SHARING SPACE: DOUBLE PORTRAITURE IN RENAISSANCE ITALY

by

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*We also certify that written approval has been obtained for any proprietary material contained therein.
Dedicated to my parents, Billie Earl and Vada Alice Woodall, to the memory of my father and the presence of my mother. If I could choose one double portrait, it would be a pairing of them.
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Fig. 2.41 London, Pliny Master, *Initial “L” with a Pair of Portrait Busts*, in Plutarch, Dublin, Fag. GG.2.2., fol. 6 [A6r].
Fig. 2.42 Bonifacio Bembo, *Portraits of Bianca Maria Visconti (Sforza) and Francesco Sforza*, 1470, oil on panel, Brera, Milan.

Fig. 2.43 Fra Filippo Lippi, *Man and Woman in an Encasement*, oil on panel, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Fig. 2.44 Stefano da Verona, attributed to, *A Lady and Her Lover*, drawing, Fritz Lugt Collection, Paris.

Fig. 2.45 Liberale da Verona (Francesco di Giorgio or Girolamo da Cremona, attributed), *Young Man Gazing at a Girl at a Window*, oil on panel, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Fig. 2.46 Italian artist, Massimo Sforza, *Triumphal Portrait on a Horse*, drawing, Codex 2167, Biblioteca Trivulzina, Milan.

Fig. 2.47 Upper Swabian Master, *Portrait of a Man looking at a Woman in a Casement*, oil on panel, Kunsthandel (art dealer), Munich.

Fig. 2.48 Follower of Fra Filippo Lippi, *Portrait of a Woman at the Window with a Man Below*, fifteenth century, oil on panel, Private collection, location unknown.

Fig. 2.49 Maestro dei Giuramenti, *Giuramento di Bertuccio Contarini*, 1485, Museo Correr, Venice.

Fig. 2.50 Francesco Rosselli, *Portraits of Federico Montefeltro and his Wife*, in *Bible of Montefeltro*, Urb. Lat. I, folio 1v, Biblioteca Vaticana, Vatican.

Fig. 2.51 Francesco d’Antonio del Chierico, *Pliny’s Natural History*, detail of star-oculus, *Double Bust of Man and Woman*, Plate 82.3, folio 4, 1458, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence.

Fig. 2.52 Francesco di Antonio del Chierico, *Profiled Man and Woman in a Circular Form*, Ms. 309, folio 1, detail, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.

Fig. 2.53 Luca Fancelli (1430-1495), *Fregio di Camino*, 1450-60, marble, Museo di Palazzo Ducale, Castello di San Giorgio, camera dei Soli, Mantua [G. 11548].

Fig. 2.54 Luca Fancelli (1430-1495), *Fregio di Camino*, detail of left side, 1450-60, marble, Museo di Palazzo Ducale, Castello di San Giorgio, Camera dei Soli, Mantua [G. 11548].

Fig. 2.55 Luca Fancelli (1430-1495), *Fregio di Camino*, detail of right side, 1450-60, marble, Museo di Palazzo Ducale, Castello di San Giorgio, camera dei Soli, Mantua [G. 11548].
Fig. 2.56 Hans Schenk Scheutzlich, attributed, *Portrait Herzog Barnims XI von Pommern and Anna, Kalksteinrelief* (limestone relief), Pommersches Landesmuseum, Ehem Stettin.

Fig. 2.57 Copy after Zanetto Bugatti, *Double Portrait of Galeazzo Maria Sforza and Bona of Savoy*, perhaps 1500s, formerly Gatti collection, now Castello Sforzesco, Milan.

Fig. 2.58 Italian artist, *Visconti and Sforza Profiled Portraits*, marble doorway, Certosa, Pavia.

Fig. 2.59 Italian artist, *Stone Medallions of possibly Galeazzo and Bona*, Castello Sforzesco, Milan.

Fig. 2.60 Northern Italian artist, *Belt End with Image of an Amorous Couple and an Image of a Woman Holding a Pink*, c. 1450, The British Museum, London.

Fig. 2.61 Francesco di Antonio del Chierico, Ms. 1108 (Petrarchian text), Biblioteca Riccardiana, Florence, detail.

Fig. 2.62 German artist, *Medallion with Two Figures*, metal, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts.

Fig. 2.63 Franco-Flemish artist, *Christ and the Virgin*, oil on panel, Fine Arts Gallery, San Diego.

Fig. 2.64 Jorg Breu the Elder, *Portrait of Coloman Helmschmid and Agnes Breu, Schloss Rob ez collection, Lugano*, oil on panel, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid.

Fig. 2.65 Anonymous Italian artist, *Double Portrait Tomb*, sixteenth century, Cathedral, Trent.

Fig. 2.66 Master of the Aachen Life of the Virgin, *Macabre Wedding Portrait, front and back*, c. 1480-85, oil on panel, College of Aloisius, Bad Godesberg.

Fig. 2.67 Master of the Landauer Altarpiece, *Portrait of Lorenz and Christina Tucher*, 1484, oil on panel, Staatliche Gallerie, Dessau.

Fig. 2.68 Austrian master, *Double Portrait of Ladislaus V and Madeleine de France*, c. 1500, Nationalmuseum, Budapest.

Fig. 2.69 Jan Gossaert, *Portrait of an Elderly Couple*, c. 1510-28, oil on vellum, National Gallery, London.

Fig. 2.70 Master of Frankfurt, *Self-Portrait with Wife*, 1496, Koninklijk museum voor schone kunsten, Antwerp.

Fig. 2.71 Italian artist after Agnolo Bronzino, *Cosimo I de’ Medici and His Wife*, 1546, Private Collection, Kent England.

Fig. 2.72 Bartolomeo Passerotti, *Double Portrait of a Bearded Man and Woman*, c. 1550s?, oil on canvas, Phillips, London, as of 1990.
Fig. 2.73  Lorenzo (Vaiani) dello Sciorina, *Portrait of Giovanni di Pierfrancesco Poolano and his Wife Caterina Sforza*, 1585, oil on panel, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.

Fig. 2.74  Giovan Battista Naldini, *Portrait of Giovanni de’ Medici, called ‘delle Bande Nere’ and his Wife Maria Salviati*, 1585, oil on panel, Serie Aulica, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.

Fig. 2.75  Giovanni Antonio Fasolo, *Double Portrait of a Man and Woman*, c. 1560, Location unknown.

Fig. 2.76  Titian, *Portrait of Eleonora della Rovere*, 1538, Uffizi, Florence.

Fig. 2.77  Bernardino Licinio, *Portrait of a Widow with her Three Sons*, detail, Hermitage, St. Petersburg.

Fig. 2.78  Bernardino Licinio, *Portrait of Arrigo Licinio and his Family*, c. 1532, oil on canvas, Galleria Borghese, Rome [115].

Fig. 2.79  Bernardino Licinio, *Portrait Group of Ducal Family of Modena*, oil on canvas, Breitmeyer sale, Christies, June 27, 1930.

Fig. 2.80  Workshop of the Patanazzi family, *A Family*, top of a *desco da parto*, c. 1580, maiolica, Kunstgewerbemuseum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

Fig. 2.81  Florentine School, *Portrait of Bonaventura Strozzi Family*, 1580, oil on panel, once Von S. collection.

Fig. 2.82  Conrad Faber von Creuznach, *Double Portrait of Justinian von Holzhausen and his Wife, Anna von Furstenberg*, c. 1536, Städel Museum, Frankfurt am Main.

Fig. 2.83  Lorenzo Lotto, *Portrait of Giovanni della Volta with his Wife and Children*, 1547, oil on canvas, National Gallery of Art, London [NG1047].

Fig. 2.84  Attributed to Sofonisba Anguissola, *Double Portrait of a Married Couple*, oil on canvas, Galleria Doria-Pamphilj, Rome.

Fig. 2.85  Paolo Caliari, called Veronese, *Portrait of a Gentleman and his Wife*, oil on canvas, c. 1570s, Location unknown.

Fig. 2.86  Domenico Tintoretto, *Portrait of Doge Mario Grimani and Dogeressa Morosina Morosini and Members of the Confratelli della Scuola dei Pollaioli*, San Giovanni Elemosinario, Venice.

Fig. 2.87  Federico Zuccari, *Imposizione del Cappello Cardinalizio a Carlo Borromeo*, detail of conjugal double portrait, Collegio Borromeo, Padua.

Fig. 2.88  Federico Zuccari, *Imposizione del Cappello Cardinalizio a Carlo Borromeo*, detail of two male bystanders, Collegio Borromeo, Padua, drawing, Uffizi, Florence.
Fig. 2.89 School of Giulio Campi, *Double Portrait of a Man with His Arms around his Wife who is Reading, perhaps, a Prayer Book*, c. 1530?, oil on canvas, Formerly Jose Pijoan Collection, Madrid.

Fig. 2.90 School of Alessandro Allori, *Portrait of a Married Couple (Cosimo and Eleonora)*, c. 1560, oil on panel, Musée des Beaux Arts, Strasbourg.

Fig. 2.91 Jan Jacobsz. Doudijn, copy, *Portrait of Jakob Halling and Kornelia van der Bies*, Stedelijk Museum, Backerstichting, Amsterdam.

Fig. 2.92 Florentine School (Follower of Andre del Sarto), *Portrait of the Artist and his Wife*, Galleria Pitti Florence.

Fig. 2.93 Lorenzo Lotto, *Married Couple*, oil on canvas, Hermitage, St. Petersburg.

Fig. 2.94 Ulrich Apt, The Elder, *Portrait of a Man and his Wife*, dated 1512, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York [12.115].

Fig. 2.95 Circle of Sebastiano del' Piombo, *Double Portrait of Fernando d'Avalos, Marchese Pescara and Vittoria Colonna, his wife, the Celebrated Poetess*, detail, 1534-40, oil on canvas, Frederick W. Schumacher Collection, Columbus Ohio [57.38.007].

Fig. 2.96 Federico Barocci, *Double Portrait*, oil on canvas, Private Collection.

Fig. 2.97 Bernardino Licinio, *Portrait of a Husband and Wife before a Window Ledge with Rosebuds*, oil on canvas transferred from panel, once Private collection Countess Manzi, Lucca as of 1991.

Fig. 2.98 Italian artist, *Portraits of Zaccaria Freschi and His Wife Dorotea in Memorie della Illustre famiglia de' Freschi*, 1485, Ms. It. VII, 165 = 8867, folio 35r, Biblioteca Marciana, Venice.

Fig. 2.99 Titian, *An Allegory of Marriage, with Vesta and Hymen as Protectors and Advisers of the Union of Venus and Mars*, once considered *Allegory of Alfonso d'Avalos (Marchese del Vasto)*, c. 1530 oil on canvas, Musée du Louvre, Paris [754].

Fig. 2.100 Titian, *Double Portrait*, by x-radiograph of oil on canvas, under *Venus with a Mirror*, c. 1555, National Gallery of Art, Washington DC.

Fig. 2.101 Titian, *Double Portrait*, by x-radiograph of oil on canvas, under *Portrait of a Man*, c. 1510, Brera, Milan.

Fig. 2.102 Titian, copy after by Rubens, *Charles V and Isabella of Portugal*, Collection of the Duchess of Alba.

Fig. 2.103 Federico Zuccari, *Self-portrait of Artist and Wife*, lunette, Casa Zuccari, Rome.
Fig. 2.104 Sofonisba Anguissola, attributed to, Portrait of a Silk Merchant and his Wife, c. 1550s, oil on canvas, Goudstikler Collection, 1924 and Amsterdam, Muller, June 1, 1961.

Fig. 2.105 Paris Bordone, Double Portrait of Jeweler and a Woman, Bayerische Staatsgemaldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek, Munich.

Fig. 2.106 Bartolomeo Passerotti, The Fish Stall, oil on canvas, Galleria Nazionale d’Arte Antica, Palazzo Barberini, Rome.

Fig. 2.107 Mantuan School, Medal of Francesco I Gonzaga and Isabella d’Este, late 1400s, medal, British Museum, London.

Fig. 2.108 Italian School, Double Portrait of Ferdinand and Christina, 1590, colored wax, Staatliche Museen, Berlin.

Fig. 2.109 Italian artist, Double Portrait of a Couple, miniature, Uffizi, Florence [1890, no. 8856].

Fig. 2.110 Daniel Lindtmayer, the Younger, Husband and Wife, Stained Glass design, Museum Boymans, Rotterdam.

Fig. 2.111 Florentine School, Dish Shape 3 with Double Portrait of a Couple, c. 1530s, maiolica dish, Victoria and Albert Museum, London [C.2137-1910].

Fig. 2.112 Florentine School, Dish Shape 3 with Double Portrait of a Couple, c. 1530s, maiolica dish, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Fig. 2.113 Casteldurante, Bowl with Two Lovers, 1530-40, maiolica, Hermitage, St. Petersburg.

Fig. 2.114 Italian artist, Double Heads of “Lav” and “Renza” in design of maiolica pavement, Maiolica Pavement, Grotta di Diana, Villa d’Este, Tivoli.

Fig. 2.115 Francesco Terzi, Double Portrait of Carlo and Caterina, print, Vienna.

Fig. 2.116 Jean Mone, Portrait of Charles V and Isabella of Castille, relief, Schloss Gaasbeek dei Brussels.

Fig. 2.117 Peter Paul Rubens, copy after Titian, Portrait of Charles V and Isabella of Portugal, 1548, print after copy of Rubens, Collection of the Duchess of Alba, Madrid.

Fig. 3.1 Italian artist, Fournival, Bestiare d’Amours, 1200s-1300s, manuscript, Morgan Library, New York [Ms. M. 459. f. 28].

Fig. 3.2 Domenico di Bartolo, Declaration of Love, bride’s box, location unknown.

Fig. 3.3 Parisian artist, A Lover with a Dog and a Lady with a Rabbit, from a Chansonnier, Paris, c. 1280, Ms H196, fol. 270r, Bibliothèque Universitaire de Médecine, Montpellier.
Fig. 3.4 French artist, *Shameful Couple*, apse corbel, Church of Cénac, Dordogne.

Fig. 3.5 Italian artist, *Garden of Love*, from Hind, *Early Italian Engraving*.

Fig. 3.6 Italian artist, *Scene from Orlando Furioso*, c. 1530, Palazzo Bestia, Teglio.

Fig. 3.7 Bergamesque artist in the style of Cariani, *Amorous Scene* from *Orlando Furioso*, Piazza Mascheroni, Bergamo.

Fig. 3.8 Italian artist, *Scenes from a Romance*, Chatelaine de Verge, 1380, Palazzo Davanzati, Florence.

Fig. 3.9 Italian school, woodcut for Ovidius Naso, *De arte amandi e remedio amoris cum commentario*. Ovidius Naso, *De arte amandi e remedio amoris cum commentario* Bartholomei Meruli...annotation S J.B. Pii, J.B. Egnatii, Philippippi Beraldi, Folio Milano, Augustinus de Vicomercato per D.J. Jacobus et fraters de Legnano, June 13, 1521, woodcut, in sale, London, Sotheby’s, Catalogo di importanti libri antichi comprendente storia dell’arte, cataloghi di vendita antichi, October 22, 1970, lot 417.

Fig. 3.10 Giorgione, *The Tempest*, detail of two columns, oil on panel, Galleria dell’Accademia, Venice.

Fig. 3.11 Giorgione, *The Tempest*, detail of two columns, oil on panel, Galleria dell’Accademia, Venice.

Fig. 3.12 Titian, *Venus and the Organist with a Dog, without Cupid in a Bedroom in a Landscape*, 1545-48, Museo del Prado, Madrid [420].

