addressing his famed obsession with all things Greek, particularly art and boys.

As the successor of Trajan (r. 96-117 A.D.), the *optimus princeps* who famously expanded the empire to its greatest extent, Hadrian is also known for consolidating an empire that had grown too big to control (Fig. 5). By 117 A.D., the vast empire was made up of entirely disparate cultures, and revolt was brewing in the east. Hadrian knew that, for Rome to survive, emphasis had to be placed on unity and peace, not further expansion, as had been the policy of his predecessors. He relinquished some of the more volatile lands conquered by Trajan in the east and redefined Rome's borders, clearly dividing the peoples and cultures who fit his vision for the empire from those too

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[7] Ibid, 113.
[8] Mary Taliaferro Boatwright, *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000),13.
[9] Anthony R. Birley, *Hadrian: The Restless Emperor* (London: Routledge, 1997), 16
[10] Anthony R. Birley, "Hadrian to the Antonines," *Cambridge Ancient History Vol. 11: The High Empire, A.D. 70-192*, Eds. Alan K. Bowman, Peter Gamsey and Dominic Rathbone (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 132.

different to ever belong.[11] His eponymous wall across Britain is perhaps the most visible consequence of these efforts, and his brutal resolution of the Bar Kokhba revolt in Judea the most notorious.

Appropriately, Hadrian was also the first emperor to attempt to gain a first-hand understanding of the vast territory under his domain, embarking on trips around the provinces for the duration of the 120s A.D. This move was a calculated one, meant to ensure the loyalty of his subjects, who finally had the opportunity for first-hand interaction with the Pater Patriae himself. Both at home and abroad, Hadrian instated numerous building projects, many of which celebrated the unique histories of their particular locations. In Rome, he commissioned some of the city's greatest buildings, among them the Temple of Venus and Roma in the forum and the Pantheon in the Campus Martius, harkening back to the city's mythic origins and to his exalted predecessor, Augustus (r. 27 B.C. – 14 A.D.). In Athens, he finally completed the centuries-old Temple of Zeus Olympios, begun in the Archaic age. Such commissions, always relying on past models, served as welcome reminders that Romans and provincials, by this time, shared an illustrious cultural history. Nearly every city Hadrian visited during his reign was a recipient of his largess.

It was during his much-anticipated travels in Greece and Asia Minor that Hadrian first met the Greek boy from Bithynia named Antinous, who would become an integral part of his plan to unify the empire.[12] He was so struck by the beautiful youth that Antinous joined the imperial party as a sort of concubine, a supplement to the "moody

[11] Royston Lambert, *Beloved and God: The Story of Hadrian and Antinous* (New York: Carol Publishing Group, 1992), 40.
[12] Caroline Vout, "Biography as Fantasy, History as Image," *Antinous: The Face of the Antique* (Leeds: Henry Moore Institute, 2006), 23.

and difficult" wife the emperor hated.[13] But their relationship was tragically short-lived, for, in 130, the travelers made their way to Egypt, where disaster struck.[14] Antinous, who couldn't have been more than 20,[15] mysteriously drowned in the Nile. The reason for his death is unknown, with guesses ranging from accident, to murder, to suicide. Whatever the reason, Hadrian was heartbroken, and he mourned his lover's untimely death in a manner so public and so extreme that it has puzzled historians for centuries. He had Antinous deified, founded a new city in his name, and commissioned portraits of the youth as both god and hero that were distributed and copied throughout the empire, with perhaps thousands of images existing by the 4th century.[16]

Today, more portraits survive of Antinous than any person from antiquity aside from Augustus and Hadrian, and nearly every collection of ancient art worth its salt contains at least one "Antinous."[17] The "Father of Art History" Johann Winckelmann, whose deep admiration for beautiful young men and the art of Classical Greece rivaled even that of Hadrian, thought portraits of Antinous to be the pinnacle of Roman artistic achievement.[18] Hadrian commissioned some of these images himself, such as those found at his villa in Tivoli, many of which are now in the Vatican Museums. More still have been excavated throughout the provinces, particularly in the east. These, likely objects of worship, were made by local artisans after a prototype disseminated by the emperor from Rome,[19] or simply from memory.[20] One of the most well-known portraits

[13] Birley, "Hadrian to the Antonines," 139.
[14] Ibid, 144.
[15] Lambert, *Beloved and God,* 19. "In ancient Greek texts he is frequently called *meirakion* and sometimes *ephebe*, terms for late adolescents which imply that he cannot have been more than twenty, if as old as that, at his death. The sculptures support this."
[16] Vout, "Biography," 24.
[17] Caroline Vout, "Antinous, Archaeology and History," *The Journal of Roman Studies* (Vol. 95, 2005), 82.
[18] Vout, "Biography as Fantasy," 35.
[19] Ibid., 27.

of the youth currently resides in the Naples National Archaeological Museum. Once a showpiece in the famed Farnese collection of antiquities in Rome, the free-standing marble nude now known as the *Farnese Antinous* is one of the Naples Museum's most popular attractions (Fig. 4). Copies of the head are often displayed in antique stores around the Bay of Naples as a kind of "stamp" signifying taste,[21] and modern "pagans" who worship the youth as the patron god of gay culture are known to purchase busts modeled after the *Farnese* for their personal shrines (Fig. 6).[22]

The *Farnese Antinous* has become one of the most highly regarded and better known portraits of Antinous but, as with many works from the ancient world, its questionable provenance is problematic for modern archaeologists and art historians. Not only is there no recorded find-spot, but the head and body are actually from different statues. The earliest known mention of the statue is in a 1581 letter to Grand Duke Francesco de' Medici from his banker, which mentions that the Farnese family recently purchased a "head of Antinous" and other antiquities from Torquato Bembo, son of the famous humanist poet, and close friend of Agostino Chigi, Pietro Bembo.[23] The language here suggests that the body, possibly from Chigi's collection, was added after the *Antinous* was in the possession of the Farnese. Archaeologists have debated for some time about whether the head is a Renaissance copy, or an original from the ancient world.[24] However, recent examinations of the condition of the marble and comparisons to works

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[20] Lambert, *Beloved and God,* 55. While traveling in Athens and the Greek cities between 128-130 A.D., Hadrian was accompanied by Antinous and always in the company of artists who may have studied the emperor's favorite and made sketches of him.
[21] Vout, "Biography as Fantasy," 25.
[22] P. Sufenas Virius Lupus, "This Old Shrine…"*Aedicula Antinoi*, https://aediculaantinoi.wordpress.com/2011/03/31/this-old-shrine/.
[23] Marina Caso and Flavia Coraggio. *Le Sculture Farnese: II. I Ritratti.* Edited by Carlos Gasparri (Naples: Electa Napoli, 2009), 90.
[24] *National Museum of Naples: The Archaeological Collections* (Naples: Richter & Co., 1950), 72.

with known origins, particularly an inscribed bust found in Syria, has led some contemporary scholars, like archaeologist Carlo Gasparri, who works with the collection in Naples, to date the creation of the head to sometime in the second century A.D., likely between the years 130-138.[25] The head of the *Farnese Antinous* is now widely thought by art historians to be one of two remaining portraits closely based on a particular model of the youth actually distributed by Hadrian's regime to be copied for production outside of the city of Rome.[26]

Though the statue today has a "Frankensteinian" appearance due to thin cracks circling the neck and limbs (the only visible remnants of its reconstruction), it was admired in the late 16th and early 17th centuries as one of the most convincing examples of restoration of ancient sculpture.[27] Indeed, the beautiful head, with its plump and youthful face, seems to match the lithe, not fully mature body almost perfectly. The rounded chin, thinly striated eyebrows, and full, pouting lips, when combined with the defined nose and heavy brow create an individualistic, yet idealized portrait (Fig. 7). The exaggerated crop of thick, wavy hair that covers the ears and falls in long curls down the back of the neck is perhaps Antinous' most easily recognizable attribute (Fig. 8). Overall, the appearance of the *Farnese Antinous* gives an impression of late adolescence. The doughy softness of childhood is beginning to give way to the sharp features and more intense musculature of manhood. This perpetually liminal state only reminds the viewer of Antinous's premature death. His body never did reach manhood, and he died,

[25] Caso, *Le Sculture Farnese: II,* 90.
[26] Caroline Vout, *Power and Eroticism in Imperial Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 76-78. Mapping of the so-called "lock-scheme" of Antinous' hairstyle has been used to distinguish between existing portrait types. The *Farnese Antinous* bears a marked resemblance to an inscribed bust found in Syria in 1879, leading some to believe that these two, among others, were based on the same prototype.
[27] Carlo Gasparri, "The Farnese Collection of Antique Sculptures" (*FMR June/July 2008),* 151.

perhaps purposefully, before reaching the age when the emperor's infatuation with him would cease to be valid or desirable in the eyes of the public.[28] That Antinous was forever preserved, like an ancient Marilyn Monroe or James Dean, at the peak of his youth, beauty, and sex-appeal, before the complications of life and age could taint him, makes his image all the more tragic, and all the more powerful.

About two meters tall, the statue is slightly larger than life-size, and the *contrapposto* pose lends it a sense of ease and naturalism (Fig. 9). The figure is supported, as in many free-standing Roman statues, by a tree stump, and the different positions of the arms add to its dynamic appearance. The left forearm extends outward from the hip, and the hand is open with a pointing index finger, as if gesturing to something in the room. The right arm hangs casually to the side, while the hand grasps the remains of a cylindrical object, perhaps a spear or staff. The nudity gives the statue a certain sense of timelessness, preventing Antinous from belonging to any one era in particular, and perhaps partially explaining why it has been admired throughout the centuries. A predecessor to the "Davids" of Donatello or Michelangelo and a successor to the athletes of Polykleitos or Praxiteles, this statue's enduring popularity only demonstrates the West's continuing preoccupation with the erotic perfection of the youthful male nude.

Also interesting is the function of the gaze when looking at Antinous. In 1795, English art historian R.A. Bromley wrote that a statue of Antinous had, "a softness wholly its own, neither male nor female: the attraction of the eyes…is that of a woman, yet it is that which wished to be noticed, but does not fully share that wish."[29] Bromley's

[28] A relationship between a grown man and a young boy in his teens was entirely acceptable at the time. However, when the boy reached manhood, such a relationship would be considered shameful, particularly for the younger man.

[29] Vout, "Biography as Fantasy," 36.

confusion perhaps stems from what Jacques Lacan referred to as "the gaze," or the emotional state that accompanies the realization that one can be viewed by another. His head turns to the side, away from the viewer, and his eyes are downturned, a look that is part brooding, part coy (Fig. 7). The overall effect is sensual but modest, almost as if he is expecting to be looked at but does not yet wish to return the gaze. The subject appears to know that he is a work of art meant to be admired. In all, this work is both aesthetically pleasing and startlingly "real," and it is no wonder that it's not only one of the museum's most popular attractions, but also one of the best-known images of the youth anywhere.[30] However, it is not merely its visual qualities, or even mysterious provenance, that make the *Farnese Antinous* worthy of study. More striking is its symbolic position in the quest for power of two great, yet very different, men: Hadrian and Agostino Chigi.

At the time of Antinous' death, Hadrian was struggling to unite his vast empire. The appealing image of Antinous provided him with a means to do this. Scholars have long failed to recognize how Antinous fits in with Hadrian's agenda for unification. [31] In recent years, a new emphasis on the primacy of material evidence as well as a more progressive attitude toward homoeroticism and its function in the ancient world have made it clear that Antinous was not an inconsequential or shameful figure.[32] Nor did his many religious devotees in the east choose to worship the youth only "for fear of him [the emperor] that enjoined it."[33] Rather, he was purposefully crafted by Hadrian into a nostalgic and universally appealing object of veneration in order to promote both himself

[30] Caso, *Le Sculture Farnese: II,* 90.
[31] Lambert, *Beloved and God,* 143.
[32] Ibid., 78.
[33] Athanasius, *Contra Gentes*, I, 9. Athanasius was the bishop of Alexandria in the 4th century and not exactly a fan of Antinous.

and his Hellenizing vision, with the ultimate goal of uniting a vast and heterogeneous empire.

Hadrian's quest to recapture the beauty of Classical Greece and his love for Antinous have survived through remaining portraits of the youth. Some 1,400 years after the emperor's death in 138 A.D., works of ancient art were being rediscovered, appreciated, and collected by some of the great humanist patrons of the Renaissance. Among these were statues and reliefs of Hadrian's beloved, including the head of the *Farnese Antinous*, unearthed sometime before 1520 in an unknown location. Though none of the existing documents suggest that the statue was in Rome before 1581, it is possible, and even likely, that it once resided in the collection of Agostino Chigi, banker to the "Warrior Pope" Julius II and the richest man in High Renaissance Rome. It seems that the statue was incorporated into important works of art in Chigi's villa and tomb, where it was able to serve his ambitions much as it had Hadrian's. His use of Antinous on a smaller and more private scale reflects the very personal nature of his goal: to elevate his social status by associating himself with classical images and creating a lasting legacy of art.

Agostino Chigi was born in Siena in 1466 to a famous family of bankers. He entered his father's business as a teenager, and, when he was only 21, left for Rome, where he started his own branch with a few partners. Chigi was so gifted in the art of trade that "republics and kingdoms, Christians and infidels, popes and sultans alike, showed the same anxiety to secure his help in monetary affairs."[34] Branches of his bank opened all over Europe and even as far as Cairo and Constantinople. His talents eventually came to

[34] Rodolfo Lanciani, *The Golden Days of the Renaissance in Rome: From the Pontificate of Julius II to That of Paul III* (Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1906), 275.

the attention of Pope Julius II (r. 1503-1513), whose numerous projects, in both the arts and in war, needed funding (Fig. 10). Julius was so impressed with Chigi that he offered the banker the special honor of assuming the papal name of della Rovere.[35] The Chigi crest was thus divided into four sections, placing the della Rovere oak next to a symbol representing the Tolfa Mountains, the location of the alum mines that made up a large part of Chigi's fortune (Fig. 11).[36]

Yet, all this success wasn't quite enough for Chigi. In spite of his immense wealth—he was, by age 40, the most financially powerful man in Europe—he was still a *homo novus* of sorts on the Roman social scene. Chigi desired to prove himself worthy enough "to join the group of merchants who, like the Medici in Florence or the Fugger in Augsburg, aspired to, and on occasion attained, the status of landed nobility."[37] To do this, he set about creating a mythic "persona" grand enough to complement his monetary achievements. Per the fashion of the times, Chigi amassed a large collection of ancient art and played patron to some of the best writers, architects, and artists of the age, using their talents to carefully construct his particular brand of personal power and influences in the artistic and social circles of the day, as well as within the corridors of high finance. His most famous alliance was with Raphael (1483-1520), one of the greatest painters of the time.

The pair were a perfect match. Raphael was an amateur archaeologist obsessed with preserving and recapturing the lost beauty of imperial Rome, and Chigi believed that connecting himself to the ancient past for which so many of his contemporaries were so nostalgic would bolster his own image. Nowhere was this mutual passion for the past

[35] Rowland, "Render Unto Caesar," 685-686.
[36] Alum was a mineral necessary in the dying of fabric.
[37] Rowland, "Render Unto Caesar," 685.

more perfectly realized than in Raphael's design for the Chigi tomb in the church of Santa Maria del Popolo, at the old entrance to the city along the Via Flaminia (Fig. 12). Like building a grand mausoleum along the Via Appia in ancient times, constructing a tomb in the church first seen by pilgrims entering "La cittá eterna" was the ultimate expression of power in the Renaissance. For this testament to Chigi's influence, Raphael used a variety of ancient forms, re-working them to fit a new Christian context. Among these forms was the head of the *Farnese Antinous*, which seems to have inspired his design for a statue of the biblical prophet Jonah, sculpted by Lorenzetto, to be located in a niche alongside the altar (Figs. 13 and 14).[38] Though Jonah, the subject of the sculpture was used to represent the resurrection of Christ, its model, Antinous, the "Face of the Antique" as he was named in a 2006 exhibit of his portraits in Leeds, was used to link Chigi to Hadrian, the most cultured of all Roman emperors.[39] Being able to own, and to gaze upon, the same boy the emperor so desired made Chigi a kind of quasi-Hadrian, and the fact that he wanted the head to be included among the decoration of his funerary chapel is telling (Fig. 15).

Today, nostalgia is often seen as a ubiquitous, yet destructive force, preventing some from fully participating in the present or preparing for the future. For Hadrian and Chigi, however, this longing for the grandeur of antiquity only fueled their desire to improve the present and ensure that their own successes would have as much staying power as those of the ancients they so admired. To Hadrian, apart from his emotional connection to the real-life subject, the image of Antinous with all its beauty and mystery served to evoke a feeling of nostalgia for the virtues of Classical Greece to further his Hellenizing, unifying

[38] Phyllis Pray Bober and Ruth Rubenstein, *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture: A Handbook of Sources.* 2nd ed. (London: Harvey Miller Ltd., 2010), 177.
[39] Vout, "Biography as Fantasy," 23.

vision for an empire and secure for him an exalted place in history. Though Hadrian's aim for unification was not fully realized, he brought peace to the empire for many years, and the image he created—along with numerous other artistic and architectural works he commissioned—endured.

Hundreds of years later, the wealthy and powerful Chigi, longing to secure a place for himself as a quasi-aristocrat used not only the same kind of nostalgic visuals, but the very same ancient figure of Antinous, to bolster his image and to leave behind a legacy by which he could be remembered. It is interesting to note that though each man rose to powerful political and economic positions in their respective societies, each is best remembered for the artistic and architectural works they championed. Both men had extensive collections of ancient artwork, and associated themselves with "learned" subjects. Both had new artworks commissioned to recall a time before their own. Hadrian re-contextualized Eastern, Hellenic models for a new, Roman context, while Chigi re-contextualized pagan Roman models, many based on Hadrian's commissions, for a Renaissance, Christian context.

With each passing century, it seems, more and more romantic ideals are attached to Hadrian's beloved, and this tendency seems to have reached its peak during the Victorian era. Alfred, Lord Tennyson, the great poet and author of *Charge of the Light Brigade*, once visited the British Museum and found himself particularly enamored of a bust of Antinous on display there. "He bent forward a little and said in a deep slow voice, 'Ah—this is the inscrutable Bithynian.'" He paused and, looking into the eyes of the statue, said, "'If we knew what he knew, we should understand the ancient world.'"[40] John Addington Symonds, a contemporary of Tennyson who was fascinated by the

[40] Stewart Perowne, *Hadrian* (New York: Norton, 1960), 100.

relationship between Hadrian and Antinous, held similar views about the youth and his "inscrutability." While in Rome in the 1890s, he wrote that Antinous, "like some of the Egyptian gods with whom he was associated…remains for us a sphinx, secluded in the shade of 'mild mystery.'"[41]

These Victorian authors were able to put to words what Hadrian and Agostino knew to be true, that to know the past is a common, yet tragically unfulfilled, desire. In museums all over the world, we are still able to see and appreciate the physical, artistic remains left behind by ancient cultures, like the *Farnese Antinous*. This timeless aesthetic appeal acts as a binding factor, forever connecting people to the collective past. However, we will likely never be able to fully understand the cultures or people who made such objects. The *Farnese* itself is perhaps forever cloaked in mystery, with no artist, locality, or date to its name. Throughout history, a lack of understanding about the distant past has led to the romanticizing of that past, and the subsequent yearning to return. For two powerful men, Hadrian and Agostino Chigi, the tragically beautiful, yet unknowable face of the eternally youthful Antinous perfectly symbolized the irresistible allure of nostalgia: a deep, bittersweet longing for the idealized past. Both men understood the seductive power of such emotions; both used the *Farnese Antinous*, and the profound feeling of nostalgia it evoked, to further their ambitions.

[41] Symonds, *Studies and Sketches*, 186-187.

Chapter I

Concordia at Last: Antinous as Pan-Hellenic Unifying Agent

1. Introduction: Rome and the East

Upon the death of Alexander in 323 B.C., his great empire, stretching from Egypt to India, was divvied up amongst his generals, who created and presided over smaller, culturally Greek "kingdoms" (Fig. 16). At the same time, the up-and-coming Roman Republic was steadily gaining control of the Italian peninsula. For centuries, denizens of this budding power grudgingly admired and longed to outshine their ancient neighbors to the east. Early Romans even appropriated the Trojan hero Aeneas, originally from that greatest of Greek texts, *The Iliad*, for the story of Rome's foundation, dignifying their relatively new culture with a mythological link to antiquity. After conquering much of the western Mediterranean by the late third century B.C., Roman forces moved east, capturing each of the successor states in Greece and Asia Minor. Worship of old eastern gods like Isis and Cybele and new Hellenistic gods like the Graeco-Egyptian Serapis gained immense popularity in Italy.[42] Finally, in 30 B.C., Octavian conquered Egypt, the last of the independent Hellenistic Kingdoms, cementing Rome's position as *the* great Mediterranean power. By this time, Hellenic culture had so permeated the Italian peninsula that the great poet Horace felt compelled to quip, "Captive Greece has in its turn captured its savage vanquisher and brought civilization to barbarous Latium."[43]

Indeed, the Romans never sought to impose the Latin language or way of life on these eastern provinces, but instead adapted, and adopted, many existing local

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[42] Claudia Moser, "Eastern Religions in the Roman World," In *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, April 2007), http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/errw/hd_errw.htm. For an excellent example of the Roman practice of adopting foreign gods, refer to Ovid, *Fasti*, 4.180-372, on Cybele.

[43] Horace, *Epistles*, II, 1, 156-157.

institutions.[44] Eastern religion, philosophy, literature, and art never went out of style. Even Augustus, a staunch proponent of local traditions and values, invited others to compare him to the Greek god Apollo[45] and famously "found Rome a city of brick and left it a city of marble" in an attempt to model the seat of his new empire after Periclean Athens.[46] Still, these "insidious" foreign ways were looked upon with some suspicion by a few of the more conservative Romans.[47] The decadent Nero (r. 44-68 A.D.), for example, was viciously mocked for introducing Greek festivals and spectacles to Rome in the mid-first century A.D.[48] Only when the emperors themselves began to hail from the provinces, beginning with Trajan in 98 A.D., did most lingering objections to emulating the Greeks fall away. By the beginning of the first century, wealthy and educated Romans were able to join without shame those in the Greek-speaking parts of the empire in a nostalgic celebration of the East's illustrious past, paving the way for Hadrian's use, two decades later, of nostalgia for the Greek as an expression of power and influence.