Fig. 3.13 Lombard School, *Musicians*, 1400s, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

Fig. 3.14 Titian, *Venus and the Organist with Cupid*, detail of Amorous couple in background, Museo del Prado, Madrid.

Fig. 3.15 Florentine artist, *Lovers with Apples*, engraving.

Fig. 3.16 Veronese artist, *Conversation Scene*, c. 1400, fragment of a fresco, Museo Bardini, Florence.

Fig. 3.17 Italian artist, *Scenes from a Romance, Chatelaine de Verge*, detail of *Chess and Seduction*, fresco, 1380, Palazzo Davanzati, Florence.

Fig. 3.18 Moretto da Brescia, *A Couple Playing a Game*, c. 1550, oil on canvas, once Cini Collection, Venice.

Fig. 3.19 Italian artist, *Poet and Lady*, illuminated manuscript, Codice 763, Biblioteca Trivulziana, Milan.
Fig. 3.20 Attributed to Dosso Dossi, *Dante and Lover*, 1500s, Banca Toscana Collection, Florence.

Fig. 3.21 Dosso Dossi, *Poet and Muse or A Man Embracing a Woman*, c. 1520, National Gallery, London [1234].

Fig. 3.22 Dosso Dossi, *Poet and Muse*, c. 1532, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Trent.

Fig. 3.23 Giuseppe Dala, *Laura from Petrarch*, in *I Cicognara, Storia della Scultura da Suo Risorgimento*, Venice, 1823.

Fig. 3.24 Italian artist, *Petrarch and Laura Turned Toward Each Other on a Funerary Urn*, from *Il Petrarcha with l’Esposizione d’ Alessandro Vellutello*, 1544, xilograph, Gabriele Giolito edition.

Fig. 3.25 Italian artist, *Aristotle and Phyllis in a Roundel, Surrounded by a Border with a Youth and a Girl, with Cupid and Charity(?)*, 1465-80, engraving.

Fig. 3.26 Michelangelo Buonarotti, *Intertwined Lovers*, c. 1510, Musée Bonnat, Bayonne [123].

Fig. 3.27 Giulio Romano, *Two Lovers*, oil on canvas, Hermitage, St. Petersburg.

Fig. 3.28 Nicolo dell’Abate, *Inamorati*, drawing, Galleria Estense, Modena.

Fig. 3.29 Veneto, Anonymous Netherlandish or German Painter, *A Pair of Lovers in an Interior verso of Portrait of a Man recto*, sixteenth century, Staatliche Muscen, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.

Fig. 3.30 Master of the Housebook, *Uncourty Lovers*, c. 1484, oil on panel, Museum, Gotha.

Fig. 3.31 Unknown artist, *Lovers on a Street*, c. 1500, wooden sculpture, Adam’s House, Angers.

Fig. 3.32 Veneto artist, *Allegory of “Taming of the Passions”*, niello, 52 x 61 cm., once Gutekunst sale, Stuttgart.

Fig. 3.33 Bernhard Strigel, *Two Lovers*, pen black ink on reddish-brown prepared paper, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

Fig. 3.34 Altobello Melone, *Two Lovers*, c. 1515, Budapest Museum of Fine Arts.

Fig. 3.35 Domenico Cunego (After Giorgione), *The Lovers*, engraving.

Fig. 3.36 After Giorgione, *Two Lovers, drawing after Picture by Giorgione*, once in the Collection of Andrea Vendramin, San Gregorio, Venice.
Fig. 3.37 Italian School, after Giorgione, *Lovers*, engraving.

Fig. 3.38 Zuan Andrea, *The Lovers*, c. 1475-1505, engraving.

Fig. 3.39 Paris Bordone, *The Lovers*, c. 1510-19, Royal Collection, England.

Fig. 3.40 Tullio Lombardo, *Young Couple, possibly Bacchus and Ariadne*, 1500/10 or 1520/25, marble, 56 cm x 71.5 cm, 20 cm D, Kunsthistorisches Museum [KK, inv. 7471].

Fig. 3.41 Follower of Tullio Lombardo, *Relief with Busts of a Young Couple*, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

Fig. 3.42 Simone Bianco, possibly, *Faustina and Marcus Aurelius*, c. 1535, marble, location unknown.

Fig. 3.43 Imitator of Tullio Lombardo, *Double Portrait of possibly Alexander the Great and Campaspe*, c. 1550-1600, marble, Hermitage, St. Petersburg.

Fig. 3.44 Giovanni Girolamo Savoldo, *The Lovers*, oil on canvas, G. Rasini Collection, Milan.

Fig. 3.45 Girolamo Romanino, *Lovers*, Gemäldegalerie, Dresden.

Fig. 3.46 Dosso Dossi, *Erotic Couple (Violence?)*, Stephen Dobo Museum (Dobó István Vármúzeum), Eger [55.291].

Fig. 3.47 Dosso Dossi, *Nymph and Satyr*, c. 1508-09, Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti, Florence [147].

Fig. 3.48 Italian artist, *Declaration of Love*, Palazzo, Trent.

Fig. 3.49 Titian, *From Circle of Van Dyck?*, *So-called copy of a self-portrait by Titian with a mistress*, etching.

Fig. 3.50 Giorgione or Calisto Piazza da Lodi, *Portrait of Alphonse, Duke of Ferrara with Laura dei Diante*, once Christie’s London.

Fig. 3.51 Giovanni Cariani, *Lovers*, Private Collection, Milan.

Fig. 3.52 Venetian artist, *Venetian Courtesan*, unknown location.

Fig. 3.53 Moretto da Brescia, *La Salome, possibly a Portrait of Tullia d’Aragona* (born c. 1510-1556), Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengo, Brescia.

Fig. 3.54 Lorenzo Lotto, *Portrait of a Lady as Lucrezia*, c. 1533, National Gallery, London.

Fig. 3.55 Nicolò Della Casa, *Cosimo I de’ Medici in Parade Armor*, 1544, engraving.
Fig. 3.56 Agnolo di Cosimo Bronzino, *Cosimo I de’ Medici as Orpheus*, c. 1538-40, oil on panel, 94 x 76 cm, gift of Mrs. John Wintersteen, Philadelphia Museum of Art [1950-86-1].

Fig. 3.57 Agnolo Bronzino, *Andrea Doria as Neptune*, late 1530s-early 1540s, oil on canvas (transferred from panel), Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan.

Fig. 3.58 Ambrogio De Predis, *Portrait of a Youth as Saint Sebastian*, late 1480s, Cleveland Museum of Art [1986.9].

Fig. 3.59 Palma il Vecchio, *A Youth in Armor and A Young Woman (Portraits of Bride and Bridegroom)*, 1510-1511, Szepmüveszeti Muzeum, Budapest.

Fig. 3.60 Dosso Dossi, *Guerriero and Giovanetta with Flute*, c. 1520, Cini Collection, Venice.

Fig. 3.61 Giorgio Vasari, *Saints Lazarus and Mary Magdalene*, detail of the side panel of Vasari and his wife as Sts. Lazarus and Magdalene, c. 1570, Badia of SS. Fiore e Lucilla, Arezzo

Fig. 3.62 Agostino Carracci, *Portrait of a Woman as Judith*, 1590s, Matthiesen Fine Art Ltd., London.

Fig. 3.63 Follower of Titian, *Allegory (Possibly Alfonso d’Este and Laura Dianti)*, National Gallery of Art, Washington DC.

Fig. 3.64 Italian artist, *Medal of Rodrigo de Bivar: Mars and Venus: QUORUM OPUS ADEST*, unknown location.

Fig. 3.65 Paris Bordone, *Mars and Venus Crowned by Victory in the Presence of Cupid (Allegory with Cupids)*, c. 1550, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna [s. 1781, inv. 120].

Fig. 3.66 Venetian school, *Double Portrait as Venus and Mars*, location unknown.

Fig. 3.67 Attributed to Lo Scheggia, *The Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines and The Entry of Romulus and Tatius into Rome, Reclining, nearly Nude Youth Holding a Posy (inside lid) and The Reconciliation of the Romans and Sabines, Hersilia Declares Peace, Reclining Nude Girl (inside lid)*, 1421-1486, Tempera on panel (cassone), 41.5 x 165 cm (86.8 x 207.7 x 77.5 cm), Statens Museum fur Kunst, Denmark [KMS4786 & KMS4785].

Fig. 3.67 Guillaume Dupre, *Henry IV and Maria de’ Medici*, recto, *The Couple as Mars and Minerva*, medal, 1605, Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

Fig 3.68 Bartolomeo Passerotti, *Ulysses and Circe*, Hall & Knight, New York.

Fig. 3.69 Bartolomeo Passerotti, *Drawing of Animals for Ulysses and Circe*, Graphische Sammlung, Staatsgalerie, Stockholm.

Fig. 3.70 Pellegrino Tibaldi, *Ulysses and Circe*, Palazzo Poggi, Bologna.
Fig. 3.71 Girolamo Siciolante, *Portrait of Nude Woman*, Capitoline Museum, Rome.

Fig. 3.72 French artist, *Francis I as a Hermaphrodite*, c. 1536, Cabinet des Estampes, Reserve, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris.

Fig. 3.73 French artist, *Francis I as a Hermaphrodite*, detail, c. 1536, Cabinet des Estampes, Reserve, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris.

Fig. 3.74 Agostino Carracci, *Dwarf Amon, Mad Peter and Hairy Arrigo*, c. 1595, Capodimonte, Naples [0369].

Fig. 3.75 Attributed to Giulio Campi, *A Young Couple with an Old Man*, location unknown.

Fig. 3.76 Jacopo de’ Barbari, *Old Man Embracing Young Woman*, 1503, Johnson G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia Museum of Art.

Fig. 3.77 Andrea Alciati, *Emblemata* (c. 1531), Emblem 155 “De morte et amore.”

Fig. 3.78 Bartolomeo Passerotti, *Embracing Old Couple*, c. 1577, Federico Zeri collection, Mentana (Rome).

Fig. 3.79 Bartolomeo Passerotti, *Nymph and Satyr*, drawing, GDSU, n. 4066S, Uffizi, Florence.

Fig. 3.80 Master X, *Beggar Carrying his Wife in a Wheelbarrow*, fifteenth century.

Fig. 3.81 Florentine Artist, *Portrait of an Old Couple with Banner*, “Dammi Conforto”, *Encircled in a Wreath with Music Making Cupids*, 1465-80, engraving.

Fig. 3.82 Leonardo da Vinci, *Satire on Aged Lovers*, c. 1490, Royal Collection, Windsor.

Fig. 3.83 Leonardo da Vinci, *Two Old People in Profile*, 1485, Royal Collection, England.

Fig. 3.84 Leonardo da Vinci, copy after by Jacob Hoefnagel, *Mal-assorted Couple*, pen and brown ink, Albertina, Vienna.

Fig. 3.85 Francesco Melzi, *Old Couple in Profile*, Royal Collection, England.

Fig. 3.86 Wencesles Hollar, *King and Queen of Tunis*, 1645, print.

Fig. 3.87 School of Arcimboldo, *Four Seasons, Spring*, Sotheby’s, December 19, 1962, lot 86.

Fig. 3.88 School of Arcimboldo, *Four Seasons, Winter*, Sotheby’s, December 19, 1962, lot 89.
Fig. 4.1 Bernardino Licinio, *Ritratto di Donna che Regge l’effigie del congiunto* (Portrait of a Woman with the Effigy of her Spouse), c. 1524-28, oil on canvas, Pinacoteca del Castello Sforzesco, Milan.

Fig. 4.2 Sidonian artist, *The Sarcophagus of the Mourning Women*, detail, c. 350 BCE, Hall of Sidonian Sarcophagi, Istanbul Museum.

Fig. 4.3 Roman, *Man with Ancestral Masks known as the “Barberini Togata,”* early Augustan period, Montemartini Museum, Rome.

Fig. 4.4 Roman, *Sarcophagus of Aristocratic Woman*, c. 80 CE, British Museum, London.

Fig. 4.5 Roman, *Sarcophagus with Flying Amorini Holding a Portrait Medallion*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Fig. 4.6 Hadrianic Sacrificial Relief, relief, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.

Fig. 4.7 Byzantine artist, *Icon Held up by a Council of Archangels*, 1350s, National Art Gallery, Sofia.

Fig. 4.8 Colyn de Coter, *Christ as the Man of Sorrows*, c. 1490, oil on panel, 36 x 25 cm, Musée de Brou, Bourg-en-Bresse, France.

Fig. 4.9 Luca della Robbia, *Tabernacle*, 1443, marble and enameled terracotta, Santa Maria, Peretola.

Fig. 4.10 Workshop of Antonio Rossellino, *Tomb of Neri Capponi*, 1457, Santo Spirito, Florence.

Fig. 4.11 Il Buggiano, *Tomb of Giovanni di Bicci de’ Medici and Biccarda de’ Bueri*, c. 1429, Old Sacristy, San Lorenzo, Florence.

Fig. 4.12 Filarete, *Self Portrait in Framing*, detail of the doors of St. Peters, bronze, 1445, St. Peters, Vatican, Rome.

Fig. 4.13 Medieval artist, *Receiving the Mandylion*, after 944, Tempera on panel, St. Catherine’s Monastery, Sinai.

Fig. 4.14 Late Byzantine artist, *Icon with the Triumph of Orthodoxy*, Constantinople?, c. 1400, tempera and gold on wood, printing on linen, 39 x 32 cm (15 1/8 x 12 ¼ in), British Museum, London [1988, 4-II.I].

Fig. 4.15 Italian artist, possibly, *L’Ostensione della Veronica*, xilografia da Mirabilia Urbis Romae, 1475.

Fig. 4.16 Italian artist, *Sudarium Held Up by Angels with the Symbol ‘SPQR’ of Rome*, c. 1475, block book illustration of Mirabilia Romae.
Fig. 4.17 El Greco, *Escutcheon with the Veil of St. Veronica*, 1579-90, private collection, Madrid.

Fig. 4.18 Francois-Rogier de Gaigneres, Copy of a 1300 painting in Sainte Chapelle Paris, *Pope Clement VI Offering a Diptych to Duke of Normandy*, seventeenth century, Bibliotheque nationale, Paris.

Fig. 4.19 Simon Marmion, *The Mass of Saint Gregory*, 1460-65, Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto.

Fig. 4.20 Willem Vrelant or Workshop, *Charles the Bold and Isabella of Bourbon in Prayer*, 1455-60, Miniature in Book of Hours, Manuscript Department, Royal Library, Copenhagen.

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Fig. 4.34 Benedetto da Maiano, Monument of Giotto di Benedone, 1490, Duomo, Florence.

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Fig. 4.36 Jacopo Carucci, called Pontormo, Alessandro de’ Medici Drawing a Profile Female Head, c. 1534/35, oil on panel, John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia Art Museum, Philadelphia.

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Fig. 4.58 Giorgio Vasari, *Painting*, 1542, spandrel, Camera della Fama e delle Arti, Casa Vasari, Arezzo.

Fig. 4.59 French artist, *Timarete Painting her Self Portrait on a Wall*, manuscript illumination in Boccaccio’s *Noble and Famous Women*, c. 1401-2, Bibliotheque nationale, Paris [MS Fr 599], fol. 53v.

Fig. 4.60 French artist, *Iaia of Kyzikos Painting her Self Portrait*, tome, Bibliotheque nationale, Paris [MS Fr. 598], fol. 100.

Fig. 4.61 French artist, *Miniature showing Marcia Painting Self Portrait*, in French translation of Boccaccio’s *Concerning Famous Women*, c. 1401-02, Bibliotheque nationale, Paris [MS Fr. 12420], fol. 101v.