It was the Athenian biographer and sophist Philostratus (d. ca. 250 A.D.) who first gave name to the socio-cultural landscape of Roman-Greece ca. A.D. 50-250, aptly referring to his own time as the "Second Sophistic," the rebirth of that all-too-brief period in the fifth century B.C. when Athens was at its peak of power and influence.[49] In Rome,

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[44] Lambert, *Beloved and God*, 25. This same attitude did not apply to certain areas in the Western Empire, which were considered "barbaric" by Romans.
[45] Suetonius, *Life of Augustus*, 18.2. Apollo had no counterpart in local Latin tradition, and was instead imported wholesale from the Greek East
[46] Ibid., 28. Augustus also decked the city in Obelisks brought from Egypt and was initiated in the Eleusinian Mysteries.
[47] Lambert, 26. Cicero and Cato the censor, among others, believed that Greek culture was corrupting "wholesome" Latin virtues.
[48] Ibid., 25.
[49] Philostratus, *Lives of the Sophists*, 481. For the sake of brevity, I have had to condense my description of a very complex social period into only a few sentences. For a short summary of the Second Sophistic,

this era was marked not only by a renaissance of Classical Greek culture "in every area from rhetoric to philosophy, from history to fiction, from the making of statues and paintings to the description and appreciation of art,"[50] but also by the desire to equate anything Hellenic with the very idea of civilization itself.[51] Nostalgia reigned supreme in this era, as cities throughout the Greek East showed a renewed appreciation for their past, devoting new sculpture and architecture to their oldest myths and traditions.[52] Presiding over the peak of this period was Hadrian, *Graeculus* himself, well-known for his obsession with Greece and the ancient past and uniquely suited to exploit this social climate.[53]

Hadrian's reign would come to embody Rome's enduring preoccupation with the past. In an attempt to unify a disparate and far-flung empire, he set out to remind his subjects of their shared cultural heritage, playing with ideas of nostalgia in his artistic and architectural endeavors both at home and abroad. It was his relationship with Antinous, a mysterious young man whom Hadrian crafted into a Panhellenic god and an archaizing art object after his death in 130 A.D., which spawned the emperor's most unique attempt to draw the provinces together using the power of the idealized past. Not only could the heroic and youthful Antinous be easily incorporated into any local pantheon, but his intimate relationship with the emperor and beautiful image were explicit reminders of the now lost and long-admired Classical past. The Classically-inspired *Farnese Antinous*,

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please see *The Second Sophistic* by Tim Whitmarsh. To understand Greek attitudes toward the Second Sophistic, see *Hellenism and Empire* by Simon Swain and *Being Greek Under Rome* ed. Simon Goldhill.

[50] Jas Elsner, *Imperial Rome and Christian Triumph*, 113.

[51] Caroline Vout, "Hadrian, Hellenism, and the Social History of Art," *Arion: A Journal of Humanities and the Classics* 18, no. 1 (2010): 55.

[52] For more on nostalgic trends in art and architecture of the Greek East, see M.T. Boatwright, "The City Gate of Plancia Magna in Perge," *Roman Art in Context*, ed. Eve D'Ambra (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1993),

[53] *Historia Augusta*, *Hadrian*, 16.

one of the few remaining portraits likely copied after a specific design chosen by Hadrian himself for dissemination throughout the empire, is an excellent vessel through which to examine how the emperor used his Greek lover to bring peace to the empire.

2. Hadrian Before 130: Revisiting the Past in Rome and the Provinces

The careful construction of Antinous as religious and aesthetic figure was not, however, Hadrian's only method for unifying the empire. It is pertinent to first discuss his other efforts, which began from the moment he was named imperator in 117 A. D. Hadrian was not a city Roman. Like Trajan, his predecessor and a distant relative, he was raised by a Roman family in Spain, which was a well-integrated province by the second century. Still, such a background would have imbued him with a slight Otherness in the eyes of those from the Italian peninsula. Appropriately, Hadrian seems to have possessed a unique awareness of the empire's boundaries, of which cultures could and could not belong.[54] When he succeeded Trajan, the Roman empire stretched across much of Europe and into Africa and the Middle East. This vast amalgam of disparate territories had been gained by centuries of bloody conflict. Yet, since the beginning of the Principate, and the Pax Augusta, the empire had remained relatively stable, if not entirely cohesive.[55] It became the task of each emperor, as the benevolent yet unyielding Pater Patriae,[56] to balance military strength with acts of largess for the provinces, ensuring the happiness and, more importantly, loyalty of his subjects.[57] Such acts of generosity were

[54] Lambert, 40.
[55] Boatwright, *Hadrian and the Cities*, 4-6.
[56] Mary Taliaferro Boatwright, *Hadrian and the City of Rome*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 136. Hadrian was granted the title of Pater Patriae by the senate in 128.
[57] Boatwright, *Hadrian and Cities*, 4-6.

usually in the form of building and public works projects and each new emperor sought to outdo his predecessors.

By the time Hadrian came to power, the empire had simply become too large and too full of diverse cultures to maintain in its current state.[58] The newly-conquered lands in the east proved to be particularly volatile, occupied by cultures too "different" to conform to Graeco-Roman standards. He quickly realized that, to preserve the glory of Rome, the empire's "parts needed now to be drawn together, to be made aware of their common unifying inheritance as opposed to the barbarians outside."[59] He needed a powerful symbol, one which would appeal to all members of a huge, culturally-disparate empire, to perfectly embody this "unifying inheritance," or, the entirety of the Graeco-Roman cultural tradition up to that point. Though he would eventually find such a symbol by mythologizing his dead lover, his extensive building efforts both at home and abroad were also a significant part of his agenda.

Aside from two violent revolts in Britain and Judea, the new emperor actively avoided war, choosing instead to spend half of his reign travelling around the provinces, giving face to the central government and earning the admiration of his people. He also left an architectural mark on almost every city and province to which he came, transforming the city of Rome and many places around the empire by creating new buildings and districts and renovating existing ones. Ever the connoisseur of culture, Hadrian had a profound personal interest in architecture and some of the most illustrious buildings of the ancient world were constructed during his reign.[60] By the end of his 21 years in office, over 130 cities benefitted from his largess in varying forms, each of

[58] Lambert, 40.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Anthony Everitt, *Hadrian and the Triumph of Rome* (New York: Random House, 2009), 248

which embraced the past glory of that particular place.[61] Not only did these efforts enhance his own legacy, but they acted to coalesce the provinces, uniting them in mutual celebration of the illustrious past, a past that their emperor was able to visibly outshine.

In Rome, Hadrian focused much of his attention on the Campus Martius, where he built on a grand scale.[62] His goal was to create a visual connection between himself and the structures left behind by Augustus and Marcus Agrippa, and the pinnacle of his 'restorations' in this area, and indeed the whole city, was the Pantheon, constructed between 118 and 128 A.D. [63] This is a building which "underscores the audacious innovation of Hadrianic architecture and engineering," but is mindful of traditions.[64] The original structure, destroyed by fire, was built and dedicated in 27 B.C. by Agrippa after Octavian's victory at Actium.[65] Enormous in comparison to the original, Hadrian's Pantheon was reminiscent of Greek temples yet unlike anything yet seen in the ancient world (Fig. 17).[66] With its huge spherical dome, massive open interior space, and oculus opening to the heavens it was, and still is, a landmark in the history of architecture. Distinctly Roman in its construction, particularly in its use of concrete, a substance unknown to Greek architects, it bowed to Greek tradition in that almost all that could be seen from street level was its façade of eight monolithic Corinthian columns.[67] Anyone walking into the structure for the first time would expect a traditional, rectangular plan, and be in awe of the perfect, circular room they entered instead (Fig. 18). Hadrian attempted to disguise his unconventional building with a rectangular forecourt and

[61] Boatwright, *Hadrian and Cities,* 15. Cassius Dio 69.5.2-3. *Historia Augusta*, *Hadrian*, 19.2, 20.5.
[62] Boatwright, *Hadrian and Rome*, 42.
[63] Everitt, *Hadrian and the Triumph of Rome,* 198.
[64] Boatright, *Hadrian and Rome,* 43.
[65] Robert Hughes, *Rome: A Cultural, Visual, and Personal History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2011), 110.
[66] Boatwright, *Hadrian and Rome*, 43-44.
[67] Ibid.

colonnades that afforded open views to the mausoleum of Augustus, linking himself to his legendary predecessor while heightening the effect of surprise.[68]

In homage to the founders of the empire, the original dedicatory inscription crediting Agrippa with the building was emblazoned across the exterior frieze of the new Pantheon. The pediment carried the civic crown once placed over Augustus' door: the *corona civica*, an eagle within a wreath, his proudest achievement. [69] The sculptural program and much of the interior decoration also evoked Augustan tradition. Cassius Dio's description of the Pantheon indicates that statues of Augustus and Agrippa filled the niches in the vaulted entranceway while the friezes depict looped garlands and sacrificial instruments reminiscent of those from the Augustus' Ara Pacis.[70]

As with his Pantheon, Hadrian's famous Mausoleum (Castel Sant'Angelo) pointedly recalls Augustan rule (Fig. 19). Though clearly modeled on the massive circular structure of the Mausoleum of Augustus located on the Campus Martius, Hadrian improved upon the original (Fig. 20).[71] Built across the Tiber, a more conspicuous location not prone to flooding, it overlooked Augustus' final resting place, some 800 meters upstream.[72] It was closely connected to the Campus Martius by a new bridge, adorned with statues, called the Pons Aelius after Hadrian's family name.[73] Decidedly more ornate than the Mausoleum of Augustus and featuring a square base, it nonetheless begs comparison due to its similar size and main cylindrical mass. Given its location, "Hadrian's Mausoleum served as a reminder of his extensive renovation of the central

[68] Elizabeth Speller, *Following Hadrian: A Second-Century Journey Through the Roman Empire*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003, 240.

[69] Boatwright, *Hadrian and Rome*, 46.
[70] Ibid., 47
[71] Birley, *The Restless Emperor, 283*
[72] Boatwright, *Hadrian and Rome,* 179.
[73] Ibid.

campus."[74] Even in death Hadrian was determined to imitate Augustus, and to invoke the power of nostalgia.

Hadrian's building efforts were equally aggressive abroad. In keeping with his goal of unification, he did not impose Roman modes of design but instead moved to embrace antiquity, and the common heritage they all shared, stemming from the east. In 125 A.D., while visiting his adored city of Athens he found it in decline due to its infamous sacking by Sulla two centuries earlier, and by the repeated looting of its treasures by Roman collectors of Greek antiquities.[75] He immediately embarked on a plan of rehabilitation, whereby "the old was to be left untouched and the new laid out as a [suburb], but on a completely new scale."[76] The center of his "new" Athens was the famous and, even by then, ancient Temple of Olympian Zeus. Begun by the Peisistratid tyrants in the Archaic age, it had been left unfinished for nearly 700 years.[77] Hadrian completed the temple, thereby casting himself as the city's greatest benefactor, bringing the glory of Athens to a height that those before him were unable to achieve (Fig. 21). He also placed numerous statues of himself in the area around the temple, endorsing "his own right to be called Olympian."[78]

Hadrian's transformation of Athens transcended physical changes and was always motivated by his desire for unification of his empire. Looking back to the Classical era and the famous Delian League, he established the Panhellenion, a confederation of Greek cities with intertwined religious, cultural and political aims. "This league brought together men and cities otherwise largely isolated from one another…and ensured for

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[74] Ibid.
[75] Perowne, *Hadrian,* 100-101.
[76] Ibid., 102.
[77] Elsner, *Imperial Rome and Christian Triumph*, 121.
[78] Perowne, *Hadrian,* 103.

Athens a steady stream of well-cultivated and wealthy visitors."[79] Though the league was primarily a religious organization and had no political status, it, like its founder, elevated and rewarded "Greekness" and looked to the past for self-definition.[80] By creating the Panhellenion, Hadrian reestablished Athens as the center for the Greek east.[81] To honor his many benefactions, the Athenians built a triumphal arch in his honor in 131 (Fig. 22).[82] The inscriptions on the Arch honoring his role in City's resurrection announce on the western face, "This is Athens, the former city of Theseus," while the eastern face proclaims, "This is the City of Hadrian, not of Theseus."[83] Indeed, today "Hadrian's Athens is inseparable from what came before."[84] The emperor was able to both honor and outdo the efforts of the city's mythic founder in the eyes of Athenians themselves, attesting to his sway in the provinces.

Wherever he went on his extensive tours of the vast Empire, Hadrian brought a "functional retinue of engineers, architects and builders to survey, help and knit together his Empire."[85] The cities he visited would be provided with new harbors, aqueducts, gymnasia and libraries. The cults and temples to local gods were always venerated and many were improved with magnificent new buildings and sculptures in keeping with ancient traditions.[86] Regardless of its configuration, Hadrian effectively appropriated the "past" of any given culture into the ongoing history of the Roman empire.[87] A number of cities were created in his own name, including the pagan city he built on top of the ruins

[79] Boatwright, *Hadrian and Cities*, 149.
[80] Ibid. Not unlike the original federation of cities, there was apparently a lot of petty in-fighting amongst members of the Panhellenion as well.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Elsner, *Imperial Rome and Christian* Triumph,121.
[83] Boatwright, *Hadrian and Cities,* 147.
[84] Ibid.
[85] Lambert, 43.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Boatwright, *Hadrian and Cities, 13.*

of Jerusalem, Colonia Aelia Capitolina.[88] Ultimately, his extensive renovation program helped to spread prosperity and create a common identity throughout the empire. That his travels also allowed him to interact with and influence many locals face to face cannot be overlooked. Indeed, his encounter with a young boy in Bithynia, would become the ultimate symbol of his generosity toward provincials and lead to a relationship that would be a defining influence on his life and his empire.

3. Antinous as *eromenos*

Historians have long seen the aforementioned projects as evidence for Hadrian's peaceful nature. Even the authors of the more critical primary sources praised his acts of generosity and his dedication to creating a sense of security for those in the provinces.[89] Since the early modern era, Hadrian has become one of Rome's most admired emperors, likely because of his association with many of the empire's most enduring monuments. Historians from the Enlightenment to today have praised the decades of peace he was able to bring to the empire by consolidating its borders and, before his death, arranging a series of worthy successors who shared his values.[90] However, until fairly recently, many have struggled to understand how Antinous, whose intimate and not entirely kosher relationship with the emperor had been scorned since the dawn of the Christian era, fit into the life and policies of this otherwise prudent man.

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[88] Birley, "Hadrian to the Antonines," 143
[89] Boatwright, *Hadrian and Cities*, 5.
[90] Hadrian adopted Antoninus Pius and encouraged him to adopt Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. Traditionally (or at least since Gibbon) historians believe this peaceful era to have ended in 180, when the deranged Commodus inherited the throne from his father, Marcus Aurelius. His reign ended in murder and a bloody civil dispute.

In his legendary *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, 18th century historian Edward Gibbon included Hadrian among the "Five Good Emperors" who presided over the era "in the history of the world during which the condition of the human race was most happy and prosperous."[91] According to Gibbon, Hadrian reigned at the peak of this era, and he compliments the emperor for his "vast and active genius," saying, "Under his reign…the empire flourished in peace and prosperity"[92] But, Gibbon confesses, Hadrian's otherwise immaculate image was marred by his own vanity and caprice. A paragraph later, the main cause for the historian's dismay becomes apparent. Antinous is relegated to a single footnote, in which Gibbon states unequivocally that he "still dishonor[s] the memory of Hadrian," briefly citing both the intensity of the emperor's reaction to his death as well as their "unnatural" relationship.[93] Clearly, Gibbon wanted to make this blight on the name of one of his five great princes as insignificant as possible.

Even as late as 1960, historian Stewart Perowne, a repressed homosexual himself,[94] greatly admired Hadrian's attempt to conceive "a new form of polity, namely the empire as a family of provinces, the happy and prosperous children of the Mother City" wherein "the veneration of that city, and of himself as its lord, should be the spiritual bond of empire."[95] At the same time, he jumped through a great many hoops in his biography of the emperor to "prove" that the relationship between Hadrian and his so-called favorite was entirely asexual. The sense of relief his text intended to create for the reader upon

[91] Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, 1776-1788 , 81.
[92] Ibid.
[93] Ibid, 81, footnote 40.
[94] Jan Morris, "Travelling tales of a reluctant virgin," *The Guardian*, December 5, 1999, http://www.guardian.co.uk/books/1999/dec/05/biography2.
[95] Perowne, *Hadrian,* 67.

learning that his/her favorite emperor only engaged in "normal" sexual activities is palpable.[96] In the past thirty or so years, however, historians have come to accept and assume a sexual and even romantic relationship between the two. Antinous has also risen from a mere footnote in the life of the emperor to the subject of hundreds of academic articles, art exhibits, and even entire books, both fiction and non-fiction. Many noted Hadrian and Antinous scholars, particularly Caroline Vout, Mary Boatwright, and Anthony R. Birley, rightfully point to the emperor's "Antinous program" as emblematic of the overall zeitgeist of the period, whether it be Hellenizing or something more elusive and amorphous, but indelibly tied to Antinous' inherent eroticism.[97]

This is not to suggest that writing about Antinous is an easy endeavor for modern historians. A large part of his continuing allure is that so little is known about him outside of his ubiquitous, varying, and likely idealized physical representation in sculpture. Only two facts remain: that he was born to a Greek family in the countryside near Bithynium-Claudiopolis and that he died in the Nile river while sailing with Hadrian and his entourage in October of 130.[98] Details of his life before and even during his time with the emperor are unknown, including his social status, which may very well have been that of slave. Even the once-concrete date of his death has recently been the subject of some debate, given its suspiciously close proximity to a festival associated with the death of Osiris, with whom the youthful god was conflated (Fig. 23).[99] None of the extant primary sources for Hadrian's reign even makes mention of Antinous before

[96] Ibid., 100. Perowne concludes that Antinous operated as more of a surrogate son for the childless Hadrian and argues that the Obeliscus Antinoi is a "family monument."
[97] Vout, *Power and Eroticism*, 52-135.
[98] Birley, *Hadrian: The Restless Emperor*, 158. Chronicon Paschale (7th century), date of the founding of Antinoopolis.
[99] Vout, *Power and Eroticism*, 58.

recounting that fateful trip down the Nile. Numismatic evidence tells us that Hadrian was in Bithynia in 123-4 A.D., and he could have added Antinous to his travel party at that time. [100] More compelling is the suggestion that he first met his youthful lover during his second round of visits to the eastern provinces in 128, making their relationship all the more tragically fleeting.[101]

Antinous appears at least once in the Hadrianic "Hunting Tondi" on the Arch of Constantine, and fragments from an anonymous 4th century poem describe him and Hadrian together on a hunting trip, leading some to suggest that he originally joined the emperor as a hunting partner (Fig. 24).[102] His age is unknown, though his youthful portraiture suggests that he was around 20 when he died. Even the nature of his relationship with Hadrian is a mystery, though the inherent eroticism of much of his portraiture, of which the captivating *Farnese Antinous* is but one example, attests to a sexual component. In all, Antinous has become one of the most mysterious, and consequently, one of the most captivating figures to come out of antiquity precisely because anyone looking at his beautiful image is forced to imagine the rest of his story. The tendency, of course, being to romanticize such imaginings under the veil of nostalgia.

And what a story theses images tell us. The sheer volume of images commissioned by the brokenhearted emperor upon the occasion of Antinous' death, many of which were displayed in his own villa in Tivoli, can only attest to the deep admiration he felt for the youth. If the real Antinous, whose physical description was never put to paper, was

[100] Birley, *Restless Emperor*, 157. Coinage commemorating his visit to Bithynia as a "restorer" of the province provides us with the dates.
[101] Lambert, 59-61.
[102] Vout, *Power and Eroticism*, 60. The "Hunting Tondi" are from an unknown Hadrianic monument (possibly his own arch or the Hadrianeum).

anywhere near as beautiful as his portraits make him out to be, it is difficult to begrudge Hadrian his infatuation. Likely, his contemporaries looked upon sculptures of the youth with appreciation and maybe even jealousy, for Romans had inherited an obsession with the adolescent male body from their Greek ancestors.[103] When Hadrian was emperor, at the height of appreciation for Classical sculpture, "youthful male beauty was a culturally acceptable topic for celebration."[104] Indeed, men too young to grow a full beard, still "blessed with the 'flower of youth'" like Antinous with his smooth and slightly plump face, were seen as "the acme of physical desirability" by Romans and Greeks.[105]

Today, Hadrian would be called gay or bisexual, and it is easy to see why someone like Gibbon, living in the 18th Century, would be turned off by the emperor's relationship with Antinous. In Hadrian's own time, however, there were no such distinctions when it came to sexuality. Though extramarital affairs with any free-born Roman citizen, male or female, were frowned upon, Roman men could essentially do whatever they pleased with slaves or non-citizens, including boys less than half their age, as long as they took on the "active" role in the relationship.[106] Antinous, though possibly free born, was not a Roman citizen and thus, "safely foreign" enough for Hadrian to love him without censure.[107] According to Craig Williams, author of *Roman Homosexuality*, "no emperor was ever maligned for taking a beautiful young foreigner as a concubine."[108] In fact, two prior emperors had maintained relationships with young boys from the East, though these

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[103] Craig A. Williams, *Roman Homosexuality*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 72.
[104] Ibid., 60.
[105] Ibid., 73.
[106] Ibid. The active role being that of "penetrator." Relations between two free adult men were considered to be particularly inappropriate because one man had to take on the "passive" role. Non-men like women, slaves and, to a certain extent, young boys, were all considered suitable partners for a powerful and masculine Roman.
[107] Ibid, 61.
[108] Ibid, 60.

were seemingly much more sinister in nature. Nero, a precursor to Hadrian when it came to predilections for Greek culture, had a very public affair with a Greek boy, and possible freedman, named Sporus. The emperor castrated Sporus, married him in Greece, and "flaunted him" before the Roman state.[109] Domitian (81-96) also fell for a eunuch from the East. The young slave, Earinus, acted as his cupbearer, drawing sycophantic comparisons to Jupiter and Ganymede from his court poets.[110]

Though the notoriety shared by these two emperors may color perceptions about any aspect of their reign, including their sex lives, it does not seem that they treated their lovers with the same dignity afforded to Antinous by Hadrian. With his Philhellenic tendencies, Hadrian was likely aware of the basic tenants of pederasty in Greek, and especially Athenian, culture, which emphasized mutual respect between the *erastes* and his *eromenos*. In Plato's *Symposium*, for example, Pausanias defends this tradition, maintaining that such a relationship should not be purely sexual, but philosophical. The younger man had to first give his consent, and would then enter into an agreement with older man in which sexual favors were exchanged for teachings of wisdom.[111] The boy was to be regarded as a future citizen, not an "inferior object of sexual gratification," and this "ritual" became an important rite of passage.[112] In Hadrian's own time, Plutarch proclaimed in his essay *On Love* that the purest and most genuine form of love is that of an older man for a beautiful youth.[113] Pederasty was, in many ways, "entirely normal, indeed laudable and superior to the love between men and women" because of its

[109] Vout, *Power and Eroticism,* 136-137.
[110] Ibid, 168.
[111] Ibid.
[112] Marguerite Johnson and Terry Ryan, *Sexuality in Greek and Roman Society and Literature: A Sourcebook* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 4.
[113] Birley, 185.

philosophical aspects.[114] It seems this practice became almost a prerequisite for being a cultured Greek citizen, and, as it was particularly associated with elites of both the Archaic and Classical periods, Hadrian could have used such a relationship to connect himself to the ancient past.[115]

Birley, author of *Hadrian: The Restless Emperor,* cites Antinous as a kind of symbol for Hadrian's philhellenism.[116] Though the extent to which their relationship was public is unknown, Hadrian, proud of his Hellenistic policies, must have wanted to "…display Antinous at his side, seeing himself as…an *erastes*, Antinous as his *eromenos*."[117] What makes their relationship so "Greek," especially when compared to those of Nero and Domitian, is that Antinous was presented as more than a passive sex-object for the emperor to exploit. The many honors bestowed upon Antinous after his death speaks to a certain mutual respect between the two and to Hadrian's spiritual admiration for the youth. Were Antinous merely another good-looking slave boy from the East, Hadrian's reaction to his death would have been far less profound. The popular theory that the youth willingly sacrificed himself to save his *erastes* not only suggests that they were lovers in the truest sense of the word, but also turned Hadrian's life into something worth saving. This aligns perfectly with Caroline Vout's assertion in *Power and Eroticism in Imperial Rome* that it was just as essential for an emperor to appear *loved* as it was for him to be seen as *lover*.[118] Elites, who identified more with Hadrian, could look upon images like the *Farnese Antinous* with envy, wishing that their own slave boys were so

[114] Ibid, 61.
[115] William Armstrong Percy III, "Reconsiderations about Greek Homosexualities," in *Same–Sex Desire and Love in Greco-Roman Antiquity and in the Classical Tradition of the West* (Binghamton: Haworth, 2005),17.
[116] Birley, *The Restless Emperor*, 216.
[117] Ibid. *Erastes* is a Greek word for an adult man in a pederastic relationship with an adolescent boy, or *eromenos*.
[118] Ibid.

good-looking and devoted. Provincials would see themselves as Antinous, sharing his love for Hadrian and wishing that they too could achieve such an exalted position through an intimate connection with Rome and the emperor.