Fig. 4.62 Jan van Eyck, *Arnolfini Wedding Portrait*, detail of ornate mirror on the back wall, c. 1434, National Gallery of Art, London.

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Fig. 4.70 Hans Memling, *Diptych with Virgin and Child with Angels, St. George, and Donor*, Alte Pinakothek, Munich.

Fig. 4.71 Hans Memling, *Diptych with Virgin and Child with Angels, St. George, and Donor*, Alte Pinakothek, Munich.

Fig. 4.72 Giorgione, Attributed to, *Portrait of a Young Boy with a Helmet, said to be Francesco Maria I della Rovere*, Duke of Urbino, wood transferred to canvas, Gemaldegalerie, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

Fig. 4.73 Giorgione, Attributed to, *Portrait of a Young Boy with a Helmet, said to be Francesco Maria I della Rovere*, detail, Duke of Urbino, wood transferred to canvas, Gemaldegalerie, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

Fig. 4.74 Giovanni Bellini, *The Four Allegories: Perseverence, Fortune, Prudence (or Self-Knowledge), and Falsehood*, c. 1490, oil on panel, Gallerie dell’Accademia, Venice.

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Fig. 4.86 Guillaume De Machaut, *The Lover Fixes his Gaze on his Lady's Portrait* in Guillaume de Machaut's *Le Livre du Voir-Dit*, Ms. Fr. 1584, fol. 235v, 1370-77, Bibliotheque nationale, Paris.

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Fig. 4.90 Italian artist (Emilia-Romagna, Faenza, Florence, *Mirror Frame Decorated with Bas Relief of a Female Bust and a Medallion for Mirror*, c. 1500-10, maiolica, 0.395 x 0.285 m, Musée national de la Renaissance [ECL2320].

Fig. 4.91 Italian artist, *Mirror Frame Decorated with Bas-Relief and Female Bust Portrait with Medallion*, c. 1500-10, maiolica, Musée nationale de la Renaissance, Écouen [ECL2445]

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Fig. 4.93 Sofonisba Anguissola, *Portrait of Giulio Clovio*, oil on canvas, Collection of Federico Zeri, Mentana (Rome).

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Fig. 5.3 Attributed to Italian Artist (in the style of Luigi Capponi), *Double Portrait Funerary Monument of Bernardo Sculteri and Johannis Knibe commemorating Gift to Church, Establishing masses for the Dead*, c. 1518-20, Santa Maria dell’Anima, Rome.

Fig. 5.4 Vittore Carpaccio, *Two Venetian Ladies*, c. 1490, oil on panel, Museo Correr, Venice.

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Fig. 5.18 Giovan Francesco Terzio, *Two Hapsburgian Women, Imagines Domus Austriacae*, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.

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Fig. 5.20 Lombard School, *Cleopatra with Servant*, sixteenth century, Private collection.

Fig. 5.21 Lavinia Fontana, *Self-Portrait at the Clavichord with a Servant*, 1577, Accademia di San Luca, Rome.

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Fig. 5.24 Alessandro Bonvicino, called Moretto da Brescia, *A Frescoed Room with Eight Noblewomen in front of an expansive landscape*, 1545-46, fresco, oil, and tempera mural, Palazzo Martinengo, Then, Salvadego.

Fig. 5.25 Alessandro Bonvicino, called Moretto da Brescia, *A Frescoed Room with Eight Noblewomen in front of an expansive landscape*, 1545-46, fresco, oil, and tempera mural, Palazzo Martinengo, Then, Salvadego.

Fig. 5.26 Alessandro Bonvicino, called Moretto da Brescia, *A Frescoed Room with Eight Noblewomen in front of an expansive landscape*, detail, 1545-46, fresco, oil, and tempera mural, Palazzo Martinengo, Then, Salvadego.

Fig. 5.27 Alessandro Bonvicino, called Moretto da Brescia, *A Frescoed Room with Eight Noblewomen in front of an expansive landscape*, detail, 1545-46, fresco, oil, and tempera mural, Palazzo Martinengo, Then, Salvadego.

Fig. 5.28 British school, *Cholmondeley Sisters*, c. 1600-10, oil on panel?, Tate Gallery, London.

Fig. 5.29 School of Fontainebleau, *Double Portrait of Gabrielle d'Estrees and Her Sister*, c. 1594, Louvre, Paris.

Fig. 5.30 School of Fontainebleau, *Double Portrait of Two Women Bathing*, oil on canvas, 129 x 97 cm, Uffizi, Florence.

Fig. 5.31 School of Fontainebleau, *Two Woman Bathing*, variant, late sixteenth century, oil on panel?, location unknown.
Fig. 5.32 Jacopo Zucchi, *The Three Graces, presumable portraits of Clelia Farnese and Bianca Capello*, c. 1576, oil on copper, Private collection, Germany.

Fig. 5.33 Jacopo Zucchi, *Allegorical Scene*, 1574, Palazzo di Firenze, Rome.

Fig. 5.34 Marcantonio Raimondi, *The Three Graces, after an ancient bas-relief*, engraving, 326 x 222 mm, Albertina, Vienna.

Fig. 5.35 Niccolò Fiorentino, *Giovanni degli Albizzi and Three Graces on reverse*, c. 1486-90, bronze cast, 78 mm, National Gallery of Art, Washington.

Fig. 5.36 Attributed to Giovanni Cariani, *Woman Choosing between Vice and Virtue*, c. 1520-25, oil on canvas, 88 x 123 cm, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemaldegalerie, Dresden.

Fig. 5.37 Attributed to Palma il Vecchio, *The Three Sisters*, sixteenth century, location unknown.

Fig. 5.38 Jacopo Zucchi, *Three Graces*, c. 1576, Formerly Czernin Collection, Vienna.

Fig. 5.39 Jacopo Zucchi, *Three Graces*, detail, c. 1576, Formerly Czernin Collection, Vienna.

Fig. 5.40 Scipione Pulzone, *Portrait of Clelia Farnese*, c. 1570, oil on panel, Galleria Nazionale, Palazzo Barberini, Rome.

Fig. 5.41 Scipione Pulzone, *Portrait of Bianca Capello*, c. 1570, Burghley House, Collection of M.H. Marques of Exeter, Stamford, England.

Fig. 5.42 Jacopo Zucchi, *The Exaltation of the Cross*, detail, c. 1570, oil on canvas, 297 x 131 cm, Sacresty with Altar of Reliquaries, Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome.

Fig. 5.43 Jacopo Zucchi, *Death of Adonis*, detail, 1577, oil on copper, 50 x 39 cm, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.

Fig. 5.44 Jacopo Zucchi, *The Coral Fishers*, c. 1585, oil on copper, 55 x 45 cm, Galleria Borghese, Rome.

Fig. 5.45 Jacopo Zucchi, *The Coral Fishers*, detail, c. 1585, oil on copper, 55 x 45 cm, Galleria Borghese, Rome.

Fig. 5.46 Jacopo Zucchi, *The Coral Fishers*, c. 1585, oil on copper, 52 x 43 cm, State Picture Gallery, Lwow, Russia.

Fig. 5.47 Jacopo Zucchi, *The Coral Fishers*, detail, c. 1585, oil on copper, 52 x 43 cm, State Picture Gallery, Lwow, Russia

Fig. 5.48 Scipione Pulzone, *The Three Graces*, after Zucchi’s version, c. 1580, Private Collection, Milan.
Fig. 5.49 Cicerone and Simone da Milano, printed in Cicerone, Epistolae familares, Venice, 1494, xilografia.

Fig. 5.50 Jacopo Pontormo, Portrait of Two Men with a Letter, c. 1522-24, oil on panel, Conte Vittorio Cini Collection, Venice [V.C. 6733].

Fig. 5.51 Quentin Metsys, Portrait of Erasmus and Gillis, c. 1517, Palazzo Barberini, Rome; Koninklijk Museum, Antwerp, respectively.

Fig. 5.52 Attributed to Amadeo da Milano, Medal of Two Unknown Men, c. 1400, medal.

Fig. 5.53 Giovanni dal Ponte, Dante and Petrarch, c. 1400-35, tempera on panel, Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge.

Fig. 5.54 Giovanni Agostino da Lodi, Sts. Peter and John the Evangelist, c. 1495-97, oil on panel, Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan.

Fig. 5.55 Bartolomeo di Domenico di Guido, Two Men Conversing in an initial “P” for Paullus Florentinus, detail, in De Origine Servorum (manuscript dedicated to Piero de’ Medici), Biblioteca Laurenziana, Plut. 23.21, fol. 00?

Fig. 5.56 Francesco di Antonio del Chierico, Two Men at a Window (Federico da Montefeltro and an Unknown Man), miniature inside front cover of Landino’s Disputationes Camaldulenses, Codice Urb. Lat 508, c. 1475, Vatican Library, Vatican.

Fig. 5.57 Gentile Bellini, attributed to, Doge Andrea Vendramin and a Cardinal Received Together with his Secretary un Legato Papale, c. 1476-78, painting on vellum (miniature su pergamena), 31.5 x 22 cm (12 3/8 x 8 11/16 in), Van Beuningen Collection, Rotterdam.

Fig. 5.58 Vittore Carpaccio, Meeting of the Betrothed Couple and the Departure of the Pilgrims, detail of two young men, 1495, Accademia, Venice.

Fig. 5.59 Ludovico Sforza on his knees together his nephew Gian Galeazzo, Duke of Milan

Fig. 5.60 Donato Bramante, Double Portrait of Erasclito and Democrito (erroneously titled), c. 1490-99, Brera, Milan.

Fig. 5.61 Pedro Berruguete, The Duke Federico and his Son Guidobaldo, 1400s, Galleria Nazionale, Urbino.

Fig. 5.62 Leone Leoni, Cameo of Charles V and his son Philip II, obverse, 1440, sardonyx mounted in gold, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Fig. 5.63 Attributed to Francesco di Giorgio Martini, Federico Montefeltro facing his nephew Ottaviano Ubaldini della Carda, 1482, soprapporta, Palazzo Ducale, Urbino.

Fig. 5.64 Filippo Lippi, Annunciation with Two Donors, detail, Palazzo Barberini, Rome.
Fig. 5.65 Lorenzo Lotto, *Double Portrait of Giovanni Agostino and Niccoló Torre*, detail, National Gallery, London.

Fig. 5.66 Jacopino del Conte, *Portrait of Paul II and Ottavio Farnese*, c. 1546, Palazzo Spada, Rome.

Fig. 5.67 Hans Holbein, *Double Portrait of Sir Thomas Godsalve and his Son John*, 1528, Gemäldegalerie, Dresden.

Fig. 5.68 Gentile Bellini, *Portrait of Mehmed II*, 1480, National Gallery, London.

Fig. 5.69 Gentile Bellini, *Sultan Mehmet II and his son*, oil on panel, Private Collection, Switzerland.

Fig. 5.70 Jacopo de’ Barbari, *Double Portrait of Fra Luca Pacioli with Pupil*, c. 1495, Museo e Gallerie di Capodimonte, Naples.

Fig. 5.71 Tarocchi Master, Serie E, *Artisan, Ferrara*, 1455-65, Uffizi, Florence.

Fig. 5.72 Workshop of Pietro Lombardo, *Double Bust Relief*, c. 1495/1500, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

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This project began as a semester-long inquiry of the Double Portrait of a Couple attributed to Lavinia Fontana in the Cleveland Museum of Art during my first semester at Case Western Reserve University for a methodology course taught by Dr. Dario Gamboni. Notions of duality intrigued me throughout my graduate career, and the balancing act and dialogue between two individuals in double portraits in particular. The positive response received upon presenting a conference paper on double portraiture at the Midwest Art History Society Conference in Milwaukee in 2002 determined double portraiture as my dissertation topic. My topic expanded from one particular example in Cleveland to include images of a variety of couples, addressing important events in the lives of individuals in Renaissance society. I found more and more double portraits and documentary sources that broadened the historical treatment of the subject during the course of my research. By examining double portraits as socio-historical documents of relationships in Renaissance Italy, I believe that their visual codes from the past can be linked to the interests and life events of modern viewers.

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Abstract

By

DENA MARIE WOODALL

My dissertation is a comprehensive study of a neglected aspect of Italian Renaissance art, the double portrait, as a document of Italian Renaissance life. I define the “double portrait” as a work in which two adults are represented for a secular purpose within the same frame. This is the first systematic study of the double portrait in scholarship on fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italian art. The previous lack of attention to this topic is due in part to the comparative rarity of this portrait type. However, my research indicates that this type exists in sufficient number to offer an understanding of broader societal trends. The interactive dialogue between the two sitters in a double portrait is not only a visual representation of individuals but re-presents a type of cultural exchange within the picture plane. In other words, double portraits embody issues related to sixteenth-century society and artistic production. The minimal literature on Italian double portraiture focuses either on a single double portrait or on one particular artist’s oeuvre. This close study of double portraiture in Italy questions what the genre can tell us about the general nature of Italian portraiture and the societal constructs of Renaissance Italy. I bring a thematic approach to the subject. By focusing on adult relationships of individuals with similar social status, I analyze themes of marriage, love and allegory, friendship, and commemoration. Because double portraits present a nexus of two
individuals at a specific time for different situations, my study encompasses nuanced examinations of the genre in light of gender roles, same sex interpersonal relationships, economic status, and societal rank, among other cultural issues. In my study, the double portrait is shown to be a singularly revealing document of Renaissance courtly life.
Introduction

Terms of a Portrait

The concept of a portrait is multifaceted given the variables that the genre entails: the tangible object itself, the represented image, the patron and the intended viewer, as well as its purpose and social context—both of the represented individual and the audience. In order to define appropriately a “double portrait,” the focus of my dissertation, it is first necessary to examine the elements of a portrait itself.

As I shall demonstrate, a portrait has the ability to reproduce the form of an individual while allowing for the character, delineated by the artist, sitter, and patron, to be recognized. The sitter, trapped within the structure of the picture, becomes a simulacrum offering the beholder a view of a specific figure within a particular place and time, and in a particular facet of identity. The image of the represented individual reveals or perhaps conceals the true character of the sitter, whereas the facial topography and physical elements, as signs, suggest the sitter’s status within a particular society. The portrait indicates the social role of the person represented, and the societal role of the portrait as “object.” In 1548, Francisco de Holanda, in a discussion on the purpose of painting, suggested the functionality of the ritratto (portrait) to the viewer and within society.

The noble art of painting…sets before our eyes the likeness of any great man, whom on account of his deeds we desire to see and know; and likewise the beauty of an unknown woman many leagues distant, as Pliny notices with wonder. It prolongs for many years the life of one who dies, since his painted likeness remains; it consoles the widow, who sees the portrait of her dead husband daily before her and the orphan children, when they grow up, are glad to have the presence and likeness of their father and are afraid to shame him.¹

¹In De Holanda’s first dialogue, he recalled a conversation with Vittoria Colonna, Marchesa di Pescara, and Messer Lattanzio defining the various uses and reasons for painting. See Francisco De Holanda, Dialogues on Painting/Quatro dialogos da pintura antiga, trans. Aubrey F.G. Bell (Oxford University Press/London: Humphrey Milford, 1928), 25.
De Holanda elucidated key elements recognizable in the act of viewing a portrait: “presence,” “likeness,” responses to gender, and the audience’s participatory role in the portrait’s presentation.