4. Antinous as Ganymede

The celebration of this type of relationship can be traced back even further, to the myth of the abduction of Ganymede. Told since at least the Archaic period,[119] the story of Ganymede's relationship with Zeus is the mythological standard for pederasty. In the most common version of the tale, Zeus spies Ganymede, a beautiful young Trojan prince,[120] tending his flock of sheep on Mount Ida, transforms into an eagle, and abducts him. Ganymede is gifted with immortality and assumes a permanent role on Olympus as Zeus' cup bearer. Even in antiquity, the myth was interpreted in a variety of ways. Plato joked that Cretans must have invented it to excuse their illegitimate sexual practices. The historian Xenophon, however, had a much more positive take on the story, citing it as an example of the type of "good pederasty" described by Plato.[121] He believed that the love between Jupiter and Ganymede was not base or sexual, but existed on a deeper and more spiritual level. After all, Zeus never bestowed the honor of immortality upon any of his numerous female lovers. This detail implicitly suggests the superiority of his relationship with Ganymede, whose attraction lay in both his physical beauty and his masculine ability to share in philosophical thought. The myth was adopted and became

[119] Williams, 56. *Iliad*, 5.265; 20.232. One of the reasons Hera hates the Trojans is because of the favor Zeus bestows upon Ganymede.
[120] In art, Ganymede often wears a Phyrgian cap as a symbol of his "foreign" background.
[121] Xenophon, *Symposium* 8.28-30.

quite popular in Rome, where Ganymede was renamed Catamitus, from which we get the word catamite.[122]

Antinous became a sort of Ganymede for Hadrian, who like many of his predecessors, often associated himself with Jupiter and invited his subjects to make the same association. In typical Hadrianic fashion, it was a particularly Greek form of the god to which he chose to link himself. He was strongly tied to the city of Eleusis in Greece, and it was there that he attempted to foster "a PanHellenic religion unifying the Greek East in the worship of Zeus Olympios, with whom he was identified."[123] Coins were minted in Ephesus with Hadrian as Pater Patriae on the obverse and "Iovis Olympius" on the reverse.[124] His completion of the Temple of Olympian Zeus in Athens, and the alleged placement of his own image inside the cella, further enhanced the association.[125] After the Jewish revolt, he erected a temple to Capitoline Jupiter in Jerusalem,[126] and the city's new name, *Colonia Aelia Capitolina* combined the god's name (Capitolinus) and Hadrian's family name (Aelius).[127] With Hadrian established as a Pan-Hellenic Jupiter, Antinous could then be imaged as a "real-life counterpart to Jupiter's cup-bearer."[128] Like Ganymede, Antinous was a beautiful youth abducted from his home in Asia Minor by a powerful man to serve as a concubine and constant spiritual companion. That the eagle was the standard of Roman legions further enhances the image. By deifying Antinous and preserving his image, Hadrian made his lover "immortal." Such parallels would have been easily drawn by those who were familiar

[122] Williams, 57.
[123] Vout, *Power and Eroticism*, 23.
[124] Birley, *The Restless Emperor*, 222.
[125] Dio, 453.
[126] Birley, "Hadrian to the Antonines," 143.
[127] Ibid.
[128] Craig A. Williams, *Roman Homosexuality: Ideologies of Masculinity in Classical Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 61.

with the myth, again reinforcing the idea of Hadrian as Olympian Zeus. It was only through Rome and, particularly Hadrian in his role as Jupiter, that Antinous was able to achieve his position as god. The implication is that other provincials would also have their lives made better through their association with Rome and worship of its "Olympian Zeus."

5. Antinous as *deus*

It is his death and its aftermath, however, more so than his life or the function of his relationship with the emperor, that continue to occupy the thoughts of so many historians of this period. According to Hadrian's own account of the incident on the Nile in his autobiography, now lost but cited by Cassius Dio and the authors of the *Historia Augusta*, the death was merely an unfortunate accident.[129] Dio and Aurelius Victor, however, believed that Antinous was offered, by his own choice or by force, in a ritual sacrifice meant to ensure the long life of the emperor.[130] Regardless of the reason for his death, the profound reaction on the part of the emperor soon became infamous. The *Historia Augusta* claims that he "wept like a woman" upon being presented with Antinous' corpse.[131] Dio says, "…he became the object of some ridicule, and also because at the death of his sister Paulina he had not immediately paid her any honour…"[132] Even the emperor's alleged emotional outbursts look to the mythic past. His histrionics recall Achilles' behavior in *The Iliad* when his beloved Patroclus was killed. Indeed, he did pay homage to the young Bithynian in an unusually extravagant manner, beginning with

[129] Cassius Dio Cocceianus, *Roman History, Volume VIII, Books 61-70*, Trans. Earnest Cary and Herbert B. Foster (Loeb Classical Library, 1925), 445.
[130] Ibid.
[131] Birley, "Hadrian to the Antonines," 144.
[132] Dio, 447.

his deification and the foundation of Antinoopolis, a city centered around his cult, in Egypt.[133]

Antinous was deified by both Egyptian and Greek oracles, without consultation with the Roman senate.[134] This formality allowed him, as postulated by Vout in her book *Power and Eroticism in Imperial Rome*, to become the more enduring *deus* (god) as opposed to a *divus* (a mortal made divine—common for state-sanctioned additions to the imperial cult).[135] Hadrian himself was likely involved in organizing the religious rites.[136] Though there was precedent for an emperor and even members of his immediate family being granted the status of *divus*, no one of such a modest background as Antinous had ever been awarded the same honor before by a Roman head of state, let alone one comparable to the status of the Olympians themselves.[137] There was somewhat of a precedent in Egypt, where all those who drowned in the Nile were given automatic association with the god Osiris, who himself drowned in the Nile and was resurrected. Such poor souls were thought to have everlasting life, though they did not "embody" Osiris in the same way Antinous did.[138]

These unorthodoxies aside, the cult swept through the empire and was particularly popular in the Greek East and Egypt. By the time of Hadrian's death, over 30 cities in the Eastern part of the empire had minted coins with Antinous' likeness.[139] Games in his honor were held all over Greece, where poets also composed works dedicated to him and

[133] Birley, 144.
[134] Vout, *Power and Eroticism,* 118.
[135] Ibid.
[136] Boatwright, *Hadrian and Rome*, 251.
[137] Vout, *Power and Eroticism*, 118.
[138] Ibid.
[139] Ibid, 252.

his relationship with Hadrian.[140] The athletic competitions and festivals of Antinoopolis were famed throughout Egypt, and portrait likenesses of him had spread all over the empire.[141] In 1798, Edme-Francois Jomard, a French archaeologist and cultural envoy of Napoleon, counted 1,344 statues and busts of Antinous in his eponymous city alone.[142] The cult was less standardized and less popular in the Latin-speaking cities of Italy, including Rome, as Hadrian likely did not introduce any rites to that part of the empire.[143] There are still, however, indications for his presence, and most extant artistic representations of the youth actually come from the Italian peninsula.[144] For example, there is epigraphical evidence of a burial club in Lanuvium made up of both free men and slaves who worshipped Diana and Antinous together.[145] Members in such clubs would pay monthly fees to ensure a proper burial, and apparently the endowment for this particular club was large enough to be considered extravagant.[146] A relief of Antinous as Silvanus, a woodland deity, was also found at Lanuvium, though not near the burial club, which has led some to assume that there was once a temple dedicated to the two gods, or at least a small shrine, at the site (Fig. 27).[147] In Naples, still a Greek-speaking city, Antinous was conflated with a local hero.[148]

The most important epigraphical source for the cult of Antinous, and for what Hadrian believed it could accomplish, is an obelisk that is now located on the Pincian Hill

[140] Ibid.
[141] Ibid.
[142] Louis Crompton, *Homosexuality and Civilization,* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 108. Unfortunately, these sculptures, as well as columns and parts of temples, were all ground into cement by the Egyptian government sometime between Jomard's visit and 1868, when another French archaeologist surveyed the site.
[143] Boatwright, *Hadrian and Rome*, 253.
[144] Ibid.
[145] Mary Beard, John North, and Simon Price, *Religions of Rome Volume I: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 272.
[146] Boatwright, *Hadrian and Rome*, 256.
[147] Ibid.
[148] Birley, *The Restless Emperor*, 253.

in Rome (Fig. 26). Mary Boatwright's *Hadrian and the City of Rome* contains the best summary and interpretation of the object in English. According to her, the four sides of the obelisk are decorated with reliefs and hieroglyphs explaining Antinous' role as a god and the games that took place at Antinoopolis in his honor. Archaeologists have long disputed its original location. Recent excavations of the so-called Antinoeion at Hadrian's villa in Tivoli have led some to believe that it was once situated there, possibly to mark a tomb or cenotaph for the youth.[149] Others have guessed that it was originally erected in Rome itself.[150] However, as postulated by Boatwright, Birley, and others, it is just as likely that the obelisk was originally erected at Antinoopolis as part of a temple complex to Antinous. Regardless of its original location, Elagabalus (r. 218-222) used the obelisk to decorate the Circus Varianus, which was located on his estate near what is now the Porta Maggiore in Rome.[151] It was purchased by the Barberini family in the 16th century, moved to their palazzo, then to the Vatican, and finally, in 1822, came to rest at its current location on the Pincian Hill. [152]

Boatwright argues that the obelisk is essentially a giant billboard for the cult of Antinous and, by extension, Hadrian himself. Written in the voice of Antinous, on one side of the obelisk, he implores the god Har-achte (Re) to reward Hadrian with eternal life for building the temple and bestowing so much favor on Antinous. He calls the emperor the "king of Lower and Upper Egypt…the ruler of every country, while the great ones of Egypt and the nine bends (Libya) lie under his sandals united."[153] Hadrian is

[149] Mari Zaccaria and Sergio Sgalambro, "The Antinoeion of Hadrian's Villa: Interpretation and Architectural Reconstruction," *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 111, No. 1 (Jan., 2007), 83-84.
[150] Ibid.
[151] Boatwright, *Hadrian and Rome*, 242.
[152] Ibid.
[153] Ibid, 244.

presented as an omnipotent ruler who unifies the lands under his control and can even make them bountiful. Another side of the obelisk, which explains the games and festivals that were to take place, describes Antinous as a miraculous healer of the sick. Apparently "miracles were attributed to a statue of Osirantinoos as late as the third century."[154] Early Christian writers like Saint Jerome still felt the need to attack Antinous and question the validity of his claim to divinity well into the 4th century, attesting to the lasting power of his cult. Of course, it cannot be forgotten that this power was given to Antinous thanks to his relationship with the emperor. This monument is as much about glorifying Hadrian and his unifying vision as it is about explaining the worship of Osirantinous.

Another interesting fact gleaned from the inscriptions on the obelisk is the reasoning behind the founding of Antinoopolis, in which the tribes and demes were all named for members of Hadrian's family.[155] This may reflect another facet of Hadrian's seemingly intense reaction to the tragedy of Antinous' loss. It is entirely possible that Hadrian had already intended to found a new city in Egypt, to promote the cause of Hellenism, and the death of his lover merely provided him with a fitting opportunity to do so.[156] That Antinoopolis was founded at Naucratis, the site of the oldest permanent Greek polis in Egypt, is particularly telling, as the city had become a symbol of the mixing of Greek and Egyptian history and culture.[157] In keeping with the history of the spot, it appears that Hadrian planned for Antinoopolis to be populated by Greeks, not Romans.[158] These settlers were given many incentives to live there, including exemption from certain taxes

[154] Ibid, 252.
[155] Birley, "Hadrian to the Antonines," 144.
[156] Ibid.
[157] Birley, *The Restless Emperor*, 253.
[158] Ibid.

and an alimentary program.[159] They were also encouraged to marry native Egyptians and spread their Greek blood.[160] It seems that this city was meant to be a bastion of Greek culture in the middle of Egypt with the express purpose of spreading a type of Hellenism centered around the worship of Antinous and the man who loved him.

The authors of the *Historia Augusta* claimed that Hadrian "cared for Roman rites most assiduously, but despised foreign ones."[161] There is substantial evidence proving this statement to be untrue, at least when Hadrian was travelling. In Greece, for example, he was the first emperor since Augustus to be initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries. In Rome itself, Hadrian's religious policy was indeed conservative and mainly consisted of his observance of the imperial cult, the renovation of existing temples and, of course, the construction of the ultimate symbol of a strong and united empire, the Pantheon. As evidenced by the apparent function of the Pantheon as a temple to all gods, including, if one so wished, "foreign" ones, Hadrian was a proponent of religious pluralism, which, according to Marco Rizzi, "worked on a universal level and acted as a unifying factor for the empire."[162] Thus, instead of attempting to replace existing gods with Antinous, members of the provinces were encouraged to worship Antinous alongside their own gods, and his youthful beauty and untimely death allowed him to be associated with many existing deities.

In Egypt, as already mentioned, Antinous was conflated with Osiris and worshipped as Osirantinous (Fig. 23).[163] In Greece, he was commonly associated with the youthful

[159] Ibid, 254. An alimentary program is one in which the state allocates the interest collected from loans to feeding poor and/or orphaned children, or, in this case, all "Antinoite" children.
[160] Boatwright, *Hadrian and Rome*, 260.
[161] Ibid, 260.
[162] Marco Rizzi, *Hadrian and the Christians* (Walter de Gruyter, 2010) 138.
[163] Boatwright, *Hadrian and Rome*, 252.

gods Dionysus, Mercury, and Apollo (Fig. 28).[164] Mantineans, that is, residents of the mother-city of Bithynia, were particularly fond of Antinous, as he was one of their own, and his name recalled that of their legendary foundress, Antinoe.[165] For those in what is now Tunisia, he became a version of their youthful and beardless god, Echmoun the healer.[166] He even appeared in Gaul, as the god Belenus, a youthful Celtic sun god previously conflated with Apollo, and in Italy as woodland deities like Silvanus or Vertumnus.[167] Every corner of the empire seems to have found it easy to idolize the new god, who could be so easily associated with their own familiar ones. This not only provided citizens of the provinces with an easy way to flatter the emperor and avoid his wrath, as so many early Christian writers believed,[168] but also to share a common experience with him: the veneration of the beautiful and tragic Antinous.

6. Antinous as archaizing art object

It is important to remember that the success of the cult had much to do with the dissemination of images like the *Farnese Antinous*, which acted as objects of devotion all over the empire. Without a find spot, it is difficult to assume or even to speculate quite how the *Farnese* statue was received, or in what type of setting it was originally located. As has already been mentioned, its remarkable similarity to a bust from Syria has led some to believe that it was based on a prototype sent out by Hadrian to be copied in the

[164] Ibid.
[165] Birley, *The Restless Emperor,* 180.
[166] Vout, *Power and Eroticism*, 109.
[167] Boatwright, *Hadrian and Rome*, 256-257.
[168] Royston Lambert, *Beloved and God: The Story of Hadrian and* Antinous, (Secaucus: Meadowland Books, 1988), 194. Christian writers like Justin Martyr, Epiphanios, and Tatian argued that provincials only worshipped Antinous due to fear of the emperor's wrath. However, the fact that the cult survived long after Hadrian's death suggests that its followers were acting of their own free will. Later writers, Tertullian being the best example, admitted the enduring popularity of the cult and instead chose to question Antinous' godhood as well as his lack of morals.

provinces.[169] This suggests that it was not originally located in Rome or commissioned for Hadrian's Villa in Tivoli, where numerous sculptures of the youth were displayed. If it is the case that the *Farnese Antinous* was an image chosen by Hadrian himself to promote the cult abroad, then its aesthetic qualities play an integral part in understanding Antinous' role as a unifying agent for the empire. Not only could Antinous easily take on the guise of existing gods, as explained above, but his beautiful appearance was meant recall the art of Classical Greece that was held in such high esteem during the Second Sophistic, uniting all who looked upon him in nostalgic appreciation for the ancient past.

There is no way of knowing whether the head of the *Farnese Antinous* was originally part of a bust or a full-sized statue. Most of the existing statues of Antinous are portrait busts, indicating that the cult was widespread in more domestic settings where the god brought more personal protection and inspired more intimate devotion.[170] If, like its presumed counterpart in Syria, the *Farnese* head was originally part of a bust, it likely would have been displayed in someone's private home or garden. The owner of such finely carved marble must have been a person of some means and cultural knowledge, possibly a Roman politician living abroad who wanted to flatter the emperor.[171] Such a person, who may have had an array of sculptures displayed in his home, would likely have appreciated the object on its own terms as a reference to Classical art. Antinous' curls recall images of Apollo, Ganymede and Narcissus,[172] while the face, with its heavy, rounded chin and full pouting lips brings to mind the statuary style now classified as

[169] Vout, *Power and Eroticism*, 76-78.
[170] Lambert, 190.
[171] Boatwright, *Hadrian and Rome*, 257.
[172] Vout, *Power and Eroticism*, 73.

"Severe" or "Early Classical" (Fig. 31).[173] This movement was dominated by the sculptor Polykleitos, whose most famous work, the *Doryphoros*, or spear bearer, had, by Roman times, become one of the canonical images of the ideal male youth (Fig. 32). The collecting of copies of famous works of Greek art reached its zenith during the Second Sophistic, and the *Doryphoros,* as one of the most requested "Roman copies," was almost universally recognizable among the cultured elite.[174] It is quite possible, then, that the facial structure of the *Antinous* was purposefully crafted to resemble Polykleitos' statue so as to more easily earn the admiration of the emperor's more well-to-do subjects.

Individualized details like the slight bump on the otherwise straight, Grecian nose and the smaller, almond shaped eyes lend the *Antinous* a sense of naturalism and liveliness not quite present in images like the *Doryphoros*, which seem almost coldly aloof in their perfection (Fig. 33). Though Antinous still represents the "ideal," it is a more attainable one, and one the emperor was apparently able to possess. In the absence Hadrian himself, the quiet eroticism of the head, which looks down and off to the side almost as if shyly aware that someone is looking, creates a sense of intimacy, providing the viewer with the sensation that he or she is admiring him much in the same way the emperor must have done on the occasion of their first meeting.[175] The owner of the statue thus becomes a stand-in for the emperor, able to join him in equal appreciation of the Greek ideal so beautifully represented by his lover.

If, however, the statue was originally full-sized, this expands the possibilities for its location. Though it might still have been located in a private home or garden, other free

[173] Ibid, 72.
[174] Elsner, *Imperial Rome,* 183. Many statues created during the Second Sophistic assumed a well-educated viewer, well versed in famous works of classical art.
[175] Vout, "Biography as Fantasy," 7.

standing sculptures have been found all over, from religious sanctuaries to bath houses. Even in more public contexts, the Classicism of both the body and the head bear no visible signs of any religious attributes, like Apollo's laurel or Dionysus' grape leaves. This suggests that, if full sized, the *Farnese* statue would have been in the guise of "hero" or Greek *ephebe*.[176] Its current body may, in fact, not be too far off from its original state. Two free-standing nudes of Antinous as Apollo, one found in a bath complex in Lepcis Magna, the other from the ancient sanctuary at Delphi (Fig. 29), are actually quite similar to the restored *Farnese Antinous*. All three bodies imitate Early Classical statues like the *Doryphoros* with their *contrapposto* stance. The Lepcis Magna statue, to which the head of Antinous was added at a later date (much like the *Farnese Antinous*), bears an even more striking resemblance to the work of Polykleitos, with the addition of sharply delineated musculature (Fig. 31).[177] The Delphi statue and the *Farnese*, however, call to mind the languid, doughy, and almost under-developed nature of the bodies sculpted by Praxiteles, a 4th century B.C. artist.

It is interesting to examine both of these "known" statues in their original contexts. As a recent addition to Apollo's sanctuary, which was, by Hadrian's time, hundreds of years old, it appears that the *Delphi Antinous* was made to fit its ancient context, responding to, and adapting the age-old traditions of art-making associated with such a place (Fig. 29). The Lepcis Magna statue, on the other hand, brings the Classical tradition to a relatively new addition to the Graeco-Roman world, inviting locals there to join Hadrian in the admiration of Greek models. Common to each image, the projected, full-sized version of the *Farnese Antinous* included, is the "sleekly muscular" eroticism

[176] Vout, *Power and Eroticism*, 68.
[177] Placing new portrait heads on existing bodies was a common practice in Roman art.

of the youthful Greek boy.[178] Hadrian must have known that the timeless power and beauty of the nude male form, so vividly brought to life by his Greek ancestors, could be appreciated all over the empire.

Thus, the intense reaction of Hadrian to the death of Antinous that so astonished historians from Dio to Gibbon may well have been a calculated move on the part of the emperor to unify a disparate empire under the veil of nostalgia for the ancient past. Hadrian used imagery dating to Classical Greece to create a lasting cult figure whom he and his diverse subjects could worship together without compromising existing religious practice or local tradition, while still reminding them of his own exalted position. Though the religion lasted for at least a century, and likely more after the emperor's death, Rome never quite became the unified Hellenic empire that Hadrian wished it to be. His pacifist policies, ending with the adoption of his next three successors may have resulted in a few decades of peace, but the very peoples Hadrian had fought to keep out of his domain would eventually penetrate and change the face of the empire forever. The one truly lasting aspect of his rule is his artistic patronage, of which the ubiquitous portraits of Antinous are surely the most telling examples. Since they first began to resurface in the Renaissance, surviving portraits of the youth have been renowned for their Classical beauty and occupied coveted spots in the collections of some of the world's most powerful people. Centuries later, we are still able to feel a certain connection and kinship to the emperor and his vision for the world through images of his beloved.