He referred to the concept inherent in a portrait, that of “presence and absence.” In his commentary, he noted that a “painted likeness remains; it consoles the widow,” and “children are glad to have the presence and likeness of their father.” Similarly, Leon Battista Alberti is known for his view that a subject’s living presence is inherent in its visual resemblance as a social form and connected to the portraitist that created it. Later Renaissance writers such as Giovan Battista Armenini and Ludovico Dolce had similar responses. Armenini commented that the realistic presence of an image became a substitute for the absent person. Alberti and Armenini both retold Plutarch’s anecdote that Cassander, ruler of Macedonia, trembled before the lifelike portrait of the dead Alexander, whom he had learned to fear. The tale recalls Cicero, who recommended having an image to preserve memory. Thus, the portrait had an expressive power to move the beholder, becoming a substitute for an individual in absentia, and allowing for him/her to become present again for the viewer through a physical, tangible object.

In looking at a portrait (and, thereafter a double portrait), the notion of likeness, requires consideration of whether a portrait is an exact, literal re-creation of an external


appearance and/or a depiction of the sitter’s inner or ideal self, captured by the artist. The defining qualities of a portrait are frequently grappled with in the scholarship on portraiture. An amalgam of sources, including ancient writers, fed into Renaissance notions on the genre.

Pliny the Elder (23-79 CE) believed that the “painting of portraits was used to transmit through the ages extremely correct likenesses of persons.” Yet, did he mean only physiognomy? For in discussing certain painters, such as Polygnotus, Parrhasius, Apelles, and Aristides, he said they were able to capture facial expressions and virtues, such as leadership, and even depict the mind—obvious associations with ineffable qualities having to

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4 Portraits can be equated with individualization (exact rendering of facial topography), characterization (standard look of a person/expected public identity), and idealization (enhanced appearance risking truthfulness to create a superlative image ignoring flaws to the point of flattery). Through these three types, questions arise as to whether the true nature of a person can be understood through a visual portrayal.


6 Pliny the Elder wrote a 37-volume history or rather encyclopedia, called *Historia Naturalis*, which became a popular text and stimulus in the Renaissance amongst learned people, humanists, collectors, and artists. He criticized the decorating of walls with likenesses of strangers and upon death, persons left portraits that represented wealth and status and not themselves. He heralded their ancestors that placed portraits of the family to be gazed upon, and the family lineage could be traced by the row of painted portraits in the home. Pliny stated that “the painting of portraits, used to transmit through the ages extremely correct likenesses of persons, has entirely gone out. Bronze shields are now set up as monuments with a design in silver, with a dim outline of men’s figures; heads of statues are exchanged for others [so that heads were put on bodies which did not belong to them], about which before now actually sarcastic epigrams have been current: so universally is a display of material preferred to a recognizable likeness of one’s own self. And in the midst of all this, people tapestry the walls of their picture-galleries with old pictures, and they prize likenesses of strangers, while as for themselves they imagine that the honour only consists in the price, for their heir to break up the statue and haul it out of the house with a noose. Consequently nobody’s likeness lives and they leave behind them portraits that represent their money, not themselves. The same people decorate even their own anointing-rooms [ceromata], Greek for wax anointments used by athletes, and also denoting the rooms where these were applied before or after a match, with portraits of athletes of the wrestling-ring, and display all round their bedrooms and carry about with them likenesses of Epicurus; they offer sacrifices on his birthday, and keep his festival, which they call the eikas [20th day] on the 20th day of every month—these of all people, whose desire it is not to be known even when alive [live unnoticed]! That is exactly how things are: indolence has destroyed the arts, and since our minds cannot be portrayed, our bodily features are also neglected. In the halls of our ancestors it was otherwise; portraits were the objects displayed to be looked at, not statues by foreign artists, nor bronzes nor marbles, but models of faces were set out each on a separate side-board, to furnish likenesses to be carried in procession at a funeral in the clan, and always when some member of it passed away the entire company of his house that had ever existed was present. The pedigrees too were traced in a spread of lines running near the several painted portraits. The archive-rooms [in private houses] were kept filled with books of records and with written memorials of official careers.” See Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, trans. by H. Rackham (London: William Heinemann LTD/Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, MCMII), IX, XXXV, ii, 4-5.
do with an individual’s character and status. Aristotle in his *Poetics* used analogies between poetry, drama, and painting, specifically portraiture. He connected portraiture with mimesis, the representation of nature. For Aristotle, the pleasure in seeing a likeness is the pleasure of acquiring knowledge. Therefore, when seeing a picture of an individual, we are delighted to recognize who it is. Yet, the viewer can also take pleasure in seeing a likeness, even if unfamiliar with the prototype, not through the representation but through the means of representation, i.e. the skill of the artist in making an aesthetically pleasing image. He continued by stating that good portrait-painters, while reproducing the distinctive form of the original, make a likeness which is true to life and yet more beautiful. As we shall see, Vasari reached a similar conclusion in the sixteenth century. Petrarch in his *Familiares* (1348-54) mentioned that the function of portraiture was exact copying of a face. Interest in physiognomy by artists in the Renaissance is signaled by the circulation of books on the subject, such as Pomponius Gauricus’s treatise of 1504. So, could the external appearance of an individual reveal his/her inner self? Likeness could be a contributing factor of identity and I submit that constructed societal notions of identity are at play when viewing a portrait.

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7 Pliny commented that Aristides of Thebes was the first of all painters “who depicted the mind and expressed the feelings of a human being…and also the emotions.” Pliny did not elaborate as to how the artist “depicted the mind,” thus suggesting its rhetorical bent. In a similar manner, Pliny asserted that Apelles could render such a remarkable likeness of the sitter in a portrait that professional physiognomists viewing the portraits could determine “either the year of the subjects’ deaths hereafter or the number of years they had already lived.” See Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, IX, XXXV, xxxiv, 58-5, 67, 88, 92, 94-95, and 98-99.

8 In this analogy, it also needs to be considered that the privilege of being portrayed by the best artists and the privilege of being represented belongs only to eminent people in antiquity. See S. H. Butcher, *Aristotle’s Theory of Poetry and Fine Art* (New York: 1951), 15, 57 [iv.8, xv.8]; and John Peacock, “The Politics of Portraiture,” in Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake, eds., *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), 207-08.

9 However, when describing how Simone Martini portrayed Laura, Petrarch believed that he had to go beyond physical likeness to extort the essential qualities of his sitter. See Francesco Petrarch, *Familiares*, 23, 19, 11-12 and *Secretum*, 3, 156.

No Renaissance theory on portraiture existed which was comparable to that for architecture, perspective, or proportion. According to Renaissance thinking, portraying consisted of pure imitation, *ritrarre*, a field far below *disegno* and *invenzione* in the realm of theory. The verb *Ritrarre*, with its intrinsic connection to copying or *mimesis*, often ranked portrait-making on a baser level than other images requiring *arte*, the physical coordination of hand and eye. Contrarily, narrative images embodying *istoria* were linked to *imitare*, which required invention, and, like *disegno*, an idea generated in the mind, connected to creativity and abstract thought. Michelangelo refused to make portraits from life, striving for idealized beauty in his use of *disegno*. Leonardo, an avid portrait-maker, expressed contempt for portrait painters, classifying them as artists who had abandoned the universal for the particular. He commented that they did not have the possibility for development, and that those who painted portraits exclusively tended to render their figures as they saw themselves, perhaps suggesting the act of self-mimicry and self-involvement. Leonardo further pointed out that certain attributes and features belonging to certain individuals, such as kings should appear grave and majestic. Yet, does Leonardo’s notion of a portrayal extend beyond mimicry to suggest the person’s internal self?

The sixteenth-century artist and writer Gian Paolo Lomazzo (1538-1600), in his guide to decorum, supported Leonardo’s opinion while adding ideas partially inherited from antiquity. In his treatise, *Trattato dell’arte della pittura, scultura et architettura*, he commented on a...

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11 The word “portrayal” etymologically stems from “portraire,” to draw forth. *Ritrarre* and *ritratto* mean to “portray” and “portrait,” respectively. Yet, the terms in the Renaissance also were equated with “reproduce” or “reproduction.” They were used for not only portraying contemporary sitters, but also included recognizable representations of emperors, saints, and even city views. The term “likeness” is also a complicated term which can include an exact rendering of the facial topography of a distinct individual or a recognizable appearance as a representation of a distinct individual, that could be idealized.


13 See Leonardo da Vinci, *Treatise on Painting*, translated and annotated by A. Philip McMahon (Princeton, NJ, 1956), 58-60, part 2, 91-97. Leonardo’s ideas were reiterated later in the century by GianPaolo Lomazzo who stressed that features and attributes must accord with the sitter and his position.
The concurrence of painting and the art of “portraying” (ritrarre). “In these days…every crude painter as soon as he knows how to prepare or prime the paper wants to perform the art of portraying [ritrarre].” This perpetuated the belief that portrait painting was of a lower level in the mid-sixteenth century. This late Cinquecento theorist defined a work of art based on intellectual imitation (imitare) in opposition to one based on mechanical imitation (ritrarre), which he defined as unmediated copying of external appearances. The sculptor Vincenzo Danti made this same distinction between two types of representation: ritrarre (to portray, based on natural appearances) and imitare (to show the perfect form which natural data could not). Thus, Danti contradicted Aristotle, who made portraiture the paradigm of imitation in his *Poetics*. The discussion of likeness in portraits extended even to secular literature by the middle of the sixteenth century. In Matteo Bandello’s *Le Novelle*, the heroine entreated her lover to “provide me with a painter whom we can really trust, and I shall willingly allow myself to be portrayed on paper, canvas, or panel.” She revealed her desire for una vera effigie, a true likeness. However, Renaissance interpretation did not necessarily equate vera effigie with an exact rendering of her external appearance, but with an acceptable image falling somewhere between a realistic portrayal and an idealized guise.

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Alberti, in particular, became a model for many later Renaissance writers. His opinions were adopted and his examples used, though later writings do not often acknowledge their original source.\textsuperscript{17} In Alberti’s \textit{De Pittura}, a sitter’s identity (specifically, role in society) was inseparable from his/her realistic likeness made present through a portrait.\textsuperscript{18} A type of social hierarchy should be adhered to, according to Alberti, and perhaps to follow-up on this idea he decided that portraiture should be primarily used by “eminent men.”\textsuperscript{19} In his discussion on portraiture, Alberti focused on only one rather contemporary artist, Giotto, in which he \textit{expressit} (represented) eleven apostles, considered “true likenesses,” with different expressive facial features in his \textit{Navicella} in Rome.\textsuperscript{20} Giorgio Vasari claimed that the sitter should be painted as he really looked, without hiding personal defect. He described the goal of portraits as “che par vivo” (as if alive). Unlike others, he did not spread contemptuous impressions concerning portrait-making and portrait painters because he painted portraits himself.\textsuperscript{21} He did debate the issue of realism (unflattering, yet successful likenesses) and idealism (dissimilar appearance but perfect works of art) in portraiture. Being


\textsuperscript{18} Poses and facial expressions were believed to indicate a sitter’s personality.

\textsuperscript{19} He took on an Aristotelian position regarding portraiture. He mentioned that antique painters minimized physical defects in portraits of kings. See L.B. Alberti, \textit{Della Pittura}, ed. I, 75-76. For Alberti’s theories on portraiture, see also Luke Syson, “Alberti e La Ritrattistica” in Mantua, Palazzo del Te, \textit{Leon Battista Alberti}, exh. cat. ed. by J. Rykwert, and A. Engels (Milan 1994), 46-53; and Hans Lepp, “The Portrait in Art Theory of the Renaissance,” in \textit{Kunstgeschichtliche Studien zur Florentiner Renaissance}, I (Stockholm 1980), 365-73. Social hierarchy was complex and contemporary attitudes toward ownership and display were connected to the enforcement of sumptuary laws, strictly imposed in Florence, where behavior and clothing were controlled in a modest fashion, but these laws also produced anxiety in the culture. See Evelyn Welch, \textit{Art and Society in Italy 1350-1500} (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 279.

\textsuperscript{20} “Each one expresses with his face and gesture a clear indication of a disturbed soul in such a way that there are different movements and positions in each one.” See Leon Battista Alberti, \textit{On Painting and Sculpture} [First appeared 1435-36], trans. with Introduction and Notes by John R. Spencer (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1970 [First printed 1956]), 25; and Leon Battista Alberti, \textit{On Painting and Sculpture} with the Latin texts, ed. by Cecil Grayson (London: Phaidon, 1972), 82-83, no. 42.

\textsuperscript{21} He is also known as a portraitist, specifically for the Medici, and had a collection of artists’ portraits in his own homes in Arezzo and Florence. See Giorgio Vasari, \textit{Le Opere di Giorgio Vasari}, annotated by Gaetano Milanesi [Reprint of \textit{Le vite de’ più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architetti}] (Florence: Sansoni, 1981), I, 6, 249; and W. Prinz, \textit{Vasaris Sammlung von Künstlerbildnissen, Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz Beiblatt zu Band XII} (Florence: 1966), 9.
of the Aristotelian mindset, he stated that “when portraits are like and beautiful, then they may be called rare works, and the artists exceptional.”

Lomazzo, in his *Trattato dell’arte*, devoted an entire chapter to the art of portrait painting, echoing Vasari’s positive attitude toward portraits and portrait collecting. Thus, by the middle of the sixteenth century, a shift in the written response toward portrait painting developed. At this time, not only the Albertian “eminent men” were put on display, but also people from other rungs of society were being portrayed, such as in Girolamo Mazzola Bedoli’s *Portrait of a Tailor* of c. 1540-45. The tailor rests his left hand on a pair of large scissors that sit on an elegant piece of brocaded cloth. In his other hand, he holds up a measuring stick, as if in the act of performing his work. This representation responds to Lomazzo’s view that the sitter should dress and be seen in accordance with his/her place in society, appropriately shown by his/her work or occupation. If these rules were not followed, according to Lomazzo, the painter and the sitter both should be blamed. He also mentioned portraits of women and promoted the concealment of their physical defects. In another instance, he focused on representing men of high rank and nobility, quite in line

23 There seems to be a proliferation of portraits and styles by the 1530s.
24 Girolamo Mazzola Bedoli, *Portrait of a Tailor*, c. 1540-45, oil on canvas, 88 x 71 cm, Museo di Capodimonte, Naples [Q120].
26 However, Gian Paolo Lomazzo also suggested that persons of low birth should not be portrayed by artists at all, even though he was from a lower class. Lomazzo recalled the ancient custom of making effigies only of kings and sages. He stated “[T]anto è lontano il pensare che permettessero a uomini plebei e vili il farsi ritraere dal naturale; anzi questo assolutamente era riservato solamente per principi e savi.” See Gian Paolo Lomazzo, *Scritti sulle arti*, ed. by R.P. Ciardi (Florence: Centro Di, 1974), II, 375.
27 He furthered by claiming that contemporary painters often make grand mistakes and by showing lack of judgment, for instance, by painting portraits of emperors with a beret on their head illustrating them as merchants instead of rulers. The focus should be on expressing their nobilità and gravità in accordance with their maestà even if reality suggests otherwise. A portrait should primarily present a good likeness of the presented person, yet it was a mistake for painters to focus more on simiglianza than bellezza. See G.P. Lomazzo, *Trattato dell’Arte della Pittura* (1584, ed. 1844), II, 366.
with Alberti. Lomazzo stressed the importance of portraits as a means to perpetuate *gloria* and *memoria* and to inspire by imitation the deeds of great men illustrated in portraits. He demonstrated, using the example of Titian’s *Twelve Caesars*, commissioned in 1538 by Federigo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, in that attributes and expressions in portraits of great men should balance their status, such as an emperor who should bear a laurel crown, a suit of armor, and a *bastone* as emblems of his rule. He claimed the likenesses to be “of such exquisite perfection, that vast numbers go to that city [Mantua] only to see them, thinking that they see the Caesars themselves and not their portraits.”

It is also quite characteristic in contemporary portraiture to connect likeness with character, such as Titian’s *Portrait of Francesco Maria della Rovere*, in which the sitter is in full armor holding a baton, suggesting his military strength and power. In a rhetorical sonnet on the duke’s portrait, Pietro Aretino claimed that Titian’s portrait of the duke uncovered the “virility of the soul.” He highlighted Titian’s portrayal by recognizing that the duke, placed against a red velvet screen with the addition of the armor and baton, was to be read as a *condottiere* and brave combatant. Aretino also directed attention to the duke’s forehead and eyes in which the sitter “bears

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30 Titian, *Portrait of Francesco Maria della Rovere, Duke of Urbino*, c. 1536-1538, oil on canvas, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence. Titian portrayed the Duke of Urbino in a similar stance to the Emperor Claudius with a baton in his hand, from the series of Roman emperors for Federico Gonzaga. In Lomazzo’s treatise, he rarely mentioned contemporary portraits, but utilized examples of Roman portraits and also Titian’s famous series, called the *Twelve Caesars*, based on the writing by the Roman Suetonius, commissioned by Federigo Gonzaga from 1536-40 for the *Appartamento di Trìa* in the Palazzo Ducale, Mantua. Dolce commented on how Caesar was impressed by a statue of Alexander the Great and decided to emulate him. Federigo commissioned Giulio Romano to make a design for the decorative elements that would surround the twelve canvases by Titian, depicting the twelve Caesars, which would be inserted at a later date. The room consisted of an allegorical painting on the ceiling, and the walls displayed the portraits of the Caesars which was inclusive of several niches containing statues. Giulio Romano painted narratives on the lives of the emperors below the portraits (missing or no longer extant). They were sold to Charles I of England in 1628, located in Spain by 1652, and presumably lost in a fire in 1734. Many copies exist, such as drawings after them by Hippolito Andreasi of c. 1567-68 for the art dealer Jacopo Strada, and engravings after them by Aegidius Sadeler of c. 1593. Two full copies are on display: Bernardino Campi’s set on canvas present in the room in the Palazzo Ducale (Mantua) and a version can be viewed in the Residenz, Munich. See G. Paccagnini, *Il Palazzo Ducale di Mantova* (Turin: 1969); and E. Verheyen, *The Palazzo del Te in Mantua* (London 1977).

frightfulness between his eyebrows, courage in his eyes and pride on his brow.”

Thus, Aretino connected the manner of representation with societal appropriateness or rank.

In 1557, Ludovico Dolce (1508-1568) published a fictional dialogue between Aretino and Fabrini, two learned men and connoisseurs, as L'Aretino. Dolce returned to the notion that the art of portrait-making was a lesser form and stated, disparagingly, that the early works of Giorgione were limited to “half figures and portraits.” Upon selecting Titian, however, a well-known portraitist, as the eminent painter most worthy of Apelles’ crown instead of Michelangelo or Raphael, Dolce softened his tone, promoting the artist’s naturalism as he “moves in step with nature,” his command of color, expressive power, and sensuality. This dialogue called on tropes of a likeness being credible, dependent on the artist’s skill, and the power of a portrait to make the absent present through an object. Dolce referred to an ancient story of a statue of a goddess with a realistic presence, the Aphrodite of Knidos. In the tale, the woman made out of stone was so beautiful that an admirer physically made love to it, and Dolce further argued that Titian’s nude Venus in his Venus and Adonis (c. 1555) provoked the same reaction. Upon his viewing, he did not fail “to feel the whole of his blood stirring in his veins.”

Though the response was motivated by female nudity, the painted goddess also evoked a mimetic power, which can be a corresponding characteristic of ritrarre, and connected to discussions on portraiture. Giovanni Battista Armenini (1533-1609) in his De’ veri precetti della pittura of 1586 also set value judgment on portrait painters

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32 See Mary Rogers, “Sonnets on Female Portraits from Renaissance North Italy,” Word & Image 2 (1986), 303.
33 In their conversation, the two characters question which are the eminent artists of their day, mentioning Michelangelo, Raphael, Titian, and the like, as they attempted to select which artist should inherit the crown of Apelles. Ultimately, Dolce assisted in establishing a Venetian tradition of painting with Titian at its helm. See Ludovico Dolce, Dialogo della Pittura (Florence: 1910).
believing that the best masters, even if they might have less true likeness, they had more maniera, or style, to their subjects.35

Should we conclude then, that a true “likeness” could be connected to identity and, as Armenini and Dolce suggested, dependent on the ability of the artist? In their education of the ideal orator, Cicero and Quintilian believed that attention should not only be on words, but equally on the use of gesture and facial expression as vital means of conveying human emotion.36 Likewise, expressions superimposed on the face in a portrait could aid in defining someone’s character. Aretino pointed out that Titian had a “sense of things in his brush,” referring to capturing a true likeness in a few strokes.37 Titian had the ability to reveal the character of the sitter through a hint of expression by, for example, the curve of an arched eyebrow or enlarged eyes. Titian’s La Schiavona appeared so lifelike that she “could see the viewer and respond.”38

In his letter to the Grand duke Cosimo de’ Medici, Pietro Aretino wrote that his own portrait by Titian constituted a “natural resemblance” or likeness “which breathes, the pulses

35 “I ritratti, I quali son fatti per mano degli eccellenti, si trovano essere con miglior maniera e con più perfezionzio dipinti che non son gli altri, ma le più volte men somiglianti.” See G. B. Armenini, De’ veri precetti della pittura (Ravenna: 1587). His idea perhaps stems from the Renaissance concept of weighing imitare and disegno higher than arte (For the definitions, see page 5). Also, one example he gave was Michelangelo’s belief in making the Medici Dukes on their tombs in the chapel of San Lorenzo (Florence) idealistic instead of realistic, consistent with the Neoplatonic thought of achieving the ideal.


37 See Pietro Aretino, 1538 in Pertile-Camesasca, ed., Lettere sull’arte di Pietro Aretino (Milan: 1957), VI, 314. According to Antonio Paolucci, Titian had the ability to “penetrate the real character of his models…not only the physical semblance or the psychological peculiarities of the sitter, nor the various objects and props-[but also] the social rank, cultural or political standing of the sitter and in a more general sense, the ideal persona of the individual, the collection of all meanings that constituted the sitter’s identity for us and also for himself…He could also unmask the ideal character of the sitter.” See Antonio Paolucci, “The Portraits of Titian,” in Venice, Palazzo Ducale, Titian, exh. cat. (1990), 101.

beat, and it is animated by the same spirit which I am in life.” He also suggested that his portrait, including his shimmering colored clothing, was a “terribile meraviglia,” containing the intellectual and moral temperament of his character. Aretino looked at a subject’s countenance, particularly the forehead, space between the eyebrows, the eyes, and the sitter’s general comportment to reveal character. While Aretino deemed his portrait by Titian a true likeness, it also achieved more by “bringing out his essential, complex being—his concetto,” denoting the subject’s essential characteristics. In Titian’s late Portrait of Jacopo Strada, it also could be said that the artist captured the ideal character of the antique dealer with the subject’s expressive features and his active pose, as if he has just picked up the table-size statue, and by his surroundings, which contained items of his trade. Therefore, dependent on the great skill of the artist, portraits aspire to embody likeness while at the same time flatter the sitter.

Giulio Mancini in 1629 in his Considerazione sulla Pittura distinguished between two types of portraits: “a simple portrait” and “a portrait of action and sentiment (or emotion),” believing that Titian had the ability to create both. He determined that

A simple portrait is portraiture of things animated by both sensitive as well as intellectual souls without action or expression of emotion.
It expresses nothing more than the size, proportion, and likeness of the thing imitated, with color and whatever constitutes the individual being and individualized essence as distinct from any other. To be perfect nothing is required but

40 This is mentioned in a letter to Paolo Giovio. See Aretino II, letters CCXXVI, 14, and CCXXXIV, 73. For an in-depth discussion on the painting, see F. Mozzetti, Tiziano: Ritratto di Pietro Aretino (Modena: 1996).
41 This idea is reminiscent of Pliny’s comment on Apelles, mentioned earlier. Luba Freedman has argued that “Titian’s Pietro Aretino harmonizes the accurate representation of the subject (his particular self) with the portrayal of the character’s essence (his ideal self).” See Luba Freedman’s discussion on Aretino’s writings on his portraits in Luba Freedman, Titian’s Portraits Through Aretino’s Lens (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), 66-67. Likewise, Lomazzo, who was familiar with Aretino’s work, defined the concetto as conveying the dominant characteristics of a person. Portraits expressing concetti—“intellectual,” were superior to all other portraits and a good painter had to express it. He stated “[]I] buon pittore esprime il suo concetto” and “[M]olti maggiori sono I ritratti intellettuali…esprimendo il concetto della sua mente over idea.” See Gian Paolo Lomazzo, Scritti sulle arti, ed. R.P. Ciardi (Florence: Centro Di, 1974), II, 376, 381 (chapter LII of his treatise).
likeness…with a portrait of action and emotion (or “sentiment”), these things were imitated by representing the means of revealing that sentiment, by gesture, posture and expression. 42

Yet, the projected image of the sitters was not only dependent on the artist’s skill, but the patron’s request. In his Portrait of Isabella d’Este, Titian showed the subject in an ideal state by portraying a beautiful, vivacious, and younger version of the marchioness of Mantua, at that time already in her old age. 43 Titian was able to idealize her features without losing verisimilitude. Isabella could subsequently enjoy gazing upon the ideal younger state of her visage.

As Joanna Woods-Marsden has noted:

A tension existed between the conventions within which sitters articulated their needs —those formulas deriving from classical antiquity—and actual practice... Accustomed to the humanists’ idealized literary portraits of themselves, these sitters understandably desired similar control over the way in which they were described visually. 44

The patron-artist relationship was also dependent on a constant commissional contract and how much time the artist spent with the sitter and his/her portrait. Even if the painter had

42 He continued in his explanation by stating that “a disfigured person wishes his portrait [a simple portrait] done and tells the painter not to paint his defect. When it is finished, proud as a peacock, he shows it to a less than clever friend to see how it looks to him and the friend answers that it doesn’t look like him without defect. This illustrates that this kind of painting strives for complete likeness, as one very learned man of recent times has observed by having his defect included in a portrait of himself in stone.” In the “portrait of action and emotion” type, he believed that it went beyond likeness. With a “portrait of action and emotion (or ‘sentiment’),” these things were imitated by representing the means of revealing that sentiment, by gesture, posture and expression. Mancini considered his treatise as an extension of Vasari’s Le Vite. See Theron Bowcutt Butler, Giulio Mancini’s ‘Considerations on Painting,’ PhD diss., Case Western Reserve University, 1972, 163-64.

43 Titian, Portrait of Isabella d’Este, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. Isabella wanted her portraits to be beautiful, yet, lifelike. She complained about a portrait that Mantegna produced in 1493 rejecting it due to lack of resemblance. In her word-portrait by Giangiorgio Trissino she edited certain details of her written appearance before it went to print. She liked Leonardo’s portrait drawing of her in 1499, which alluded to her physical and intellectual qualities by being attentive to her hair and a book placed in her hand. See London, Victoria & Albert Museum, Splendors of the Gonzaga, exh. cat. by David Chambers and Jane Martineau (1981), 56-58.

intimate knowledge of the sitter’s supposed true nature, he might not risk losing the commission by painting the person in an unflattering light. Thus, the ideal pervaded Renaissance portraiture, treatises, and the popular literature, involving accurate representation and representing in the manner that the sitter thought was correct.

The multi-layered essence of selfhood in the Renaissance was always a negotiation of outward behavior and inward self, using a person as a vehicle indicative of the larger society. Several theorists disregard this tension by suggesting outward appearance was the expression of inner self. This conflict between the represented individual and the culture’s constructed self also should be considered when interpreting a Renaissance portrait, though examining the painting for a clear understanding of the subject is not a straightforward process. Erving Goffman offered a “dramaturgical approach” to interpersonal interactions. He placed the presentation of the actor/subject within his/her broader social context like an individual within a performance. The individual developed a persona through interaction with others, an exchange which is presented to the viewer. There is the aspiration to establish a social identity, the outward behavior of the individual’s performance which regularly functions in a general and fixed fashion for those who observe the performance. The social “front” becomes a vehicle allowing others to understand the individual on the basis of a projected character, establishing proper setting, appearance, and manner for the social role, in this case, of the person being portrayed. John Shearman argues for a communicative

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45 See Lorne Campbell, Renaissance Portraits: European Portrait-Painting in the 14th, 15th, and 16th Centuries (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 1990), 141.
46 This is a struggle in art historical scholarship between the Burckhardian concept of the portrait of an “individual,” shaping his/her own identity and Stephen Greenblatt’s “dividable” selfhood, molded by external cultural forces, as suggested in his book Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).
relationship between the represented sitter and the viewers and the paintings’ owners, to elucidate conversations with the missing person represented.\(^{48}\)

The painted or sculpted face in portraits could be considered this “social face,” the Renaissance concetto or the essence of the person’s social image, which the Renaissance sitter, with the aid of the artist, and conditions set by the patron, presents to his/her contemporary audience. Social codes of Renaissance society are also embedded within the framed portrait. Therefore, an individual’s character and social role in portraiture are constructed notions revealing how the subject wanted to be viewed (and how the artist presents the person) and not necessarily his/her true character.

**The Parameters of This Study**

After considering the nature of a portrait and its complex relationship to likeness, identity, presence, and presentation, I focus attention on the double portrait and how it can be integrated with, and contributes to, a discussion of ritrarre or portraying. Double portraits are images in which two figures cohabitate in a single format, existing on the same visual field. This construct complicates the concept of a portrait, because in this type of portrayal, the two sitters vie for distinction and space within the format, as well as for the viewer’s attention outside the frame. This study is a preface to a subject of considerable length and complexity. I focus primarily on portraits of two adults of relative social status in Renaissance Italy. A definitive history of double portraits would have to include a larger time span as well as a wider range of types. Double portraiture include a varied cast of characters: male and female, male and male, female and female, man or woman with child, woman or

\(^{48}\) See John Shearman, *Only Connect*, esp. 140-143.
man with page or servant, two children, male or female with pet, or two animals, as exemplified by Jacopo Bassano’s Double Portrait of Two Hunting Dogs.\(^4^9\) It would also be necessary to expand the chronological and regional scope of this study. My dissertation concentrates on the double portrait in which two adults are represented within the same frame for a secular purpose. The double portrait becomes a societal construct in my investigation of adult relationships in Renaissance Italy. I discuss the paired selections made by Renaissance artists and their patrons for viewing and establish that images of couples also maintain social fronts, masking their true relationships.

I identify and analyze mid-to-late fifteenth and sixteenth-century art objects from Italian regions that produce an abundant quantity of images, focusing on painted images, but, when relevant, I use examples from other media such as sculpture, drawings, medals, prints, and ceramics. It is often difficult to determine the identity of the portrayed sitters, which is complicated by the limited information portraits convey. Written biographies or contracts are necessary for personal information on character, and most extant double portraits are of sitters whose names are unknown. The subjects of the portrait must be fairly contemporaneous with the artist, thus eliminating representations of two saints or two historical figures from antiquity.