[178] Vout, *Power and Eroticism*, 67.

Chapter II

Raphael's Passion and Agostino's Pride: The Case of the Chigi *Jonah*

1. Introduction: From Hadrian to Chigi

In the nearly 2,000 years that have passed between Hadrian's death and our own time, much of his unique architectural stamp on the city of Rome, particularly in the Campus Martius, has hardly diminished. Fortunately, many of the great monuments associated with his reign were preserved and refurbished throughout the Middle Ages, Renaissance, and Baroque periods to fit Rome's increasingly Christian image while honoring its glorious past. The miraculously well-preserved Pantheon, wherein Hadrian's thoroughly pagan religious pluralism found its best expression, became a Catholic church dedicated to the Virgin Mother by Pope Boniface IV in 609.[179] The portico of a temple commissioned by Antoninus Pius to honor the deified Hadrian, the so-called Hadrianeum or Temple of Hadrian, just steps away from the Pantheon, was incorporated into a papal customs office designed by Carlo and Francesco Fontana in the 17th century at the behest of Pope Innocent XII.[180] Currently, this building serves as a branch of the Roman Chamber of Commerce (Fig. 35). Hadrian's own mausoleum along the Tiber became the Castel Sant'Angelo, a military fortress in Late Antiquity and later a fortified, yet lavishly decorated, papal palace.[181] The pope could escape through hidden tunnels from the Vatican directly to his castle in times of strife, as did Clement VII in 1527, during the

[179] Robert Hughes, *Rome: A Cultural, Visual, and Personal History,* (New York: Alfred A.Knopf, 2011), 146
[180] Tod A. Marder, "The Porto di Ripetta in Rome," Journal of the Society of architectural Historians, 39, no. 1 (March 1980) 50
[181] "The Castle and its History," *Castel Sant' Angelo.* http://www.castelsantangelo.com

infamous sack of the city that ushered in the end of the Italian Renaissance.[182] This Christian re-contextualization was not limited to the repurposing of Hadrian's architectural achievements, but extended to other aspects of his artistic patronage, including, perhaps surprisingly, images of his lover Antinous, the last and, for a time, most reviled of the pagan gods.[183]

This seamless blending of the ancient and the modern is common to cities like Rome, where remnants of the past have been always visible. During the 16th century, with the rise of humanism, there was a renewed interest in the ancient world, and "the cultural presence of the past was so pervasive, it was almost impossible…" for artists working in the eternal city "…to determine the present from it."[184] Indeed, the great painters, sculptors, and architects of the High Renaissance like Raphael and Michelangelo not only looked to one another as rivals, but also felt compelled to compete with the ancient artists whose works were being unearthed at the behest of an increasingly humanistic papal court.[185] Outside of the Vatican, the rise of a literate merchant class, a phenomenon which some credit as the impetus for the Renaissance itself, led to a rise in artistic patronage outside of the Church and to the private collection of these artifacts.[186] Such wealthy, yet untitled men often commissioned artists to create works or employ architectural motifs that were classical in origin to demonstrate to the outside world that they were of a high enough cultural caliber to rub shoulders with their aristocratic clients.

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[182] Kenneth Gouwens, "Clement and Calamity: The Case for Re-evaluation," in *The Pontificate of Clement VII: History Politics and Culture,* ed. Kenneth Gouwens and Sheryl E. Reiss, (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Ltd. 2005), 4.
[183] As mentioned earlier, Saints Jerome and Augustine, among others, pointed to Antinous as the ultimate symbol of pagan decadence.
[184] Leonard Barkan, *Transuming Passion: Ganymede and the Erotics of Humanism,* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), 3.
[185] Rona Goffen, *Renaissance Rivals,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 3.
[186] Rowland, "Render Unto Caesar," 674.

It is into this Rome that the head of the *Farnese Antinous*, after an untold number of centuries, was again brought to light, and into which Agostino Chigi, a young banker from Siena, first set foot in 1487.[187]

Chigi soon became not only the wealthiest man in Rome, and possibly all of Europe, but also gained an exalted position within the papal court, as Julius II's banker and closest confidante.[188] However, as the most hardworking and diligent son of an illustrious family of bankers, he did not have the same affinity for culture as someone like Hadrian. He loathed idleness and never properly learned Latin or thoroughly studied classical literature, which was expected of someone of his status.[189] Unlike many bankers who became wealthy enough to approach the status of the aristocracy, the Medici being the prime example, he never retired, and died in bed at the age of 54 while running some numbers.[190] But, much as Hadrian had 1,400 years earlier, he came to realize that his power, great as it was, was ephemeral and ultimately meaningless without an equally impressive stamp on the world of art and culture.

In her article "Unto the Things Which are Caesar's: Humanism and the Arts in the Patronage of Agostino Chigi," art historian Ingrid D. Rowland attempts to reconstruct the banker's ambitions using examples of his extensive artistic patronage. She argues that Chigi would not have been satisfied until he attained a cultural status equal to or greater than that of his high-profile clientele. He needed to establish a "mythic persona" behind his worldly financial success, to craft himself into an "Augustus" to match Pope Julius

[187] Majanlahti, *The Families Who Made Rome*, (London: Chatto & Windus, 2005), 321.
[188] Jones and Penny, 92
[189] Rowland, 677.
[190] Rowland, 676

II's "Caesar."[191] To this end, he cultivated a team of artists who could aggrandize his name, incorporating an unprecedented combination of both ancient and Christian models in the works he commissioned. In 1510, he found his perfect partner in Raphael, fresh from his success as Julius II's court painter.[192] More than just the most sought-after painter in Italy, Raphael was also a pioneering archaeologist, tirelessly working to uncover and preserve the beauty of ancient Rome, all the while attempting to surpass it in his own work.[193] Their first collaboration was on Chigi's *Villa Suburbana*, where Raphael was able to experiment with ancient styles and subjects while helping to craft his patron into a modern-day Roman patrician, approaching the cultural status of someone like Augustus (Fig. 36). Their collaboration was wildly successful. Today, Chigi is remembered more for the extraordinary works he commissioned than for his financial endeavors.

The ultimate expression of Chigi's and Raphael's ambitions to recapture the glories of the ancient past was achieved in the Chigi Chapel of Santa Maria del Popolo. Sadly, both men died in 1520, prior to the completion of the funerary chapel, but it has been revered ever since, becoming a necessary stop for all scholars, pilgrims, and artists visiting Rome.[194] Particularly admirable for Renaissance audiences was Raphael's ingenious revival of long-dead classical motifs throughout the chapel's décor, motifs that would go on to inspire many of the great Baroque architects. A peculiar aspect of the décor is that Raphael appears to have copied the head of the *Farnese Antinous* for a statue

[191] Rowland, 692.
[192] Jones and Penny, 92.
[193] Rona Goffen, *Renaissance Rivals.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 3-4.
[194] Other scholars consider Raphael's death to be the "end" of the High Renaissance

of Jonah that would occupy a niche beside the altar (Fig. 14).[195] Since the Victorian age, and perhaps even earlier, scholarly visitors to the chapel looking at the Jonah have wondered what the presence of that notorious "Bithynian Youth" in Chigi's resting place could possibly signify.[196] Many have suggested that it was purely aesthetics which inspired Raphael.[197] The head is, after all, quite beautiful. But, as Rowland often points out in her article, rarely was any aspect of Renaissance art, particularly for something as important as the funerary chapel of such a powerful man, devoid of a hidden meaning.[198] Associations about Antinous' worship and death were actually used by Raphael to further emphasize Jonah's iconographic significance. Additionally, he used the symbolism associated with Antinous' timeless visage to evoke powerful nostalgia for an idealized past and to link Chigi with Rome's history by equating him with Hadrian, a ruler known for his cultured status.

2. The Most Powerful Man in Rome

Before examining Chigi's patronage, it is essential to understand the immensity of his financial and political success. He was originally stationed in Rome by his ambitious family to more easily transact business with the Vatican. By the time he arrived, the city was ruled "no less by the merchants who controlled the papal finance than it was by the pope himself" and, being more dedicated to the art of banking than any other member of his family, he was determined to get a piece of the action.[199] As was usual at the time, his bank, started with a few other partners, became involved in trading all manner of

[195] Bober and Rubenstein, *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture*, 177.
[196] Among these were the Swedish author Viktor Rydberg and English poet John Addington Symonds.
[197] Lambert, *Beloved and God,* 8.
[198] Rowland. She relates this point when examining the use of marble in the Chigi Chapel.
[199] Rowland, "Render Und674.

commodities, and he quickly began to amass a great amount of wealth. However, it was a single shrewd investment he made after almost 15 years in business that established him as one of the most financially powerful men in Europe.

In 1461, alum deposits were discovered in Italy, first in the Tolfa mountains in Lazio, and then in a few other spots throughout the peninsula.[200] Alum is a mineral essential to the old process of fabric dyeing, one of the leading industries in Renaissance Europe. Prior to the discovery of these deposits, the only alum available to all of Europe was located in Turkey, under the control of Muslim "infidels," with whom Western Europeans in general, and the Vatican in particular, were uncomfortable trading.[201] Understandably, then, finding alum in their own domain was exciting news for the Holy See. The papacy acquired the mineral rich property in Tolfa and dug mine shafts, hoping that the profits from alum sales could fund a second Crusade.[202] Almost immediately, Europe ended trade with the Turks in favor of Italy and the Pope. The operation was highly lucrative, even if it never did lead to another Crusade. By 1501, Chigi had made enough money to take up the papal lease on Tolfa, and he established a small town for his employees entirely at his own expense.[203] His name was thus forever associated with the area, and shortly thereafter, the image on his coat of arms became a representation of the Tolfa mountains.

As money poured in from Tolfa, Chigi began to purchase other alum mines in Italy. It seems that his ultimate goal was to buy up every source available, including some elsewhere in Europe, creating a monopoly on one of the world's rarest and most valuable

[200] Majanlahti, 322.
[201] Rodolfo Lanciani, *The Golden Days of the Renaissance in Rome: From the Pontificate of Julius II to That of Paul III,* (Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1906), 281.
[202] Lanciani, 283.
[203] Majanlahti, 322.

natural resources.[204] Though he never quite succeeded, he still controlled much of an industry essential for the economy of Europe as a whole—a wise move at a time when Italy itself was so politically and economically vulnerable—and he became ever more wealthy. Not long after, in 1503, pope Alexander VI Borgia died and was succeeded by Pius III Piccolomini. Both were Sienese, but the Chigi were not their preferred bankers. It was fortunate then, for Chigi, that the papacy of Pius III was markedly short. He died after less than one month in office due to complications following a lengthy illness. In the scramble to elect a new pope, Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere from Genoa became the forerunner when, instead of turning to Genoese bankers as was expected, he looked to the Chigi bank to fund his bid for the papacy.[205] On the first day of November, he became Julius II, taking his name from Julius Caesar himself, and so began his mutually beneficial friendship with Chigi. It was this friendship which inspired Chigi's first significant forays into artistic patronage.

Many popes and their bankers had considered themselves friends before this, but none had ever shared the closeness that came to exist between Julius and Chigi. When the pope fell ill, the only two people who never left his side were his doctor and his banker.[206] The ultimate symbol of this close-knit, and mutually beneficial relationship, lies in the design of the Chigi crest. In 1509, Chigi and his brother Sigismodo were adopted by Julius and allowed to quarter their coat of arms, dividing it into four sections to include the Della Rovere oak belonging to the pope along with six hills representing the Tolfa mountains crowned with a star, a remarkable privilege.[207]

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[204] Rowland, 680.
[205] Ibid, see footnote 28.
[206] Ibid, 680
[207] Ibid, 685

3. The *Suburbana*, a Villa Fit for a Caesar

As a recent addition to Julius' own family, Chigi predictably achieved an exalted position compared to the other papal bankers. Still, Chigi "was imbued with the notions of a social hierarchy, a world divided into few rulers and many ruled," and he longed to make create a place for his family in the "world of rulers."[208] To do this, he needed to establish a tangible seat for his family in the form of a noble residence, "raising the Chigis to the rank of the great Roman families" and positioning himself as the founder of that greatness.[209] At the time, it was expected for members of the pope's financial team to live together in a section of the Campus Martius, somewhat removed from the Vatican itself. However, in 1505, Chigi purchased land along the Tiber in the Trastevere district across the river from the traditional confines of the city, where he could more easily associate with his high-class clients who lived closer to the Vatican.[210] A villa believed to have belonged to Marcus Agrippa and his wife Julia is buried under this property and it is has been suggested that Chigi knew of its existence.[211] Even in antiquity, Trastevere had been one of Rome's most posh neighborhoods. Living there would put Chigi in excellent company, both past and present. For his first major act of patronage, he hired a team comprised of the best artistic minds of the day to construct and decorate a new villa, bidding them to fashion the stage for his enviable lifestyle after those of Roman patricians. He would fill his new home across the Tiber with a sizeable collection of antiquities to further cement his image. It is entirely possible that both the antique head

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[208] Gilbert, 97.
[209] Ibid, 95.
[210] Rowland, "Render Unto Caesar," 685..
[211] Luba Freedman, *Classical Myths in Italian Renaissance Painting,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 42. "Part of the ancient Roman villa might have been accessible to Peruzzi and Raphael when they were constructing a garden pavilion for Chigi." See Phyllis Pray Bober, "Appropriation Contexts: Décor, *Furor Bacchicus, Convivium*." In *Antiquity and its Interpretations.* Ed. Alina Payne, Ann Kuttner, and Rebekah Smick, (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000), 229-243.

and torso, which would later comprise the restored *Farnese Antinous,* were among these objects.

Chigi began his project by hiring then-unknown Sienese architect Baldassare Peruzzi to build him a magnificent villa, one to rival those of his neighbors. Now known as the Villa Farnesina after the Farnese family who acquired the property in the late 16th century, it was originally called the Villa Suburbana.[212] Chigi shared the admiration of his humanist age for the classical world and his villa, unlike many of his later commissions, was almost exclusively classical in design and function.[213] His villa departed from the traditional homes of colleagues who lived in the Campus Martius and separated their professional and private lives within their palazzos, residing on a *piano nobile* above, and completely distinct from, the street level *botteghe*.[214] Chigi, fashioning himself into more of a Roman patrician than a Renaissance merchant, instead combined *otium* and *negotium*, asking Peruzzi to place his office next to the entertainment spaces.[215] The lavish banquets held in these spaces upon the villa's completion, at which some of the great humanist poets of the age would often perform their works, mimicked the extravagant lifestyles of the ancient city's rich and famous. Chigi's notorious love affairs with beautiful younger women only added to his decadent image.[216]

In her article, Rowland includes several examples of the poetry written in Chigi's honor and read aloud at his parties. Poets like Girolamo Borgia considered him, with his brand new Villa Suburbana, the restorer of the "ancient splendor" of a once "illustrious

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[212] Jones and Penny, 92.
[213] Felix Gilbert, *The Pope, His Banker, and Venice*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980), 96.
[214] Rowland, "Render Unto Caesar," 685.
[215] Ibid, 686-687. Roman patricians would receive their clients into their homes in a room called the tablinum, blurring the boundary between public and private life, between work and leisure.
[216] Rowland, "Render Unto Caesar," 686.

Rome" that had fallen into ruin after barbarian invasions.[217] They praised his patronage, which "prevent[ed] the loss of so many outstanding spirits, / So many grand examples of genius, in [their] generation."[218] By ensuring the longevity of his artistic friends, Chigi also helped prevent the loss of his own "outstanding spirit." In a play on his Christian name, these poets referred to him as "Augustus" Chigi, unequivocally comparing him to Rome's first emperor, whom Hadrian had so desired to emulate.[219] Julius II chose his papal title as an homage to Julius Caesar, adoptive father of Augustus, so these poets may have been using Chigi's nickname to allude to his close relationship with the pope. It seems the banker readily embraced these fantasy roles of "Roman emperor" and Julius II's quasi-successor, as he elaborated upon such conceits to dictate the design and decoration of his villa.

Given Chigi's usual lack of restraint, the relatively small size of the villa is surprising (Fig. 36). After all, this was the same man who gave himself a miniature "triumph" through Rome upon being gifted with a horse by the Sultan in Constantinople.[220] His property is dwarfed by other Renaissance palazzos. The materials Peruzzi used for the exterior were also relatively simple: Tuscan terracotta and peperino, with only a small painted band of putti figures running along the seam between the top and bottom floors. Rowland suggests that this relatively humble design may have been another part of the effort to link Chigi to Augustus, who, according to Suetonius, lived in an unexpectedly modest setting.[221] Yet, "Chigi's palace is made imposing instead by its

[217] Rowland, "Render Unto Caesar," 688-89. Rowland helpfully translated Borgia's poems into English.
[218] Ibid.
[219] Ibi, 688.
[220] Ibid, 690.
[221] Ibid citing Suetonius, *Life* of Augustus 72.

graceful proportions and the quality of its decoration."[222] The balance of width, length, and height are taken directly from Vitruvius' treatise on architecture, as is its U-shaped, two-story construction.[223] Peruzzi designed two open *loggie* so the entertainment spaces would open out onto the magnificent garden that would eventually surround the villa. One loggia afforded views of the Tiber, and, in a move that would feel at home in a text like Suetonius' *The Twelve Caesars,* Chigi would allegedly instruct guests to throw his silver dishes into the river during banquets to demonstrate that money was no object.[224] Of course, he also had nets set up at the bottom of the river and would make his servant fetch the dishes once all of his guests had left.[225] Every action, it seems, was perfectly coordinated to further establish Chigi as a mythic figure.

Inside, the décor was much more lavish, and nearly every detail harkened back to the ancient past. Colored marbles covered the floors, and Peruzzi himself painted classically themed frescoes in at least two of the rooms. For the so-called Sala delle Prospettive, he executed a trompe l'oeil image of a colonnaded loggia opening out onto a landscape, with a frieze of various scenes from Greek myth running around the entire room (Fig. 37). This type of illusionistic fresco, while an experimental exercise in modern painting technique, also calls to mind wall paintings found in ancient villas, such as the one located under Chigi's own property. The classical motif continued in the Loggia di Galatea, where Peruzzi painted mythological subjects corresponding to Chigi's astrological chart on the elaborately designed ceiling, the structure of which mimics the Sistine ceiling in miniature (Figs. 38 and 39). Chigi was obsessed with the ancient

[222] Ibid, 690.
[223] Majanlahti, 338.
[224] Lanciani, 302.
[225] Ibid.

practice of astrology and, like many at this time, believed that the alignment of the stars on the day of his birth both foretold and legitimized his immense success.[226]

Chigi employed a team of the finest painters to complete the rest of his villa's decoration. Each new image sought to establish him as a powerful man of learning and culture and to connect him to the idealized ancient past. To make his bedroom suitably grand, Chigi hired Giovanni Antonio Bazzi, called Il Sodoma, a painter from his home town of Siena.[227] Together, they chose to dedicate the space to Alexander the Great. On the wall above the bed Chigi shared with his Venetian mistress, and eventual wife, is a suitably erotic image of *The Nuptials of Alexander and Roxane* (c. 1517) intended to give life to an ekphrasis by Lucian describing a long-lost painting of the same subject by the ancient painter Aetion (Fig. 40). Painted in illusionistic perspective with the characters at roughly life-size, the scene seems almost to be an extension of Chigi's own chamber. This not so subtly suggests that the banker could easily fit into the life of the Macedonian conqueror, a figure often emulated by Roman heads of state, Hadrian among them. Above the fireplace, Sodoma painted Alexander granting clemency to the wives of Darius (Fig. 41). Likely, Chigi not only admired the king's eternal power, but also felt akin to him because they both shared an affinity for accumulating multiple wives.[228] Taken together, both images work to equate banker and king, again using the past to add weight to Chigi's illustrious present.

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[226] Gilbert, 96. For more on Chigi and astrology, see Mary Quinlan-McGrath, "The Astrological Vault of the Villa Farnesina: Agostino Chigi's Rising Sign," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* (Vol. 47 1984), 91-105.

[227] Some believe that Raphael designed the *Nuptials of Alexander and Roxanne*, pointing to the similarities between the figures and composition of Sodoma's fresco and those from Raphael's corpus (the water bearer at left copies a figure in *Fire in the Borgo* almost exactly). However, there is nothing to suggest that Il Sodoma did not simply see and take inspiration from some of Raphael's more notable works.

[228] Rowland, "Render Unto Caesar," 692.