Such a definition of the double portrait does not extend to double portrayals of religious narratives, although at times, due to the context of a particular chapter, I include a few examples of this type that are pertinent to the discourse. Furthermore, if one person in a double portrait does not present particular merits or reasons for display for their own benefit, but are used instead to prop up the status of the other or to clarify a class difference, these works are not primary to my discussion. Instead, I spotlight double portraits in which

\(^{4^9}\) Jacopo Bassano, Double Portrait of Two Dogs (Due bracci legati al tronco di un albero), c. 1549, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
both persons are seemingly treated with equality and compositional importance. I pursue aspects, such as gender, age, and allurement, which often stress importance of one individual over another. Additionally, I explore portrait-like pairings in a double-portrait idiom, though not “double portraits” per se, for they enhance my thematic discussions by comparison. In this study, I foremost consider the relationship between the individuals represented in a double portrait while taking into account the manner in which that relationship is conveyed to the viewer.

**The Format of the Double Portrait**

Double portraits differ from so-called companion panels, pendants, or diptychs because the placement of the figures within the same space necessitates a social dialogue between the figures represented (Fig. I.1). In paired portraits the interaction of the individual sitter with the spectator is more overt than communication between the two sitters. In the double portrait, the exchange of gestures and eye contact enlivens and bonds the sitters, increasing their connection as compared to companion panels. Traditional fifteenth-century portraits separated pairs into individual spaces with separate frames. Often considered a double portrait, for example, Piero della Francesca’s *Diptych of Battista Sforza and Federico da Montefeltro* of c. 1472 presents the Duke of Urbino and his recently deceased wife in the traditional bust-length profile format facing one another in their respective panels (Fig. I.2). Though the two figures relate to each other harmoniously, they do not coexist

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50 Attributed to Lavinia Fontana, *Portrait of a Couple*, c. 1580-85, oil on canvas, 99.8 cm x 140.5 cm, Cleveland Museum of Art [1916.793]. It is inscribed upper left: AETA, SVAE, ANNO. XXXV, upper right: AETA, SVAE. ANNO. XXVIII.

51 Piero della Francesca, *Diptych of Battista Sforza and Federico da Montefeltro*, c. 1472, oil and tempera on panel, 47 x 33 cm. (18 ½ x 13”), Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence. It has been suggested by Creighton Gilbert that the portrait was painted as a result of, and only after, Battista Sforza’s death in 1472, because the inscription of
within the same space. Other paired portraits are eliminated from my definition of a double portrait for the same basic reason. Often fifteenth and sixteenth-century panels were framed before they were painted, and occasionally frame and panel were carved from the same piece of wood. This practice accentuated the separation of figures in the artist’s mind before the portraits were ever produced.

I exclude Raphael’s frontal bust-length portraits of Agnolo Doni and Maddalena Strozzi Doni of c. 1505 from my study for the same reason as Piero’s portraits of Battista Sforza and Federico da Montefeltro (Fig. I.3). In both cases, the pendant portraits of husband and wife maintain a unified light source and a continuous open landscape, similar to a double portrait.


tenuit on the reverse refers to her in the past tense, thus indicating that the diptych also commemorated her death. See Martin Warnke, “Individuality as Argument: Piero della Francesca’s Portrait of the Duke and Duchess of Urbino,” in Nicholas Mann and Luke Syson, eds., The Image of the Individual: Portraits in the Renaissance (London: British Museum Press, 1998), 87. In this diptych, the man is on the heraldic sinister, while the woman is on the heraldic dexter because of a tournament wound to the duke’s right eye. Federico rests in a more active landscape, suggesting an active role and Battista placed in a more traditional domestic setting denoting traditional female obligations. On the reverse of the diptych Federico and Battista are recognized within scenes of triumphs promoting masculine and feminine traits. Instead of a single text for both sitters, each panel also has its own inscription, further reiterating the sitter’s independence of imagery.

52 Most Renaissance portraits are rectangular, but circular and oval portraits, a popular design for miniatures, survive from the fifteenth century. Not all portraits were designed to be hung on walls, metal fixtures would enable them to be hung or to be moved into and out of protective cases and they normally were located or inserted into the top edges rather than into the reverses of the frames. See Lorne Campbell, Renaissance Portraits: European Portrait Painting in the 14th, 15th, and 16th Centuries, 64-65. Deriving from Pliny the Elder’s comments on ancient decoration practice with portrait medallions, possibly some portraits with painted reverses were suspended from long chains so they could be turned. Portraits with protective covers perhaps derived from the medieval and early Renaissance tradition of keeping portrait drawings and miniatures in protective drawers in cabinets. They were pulled out to be viewed and then re-placed into the cabinets for protection. Two of the most interesting surviving portrait covers are by Lorenzo Lotto and by Agnolo Bronzino. They have an allegorical or mythological subject presented on the reverse. In 1552, Lotto appeared to have employed a mirror as a cover for a small portrait. See Pietro Zampetti, Il Libro di Spese Diverse con aggiunta di lettere e d’altri documenti in the series Civiltà Veneziana. Fonti e testi, 9. Serie 1: Fonti e documenti per la storia dell’arte veneta, 6 (Venezia-Roma: Istituto per la collaborazione culturale, 1969), 45.

53 Raphael, Agnolo Doni and Maddalena Strozzi, c. 1505, oil on panel, 63 x 45 cm (24 1/2" x 17 1/4"), Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti, Florence. Raphael positions the couple in the traditional format of the woman to the man’s right. The companion Doni portraits were commissioned by the young merchant Agnolo Doni at the time of his marriage. Maddalena in her portrait has a stance and arm positioning, indicating the impact on Raphael of Leonardo’s Mona Lisa. Raphael also used the same pyramidal format and added an open receding Tuscan countryside, instead of Leonardo’s fantastical rocky landscape. The low horizon of the landscape background allows for the human figure to be defined by a uniform light. Similar to the Mona Lisa, the man and woman are presented in respect to the picture plane with their hands placed on top of each other. Maddalena’s position in society is indicated by her clothes, jewelry, and imposing body, associated with the couple’s wealth. They are linked by the kinship of the subjects and their evident stylistic homogeneity.
Both, however, lack true unity of pictorial field. The artist conceived these diptych and pendant-like formats as complementary, but spatially allowed each sitter to have breathing room from the other.

The sitters in double portraits, by contrast, coexist within a single format, creating an intimate psychological connection between the two subjects uniting them in one space and capturing the attention of the spectator. The artist must express this connection visually in the double-portrait format. The interchange between the agents involved and the dynamics of the relationship being represented is crucial to the study of double portraits. Double portraits become exemplars of relationships in early modern Italy.

54 Giorgio Vasari mentioned that the two portraits of this diptych originally were in a hinged frame so that they could be opened and closed like a book. See Giorgio Vasari, Le Opere di Giorgio Vasari, IV, 325-326. Seracini in Florence, however, believes that they might have been painted as one, according to his scientific evaluation. Many permutations were possible for the double-sided portrait. Covers for portraits sometimes in the form of lids or in the form of sliding or hinged panels existed in some quantity. One of them located in the house of Michele Contarini (Venice) was described by Marcanonio Michiel, the sixteenth-century Venetian collector and connoisseur. He stated that “there is a small portrait of Messer Alvise Contarini who died some years ago, and in the same picture there is opposite the portrait of a nun of San Secondo. On the cover of these portraits is represented a car in a landscape and the leather case in which the picture is contained is stamped with foliage in gold. It is a perfect work by Giacometto.” See John Pope-Hennessy, The Portrait in the Renaissance (New York: Pantheon Books, 1966), 211. Also, another box portrait in the Vendramin inventory (Venice) was described as “un altro quadreto con il retrato de Zuan Bellini et de Vetor suo dixipulo nel coperchio” (Another little painting with the portrait of Giovanni Bellini and that of Vittorio his disciple on the cover.). See Ravà, “Il Camerino delle Antigaglie,” 169. In Nicholas Penny’s discussion of Lorenzo Lotto’s Portrait of Giovanni della Volta with his Wife and Children [NG 1047], he referred to the timpano, or stretched textile picture cover, a protective device peculiar to Venice and some areas under Venetian influence, which did not become common until after 1530. Although no certain examples survive to this day, the timpano was a fabric cover stretched tightly on a stretcher and probably fitting over the painting’s wooden frame. From Lotto’s account book, the artist referred to supplying el coperto suo sul timpano in 1547 for the Della Volta family group in the National Gallery (London). Nicolas Penny also made passing reference to the use of wooden covers for portraits. See London, National Gallery, The Sixteenth Century Italian Paintings, cat. by Nicholas Penny (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 2004), 99-101. For portraits and their portrait covers, see the most recent book on the subject: Angelica Dülberg, Privatportraits: Geschichte und Ikonologie einer Gattung im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1990).

55 At times, individual portraits or even pendant portraits were originally a single painting (and thus a double portrait) separated when collections split or to increase market value. Other examples reveal the folding of a double portrait, presumably for transportation purposes.
The Dialectic in the Double Portrait

Much more than a visual representation of two individuals, double portraits embody an interactive dialogue between two sitters that re-presents a type of cultural exchange within the picture plane for the viewer to decode. In other words, double portraits display issues related to Renaissance society and artistic production. The study of double portraits is inseparable from the study of human relationships, emotional attachment, and interests of high importance to the people who shared them and to the society of which they were a part. The double portrait becomes a permanent visual record of these constructed relationships. The rapport between two adults in these images primarily relates to the culture sociologically through fidelity, love, friendship, and commemoration, and culturally through placement, costume, gesture, setting, and accessories. Since double portraits are representations of persons, but also images of the personal relations between the individuals, and between them and their society, they exceed the concept of what is a portrait and enter the realm of a visual narrative. If the double portrait were to be cleaved, it would be at the expense of the implied narrative.

The study of portraiture negotiates ideas about subjectivity, identity, the individual, and the sitter’s disposition. It overlaps with broader socio-historical and cultural disciplines. Questions raised by single portraits expand when considering the double portrait. The complexities are much greater due to the composite meaning, function, audience, and setting of the two associates. Contemporary scholarship has increased attention on social context as a key to understanding Renaissance art. Especially in the princely courts, Renaissance life was public, competitive, and status-conscious. Whether one was of noble blood or not, the

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courts offered considerable social mobility. In this society, individuals were always on display. At the beginning of the fifteenth century and throughout the sixteenth, an individual’s standing in Italian society depended on several factors: the status of his family and ancestry, marriage ties, his circle of friends and associates, membership in societies, and occupation. In addition, social recognition and the creation of connections relating to social aspirations and power were important in improving one’s status. The double portrait widens our view of portraiture, going beyond a presentation of two persons; the design is specifically meant to display and characterize a link between two individuals, while functioning as a visual record of social connections and rank. At the same time, these works are meant to generate, through commemoration, awareness on the part of the patron(s) and the audience of the relationships displayed which might encompass marriage alliance, familial or shared social connections, or efforts to improve status.

The need to be represented accurately or presented in the manner that the sitter thought was proper pervaded Renaissance portraits and parallel ideas were in treatises, and the popular literature of the time. Wider social and economic circumstances prompted the form and function of the double portrait. The intimacy and social links of these primary relationships respond to gendered roles, responsibilities, and obligations, with underlying markers of prestige and family bond. Double portraits are visual constructions that codify existing societal values and practices. Therefore, I examine if relationships in the Renaissance were represented accurately in double portraits, or were portrayed in an idealized guise, a type of social front, with proper accoutrements. Double portraits reveal and promote aspiring ideals of matrimony, love, friendship, and honor that the artist contrived and that the sitter or patron wanted to perpetuate.
Social class, politics, and gender all play into the construction of identity. In double portraits, gender difference and age distinctions are revealed. I examine how these qualities or inequalities are set up within the frame. Artists maintained stereotypical distinctions between male and female representations. De Holanda hinted in his commentary that images of great men were based on their actions, while non-specified women were associated with a more generalized notion of beauty. Contemporary literature of the time, such as poetic descriptions of women, treatises on female beauty, Venetian romantic verse, and discussions of lineage, marriage, and friendship, distinguished gender roles and theorized on the nature of women. During the Renaissance, women were vilified and sanctified, and sometimes both, even by the same author. Such discourses provide guidance for our interpretation of works that show women within the same frame as men. The nature of the relationship being conveyed, such as married couples or lovers, is distilled through the artistic mediation of the double portrait.

The rapport between the two figures is conveyed by their presentations as individuals and a pair. The degree of balance and reciprocation between the figures is obvious to the viewer. The exercise of power by one sitter over the other often is signaled by placement, scale, gesture, props, and eye contact. I explore an essential factor of the double portrait, that of power relations and how it contributes to the construction of identity. Same gender double portraits exemplify this dominance, for differences in age and experience set up an imbalance within the image. One person exerts influence or control over the other and vies

57 A few examples of treatises and works on women and marriage are by Federico Barbaro (On Wifely Duties [1416], De Re Uxoría [1415-1416]), G. Caldiera (De Veneta iconomía [1463-1464]), Speron Speroni, Della dignità delle donne from I dialoghi di Messer Speron Speroni [1542-1560], and Alessandro Piccolomini, Della istituzione morale [1560]). To view women through the lens of beauty, see Giangiorgio Trissino’s Portraits of 1524, Agnolo Firenzuola’s Dialogo delle bellezze donne (1548), and Federico Luigini’s Il libro della belladonna (1554). Some popular Romantic texts influential in Venice are, as follows: Hypnerotomachia Poliphili (1499), Sannazaro’s Arcadia (1502) and Lodovico Ariosto’s Orlando Furioso (1515).
for the attention of the viewer. The power struggle between two individuals within the same space complicates the dialogue between the sitters and viewer.

Portraits rely on a system of symbols to imbue further meaning, such as use of the profile formats which can be metonymically linked to power by its resemblance to imperial portraits on Roman coins. Dress and jewelry also visually denote the status of a sitter, such as whether a woman is single, married, or widowed. Double portrait iconography is linked, not necessarily to the identification of the two sitters, but rather to the status of the individuals and the relationships that they are representing and projecting to their viewer through a mutuality of signs. The circumstances of patronage, which I will mention in some specific cases, are difficult to determine since documentation on double portraits and their subjects is minimal. The patron was frequently one of the sitters or less frequently, a third party intimately connected to the sitters. Double portraits are particularly commemorative when one of the sitters is deceased, and thus honor the meaningful link between the two individuals.

Semiotically, the signifiers (the painted subjects) are conflated with both the referent (the living individuals as well as the actual relationship between the two people) and the signified (the couple’s individual identities or status as, for example, man [noble, professional, husband, friend] and woman [beauty, wife, mother, lover] and their collective identity as married couple, lovers, professionals or friends—or a blend of these roles). There is a division between the relationship as it is understood from the double portrait and the actual everyday nature of the rapport between the two people. Not only are two individuals immortalized, but also the relationship between them is commemorated for the viewer to inspect and perhaps esteem. In this way, double portraits as portrait-objects became
exemplars for their society and, through their expression of admirable qualities in a relationship, they provided an enduring identity for future generations.

The Double-Portrait Genre within the History of the Italian Renaissance Portrait

The portrait, as a type, had roots in the late Middle Ages. In that time, individual donors were often depicted in religious paintings. Portraits began to be included in secular frescoes in palaces and contemporary individuals appeared in narrative frescoes and altarpieces in sacred settings. One of the earliest portrait-like representations of a married couple, Paolo Veneziano’s Madonna and Child with Doge Dandolo and his Wife of 1339, shows them as donors in the company of the Madonna and Child (Fig. I.4). In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, lifelike characterizations, which represent a type of portraiture, were set within decorative schemes, probably to perpetuate the memory of predecessors, ancestors, or the individual commissioner. One such example is in the Milanese castle of Galeazzo Maria Sforza, where he commissioned a series of rooms to be decorated with portraits of the family and family history. In a sala of the Duchess’s lodgings, the history of her marriage to the Duke was represented, including portraits of the wedding party. Not until the early

58 Andrew Martindale has mentioned the loss of a great deal of secular art from the Middle Ages: “its purpose was there simply to be admired, to delight the eye, to stimulate curiosity or amazement. Its serious moral content was negligible; and it sometimes served as a reminder for the patron of things or people not to forget (such as his illustrious ancestors).” The main secular patrons utilized the best available artists, such as Giotto. They created works that were essentially there to “beguile their waking hours, to charm their guests and to amaze their rivals.” See Andrew Martindale, Painting the Palace: Studies in the History of Medieval Secular Painting (London: The Pindar Press, 1995) for his discussion of medieval secular fresco cycles, particularly Chapter One, “Painting for Pleasure—Some Lost Fifteenth-Century Secular Decorations of Northern Italy,” 1.
59 Paolo Veneziano, Madonna and Child with Doge Dandolo and his Wife, 1339, Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice. Veneziano painted the portrait of the deceased Doge Francesco Dandolo together with his wife, who was still alive, over Dandolo’s tomb in the Sala del Capitolo of the Frari (Venice) in 1339. The figures are on the same scale as their patron saints and the faces, though in conventional Byzantine style, appear to be authentic portraits.
60 By the late thirteenth century, labels, office symbols, and heraldic devices were added to the portrait representations to specify individuals. Beginning in ecclesiastical circles, visual presentation of a series of predecessors, such as portraits of popes, is noticed in religious settings, such as the basilicas of St. Peter and
fifteenth century were independent portraits commissioned. Their popularity grew, and with increased demand, portraiture evolved into an autonomous genre. This development reflected a number of factors: Renaissance individualism, the strengthening of city-states, and social as well as economic vitalization. The proliferation and reproducibility of visual images through the print and medallion media also contributed to this phenomenon. The principal function of Renaissance portraiture was commemorative, as it was meant to document the deceased (or, religiously, “to earn grace”), to confirm an individual’s

San Paolo Fuori Le Mura in Rome. In the secular realm, the remnants of a late secular fresco cycle from the 1200s depict celebrations in the family history of 1278. See S. Matalon and F. Mazzini, Affreschi dei Trecento e Quattrocento in Lombardia (Milan, 1958), 12. Not until almost the fourteenth century was the concept of the family portrait gallery realized. In the castle at Milan, Duke Galeazzo Maria Sforza commissioned a series of rooms with painted decorations of his family and familial activities of him and his wife. Much of the decoration was destroyed by the French in 1527. However, in a saletta in the Duke’s castle, court figures from past history were portrayed: Giangaleazzo Visconti (d. 1402) and his wife Caterina di Bembo, Filippo Maria Visconti (d. 1447) and Francesco Sforza (d. 1466) with his wife Bianca Maria Visconti. The patron Galeazzo Maria Sforza and his wife Bona of Savoy were also represented, surrounded by contemporary court companions such as Erme Sforza (b 1470) and Bianca Maria Sforza (b 1472) and the Duchess Ilma with her nanny. In the sala of the Duchess lodgings, the decorations displayed the history of her marriage, starting from her betrothal in the presence of the King and Queen of France and ending with the ceremony at Padua where she changed her clothing from the French style to the Lombard fashion. The adjoining saletta showed the duchess playing al ballone, while a further room exhibited the Duke getting dressed in the company of his chamberlains and barber. See Andrew Martindale, Painting the Palace, 7. Examples of this sort of fresco decoration also was used in the religious sector, such as in the painted effigies of Enrico Scrovegni (c. 1305-10) in the Arena Chapel (Padua), and Robert of Anjou, King of Naples (c. 1317) represented in the St. Louis altarpiece by Simone Martini (Museo del Capodimonte, Naples).

However, one of the earliest recorded portrait paintings is the now lost image of Petrarch’s Laura painted by Simone Martini in 1336. Peter Burke has ascertained that eighty-seven percent of more than 2,000 extant dated paintings from 1420 to 1539 were of religious subjects. Interestingly, most of the remaining thirteen percent of the secular paintings were portraits. See Peter Burke, Culture and Society in Renaissance Italy, 1420-1590 (London: 1972), 145.

“Individualism,” considered by Burekhardt as an essential part of the Renaissance linked to humanism, has been recently reconceived as an individual subject acting out diverse roles and masks, suitable to a given situation. See Charles Burroughs, The Italian Renaissance Palace Façade: Structures of Authority, Surfaces of Sense (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 33.

Adrian W. B. Randolph has discussed the development of portraiture and segmented portraiture scholars into two separate “camps” in the assessment of Renaissance portrait growth. Though the emergence of portraiture as a major genre during the Renaissance has often been interpreted as reflecting a sense of humanistic individualism developing in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which focused on the portrait bust and independent portrait painting, Randolph has credited the visual economy’s expansion through the use of images on paper (printed) or set in metal. This allowed for an image of a person to be disseminated making the independent portrait a replicable commodity. Yet, it also undermined the notion of early modern individualism. Due to reproducibility and misuse of names and motifs attached not only to an autonomous portrait, but also to prints and medals which attached, even mistakenly, the same motifs to various printed or medallion portraits of different individuals. See Adrian W.B. Randolph, “Introduction: The Authority of Likeness,” in Likeness in an Age of Mechanical Reproduction: Printed and Medallion Portraits in Renaissance and Baroque Europe, Word & Image 19, nos. 1&2 (January-June 2003), 1-5.
appearance at a particular time or occasion such as a betrothal, wedding, or death, and to record the sitter’s social status. In addition, the great number of deaths during the Renaissance due to plague augmented the desire to commemorate the deceased as well as the interest in documenting the living, stimulating an upsurge in the popularity of portraits. In fifteenth-century Italy, portraits often depicted figures in individual spaces within separate frames. The earliest are plain, often unadorned, profile views, likely influenced by portrait busts and the profile heads on ancient gems and coins. The few examples of double portraits from the Quattrocento were modeled after portraits produced in individual formats. An increase in the quantity and diversity of portrait types occurred before the beginning of the sixteenth century. A rise in the production of the double-figure

64 In his treatise, *On Painting* (1435), Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472) viewed portraiture only in a funerary context. In Book II, he stated that “Painting contains a divine force which not only makes absent men present, as friendship is said to do, but moreover makes the dead seem almost alive. Even after many centuries they are recognized with great pleasure and with great admiration for the painter. Plutarch says that Cassander, one of the captains of Alexander, trembled through all his body because he saw a portrait of his King, Agesilaos, the Laecidaemonian, never permitted anyone to paint him or to represent him in sculpture; his own form so displeased him that he avoided being known by those who would come after him. Thus the face of a man who is already dead certainly lives a long life through painting. Some think that painting shaped the gods who were adored by the nations. It certainly was their greatest gift to mortals, for painting is most useful to that piety which joins us to the gods and keeps our souls full of religion. They say that Phidias made in Aulis a god Jove so beautiful that it considerably strengthened the religion then current.” From Alberti’s “Della tranquillità dell’animo,” *Opera Volgare* (Bonucci, ed., I, 26), it is clear that he dabbled in art, making sculpture in wax and clay and perhaps even cast these figures in bronze. It is significant that not only did Alberti discuss portraiture in his writings, but he also produced portraits as well. In *The Anonymous Life*, he referred to his “demonstrations” which were portraits in painting and sculpture that he did in Venice of absent Florentine friends and of his self-portraits (cols. 295A-299C). In the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., a plaque in bronze, probably cast from a wax model, is thought to be a *Self-Portrait* of the Renaissance writer. Due to the suggestion of classical drapery and the cropped cap of hair, it suggests inspiration from an ancient Roman carved gem (see L.B. Alberti, *Self Portrait*, c. 1435, bronze, irregular oval: 20.1 x 13.6 cm [7 15/16 x 5 3/8 in.], Samuel H. Kress collection [1957.14.125], NGa, Washington). Vasari mentioned another self-portrait by Alberti in the house of Palla Rucellai. See Giorgio Vasari, *Le Opere di Giorgio Vasari*, II, 546-7. A low quality pen drawing, possibly another self-portrait, is mentioned in C. Grayson, “A portrait of Leon Battista Alberti,” *Burlington Magazine*, XCVI [1954], 177-8. On a side note, Alberti’s *The Anonymous Life* was published in 1843 shaping Jacob Burckhardt’s interpretation of the Renaissance individual in his *Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, first published in 1860.

65 Dolce’s classifications for portraiture were the following: full-face (*volto in maestà*), three-quarter face (*occhio e mezzo*), and profile (*volto in profile*) See Ludovico Dolce, *L’Artevino: Dialogo sulla pittura* (1557); and John Pope-Hennessy, *Portraiture in the Renaissance*, 28.
composition in the sixteenth century went hand-in-hand with the increase of Renaissance portraits in general.\textsuperscript{66}

\textit{Chapter Development}

I approach this study of adult double portraits thematically, devoting individual chapters to marriage, love and allegory, friendship, and commemoration. I identify examples both within a range of qualitative factors and in sufficient number for an understanding of these themes. As mentioned previously, one of the primary functions of double portraits was to record, or rather construct, these relationships visually. I examine these representations within a late fifteenth and sixteenth-century social context, with their attendant social codes and norms. This study of Italian double portraiture also contributes to the study of Italian portraiture in general, by reevaluating other portrait types, such as individual and family portraits, based on the material discovered here.

I explore double portraiture in Italy within an art historical framework to identify its sources and review issues of display and audience in Chapter One. In Chapter Two, I examine the most common and obvious occasion for the double portrait, that of marriage, which provides the context to examine the display of a man and woman and their gendered identities within the same frame. I interpret the matrimonial double portrait as a promotion of family alliances, contributing to status-building. In my discussion of this type, I discover that the portrayal of marriage changes in the course of the sixteenth century and discuss how women and their roles in society contribute to this factor. I also explore how the conjugal double portrait becomes a model of comportment and fits within a range of visual images.

\textsuperscript{66} It is hard to be completely accurate about the popularity of certain types of portraiture due to the loss of portraits over time. However, double portraits appear at the same time as portraiture development in the mid-1400s.
promoting matrimony in Renaissance society. In Chapter Three, I examine foils to the marital double portraits that exist in three categories: portrayals of amorous lovers, images of role-playing by couples, and depictions of foolish lovers. Though these amorous pairings are in a double-portrait idiom, they exhibit a more erotic or less serious manner, worthy of a comparison to the formality of the conjugal type. These images coincide with early modern commentaries on marriage, love, and comedies surrounding such things as cuckoldry and adultery. The interest in taking another’s disguise was fashionable during this period and spawned commissions of portraits of contemporary sitters as fictional characters, so I consider the popularity of this interest in double-portrait examples, as well as issues of gender, the gaze, and portraits as display objects.

Chapter Four examines an unusual type: the “portrait within a portrait”, one such example being Giovanni Cariani’s Portrait of a Man with Portrait Bust in Berlin. The genre actively display the theme of absence made presence and the portrait’s communicative role between internal sitter and viewer. I recount how this type connects to contemporary as well as ancient letters and stories on the subject. The act of commemoration, of honoring the dead and also the living, is heightened through the action in the image and I explore the variety of approaches to the subject. I also examine historical and religious sources or points of departure for this form, such as historical and religious images, for example Saint Veronica holding Christ’s image and Saint Luke painting the Madonna and Child. The rising usage of mirrors and two-sided roundels in the sixteenth century also affected this portrait type. The Portrait of Gaston de Foix and his Mirror Reflection by Savoldo and an illumination of Marcia Painting her Self-Portrait from Boccaccio’s De claris mulieribus are discussed as well. The “portrait within the portrait,” problematizes the gaze and the balancing act between the
characters within the image, as well as the communication with the spectator, is complicated further.

The last chapter compares double portraits of two genders to those of a single gender. Without the hierarchical issues related to gender, I focus on how these portraits display equivalence or dominance based on age and experience. They exemplify the complex social bonds established in Renaissance society. The biased importance of male relationships versus female ones crystallizes in this chapter. Male double portraits center around friendship in social, political, artistic, and scholarly contexts. The few known female double portraits are mainly familial. Finally, my conclusion brings together the various themes, and shows how these double portraits are a part of their cultural contexts. Since double portraits depict various occasions, they provide a nuanced lens for viewing societal constructs, cultural practices, gender roles, and interpersonal relationships in Renaissance Italy.

At the beginning of this project, I believed, like most scholars, that a small number of Italian Renaissance double portraits existed. An explanation of the lack of double portraits still needed to be discussed, even if themes could have been determined from the small number of examples. I did not make an exhaustive attempt to discover all double portraits, yet as my research progressed, the wealth of objects accumulated, and with them, a more extensive study on double portraits within Renaissance culture. By looking at over two hundred double-figure compositions, I not only reveal that this genre was more prolific than previously thought, but was able to establish visual codes. I have thus been able to draw on a significant number of double portraits to elucidate the chapter topics. Double portraits in large collections, such as the Louvre, are better known and more thoroughly researched in collection catalogues or bulletin articles on individual art objects. However, I utilize several double portraits in this study, such as that attributed to Sebastiano del Piombo (Double
Portrait of Vittoria Colonna and her Husband) (Fig. 1.5) or Bedoli (Portrait of a Nobleman, Identified as Virgilio Ariosto, Holding up a Portrait of his Father), which have been studied less or are virtually unknown. In bringing to light lesser-known double portraits, my analysis enlarged the discussion and will contribute to reevaluations of the subject of portraiture in Renaissance Italy.

**Methodology**

Many scholars have discussed double portraiture from the north of Europe, such as Jane Hutchinson, Linda Seidel, and Edwin Hall. Double portraits in southern Europe, however, remain largely unexplored. The lack of attention to double portraits in Renaissance Italy is due in part to the considered rarity of this portrait type. As noted, scholars tend to repeat axiomatically that double portraits are scarce and not of interest to most Italian artists. However, I have discovered a large number of double portraits, including approximately one-hundred and eighty painted ones. From this quorum, I establish common themes and common portrait practices for this type. The meager attention to double portraiture in Italy leaves open the prospect of what the genre can inform us about Italian portraiture and Renaissance society. In other words, double portraits display different issues related to society and artistic production than individual portraits. My contribution to the field of

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67 Circle of Sebastiano del Piombo, *Double Portrait of Fernando d’Avalos, Marchese dell Pescara, and Vittoria Colonna, his Wife and the Celebrated Poetess*, c. 1530-40, oil on canvas (transferred from panel in 1909), 35 ¼ x 45 ½, Frederick W. Schumacher Collection, Columbus, Ohio [57.38.007]. This painting was not mentioned in Michael Hirst’s catalogue raisonné of Sebastiano del Piombo’s work, and therefore, I assume that it was unknown to him at that time. See Michael Hirst, *Sebastiano del Piombo* (Oxford: Clarendon Press/New York: Oxford University Press, 1981). Girolamo Mazzola Bedoli, *Portrait of a Nobleman, Identified as Virgilio Ariosto*, c. 1540, oil on canvas, 42 ¼ x 36 in (108 x 90.7 cm), Private Collection, United Kingdom.

scholarship is to provide a comprehensive study of this genre as a document of Renaissance courtly life.

In 1966, Cecil Gould reasoned that “the double portrait consisting of two equal components was clearly an unrewarding genre for Italian Renaissance artists.” Balancing the two figures in the design format was difficult; one figure was inevitably more prominent, causing the other to be “simply adjunct or subordinate.” 69 Clearly this statement must be qualified. The misconception that few Italian double portraits exist, as well as the standard scholarly focus on a solitary double portrait, as was the case with Gould, or a single artist’s oeuvre, explains the general lack of scholarship on the genre as a whole. Scholars have focused on individual art objects or artists, with primary interest on marriage pairings. John Pope-Hennessy, in his seminal book on portraiture, rarely mentioned double portraits and did not define double portraiture as a category. He placed the Double Portrait attributed to Giorgione, within his larger discussion of the artist’s more romantic portrayal of figure types calling it “a strange double portrait in the Palazzo Venezia in Rome.” 70 He also mentioned two double portraits commemorating marriage by Lorenzo Lotto and their influence from German marriage portraits. Yet, he did not concern himself with the emergence of the representation of two figures within the same frame.