4. Raphael : A "magnificence equal to the ancients"

But it was Chigi's decade-long partnership with another artist that would come to best represent his nostalgic ambitions. In 1508, Raphael, even now one of the most recognizable names in the world of Western art, moved to Rome, where he would spend the remainder of his life, to take charge of painting the famous Vatican Stanze for Julius II (Fig. 42).[229] Chigi, partially responsible for funding the renovation of the papal apartments, seems to have met the artist through Julius II. Raphael's first commission for the banker was the design for a gold plate manufactured in 1510.[230] From then on, the two maintained a close personal and professional relationship that would inspire some of the artist's best-known, and most creative, works.[231]

Raphael would find much success in Rome, and it was there that he would fully immerse himself in the classical style, inspired by the remnants of the ancient past all around him. Though his talents were put to good use under the papacy of Julius II, he truly came into his own when the more cerebral Leo X Borgia was elected pope in 1513. During his seven years as Leo's court painter, Raphael would become ever more obsessed with the Rome of the ancients. In 1515, he was named prefect over all antiquities unearthed within the city, or "commissario delle antichitá."[232] More impressive is that, in 1519, he and Baldassare Castiglione collaborated on a letter to Leo lamenting the destruction of the Rome's precious antiquities, many of which were being broken down for use in papal building projects.[233] Raphael believed that the ruins of the

[229] Ibid.
[230] Jones and Penny, 92.
[231] Ibid.
[232] Ibid, 199. For the full text, see John Shearman, *Raphael in Early Modern Sources*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 500-544.
[233] Ibid.

city bore true witness to the greatness of Rome as it was described in ancient sources and proposed a visual survey of the city to record all the antiquities. This survey was to be done on the basis of excavation and the evidence of ancient writers in order to create a scientific reconstruction of the original appearance of the whole of Rome.[234] Though the pope would continue to re-use ancient masonry in the building of Saint Peter's, he accepted Raphael's proposal, at least ensuring that all ancient inscriptions and other pieces of marble would be recorded before being reused. Meanwhile, humanists all over Italy rejoiced at the prospect of Raphael's design, even going so far as to call his efforts "godlike."[235]

As an apparent enthusiast for the ancient world and its art, Raphael was uniquely suited to enhance Chigi's legacy with artworks containing carefully constructed nods to the ancient world. By 1512, the banker had enlisted his help for the decoration of the Suburbana. For the as-yet unnamed loggia that overlooked the Tiber, Raphael was hired to paint a series of frescos illustrating the ill-fated love story of the giant Polyphemus and the nereid Galatea, taken from humanist poet Angelo Poliziano's *Stanzas for the Joust of Giuliano di Medici*, who was, in turn, inspired by Ovid (Fig. 43).[236] Raphael illustrated Poliziano's description of the image of Galatea in Venus' palace almost exactly. As expressed in the poem she drives a seashell chariot pulled by two dolphins, clearly designed to look more like those in classical sculpture than the real animals. An exuberant array of characters, including several *putti* and tritons, flock around her, completing the triumphant scene. Casting himself as a modern Zeuxis, Raphael allegedly

[234] Ibid, 200.
[235] Ibid, 199. From a poem by Celio Calcagnini, "Now Raphael is seeking Rome in Rome, and finding it. / To seek is the sign of a great man, to find—of a god."
[236] Jones and Penny, 93.

combined various models to create the "ideal woman" in his *Galatea*.[237] It has also been suggested that his heroine's stance and purple mantle were inspired by Philostratus' description of a ancient Greek painting of the same subject.[238] In all, the scene works to present Chigi as cultured and well-read. Specific references to a great poet of his age, a few ancient writers, and possibly an antique fresco connected him to men like Augustus or Maecenas, who may have had similar artworks adorning the walls of their homes and who shared an admiration for literature. For the painter, it was an opportunity to recreate the classical style, an endeavor in which many of his contemporaries thought he succeeded.[239] When it became clear that Raphael's other obligations, particularly at the Vatican, were too great, Chigi hired Venetian painter Sebastiano del Piombo to complete the ornamentation of the Loggia di Galatea. Del Piombo's work continued with the Ovidian theme, resulting in a fresco of the lovelorn Polyphemus to accompany Raphael's piece and images of the gods in the lunettes.[240]

The second loggia and entrance to the villa remained unadorned for some years after the completion of the *Galatea* because it became so difficult to keep Raphael's attention. According to some contemporary sources, Chigi even forced Raphael's mistress, and subject of *La Fornarina*, to live in the Suburbana as an incentive for the artist to continue his work there.[241] He finally secured the assistance of Raphael and his workshop in 1518.[242] For this room, Chigi and his painter took inspiration from another classical poet, Apuleius, and his story of Cupid and Psyche from *The Golden Ass*. Raphael, no doubt

[237] Clark Hulse, *The Rule of Art: Literature and Painting in the Renaissance*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990) 87-88.
[238] Freedman, 115.
[239] Freedman, 43. "Francisco de Hollanda from Lisbon, visiting Rome in 1537, remarked that the villa was painted by Raphael 'with a magnificence equal to the works of the ancients.'"
[240] Jones and Penny, 93.
[241] Jones and Penny 183
[242] Pope-Hennessey, 169

inspired by the subject and his patron's decadent lifestyle, even abandoned his usually impeccable sense of decorum, fully embracing the liveliness of his mythological subject (Fig. 44). Many of the characters are fully nude, and the infamous "fig and gourd" above Chigi's office is almost obscene (Fig. 45).[243] The narrative is told in various triangular episodes, each separated by a colorful garland full of fruits and vegetables, mimicking those in classical relief sculpture. In one of these scenes, Mercury, the patron god of merchants, heralds the entrance to Chigi's office. On the ceiling are two frescos in *quadro riportato*. One depicts a council of the gods, the other is the triumphal wedding banquet of Cupid and Psyche (Figs. 46 and 47). These two paintings seem particularly appropriate, given the many poets who told Chigi that the gods themselves smiled upon his revival of ancient splendor with the construction of his villa.[244] This room and the *Galatea* were immediately successful, earning admiration from the likes of Baldassare Castiglione as well as many others for their adherence to the classical style.[245] Not only did their reception increase Raphael's fame, but it further established his patron as a purveyor of humanist culture.

5. The Reappearance of the Farnese Antinous?

The many classically-inspired frescoes adorning the walls of his villa were not, however, Chigi's only method of relating himself to the past. He was able to establish a more concrete connection by amassing an impressive collection of antiquities, all of which were prominently displayed in his newly-decorated entertainment, living, and

[243] Jones and Penny, 185
[244] Freedman, 43.
[245] Hulse, 87.

outdoor spaces, in keeping with the ancient tradition. Fabio Chigi, Agostino's nephew and the future pope Alexander VII, wrote in a biography of his uncle:

> "…carved images and coins were worth more to him if they were dug up from the shadows of the antique past. His whole house was filled with them, and his gardens. I cannot cease to speak of all of his statues and precious antique marbles…as well as inscriptions in untainted Latin."[246]

Agostino's gem collection alone merited its own room, while the various cups, vases, jewels, and cameos filled the many wooden cabinets lining his coatroom.[247] Many of these smaller items acted as collateral for the incredible loans he had made to various European heads of state.[248] The statues on display, however, were all his own possessions, and several have since become quite famous.[249] It is very possible that the *Farnese Antinous* was among these objects. The statue's remarkable resemblance to the *Jonah* in Chigi's mortuary chapel has long caused historians to believe it must have once belonged to Chigi. For, why else would he want its image to be included in his own resting place? Though this evidence is flimsy, the *Jonah* is still cited by most sources specializing in ancient works known during the Renaissance when they provide a date for the rediscovery of the *Antinous*, ca. 1520, when Raphael designed the statue for Chigi's tomb.[250] Within the past 25 years, however, new theories have come to light that further enhance the possibility that Chigi was the original owner of the *Farnese Antinous*.

In 1992, art historian Roberto Bartalini published the first inventory of the Chigi collection of ancient sculpture and used it to describe what a stroll through the banker's gardens and entertainment rooms must have looked like to his esteemed guests. Among

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[246] Christian, 299-300. The text is Christian's translation from the original Italian.
[247] Ibid, 300.
[248] Ibid.
[249] Ibid. The *Winged Niobid* is one such example.
[250] Bober and Rubinstein, 177. The online database made to supplement Bober and Rubinstein's book is being continually updated, and it also includes the *Farnese Antinous* as the model for the Jonah.

the objects listed in the collection was an unnamed torso of a nude male youth, which Bartalini and several others now believe to be the torso of the *Farnese Antinous*.[251] The Farnese family could have easily acquired the torso when they bought the villa, and some of what was inside, later in the 16th century from Chigi's son. However, none of the sculptures listed in the available records, which may be incomplete, provide any conclusive evidence for the head of the *Farnese* being in Chigi's villa. This is where the guesswork comes in.

Though the *Jonah* alone is fairly convincing, it appears that the *Farnese Antinous* was copied in yet another of Raphael's works for Chigi: the frescoes in the Loggia of Cupid and Psyche. Many noted art historians, including Bartalini and Kathleen Wren Christian, author of *Empire Without End*, believe that Raphael and his workshop took inspiration from the *Farnese Antinous* for the image of Mercury in the image *Council of the Gods* on the ceiling (Fig. 47).[252] Indeed, the god's moody, downturned gaze and thick curly locks bring Antinous to mind, and the body, with its Doryphoros-like contrapposto seems to foretell the statue's eventual reconstruction. The image may speak to Chigi's own plan to restore the *Antinous* using that same body, perhaps enlisting the help of someone like Lorenzetto, who had some experience restoring ancient sculptures.[253] In one of the triangular sections of the ceiling, Mercury carries Psyche up to Olympus, and his hair again resembles that of Antinous, with curls that run down the back of his neck (Fig. 48) Unless the statue was incredibly well-known in Rome at the time, it seems odd for Raphael to have used this statue in two of his works, especially

[251] Bartalini, 24, and Federico Rausa, "Le collezioni Farnesiane di sculture antiche: storia e formazione," in *Le sculture Farnese: storia e documenti*, ed. Carlo Gasparri, (Naples: Electa Napoli, 2007), 20-21.
[252] Bartalini, 23. Wren Christian 301.
[253] Marina Caso and Flavia Coraggio, *Le Sculture Farnese: II. I ritratti*, ed. Carlo Gasparri (Naples, Electa Napoli, 2009), 90.

since both works were for the same patron in fairly private contexts. Regardless of whether or not Agostino owned the statue, it is almost certain that Raphael was inspired by the image for an, arguably, even more important monument attesting to Agostino's great power: his funerary chapel in Santa Maria del Popolo.

6. Antinous and the Cappella Chigi

It is important to remember that all of Chigi's "grand expenditures had at their root a vehement faith in the essential piety of his actions."[254] Like his friends at the Vatican, Chigi believed that his success, and the monuments celebrating it, would glorify the Christian cause. With his massive wealth, he was able to fund an entourage of artists and architects working to attain the ancient style in the service of a Christian, rather than pagan, God, so that his Rome would come to surpass the Rome of the ancient heathens. Nowhere is this idea more evident than in his chapel and burial tomb in Santa Maria del Popolo, a thoroughly Christian monument given the same form and attributes associated with sites of pagan worship. In 1507, Julius II issued a papal Bull ordering Chigi to purchase the empty chapel in the church of Santa Maria del Popolo (a Della Rovere foundation) and dedicate it to the Virgin of Loreto along with Saints Sebastiano and Agostino, his namesake.[255] Julius also commanded that his friend be buried in the chapel, saying that he wished, "by a fruitful exchange, to turn earthly things into heavenly, and transitory into eternal," words both Chigi and his chosen architect, Raphael, would take to heart when it came to the design.[256]

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[254]Rowland, "Render Unto Caesar," 693-4.
[255] John Shearman, "The Chigi Chapel in S. Maria del Popolo," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 24, no. 3/4 (Jul. - Dec., 1961):129.
[256] Shearman, "Chigi Chapel," Shearman's translation of the Latin text, 130.

In keeping with Agostino's desire to tie himself to the past, the site upon which the church of Santa Maria del Popolo was built had been important since antiquity. Rumored to be the spot where Nero (54-68 A.D.) was buried, Santa Maria del Popolo started out in the 11th century as a small chapel built by Pope Paschal II to ward off the spirit of the notorious emperor, who was allegedly "haunting" the area via a murder of cranky crows.[257] Construction of the modern church began in 1472 under Pope Sixtus IV, Julius II's uncle, and ended in 1478.[258] Most of the architects are unknown, but Bramante designed the nave and choir.[259] Although it was designed to be a showcase of the Della Rovere pontificate, the structure remained, at its heart, a simple monastery church. Much of what can be seen today is a result of the Baroque period, but some of the church's original Renaissance classicism is still visible. The travertine façade, for example, is even now somewhat flat and solemn in appearance, in spite of a few Baroque touches added by Gian Lorenzo Bernini in the 17th century (Fig. 49).[260] The interior, built of the same material, looks grey, and almost gloomy, in the lack of sunlight (Fig. 50). In this context, the Chigi chapel, decked in glittering mosaics and colored marbles from all over the world, must have seemed particularly lavish (Fig. 51). Such extravagance would have been appropriate considering the importance of Santa Maria del Popolo's location. As the first church seen by pilgrims entering the city from the north by way of the ancient Via Flaminia, it provided a fitting setting for Chigi to advertise his wealth and influence

[257] Majanlahti, *The Families Who Made Rome,* 107. The haunting by crows is an urban legend in Rome, told to me by my Renaissance and Baroque Art History professors and the occasional random elderly person.
[258] Majanlahti, *Families*, 108.
[259] Majanlahti, *Families*, 110.
[260] Majanlahti, Families, 108, 346.

to a larger audience, much in the same way tombs along the Via Appia functioned in antiquity.

Far removed from the plain white stucco plastered over the interiors of so many Renaissance churches, Raphael's scheme attempts to accurately mimic antiquity in all its colorful exuberance but still marks a great leap forward in the art of design. In her book on Renaissance culture, Rowland goes so far as to compare Raphael's chapel to Michelangelo's Sistine Ceiling, citing its innovation as well as its almost immediate effect on the art world.[261] One of the most unusual features is the "orchestration by one artist of all the different parts of a family chapel that would normally have been allocated by the patron to a number of different artists."[262] Raphael designed the architecture, the mosaics, the tombs, the sculpture, and an altarpiece.[263] Many have called Raphael's chapel the first example of "Baroque" architecture because it marks the first known example of an artist who was able to combine the three principal arts: painting, sculpture, and architecture, in a single, colorful design. This concept, called *bel composto* in Italian, would later inspire artists like Gian Lorenzo Bernini.[264]

That Chigi was able to secure the services of Raphael, Rome's most in-demand artist, and a notorious procrastinator, for such a lengthy project only added to his personal mythos.[265] Raphael's daring and eager attempt to capture his patron's desires in the design certainly speaks to the power of Chigi's magnetic personality. According to Rowland:

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[261] Rowland, *Culture*, 236.
[262] Jones and Penny, *Raphael*,105.
[263] Ibid.
[264] Shearman, "Chigi Chapel,"155.
[265] Rowland, "Unto Caesar," 729.

> "The Chigi Chapel is a deeply thought out meditation on life, death, and salvation…such an outlay of ingenuity would never have happened had not the patron himself captured [Raphael's] interest. Raphael's chapel in Santa Maria del Popolo shows this most responsive of artists warming to the presence of a profoundly intelligent man."[266]

Chigi had the motive to create a lasting legacy, and the vast funds to fully execute Raphael's vision.[267] They were the perfect partners: Raphael wanted to preserve antiquities and recreate them in modern architecture, while Chigi wanted to include ancient motifs in his commissions to tie himself to the ancient past.[268] With Raphael's classical work on Chigi's Villa, he had achieved "magnificence equal to the works of the ancients,"[269] but his design for his patron's mortuary chapel would attempt to both reinterpret and surpass the work of his ancient predecessors. Nearly every detail of Raphael's design harkens back to the idealized Roman past, reinterpreting timeless forms for a new Christian present and framing his patron as a worthy successor to the great Roman patrons who had changed the face of the city centuries prior. Most striking is that so many of the forms employed by Raphael are direct quotations of architectural and artistic works commissioned by Hadrian. Among these, it is Raphael's design for the sculpture of Jonah which copies the head of the *Farnese Antinous* which most effectively serves to link Chigi to one of the greatest men of the ancient world and to the power of nostalgia.

References to antiquity, particularly to those structures associated with Hadrian, Augustus, and Caesar, run throughout Raphael's architectural design for Chigi's chapel.

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[266] Rowland, *Culture*, 239.
[267] Rowland, *Culture,* 226. In another display of his power, Agostino allegedly spent 22,000 ducats on his chapel, including Raphael's fee and the extravagant materials, managing to dwarf the hefty sum Julius II paid to Michelangelo for designing his own grandiose white marble tomb, destined for the nave of New Saint Peter's. "Proof, if any were needed, of the scale of Chigi's magnificence."
[268] Barkan, *Unearthing the Past*, 37. David R. Coffin, *Art Bulletin 1976 292*
[269] Freedman, *Classical Myth in Renaissance Painting*, 43.

Most obvious are comparisons to the Pantheon, which it was clearly "meant to evoke," only in miniature.[270] The Chigi Chapel is vaguely octagonal in shape, with two major axes running at right angles to each other and crossed by two minor axes also at right angles, mimicking, if not exactly copying, the ground plan of the Pantheon (Fig. 52).[271] Rowland notes that the arrangement of the chapel's porch pilasters is also "virtually a direct quotation from Hadrian's temple" (Figs. 53 and 54).[272] The various colored stones, such as the Egyptian monolithic granite used for the "step" and those covering the floors and walls are another visual link to the Pantheon.[273] The dome, however, with its coffers and faux oculus, is the most instantly recognizable quotation of the famous ancient building (Figs. 55 and 56). In keeping with the devout Christianity of his patron, Raphael's oculus, rather than opening to the sky, is filled with an illusionistic mosaic of God the Father, looking down into the chapel from Heaven to welcome Chigi's soul (Fig. 57).[274] As Shearman describes it, "over the center appears God the Father, like a cloud passing over the eye of the Pantheon."[275] A series of windows ring the dome, bringing much needed natural light to the chapel and compensating for the fake oculus. It is also noteworthy that Chigi's chapel, like the Pantheon since early in the Christian era, was consecrated to the Virgin.[276] In the 16th century, the Pantheon was still attributed to Augustus and Agrippa, so Raphael's choice to mimic the structure may have been yet another attempt to link Chigi to his favorite emperor.

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[270] Rowland, 237.
[271] Cecilia Magnusson, "The Antique Sources of the Chigi Chapel." *Kornsthistorisk* tidskrift 56 (Dec. 4 1987): 136.
[272] Rowland, 237.
[273] Ibid.
[274] Rowland, "Patronage," 706.
[275] Shearman, "Chigi Chapel," 138.
[276] Rowland, *Culture*, 237.

Comparisons have also been made to Hadrian's other great architectural feat, his villa in Tivoli, visited by Raphael and his friends Baldassare Castiglione and Pietro Bembo for certain in 1516, and possibly at an earlier date as well.[277] Vicktor Rydberg and Cecilia Magnusson believe there are at least three buildings at the Villa which could have served as inspiration for the Chigi Chapel, all of which are closer in scale to the chapel than the massive Pantheon.[278] The entrance hall to the so-called Piazza d'Oro, once crowned by one of the famed Hadrianic "pumpkin" domes, and the circular Rocca Bruna, possibly a temple to Antinous, both have similar axial plans, and similar placements of arches and niches to Raphael's chapel. The erroneously named "Temple of Apollo," a small, Pantheon-like building behind the Canopus appears to have had an oculus in its domed roof, which may have influenced the design as well.[279] Raphael was even more likely inspired by the marbles, decorative mosaic floors, and elegantly carved Corinthian capitals that were still in situ at the time.[280]

Aside from the architectural design, there are many similarities between the materials used by Raphael and those used by his ancient predecessors in the construction of the Pantheon and other notable structures, but as always, Raphael tried to improve upon the originals with an eclectic mixture of antique motifs. His use of mosaic in the dome is considered a "stroke of genius" because of its legibility and its ability to reflect so much light.[281] The choice of the medium of mosaic, virtually extinct by the fifteenth century due to its cost, can also be seen as a revival, as an antique and medieval

[277] Magnusson, 138. Bembo mentioned the trip in a 1516 letter to Cardinal Bibbiena.
[278] Ibid, 137.
[279] Ibid.
[280] Ibid.
[281] Shearman, "Chigi Chapel," 138.

medium.[282] In keeping with Raphael's conviction that modern architecture had fallen short of the standards of antiquity, some of the marble used in the Chigi Chapel interiors is of the high quality usually reserved for sculpture.[283] This surface richness is one of the major innovations in his architecture and at the same time a bow to the past. The surfaces may also be a deliberate nod to Chigi's hero, Augustus, who so famously added to Rome's visual richness by covering it in marble.[284] Further, the peculiar color of the reddish marbles in the Chigi Chapel fits the description of the "porphyry-colored stone" mentioned in the most current archeological guidebook then available to Chigi and Raphael as being used in the mausoleum of Augustus.[285]

In addition to architectural and material choices reflecting the style of antiquity, Chigi's chapel also has many ancient iconographical references. Chief among these are the two pyramids in the chapel itself with veneers of red marble under which Chigi and his wife were to be buried and the smaller pyramid which stood in the crypt at the head of Chigi's casket (Fig. 58).[286] Though the pyramids have striking Egyptian overtones, Rowland suggests that the connection is instead to Roman emperors who were burned on funeral pyres to which eagles were tethered and ultimately freed when the flames hit their tethers.[287] To further support this Roman connection to Raphael's flame-colored marble pyramids, there are eagles captured in mid-flight on the chapel friezes (Fig. 59).[288] It has also been noted that the Chigi chapel pyramids are elongated and thus effectively conflated with the form of an obelisk, also believed to have funerary connotations in the

[282] Jones and Penny, Raphael, 109.
[283] Shearman, "Chigi Chapel," 154.
[284] Rowland, "Patronage," 709. Suetonius, *Life* of Augustus 28.
[285] Ibid.
[286] Rowland, *Culture*, 238.
[287] Ibid.
[288] Rowland, *Culture*, 238-239.

Renaissance.[289] Before their seventeenth century restoration, Raphael's pyramids may have been capped by bronze spheres similar to one that topped the Vatican obelisk and was believed during the Renaissance to have held the ashes of Julius Caesar.[290] It is very likely that Raphael purposefully conflated these different monuments to the afterlife, taking each out of its own specific time and context and thus turning his new form into a general symbol for the entirety of the ancient past. It is John Shearman's opinion that "Raphael's tomb design is a well-motivated hybrid…this is an attitude to antiquity at once more willful, and more creative."[291] By taking eclectic cues from several ancient sources, Raphael is able to step boldly into the future with his design.

As an avid archeologist, Raphael was as much interested in the monumental sculpture of ancient Rome as in its magnificent buildings.[292] Though not himself a sculptor, he designed the four marble sculptures that were to be placed in the niches of the chapel. Only the two meant to flank the altar were completed by his chosen sculptor, Lorenzo Lotti, or Lorenzetto, a little-known artist from Florence.[293] One is an image of Elijah looking upwards, representing the ascension of Christ (Fig. 60). The other is Jonah looking downward, representing His resurrection.[294] It was in this figure of Jonah, now widely accepted as being an "into detail perfect copy" of the *Farnese Antinous*,[295] that Raphael would make his most unique attempt to establish continuity between his

[289] Shearman, "Chigi Chapel," 133.
[290] Ibid.
[291] Shearman, "Chigi Chapel," 134.
[292] Jones and Penny, 204.
[293] The other two sculptures currently in the chapel were created by Bernini.
[294] Cecilia Magnusson, "Lorenzetto's Statue of Jonah, and the Chigi Chapel in S. Maria del Popolo," 19.
[295] Ibid. Some have argued that the *Jonah* is modeled after a bust currently in Madrid on the basis that it was recorded in Rome earlier than the *Farnese*, though still much later than Raphael's design for the Chigi Chapel.

patron and the powerful men of Rome's ancient past, and to transcend the power of pagan imagery by imbuing it with a thoroughly Christian meaning.

Although some critics today, notably John Pope-Hennessey, do not think much of Lorenzetto's talent, his *Jonah* was greatly admired during the Renaissance.[296] Even when Bernini added his own sculptures to the chapel in the 17th century, relegating the lackluster *Elijah* to a less visible niche, the *Jonah* remained in its coveted spot next to the altar. Carved from a buttery slab of marble, which may have once belonged to the Temple of Castor and Pollux in the Forum Romanum, providing another direct link to the ancient world, the statue is imbued with a certain sense of richness in keeping with the rest of the materials in the chapel. The curls of the hair (or "lock scheme") are nearly identical to those of the *Farnese Antinous*, as are the facial features and downward, right-leaning tilt of the head (Fig. 61). Cecilia Magnusson, who was able to study the statue up close, remarks that Jonah's pupils, like those of its ancient inspiration, are even a little off center to the right in his eyes.[297] Lorenzetto did give his Jonah a slightly more youthful appearance than the Antinous, however. His jaw is less defined, and his body is slightly less muscular, perhaps that of a boy just entering adolescence, rather than about to leave it. He steps boldly out of the mouth of the fish, positioned, seemingly, to keep the beast's massive jaws from closing on him. The flowing drapery lends the figure some dynamism, while also serving to cover up any inappropriate nudity.

But why choose Antinous for such an image? Until Michelangelo's radical depiction of Jonah as a muscular young man on the Sistine Ceiling, the prophet had been almost exclusively portrayed as an older man with a beard. Though Raphael may have taken his

[296] John Pope-Hennessey, *Italian High Renaissance and Baroque Sculpture*, (New York: Random House, 1985), 343.
[297] Mangusson, "Jonah," 19.

cue from Michelangelo, the use of a figure as recognizable and notorious as Antinous seems to be an even bolder step. Indeed, Antinous' tragic story was well known by Raphael's time, and certainly familiar to the humanist circle in which he operated, thanks to the preservation of Cassius Dio's texts throughout the Middle Ages.[298] Victorian author and art historian Viktor Rydberg believed that Raphael may have felt a personal connection to the youth. In his book, *Roman Days,* he recounts a story told to him by locals while he was in Rome:

> "…it happened — so says a Roman tradition — that a man who had wandered up to the Sabine mountains, and lost himself in the ruins of the Villa Adriana, forgot that he was there, as he saw the beams of the evening sun play until they were tired on the ivy-clad stones. Night came, and the star-picture of Antinous shone through the laurels and cypresses. The man thought of great Caesar Hadrian, whose shade was said to dwell there, and the thought called up the sighing spirit; and it told him Hadrian never should find rest, until the good name of the Bithynian youth should be cleared. This message the pilgrim bore to Raphael, who was then engaged on the Chigian chapel in the church of Santa Maria del Popolo. Thus ripened a thought that Raphael long had cherished, to christen Antinous, consecrate his beauty, and bestow on the youth who had given up himself, a place in the veneration of those who in Christ adore the mystery of self-sacrifice, and of the life eternal won by self-sacrifice. And so in Raphael the bold plan was conceived, of making the Chigian chapel a temple to Antinous, under the name of the prophet Jonah."[299]

The story may only be an urban legend, and Rydberg may have been a little too bold in his suggestion that Raphael turned Chigi's mortuary chapel into a "temple to Antinous," but Rydberg's thoughts on "the mystery of self-sacrifice" bear some investigation. Jonah jumped overboard to save his ship and his crew, just as Antinous, "by voluntary death, would save the Roman ship of state and its master."[300] Resurrection is also a common theme to both tales. Jonah's miraculous escape from drowning has long been a symbol of

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[298] Ibid, 24.
[299] Viktor Rydberg, H. A. W. Lindehn, A. C. Clark Sampson Low, *Roman Days, from the Swedish of V. Rydberg*. (Rome: Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1879), 206.
[300] John Addington Symonds, *Sketches and Studies in Italy and Greece, Volume 3* (London: Smith, Elder & Co.,1879), 228.

the resurrection of Christ, or "an emblem of the Christian's hope beyond the grave."[301] Antinous may have drowned in the Nile, but he was "resurrected" as a new pagan god. Both figures, in their sacrifice and subsequent "immortality" become the very image of the Christian message. In using the beautiful figure of Antinous, Raphael determined "that from the mouth of the monstrous grave should issue not a bearded prophet, but the victorious youth who had captivated with his beauty and his heroism the sunset age of the classical world."[302] The timeless, classical visage of Antinous, at the peak of his youth and beauty, seemed a far more fitting symbol for the triumph of life over death. By using the "latest saint"[303] of the pagan world, Raphael was able to surpass those who came before to create one of the most convincing symbols of those two most basic tenants of the Christian faith: self-sacrifice and the immortality of the human soul.

For Chigi, Antinous also provided a tangible link between himself and Hadrian, Rome's most cultured emperor, who treasured his Greek youth above all else. By "owning" Antinous, Chigi, much like the theoretical patrician mentioned in the previous chapter, becomes a stand-in for the emperor himself, able to share in his appreciation for Antinous' beauty. Magnusson argues that the *Jonah*'s current position is incorrect.[304] Rather, it was intended to occupy the niche to the right of the altar, so the youth could look directly into the crypt itself. Thus, Antinous anticipates the ascent of Chigi's soul, which will rise above these symbols of the ancient past. And Chigi chose, in death, to forever look upon the face of Antinous, who, more so than any of the other classical symbols in his chapel, becomes the representation of the idealized ancient past itself, and

[301] Ibid, 227
[302] Ibid, 228.
[303] Ibid.
[304] Magnusson, "Jonah," 23.

the strongest visual link between Agostino and that past. If Antinous is immortal, so, by association, will be Chigi.

It would appear that Chigi and Raphael's scheme was successful, since the author of a 1517 guidebook declared that it was to "surpass all the others in Rome in the beauty of its paintings and sculpture."[305] And that was before much of the decoration was finished. Unfortunately, neither man would live to see the chapel in its completed state, or how popular it would become among connoisseurs. In 1520, before their magnificent vision was completed, Raphael, "the artist with whom Chigi's name had become inextricably associated and who…seems to have had the most genuine sense of the man Chigi was," died at the age of 37 from a severe fever.[306] Humanists mourned the death of their great champion, dedicating poems to him and his tragically incomplete goal of creating a survey of ancient Rome.[307] His artworks would become the gold standard of the new classical style, not to be matched until the advent of the Carracci School of painting some 80 years later. Raphael, after years of saving up enough money to set all of his affairs in order, was buried in a location befitting someone so enamored of the classical past: the Pantheon (Fig 62).

Chigi, who was then suffering from an excruciating illness, survived his friend and favorite artist by only four days.[308] All of his "grand machinations" did, eventually, result in the ascension of his family to the highest possible status. For, in 1655, his grand-nephew, Fabio Chigi, became Pope Alexander VII, one of the greatest popes of the

[305] Jones and Penny, 111 from Fra Mariano da Firenze, *Itinerarium Urbis Romae*, (Rome, 1931), 226.
[306] Rowland, *Culture*, 244.
[307] Kim E. Butler, "'Reddita lux est': Raphael and the Pursuit of Sacred Eloquence in Leonine Rome," in *Artists at Court*, ed. Stephen J. Campbell, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 139.
[308] Rowland, *Culture*, 243.

17th century.[309] Alexander understood that the best way to create a truly lasting legacy was through the arts and, like his uncle, he was able to accomplish this by forming a close relationship with the best artist of the age: Gian Lorenzo Bernini. Sharing a passion for architecture, Alexander and Bernini changed the face of baroque Rome with massive urban redesign projects all over the city, including the areas around the two churches associated with his uncle: Santa Maria della Pace, and Santa Maria del Popolo.[310] Agostino Chigi would undoubtedly be pleased to know that, wherever Alexander built, he emblazoned the crest his uncle's crest, and much of the city, including Piazza del Popolo and Saint Peter's itself, still bears his sign (Fig. 63). The Chigi name is now as much a part of Rome's timeless, yet ever-changing landscape as Hadrian's.

[309] Majanlahti, 324.
[310] Ibid, 328.

Conclusion

In 1879, John Addington Symonds wrote of Antinous:

> "What remains immortal, indestructible, victorious is Antinous in art. Against the gloomy background of doubt, calumny, contention, terrible surmise, his statues are illuminated with the dying glory of the Classical genius."[311]

Just as the myth and accomplishments of the men who used the powerful image of the *Farnese Antinous* live on, so too does the glorious statue itself. Long after Hadrian and Agostino were enfolded by the darkness, the immortal figure of Antinous came to be admired by untold artists and historians, forever inspiring new renderings of his image. Now considered one of the best and most well-known of the surviving Antinous portraits, the *Farnese's* mysterious provenance only adds to its allure and mystery, making it further emblematic of the remote and unknowable ancient time from whence it came.

Sometime after Chigi's death, the head of the *Farnese* came into the possession of Pietro Bembo, one of the great humanist poets of the time and a frequent guest at the Farnesina.[312] It was eventually sold to the Farnese family who, beginning in 1546, assembled one of the most impressive collections of antiquity of that era, displayed in their magnificent Villa Farnese.[313] It is believed that the body of the statue, also possibly from Chigi's collection, was added after the *Antinous* was in the possession of the Farnese.[314] In any event, it eventually made its way into the gallery of the Farnese family, located directly across the Tiber from the Farnesina.[315] Quite

[311] Symonds, 90.
[312] Caso, 90 and Carlo Gasparri, "The Farnese Collection of Antique Sculpture," *FMR* (June/July 2008), 151.
[313] Gasparri, "The Farnese Collection," 121.
[314] Ibid., 150.
[315] Ibid.

similar to Chigi in his desire to associate his family with antiquity, Alessandro Farnesina amassed a collection of ancient art which became "the world's public school." A visit to his gallery was considered de rigueur for artists, scholars, and antiquarians visiting Rome.[316] The *Farnese Antinous* became one of the jewels of that collection, to be admired and emulated in much the same way as it had been in the past.

At this time in Italy, the dawn of the Baroque era, two different stylistic movements developed in painting: one defined by the *Incamminati*, or Bolognese School, and the other by the *Carravaggisti*, followers of Caravaggio.[317] The former was headed by brothers Annibale (1560-1609) and Agostino (1557-1602) Carracci, along with their cousin Ludovico (1555-1619). Often juxtaposed with their "rebellious" contemporary Caravaggio, best known for his invention of tenebrism,[318] the Carracci family worked tirelessly to bring back the delicate, rational, classicizing style of painting that had been lost to the world after the death of Raphael in 1520.[319] Yet, far from merely reviving an old style, the Carracci created something new, a way of painting that would dominate art practice in all of Europe for at least two centuries.[320] Undoubtedly, the apex of their achievement is Annibale's ceiling in the Palazzo Farnese in Rome, which, in its own time, was considered to be of equal importance to the history of painting as Michelangelo's Sistine Ceiling.[321]

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[316] Ibid. 149.
[317] Unlike the Carracci, Caravaggio never formed an actual school, though he did obtain many followers. Many attribute this to his notoriously volatile personality. Certain artists, however, like Orazio Gentileschi, were privileged enough to befriend and work alongside him.
[318] Tenebrism: night-lighting, first seen in his *Judith and Holofernes* at the Palazzo Barberini in Rome
[319] Dempsey, *Annibale Carraci: The Farnese Gallery*, 14-15.
[320] Ibid., 9.
[321] Ibid., 18.

The Carraccis work in the Farnese Gallery paid homage to—and at the same time attempted to compete with—Raphael's work in Chigi's Farnesina, which had been acquired by the Farnese family, and the ancient statues displayed in the gallery.[322] In particular, the Carraccis took inspiration from his work and his themes in the *Loggia of Galatea.*(Fig. 64) It seems fitting, then, that the restored *Farnese Antinous* would find its place in this room. The Farnese hall was likely decorated to celebrate the much-politicized marriage of Ranuccio Farnese and Margherita Aldobrandini, the niece of Pope Clement VII, which helps explain the theme uniting the fresco, the loves of the gods.[323] The central image and focal point of the vault represents the marriage procession of Bacchus and Ariadne.[324] It is painted in a unique and, at the time, revolutionary combination of *quadratura* and *quadro riportato*.[325] The *Farnese Antinous* was located on the right side of the entrance to the space, under the image of *A Virgin with a Unicorn* by Domenichino. Most scholars studying the Carracci frescoes believe the Antinous to be one of two statues (the other being a Vestal Virgin) without a counterpart in the ceiling and usually relegate any mention of it to a brief footnote. However, in an article for *The Magazine of Franco Maria Ricci*, archaeologist and art historian Carlo Gasparri gives equal attention to each statue and its placement in the room. He believes that the Antinous, imbued with "…a hint of eroticism, a sense of doom, and a halo of mystery" fits in well with the Dionysian theme of the room, and is not simply the "odd man out."[326]

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[322] Ibid.
[323] Dempsey, 7.
[324] Charles Dempsey, "Et Nos Cedamus Amori: Observations on the Farnese Gallery," *The Art Bulletin* 50, no. 4 (Dec., 1968):,363.
[325] Dempsey, *Annibale Carraci: The Farnese Gallery*, 12.
[326] Gasparri, "The Farnese Collection," 150-151.

I will take Gasparri's assertion further, however, because I do believe that the Antinous, if not specifically addressed, is at least reflected in a particular image in the ceiling, *The Rape of Ganymede by Jupiter's Eagle* (Fig. 65). The figure's flowing curls and perfect physical form are reminiscent of Raphael's images in the Farnesina. The Farnese gallery is bookended on its short sides by two images of Polyphemus and his ill-fated love for Galatea. The Ganymede is above an image of Polyphemus in a fit of rage as he throws a boulder at Acis and Galatea. On the other end is a fresco of Polyphemus attempting, unsuccessfully, to woo Galatea with his music, *Polyphemus Innamorato*. Above that is a compliment to the Ganymede fresco, an image of *Hyacinth Borne to the Heavens by Apollo*. Both images not only represent love between men, such as that of Hadrian and Antinous, but also the unique power of love which allows for the literal and spiritual ascension of Ganymede and Hyacinth to the realm of the gods, just as Hadrian defied Antinous.

After the death of Alessandro Farnese, the *Farnese Antinous* became part of the Carracci Gallery[327] and was eventually willed into the possession of the King of Naples, the city where it now rests, within the magnificent Farnese Collection in the Archealogical Museum.[328] Images of Antinous continue to be created to this day. Robert Mapplethorpe's *Antinous* of 1987 and Pablo Gargallo's 1932 modern iron sculpture, *Antinoo*, modeled on the *Farnese* statue, are but two examples.[329] It is Antinous' embodiment of the unique power of love, his evocation of nostalgia, and

[327] Gasparri, 147.
[328] Ibid. 150-151.
[329] Vout, "Biography as Fantasy," 35.

his service as the "emblematic image of the last tragic figure of a hero to be created in the ancient world." which continue to fascinate artists and art historians. [330]

As previously mentioned, the "Father of Art History," Johann Winckelmann, thought Roman art was "degenerative compared to productions of fifth-century Greece" and believed portraits of Antinous to be the pinnacle of Roman artistic achievement.[331] In part due to his appreciation for the beauty of the male figure, he praised images of Antinous as, "the glory and crown of art in this age as well as in all others."[332] For Winckelman "classicism and eroticism went hand in hand as indeed they must have done for many members of the ancient audience."[333] He was even famously painted by Anton von Maron, with a picture of Antinous on his desk, "the portrait capturing a distinct flush across his cheeks." (Fig. 66)[334]

Though Hadrian and Chigi each understood the power of nostalgia and the allure of the image of Antinous, they would likely be amazed by the powerful, lasting influence of the imagery they helped to create. As so eloquently stated by Caroline Vout in her "Biography as Fantasy, History as Image" article for the Antinous exhibit in Leeds:

> "Antinous is inseparable from nearly two thousand years of speculation…He is tightly bound in layer upon layer of looking. But in isolating or peeling back these layers, and measuring previous responses to our own, we clarify our relationship with classical antiquity."[335]

[330] Gasparri, 149.
[331] Vout, "Biography as Fantasy," 35.
[332] Ibid., citing Winckleman 1776, 842-3.
[333] Ibid. 35.
[334] Ibid.
[335] Ibid 34.

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Figures

Fig.1. Unknown, *Bust of Hadrian,* ca. 117-138 A.D. White marble, 90cm. Capitoline Museum, Rome. Reproduced from *Wikimedia Commons,* http://www.commons.wikimedia.org (accessed April 13, 2013).

Fig. 2. Unknown, *Portrait Medallion of Agostino Chigi*, ca. 1510. Bronze. Reproduced from Ingrid D. Rowland, "Render Unto Caesar the Things Which are Caesar's: Humanism and the Arts in the Patronage of Agostino Chigi," *Renaissance Quarterly* 39, no. 4 (Winter, 1986), 724.

Fig. 3. Raphael, *Self-portrait,* 1506. Oil on panel, 45 x 33 cm. Uffizi Gallery, Florence. Reproduced from *Wikimedia Commons,* http://www.commons.wikimedia.org (accessed April 13, 2013).

Fig. 4. Unknown, *Farnese Antinous,* ca. 131-137 A.D. Marble, 200 cm. National Archeological Museum, Naples. Reproduced from *Wikimedia Commons,* http://www.commons.wikimedia.org (accessed April 13, 2013).

Fig. 5. Map, *Roman Empire at its Greatest Extent.* Reproduced from *Wikimedia Commons,* http://www.commons.wikimedia.org (accessed April 13, 2013).

Fig. 6. *Aedicula Antinoi: A Small Shrine of Antinous*. Private Residential Shrine Using Plaster Copy of Bust of Farnese Antinous, 2013. Cork, Ireland. Reproduced from *Encyclopaedia Aediculae Antinoi.* http://aediculaantinoi.com (Accessed on April 23, 2013).

Fig. 7. Unknown, *Farnese Antinous,* frontal view, ca. 131-137 A.D. Marble, 200 cm. National Archeological Museum, Naples. Reproduced from *Andre Durand Digital Gallery* http://www.durand-digitalgallery.com (accessed April 16, 2013).

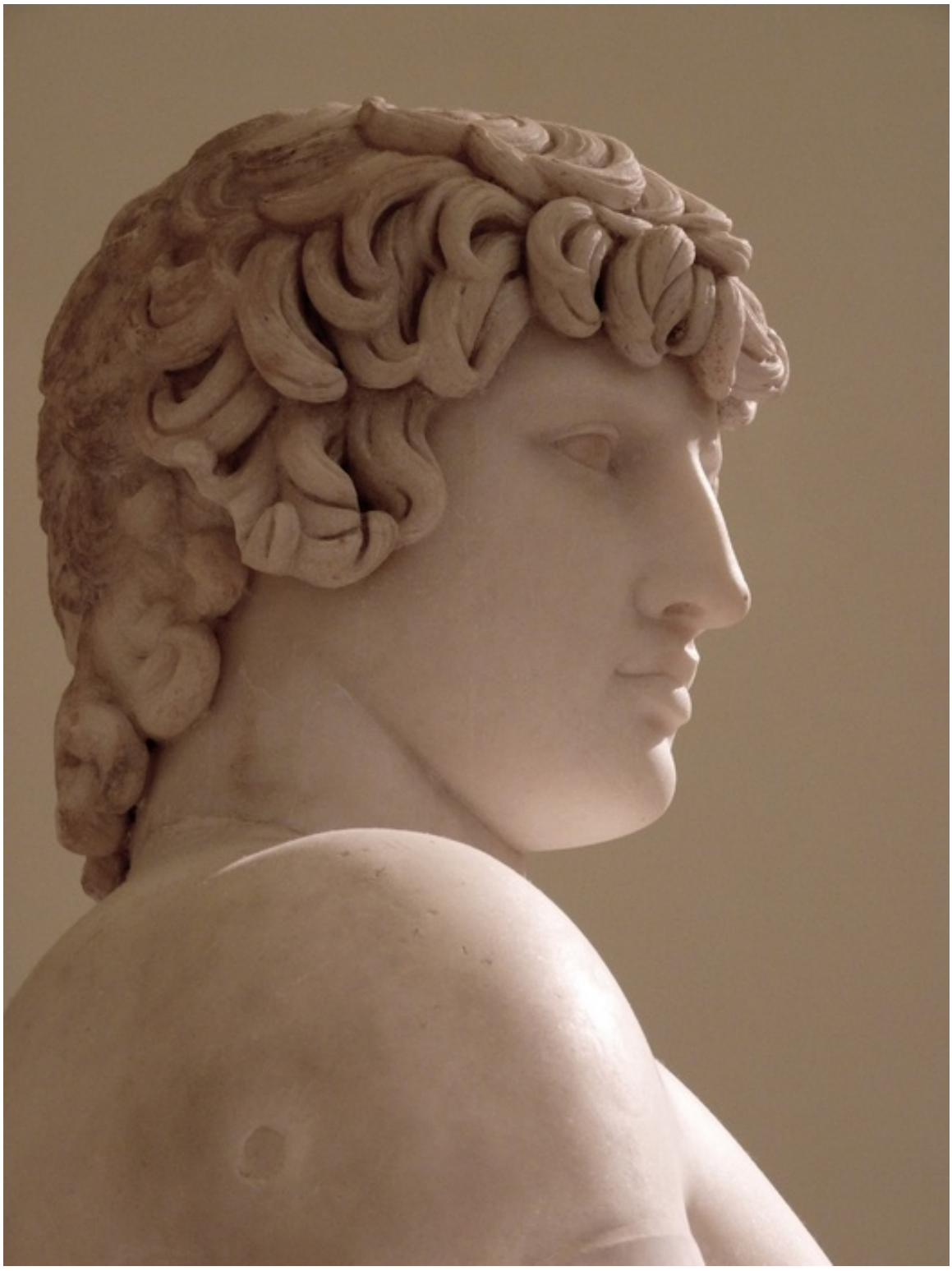


Fig. 8. Unknown, *Farnese Antinous,* profile*,* ca. 131-137 A.D. Marble, 200 cm. National Archeological Museum, Naples. Reproduced from *Andre Durand Digital Gallery* http://www.durand-digitalgallery.com (accessed April 16, 2013).

Fig. 9. Unknown, *Farnese Antinous*, with other figures in Naples Gallery, ca. 131-137 A.D. Marble, 200 cm. National Archeological Museum, Naples. Reproduced from *Andre Durand Digital Gallery* http://www.durand-digitalgallery.com (accessed April 16, 2013).

Fig. 10. Raphael, *Pope Julius II*, 1511-1512. Oil on Panel, 63 x 40 cm. National Gallery, London. Reproduced from *Wikimedia Commons,* http://www.commons.wikimedia.org (accessed April 13, 2013).

Fig. 11. Bernini, *Death Raising Chigi Family Crest,* ca. 1655-1661. Marble Mosaic. Chigi Chapel, Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome. Reproduced from *Wikimedia Commons,* http://www.commons.wikimedia.org (accessed April 13, 2013).

Fig. 12. Bramante and others, *Exterior of Santa Maria del Popolo*, ca. 1470's. Rome. Reproduced from *Wikimedia Commons,* http://www.commons.wikimedia.org (accessed April 13, 2013).

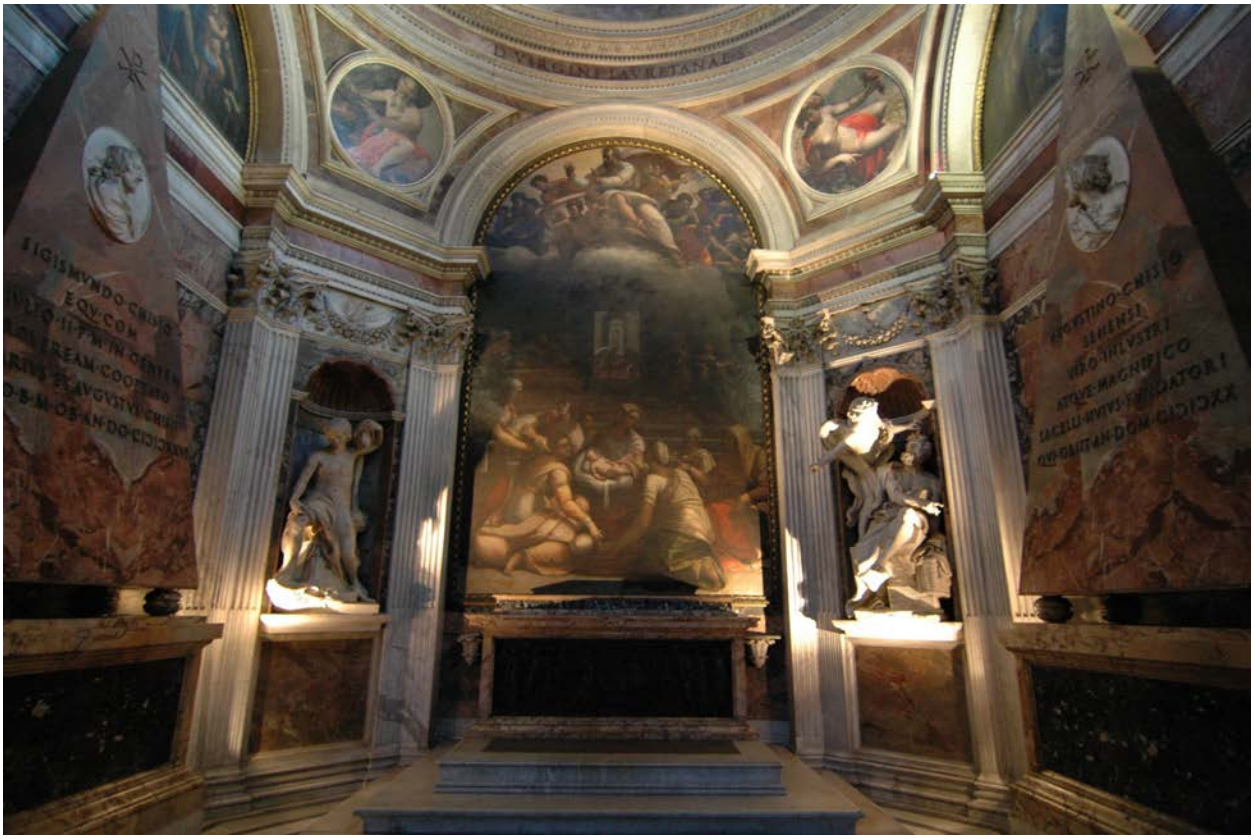


Fig. 13. Raphael and others, *Altar of the Chigi Chapel* (Sculpture of Jonah to the left), ca. 1520. Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome. Reproduced from *Wikimedia Commons,* http://www.commons.wikimedia.org (accessed April 13, 2013).

Fig. 14. Executed by Lorenzetto, based on design by Raphael, *Jonah*, 1520. Marble. Chigi Chapel of Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome. Reproduced from *Wikimedia Commons,* http://www.commons.wikimedia.org (accessed April 13, 2013).

Fig. 15. Executed by Lorenzetto, based on design by Raphael, *Jonah*, 1520. Marble. Chigi Chapel of Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome. Reproduced from *Wikimedia Commons* http://commons.wikimedia.org (accessed April 13, 2013).

Fig.16. Map: *The Empire of Alexander 334-323 B.C.* Reproduced from *Wikimedia Commons,* http://commons.wikimedia.org (accessed April 20, 2013).

Fig. 17. Unknown, Commissioned by Hadrian, *The Pantheon,* 126 A.D. Rome. Reproduced from *Wikimedia Commons,* http://www.commons.wikimedia.org (accessed April 14, 2013).

Fig. 18. Unknown, Commisioned by Hadrian, *The Pantheon,* interior, 126 A.D. Concrete, marble, and granite, 43.3 m x 43.3 m (int. circle and dome). Rome. Reproduced from *Wikimedia Commons,* http://www.commons.wikimedia.org (accessed April 14, 2013).

Fig. 19. Unknown, Commissioned by Hadrian, Hadrian, *Mausoleum of Hadrian (Castel St. Angelo),* ca.135-139 A.D. 87m x 87m (base). Rome. Reproduced from *Wikimedia Commons,* http://www.commons.wikimedia.org (accessed April 14, 2013).

Fig. 20. Unknown, Commissioned by Augustus, *Mausoleum of Augustus,* 28 B.C. Brick and granite, 90m x 40 m. Rome. Reproduced from *Wikimedia Commons,* http://www.commons.wikimedia.org (accessed April 14, 2013).

Fig. 21. Unknown, Commissioned by Hadrian, *Temple of Zeus Olympios,* 125 A.D. Marble. Athens. Reproduced from *Wikimedia Commons,* http://commons.wikimedia.org (accessed April 20, 2013).

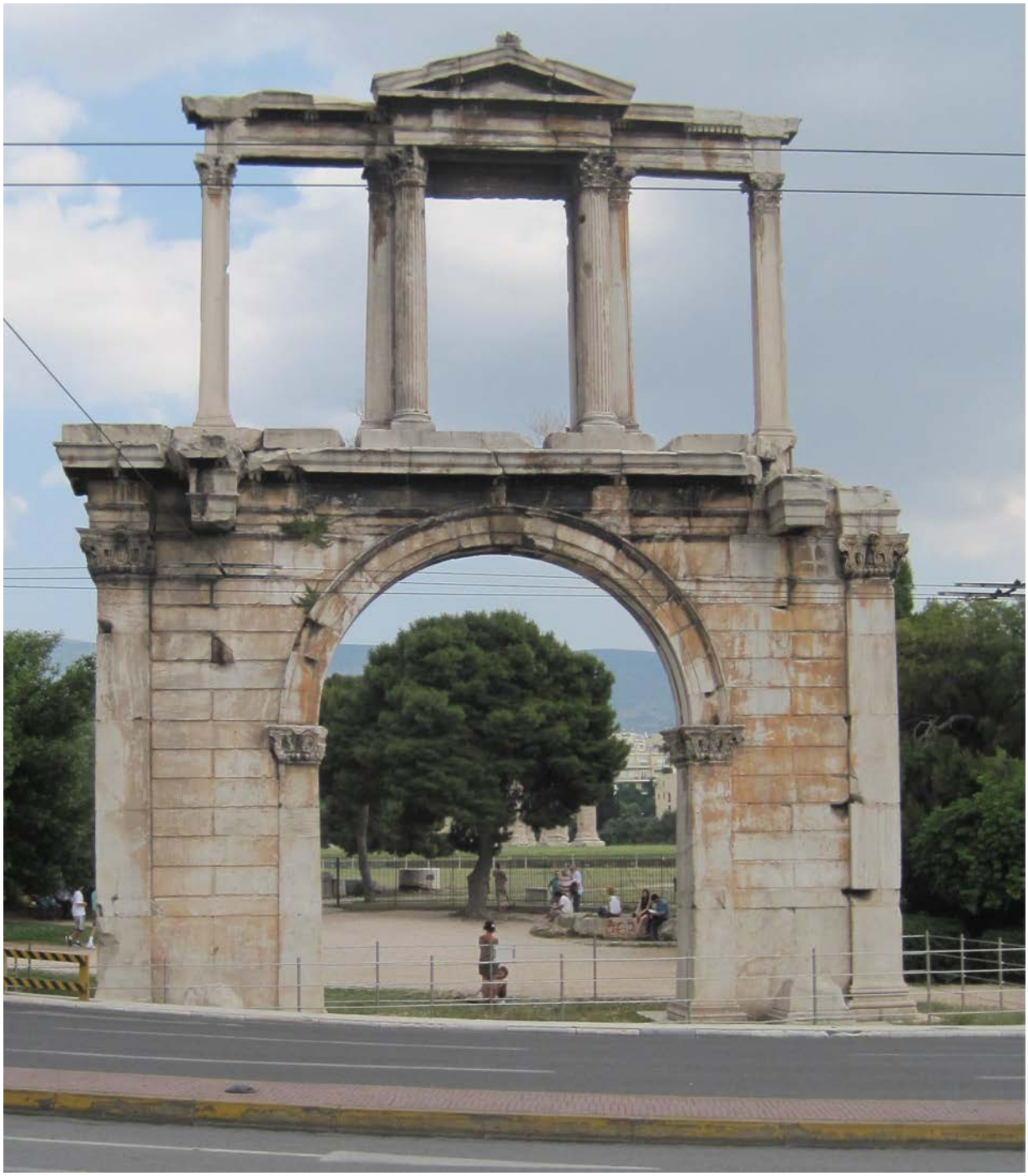


Fig. 22. Unknown, *Arch of Hadrian* 130-131 A.D. Pentelic marble. 13.5 m. x 18 m. Athens. Reproduced from *Wikimedia Commons,* http://commons.wikimedia.org (accessed April 20, 2013).

Fig. 23. Unknown, *Antinous as Osiris*, ca. 131–138 A.D. Marble, 2.41 m. Vatican Museums. Reproduced from *Wikimedia Commons,* http://commons.wikimedia.org (accessed April 20, 2013).

Fig. 24. *Hunting Tondi* on Arch of Constantine, ca. 130–138 A.D. (reused on the Arch of Constantine 315 A.D.) Marble, 21m x 25.9m x 7.4m. Rome. Reproduced from *Wikimedia Commons,* http://www.commons.wikimedia.org (accessed April 23, 2013).

Fig. 25. Unknown, *Kroisos Kouros*, ca. 540-515 B.C. Marble, 1.95 m. National Archaeological Museum of Athens. Reproduced from *Wikimedia Commons,* http://commons.wikimedia.org (accessed April 20, 2013).

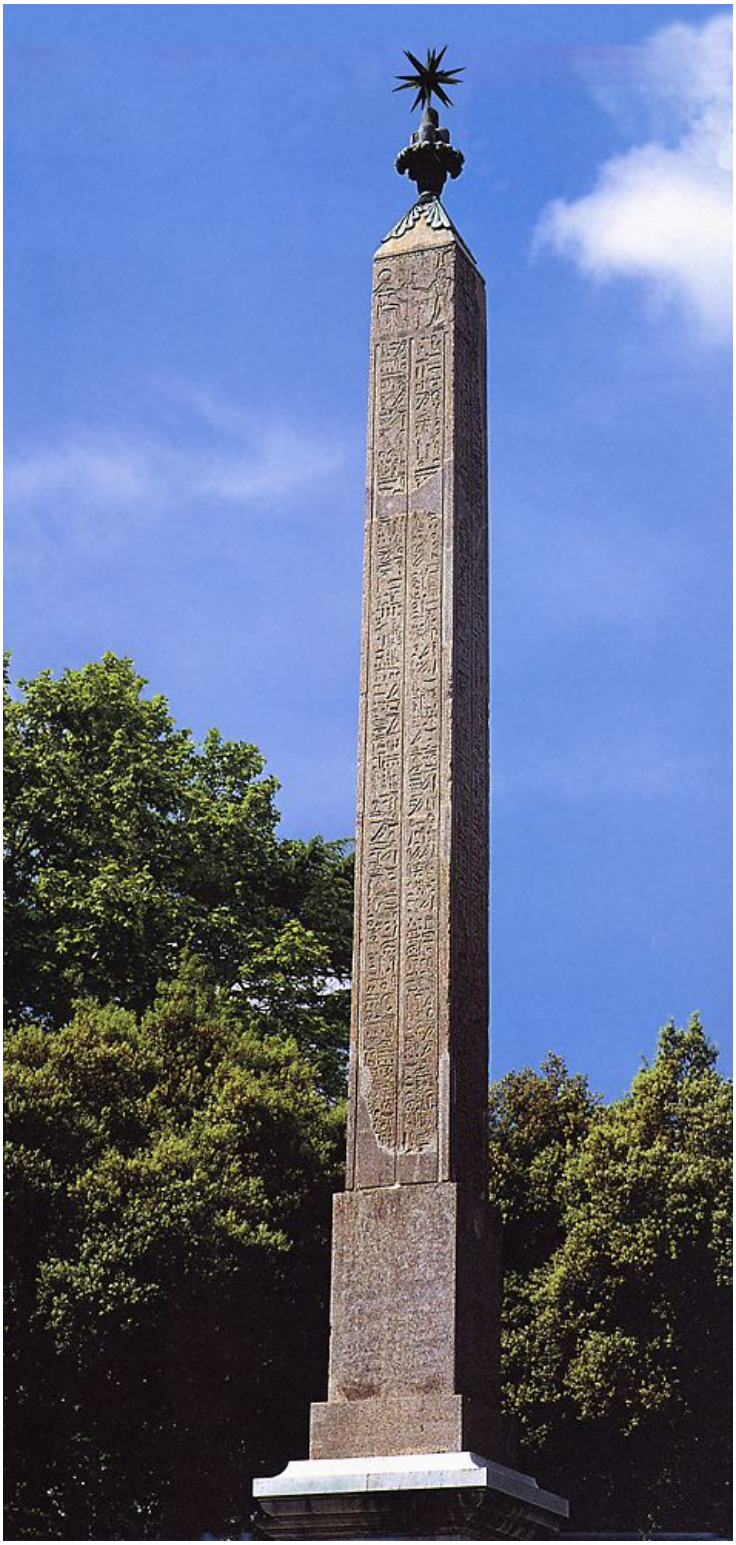


Fig. 26. Unknown, *Obelisk of Antinous*, ca. 130-136 A.D. Granite, 9.24 m. Pincian Hill, Rome. Reproduced from *Temple of Antinous,* http://www.antinopolis.org (Accessed on April 14, 2013).

Fig. 27. Unknown, *Antinous as Sylvanus,* ca. 130-138 A.D. Marble Relief. Palazzo Massimo, Rome. Reproduced from *Wikimedia Commons,* http://commons.wikimedia.org (accessed April 20, 2013).

Fig. 28. Unknown, *Antinous as Dionysos,* ca.130-138 A.D. Marble, 3.4 m. Vatican Museums. Reproduced from *Wikimedia Commons,* http://commons.wikimedia.org (accessed April 20, 2013).

Fig. 29. Unknown, *Delphi Antinous*, ca. 130-138 A.D. Parian Marble, 1.8 m. Archelogical Museum of Delphi. Reproduced from *Wikimedia Commons,* http://commons.wikimedia.org (accessed April 20, 2013).

Fig. 30. Unknown, *Hope Antinous,* ca. 130-138 A.D. Marble. National Museums of Liverpool. Reproduced from *Liverpool Museums,* http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk (accessed on April 25, 2013).

Fig. 31. Unknown, *Antinous as Apollo Lyceios,* ca. 130-138 A.D. Marble. Tripoli Museum. Reproduced from *Wikimedia Commons,* http://commons.wikimedia.org (accessed April 20, 2013).

Fig. 32. Polykleitos, *Doryphoros*, ca. 1st century B.C. Carrara marble, 200 cm. National Archeological Museum, Naples. Reproduced from *Wikimedia Commons,* http://commons.wikimedia.org (accessed April 20, 2013).

Fig. 33. Polykleitos, *Doryphoros*, close-up, head, ca. 1st century B.C. Carrara marble, 200 cm. National Archeological Museum, Naples. Reproduced from *Wikimedia Commons,* http://commons.wikimedia.org (accessed April 20, 2013).

Fig. 34. Copy of Praxiteles, *Apollo Sauroctonus,* ca. 1st-2nd centuries A.D. Marble, 1.49 m. Louvre. Reproduced from *Wikimedia Commons,* http://commons.wikimedia.org (accessed April 20, 2013).

Fig. 35. Roman Chamber of Commerce with Façade from Temple of Hadrian, commissioned by Antoninus Pius, 145 A.D. Piazza di Pietra, Rome. Reproduced from *Wikimedia Commons,* http://www.commons.wikimedia.org (accessed April 14, 2013).

Fig. 36. Baldassarre Peruzzi, *Villa Farnesina*, ca. 1506-1510. Rome. Reproduced from *Villa Farnesina,* http://www.villafarnesina.it/?page_id=39 (accessed April 19, 2013).

Fig. 37. Baldassarre Peruzzi, *Sala delle Prospettiva of the Villa Farnesina*, ca. 1506-1510. Rome. Reproduced from *Villa Farnesina,* http://www.villafarnesina.it/?page_id=39 (accessed April 19, 2013)

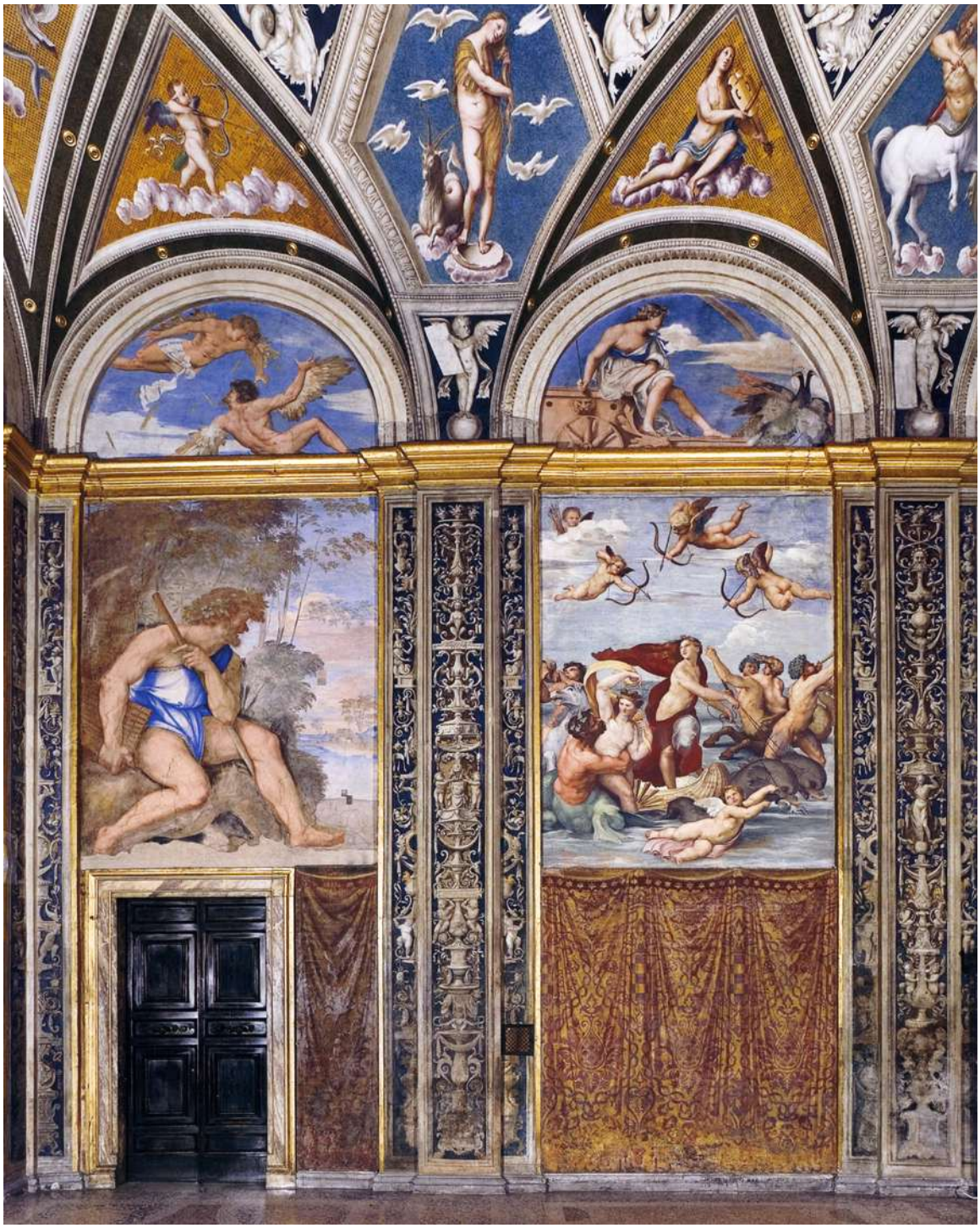


Fig. 38. Baldassarre Peruzzi, *Loggia of Galatea*, 1511. Fresco. Villa Farnesina, Rome. Reproduced from *Wikimedia,* http://www.commons.wikimedia.org (accessed April 13, 2013).

Fig. 39. Baldassarre Peruzzi, *Loggia of Galatea*, 1511. Fresco. Villa Farnesina, Rome. Reproduced from *Wikimedia Commons,* http://www.commons.wikimedia.org (accessed April 13, 2013).

Fig. 40. Il Sodoma, *The Nuptials of Alexander and Roxanne,* 1517. Fresco, 370 x 660 cm Villa Farnesina Reproduced from *Wikimedia Commons,* http://www.commons.wikimedia.org (accessed April 13, 2013).

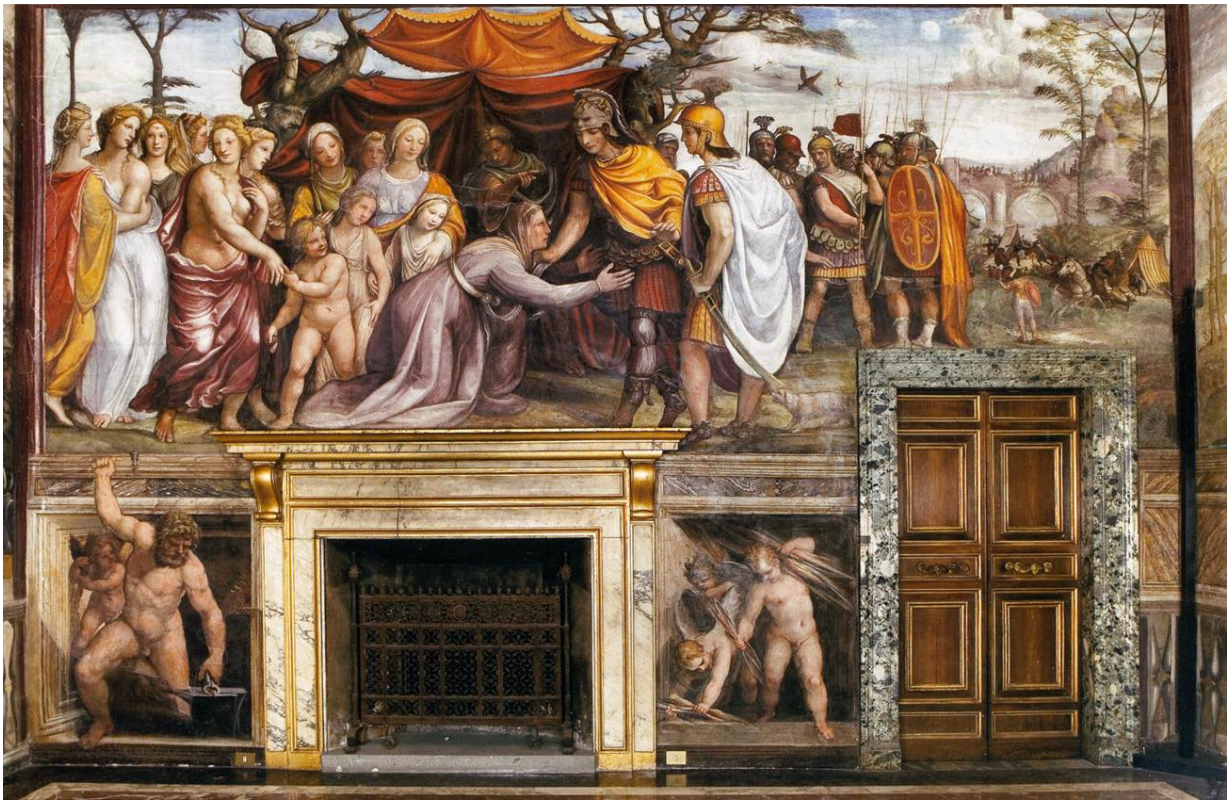


Fig. 41. Il Sodoma, *The Women of Darius's Family before Alexander the Great*, 1517. Fresco. Villa Farnesina, Rome. Reproduced from *Wikimedia Commons,* http://www.commons.wikimedia.org (accessed April 13, 2013).

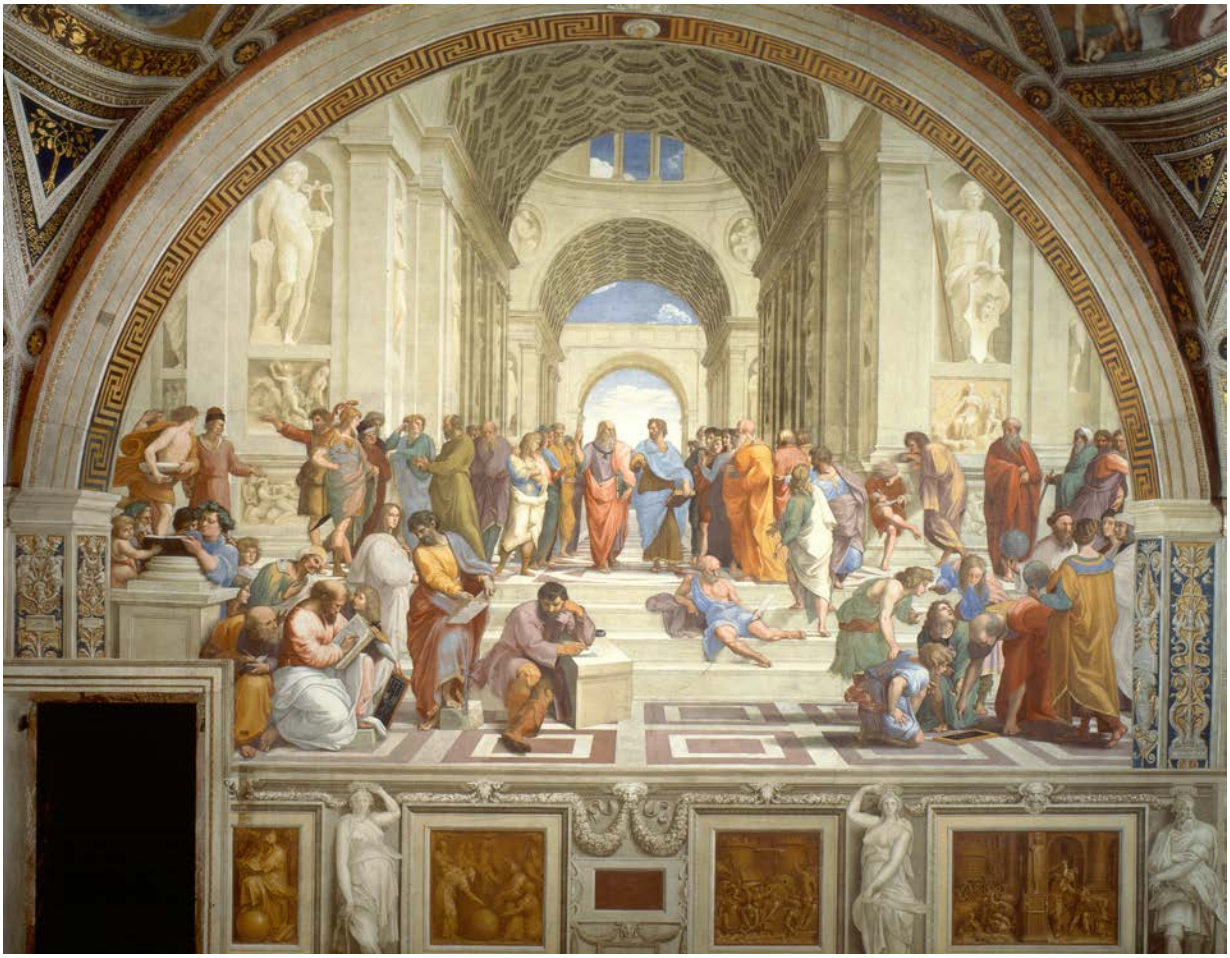


Fig. 42. Raphael, *The School of Athens,* 1511. Fresco, 500 cm × 770 cm. Vatican Museums, Vatican City. Reproduced from *Wikimedia Commons,* http://www.commons.wikimedia.org (accessed April 13, 2013).

Fig. 43. Raphael, *The Triumph of Galatea,* 1512. Fresco, 295-224 cm. Villa Farnesina, Rome. Reproduced from *Villa Farnesina*, http://www.villafarnesina.it (Accessed April 14, 2013).

Fig. 44. Raphael, *Loggia of Psyche*. Fresco 1517-18. Villa Farnesina. Reproduced from *Villa Farnesina*, http://www.villafarnesina.it (Accessed April 14, 2013).

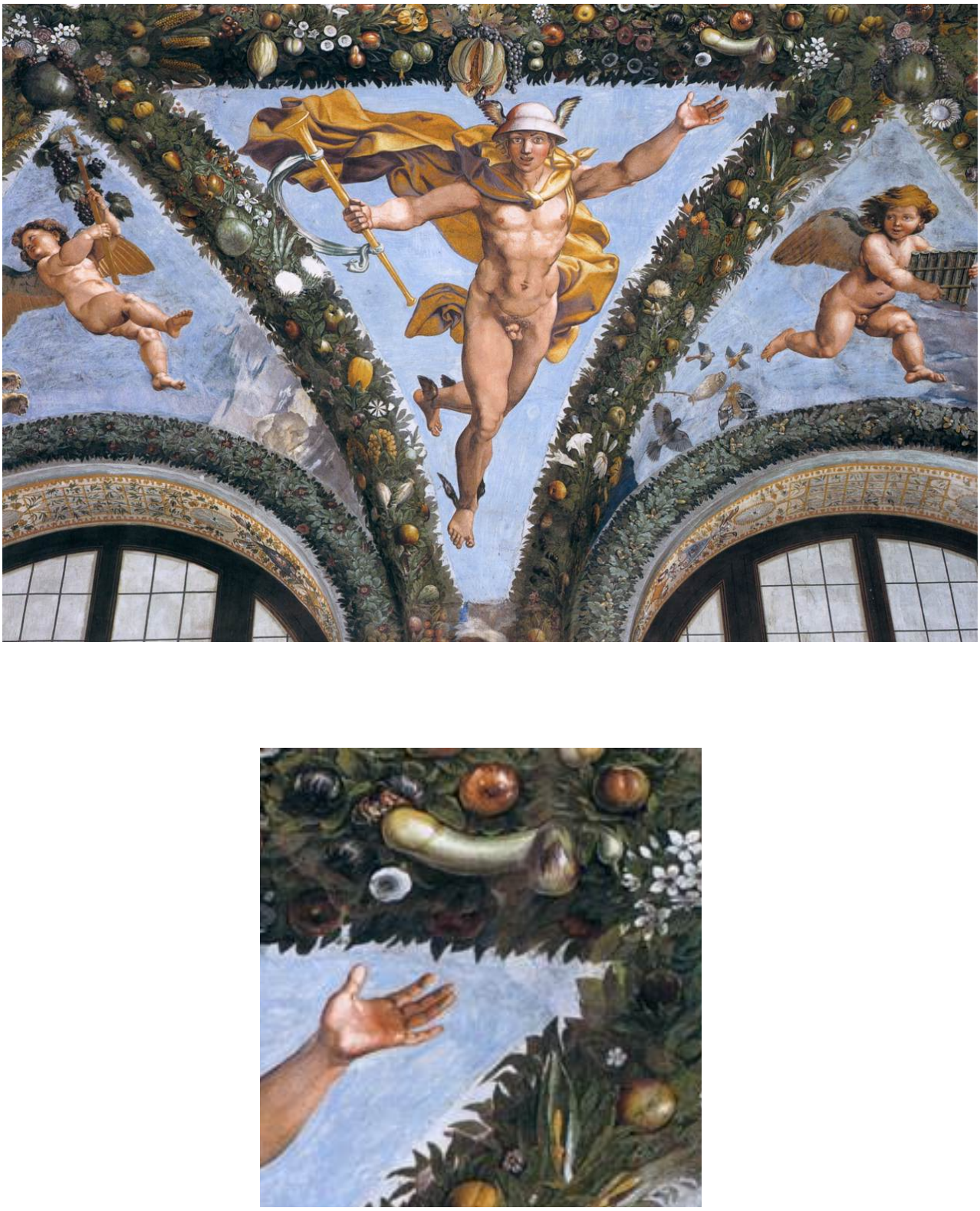


Fig. 45. Raphael, *Mercury,* 1517-18. Fresco. Villa Farnesina, Rome. Reproduced from *Web Gallery of Art*, http://www.wga.hu.html (accessed April 25, 2013).

Fig. 46. Raphael, *Wedding Banquet of Cupid and Psyche,* 1517-1518. Fresco. Villa Farnesina, Rome. Reproduced from *Web Gallery of Art*, http://www.wga.hu.html (accessed April 25, 2013).

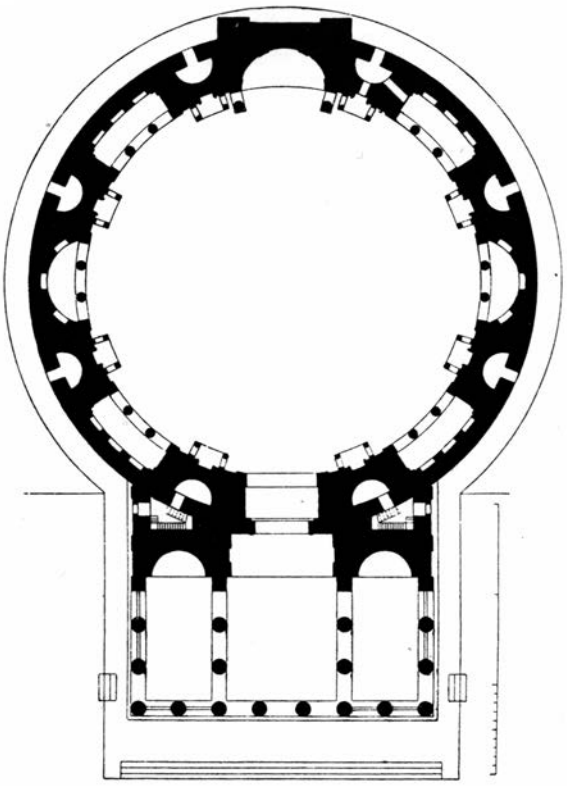
Fig. 47. Raphael, *Council of the Gods,* 1517-1518. Fresco. Villa Farnesina, Rome. Reproduced from *Web Gallery of Art*, http://www.wga.hu/html (accessed April 24, 2013).

Fig. 48. Raphael, *Mercury Brings Psyche up to Olympus*, 1517-18. Fresco. Villa Farnesina, Rome. Reproduced from *Web Gallery of Art*, http://www.wga.hu/html (accessed April 23, 2013).

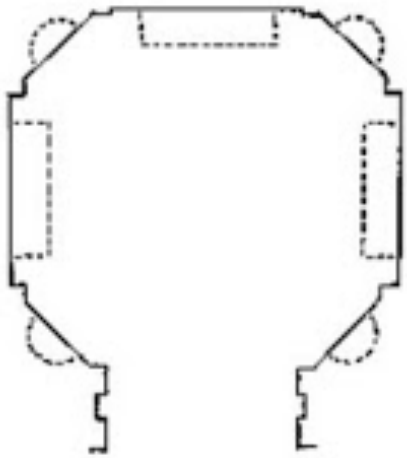
Fig. 49. Bramante and others, *Exterior of Santa Maria del Popolo*, ca. 1470's. Piazza del Popolo, Rome. Reproduced from *Wikimedia Commons,* http://www.commons.wikimedia.org (accessed April 13, 2013).

Fig. 50. Bramante and others, *Interior, Santa Maria del Popolo*, ca.1470's. Piazza del Popolo, Rome. Reproduced from *Wikimedia Commons,* http://www.commons.wikimedia.org (accessed April 13, 2013).

Fig. 51. Raphael (later Bernini), *Chigi Chapel*, ca. 1520. Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome. Reproduced from *Wikimedia Commons,* http://www.commons.wikimedia.org (accessed April 13, 2013).



Pantheon



Chigi Chapel

Fig. 52. Floorplans of Pantheon and Chigi Chapel. Reproduced from *Wikimedia Commons,* http://www.commons.wikimedia.org and Ashley King, "Fusing Artistic Styles: The Chigi Chapel in Santa Maria del Popolo," *Honors Archive* http://honorsaharchive.blogspot.com (accessed April 24, 2013).

Fig. 53. Close-up of entrance pilasters, *The Pantheon,* 126 A.D. Rome. Reproduced from *Wikimedia Commons,* http://www.commons.wikimedia.org (accessed April 24, 2013).

Fig. 54. Raphael. *Pilasters in Chigi Chapel*, ca. 1513-1515. Marble. Church of Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome. Reproduced from *Wikimedia Commons,* http://www.commons.wikimedia.org (accessed April 13, 2013).

Fig. 55. Dome of *Pantheon,*126 A.D. Rome. Reproduced from *Wikimedia Commpons,* http://www.commons.wikimedia.org (accessed April 24, 2013).

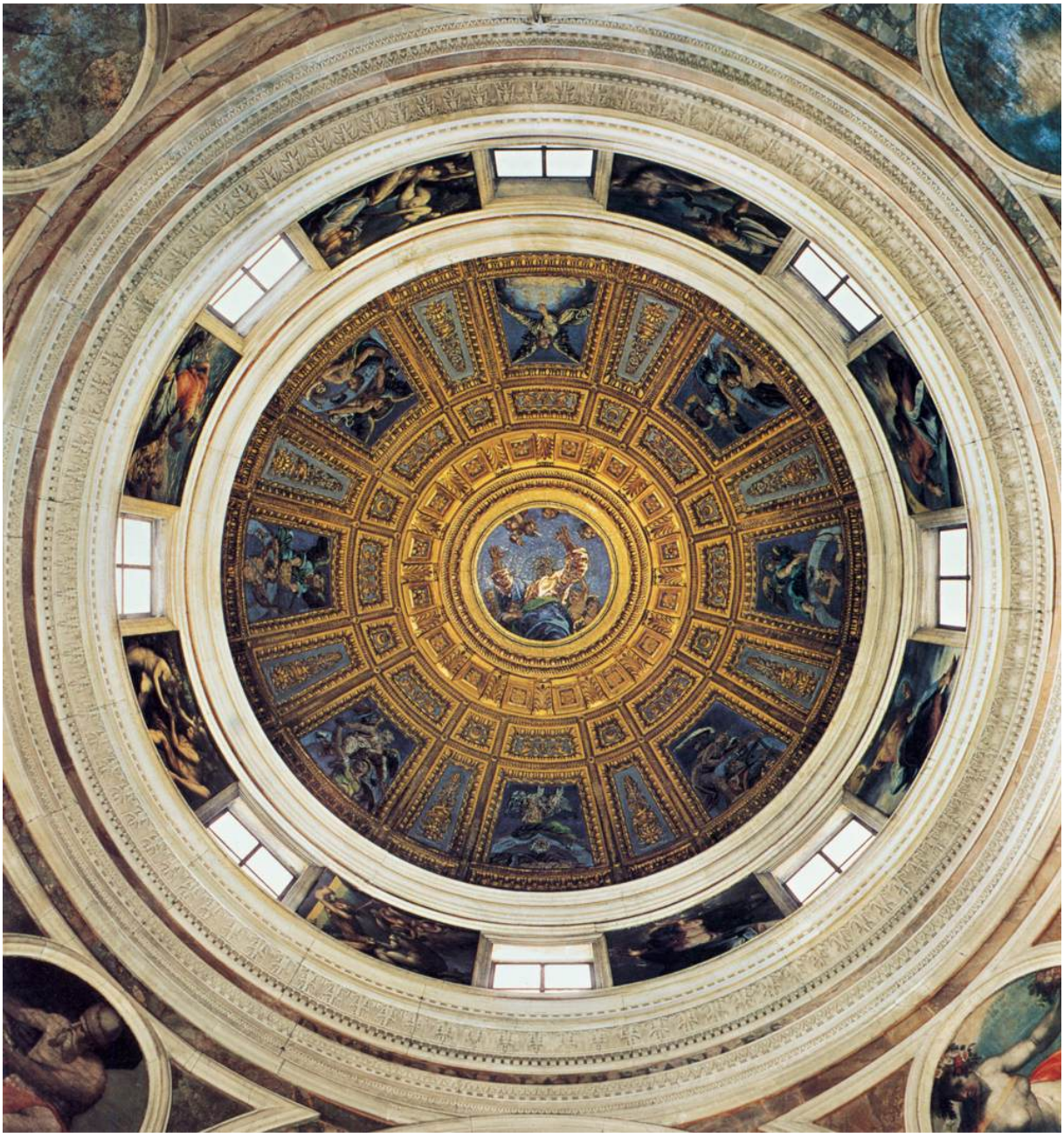


Fig. 56. Raphael, *Dome of the Chigi Chapel*, ca. 1513-1515. Mosaics and fresco. Chigi Chapel of Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome. Reproduced from *Wikimedia Commons,* http://www.commons.wikimedia.org (accessed April 13, 2013).

Fig. 57. Raphael, *Dome of the Chigi Chapel* (close-up), ca. 1513-1515. Mosaics and fresco. Chigi Chapel of Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome. Reproduced from *Wikimedia Commons,* http://www.commons.wikimedia.org (accessed April 13, 2013).

Fig. 58. Raphael, Chigi Chapel "Pyramid," ca. 1513-1515. Marble. Chigi Chapel of Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome. Reproduced from *Wikimedia Commons,* http://www.commons.wikimedia.org (accessed April 13, 2013).

Fig. 59. *Raphael,* Chigi Chapel Frieze, ca. 1513-1515. Marble. Chigi Chapel, Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome. Reproduced from *Wikimedia Commons,* http://www.commons.wikimedia.org (accessed April 13, 2013).

Fig. 60. Executed by Lorenzetto, based on design by Raphael, *Elijah*, 1520. Marble. Chigi Chapel of Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome. Reproduced from *Wikimedia Commons,* http://www.commons.wikimedia.org (accessed April 13, 2013).

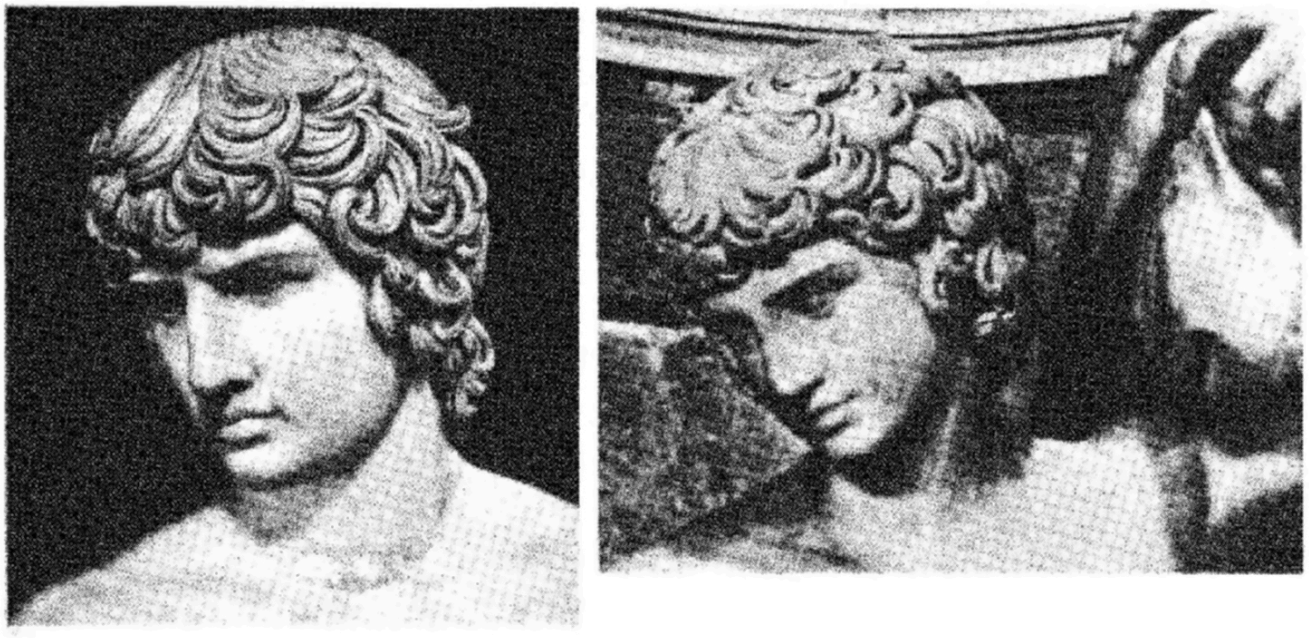


Fig. 61. Comparison of Head of *Farnese Antinous* and Chigi Chapel *Jonah.* Reproduced from Cecilia Magnusson, "Lorenzetto's Statue of Jonah, and the Chigi Chapel in S. Maria del Popolo," *Konsthistorisk tidskrift,* Vol. 56, No. 1 (Mar. 1987): 21.

Fig. 62. Tomb of Raphael, *Pantheon,*126 A.D. Rome. Reproduced from *Wikimedia Commons,* http://www.commons.wikimedia.org (accessed April 24, 2013).

Fig. 63. *Porta del Popolo*. 1655. Piazza del Popolo, Rome. Reproduced from *Wikimedia Commons,* http://www.commons.wikimedia.org (accessed April 13, 2013).

Fig. 64. Annibale Carracci and others, View of the Farnese Gallery, 1597-1608. Frescoes. Palazzo Farnese, Rome. Reproduced from *Wikimedia Commons,* http://www.commons.wikimedia.org (accessed April 23, 2013).

Fig. 65. Annibale Carracci, *The Rape of Ganymede by Jupiter's Eagle*, 1597. Fresco. Palazzo Farnese, Rome. Reproduced from *Wikimedia Commons,* http://www.commons.wikimedia.org (accessed April 23, 2013).

Fig. 66. Anton von Maron, *Portrait of Johann Winckelmann*, 1768. Oil on canvas. Weimar Classics Foundation, Weimar. Reproduced from *Wikimedia Commons,* http://www.commons.wikimedia.org (accessed April 23, 2013).