The earliest and most inclusive study of the subject of double portraiture was Berthold Hinz’s “Studien zus Geschichte des Ehepaarbildnisses” from 1974, which traced the development of marriage portraiture. 71 He explained that Northern European artists

71 See Berthold Hinz, “Studien zus Geschichte des Ehepaarbildnisses,” Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft 19 (1974), 139-218. Two other scholars worth considering on the subject of double portraiture are Ernst Buchner
transformed pendant portraits into double portraits in the fifteenth century. Hinz has argued that Hans Memling made the diptych format in portraiture popular in the North, as seen in his *Portrait of an Old Couple*, separately located in the Louvre and in the Staatliche Museen (Fig. I.6). Early marriage portraits or pendants were derived from donor portraits within the context of a larger devotional altarpiece. Some of the earliest examples Hinz considered pertinent to the double-portrait type are the *Portrait of Wilheim Schenk von Schenkenstein and of Agnes von Werdenberg* of around 1455 (Fig. I.7), and Jörg Breu the Elder’s *Double Portrait of Coloman Helmschmid and Agness Breu* of c. 1500-05. In his teleological examination of double portraiture, Hinz included Italian and Northern examples. He not only linked the Italian form to Northern sources, but also traced its origins back to Roman gravestones and epitaphs. Though he examined several of the same subjects (marriage, lovers, allegorical couples) which I consider in my dissertation, he did not consider them as separate types, elaborate on their influences, nor place them in a regional context. Lorne Campbell’s *Renaissance Portraits* in 1990 did distinguish the various portrait types, and considered double portraits as one sub-category of the larger genre.

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and Angelica Dülberg. Ernst Büchner in his book, *Das Deutsche Bildnis der Spätgotik und der Frühen Dürerzeit* (Berlin: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1953), has connected the early double portraits to miniatures, due to size dimensions of the early double portrait paintings. He also showed various examples of the earliest known double portraits, see 170-221 and figs. 195-207. In Angelica Dülberg’s *Privatporträts: Geschichte und Ikonologie einer Gattung im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1990), she also gave examples of the double portrait type. However, Dülberg focused on portraits and their covers.

72 Hans Memling, *Portrait of a Couple (Portrait of an Old Man and Portrait of an Old Woman)*, 1470-75, oil on panel, Staatliche Museen, Berlin and Louvre, Paris, respectively.  
73 Swabian Master, *Portrait of Wilhelm IV. Graf Schenk von Schenkenstein und Agnes Gräfin von Werdenberg-Trockeltingen*, c. 1455, Fürstlich Fürstenbergische Sammlungen Würth, Donaueschingen [6468] (Ex-Donaueschinger Bilderschatz in Schwäbisch Hall ausgestellt); and Jörg Breu the Elder’s *Double Portrait of Coloman Helmschmid and Agnes Breu* of c. 1500-1505 (Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid). Though they are on the same panel, I do not consider Breu’s double portrait to be a true double portrait because they are still framed individually with a divider between the two figures.  
75 See Lorne Campbell, *Renaissance Portraits: European Portrait-Painting in the 14th, 15th and 16th Centuries*, 53-54.
As mentioned, scholarly treatment of individual double portraits or artists working with this type has been the particular means to explore the subject, including an interest in identifying the individuals viewed together. Cecil Gould’s discussion of double portraits in 1966 was limited to male double portraits with specific attention on Lorenzo Lotto’s *Double Portrait of Giovanni Agostino and Niccolò della Torre* (Fig. I.8). He did, however, connect the evolution of the double portrait to an increase in panel or canvas size of Italian portraits during the sixteenth century, that is worthy of consideration.\(^7\) In the 1970s, Sarah Wilk published two significant studies of double portraits, but they were limited to the *oeuvre* of Venetian sculptor Tullio Lombardo (c. 1455-1532).\(^7\) Her studies lacked attention to fifteenth-century Italian models, but she did refer to Tullio’s influences from Roman art and Northern painting, arguing that the Northern double-figure composition was probably brought to Italy by way of prints and on inexpensive jewelry.\(^7\) In 1989 and 1995, Alison Luchs continued the discussion on Tullio Lombardo’s double portraits and his direct inspiration on the type.\(^7\) Andrea Zaharia-Roth’s study of Lorenzo Lotto’s double portraits joined the scholarship in 1995. In her essay, she has argued that “Lorenzo Lotto introduced the genre of double marriage portraiture to Italy, and for the first time, celebrated a couple’s matrimonial union on canvas.”\(^8\) Her essay concluded that Italian marriage portraiture before

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\(^7\) See Alison Luchs, “Tullio Lombardo’s Ca’ d’Oro Relief: A Self-Portrait with the Artist’s Wife?,” *Art Bulletin* LXXI, no. 2 (June 1989), 230-236. Luchs has connected his reliefs to romantic literature, such as the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*. Lefaivre is the first art historian to attribute the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* to Alberti. Previously it was considered to be the work of Francesco Colonna. See Liane Lefaivre, *Leon Battista Alberti’s Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: Re-Cognizing the Architectural Body in the Early Italian Renaissance* (Boston: The MIT Press, 1997). See also Luchs more recent comments on his double portraits in Alison Luchs, *Tullio Lombardo and Ideal Portrait Sculpture in Renaissance Venice, 1490-1530* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

Lotto was limited to pendant portraits and did not depict the contractual marriage. Although her work in relating Lotto’s imagery to women’s status in society and her treatment of aspects of Lotto’s symbolic imagery are insightful, she was incorrect in believing that Lotto’s double marriage portraits were the first and only such images used as visual documentary evidence. Jaynie Anderson’s essay on Giorgione’s contribution to male double portraits from 2004 is one of the latest attempts to discuss the subject. She claimed that “in Renaissance Italy the masculine double portrait is rare,” and subsequently categorized male double portraits.81 My research has revealed sufficient examples of Italian double portraits from the late fifteenth century through the sixteenth and will demonstrate a larger practice of double portraiture than previously was thought.

As I reconsider the subject of pairing within a picture in my thematic and contextualized study, I provide a corrective to previous discussions focusing on individual objects, and cursory comments on doubles that failed to consider their groupings as cultural and societal constructs. After amassing a significant number of double portraits and presenting them in a collective study, I prove that a reexamination of the issue is warranted. Gender, sexual difference, audience, and display are concerns I address in my dissertation, an interdisciplinary study of an important but understudied aspect of the history of Italian Renaissance art and culture. The Italian double portrait often has been glossed over as awkward, unpopular, unremarkable, or derivative of Northern counterparts. Yet, the double portrait becomes a paradigm for the objectives of Renaissance court society. Also, by looking at double portraits within the context of the social milieu of the time, I prove that doubling is an interest that perpetuates all facets of visual culture, including prints and household furnishings.

It is difficult to determine the popularity of the double-portrait type in Italy by region. I provide double-portrait examples that were commissioned in many major cities in Italy and their creation also spread through the provinces. As I demonstrate, artists and patrons in Northern Italy and especially the Veneto were particularly keen for this portrait type. Venetian culture was a strong proponent of double-figure compositions, and well known artists with examples by such well-known artists as Titian, Giorgione, Palma il Vecchio, Cariani, and Lotto executed them. I speculate due to strong artistic influence from Northern Europe, such as Dürer’s imposing presence in Venice in 1494-95 and 1505-7, and the city’s prominence as a major trading port, the influx of these popular double-figure compositions from the North increased their popularity in this area. In Rome, by contrast, the primary influence came from ancient prototypes. Artists painting double portraits commonly shared a social, cultural, and political climate, as well as the same sources of patronage in their respective regions. Though most major artists in the canon of Italian Renaissance art were commissioned to provide prestigious religious and historical paintings, they did experiment with portraiture, including double portraits. The largest quantity I have collected by a single artist is still limited to two or three double portraits, but these are by prominent artists, such as Lorenzo Lotto, Raphael, Titian, and Bartolomeo Passerotti. At times, double portraits have quite similar styles or traits, suggesting an original prototype by a more successful artist (such as Giorgione) that propagated subsequent workshop production. The emergence of portraiture as a major genre during the Renaissance can be

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82 In Venice, the citizens were valued by fitting into and contributing to the complex unity of the Venetian Republic. It is known that it was discouraged to assert one’s individual identity at the expense of other Venetians. Therefore, unlike Florence, private citizens did not place elaborate monuments in honor of oneself in public places, such as churches. Due to this fact, the promotion of the individual was perhaps increased in the more appropriate secular world of their palazzi through the display of portraits, and in this case double portraits.

83 Lomazzo indicated a continuance of images through workshop production on his commentary on state portraits. He regarded the gros of the portrait painters of his time as poor artists. The majority of all painted
seen in various forms, from singular painted and sculpted examples to multiples in the printed and medallion media, as well as the decorative realm: on gems, ceramics, and tiles, supporting popular interest in disseminating these compositions.

I frame this dissertation in terms of an overall visual culture of double-figure compositions. Art history has always been inclined to categorize its objects according to material, medium, and style. However, in the Renaissance, artists produced many different kinds of objects, painting on canvas, for example, while at the same time painting on furniture. Though paintings are of primary concern in this study, an examination of double portraits in various facets of visual culture illuminates transference of double-portrait design and motifs from one medium to another. It bolster my opinion that the double portrait was a popular form of portrayal in Italian society of the early modern era, and it also enriches what we can learn about the culture, gender relations, and function of these objects in Italy. In this study, I also apply portraiture theories which have been inherently concerned with an individual portrait of a single person to portraits of two people. Renaissance theorists as well as modern-day art historians have not applied these structures to double portraits. I explore whether these concepts remain the same or vary when applied to this double-portrait format.

In general, the survival rate of Renaissance portraits is a small fraction of portraitists’ production, and even though the number of extant Italian double portraits is smaller than religious or historical narratives and individual portraits, their existence and variety proves that they constituted a portrait type that artists and patrons desired. Renaissance scholarship, however, still insists on the scarcity of doubles by commenting that they are “relatively rare”

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state portraits was, according to him, copies of prototypes, kept in the workshops of the court painters and were refreshed every two to three years, or even worse, copies of such prototypes were being utilized. See G.P. Lomazzo, *Trattato dell’Arte della Pittura* (1584, ed.1844), II, 366.
or “unusual,” and focuses on Lorenzo Lotto as a progenitor. Though he was a significant contributor, I dispel this belief in my dissertation.

Since most double portraits contain anonymous sitters and unknown patrons with unresolved attribution issues, I do not place emphasis in this dissertation on the identification of the individuals represented, the commissioner, or on verifying the artist for specific works. My concern is with double portraits and their placement in social contexts. By looking at them thematically, I have been able to recognize generalized conventions constructed within society. Scholarship demonstrates the existence of complex patron-client dealings, kinship networks, and neighborhood bonds interlinking the middle- and upper-classes. Renaissance collective identities took on informal institutional groupings of personal bonds through kinship and friendship, adding to political and corporate ties. I suggest that double portraits further demonstrate these unofficial as well as formal links in a non-adherence to social isolationism. By revealing diverse personal relations, they often had the secondary effect of composing a conscious Renaissance identity. By providing a larger number of double portraits, the commonalities shown in these “constructed” relationships suggest set ideals, which warranted projection by the patron and the sitters and viewing by them and other privileged members of their society.

84 “His [Lotto’s] two conjugal portraits of Bergamasque patrons, the first of their kind in Italy, enriched this type by a remarkable array of symbols, some of which are obviously related to contemporary beliefs about marriage but others of which have proved much more resistant to interpretation…..For these conjugal portraits, Lotto adopted a new format, a rectangle that is a very slight bit wider than it is higher and yet appears much wider than it really is, so that the terms ‘horizontal’ or ‘broad’ format have been applied to it.” See Wendy Stedman Sheard, “The Portraits,” in Washington, National Gallery of Art, Lorenzo Lotto: Rediscovered Master of the Renaissance, (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1997-1998), 46. Nicholas Penny also perpetuated this theory in his 2004 National Gallery catalogue. He commented, “…portraits of a married couple with their children are relatively rare in Italy in the early sixteenth century. In Venice double portraits of man and wife were also unusual and no earlier example than this is known, so the idea may have been Lotto’s.” See London, National Gallery of Art, National Gallery Catalogues: The Sixteenth Century Italian Paintings, I, Paintings from Bergamo, Brescia and Cremona, cat. by Nicholas Penny (2004), 96, under NG 1047.

Chapter One

Sources, Display, and Reception of Italian Doubles

The Influence of the Double-Portrait Type

The idea of doubling in portraiture arose before the Renaissance. Several variables contributed not only to individual commemoration, but also to an interest in Renaissance double-portrait representations. In this chapter, I will trace the origins of double images from Antiquity, to the Middle Ages, and Northern Europe. Palace wall decoration, tomb sculpture, and religious pictures from the Early Renaissance also stimulated interest in later double portrayals. I then consider how double portraits were displayed and received in the Renaissance after examining the sources.

Ancient Precedents

During the Renaissance, ancient Roman coins and medals, sculpture, and classical building remnants could be found throughout Italy. With the growth of humanism in the 1400s, scholars became more attuned to classical learning. The language and texts of the Greek philosophers, Plato and Aristotle, along with Roman writers such as Virgil, Cicero, Quintilian, and Pliny were integrated into the moral and philosophical values of the Renaissance. Francesco Petrarca or Petrarch (1304-74) re-fashioned new genres of literature based on classical sources. By the end of the fifteenth century, classical references, readings, and motifs were conflated with chivalric and Christian themes for the Italian elite.¹ At the same time, patrons demanded classicizing motifs in artistic commissions, and there was a rise in collections of antiquities.² It is well known that

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² Some examples would include Isabella d’Este in Mantua, the Grimani family collection in Venice, Lorenzo de’ Medici in Florence, and humanists popularly collected antiquities. Cosimo I de’ Medici, after assuming
Renaissance humanists and artists took inspiration from antiquity to produce images *all’antica.*³ Federico Zuccaro showed his artist brother copying from the Vatican's antiquities collection in his drawing, *Taddeo Drawing after the Antique.*⁴ Renaissance artists and architects incorporated ideas from classical texts or used classical imagery in adulterated emulation and as an artistic conversation bridging many centuries. For example, Renaissance artists found ancient sarcophagi useful, with their compositional schemes and variety of movements and poses suited to translation from sculpture to painting.⁵ Patricia Fortini-Brown has noted that artists found “a new mode of visual discourse, deliberately encoded to charge the past with a mysterious elusiveness as antiquity became ever more a retreat from, as well as a model for, the present.”⁶

The stigma of the graven image in the Byzantine tradition suppressed vivid portrayals in favor of more generic ones for several centuries. However, the late Roman convention of veristic portrait representation started to make an impression as early as

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⁵ Sarcophagi were re-used during the Middle Ages for tombs, fountain troughs, and water basins, or for ornamental purposes. Their ubiquitous nature “made them the single most accessible class of ancient art to inspire subsequent artists.” See Phyllis Pray Bober and Ruth Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists & Antique Sculpture: A Handbook of Sources* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1986).

the 1200s in the works of Nicola Pisano, and continued to be an important stimulus throughout the Renaissance. Renaissance audiences avidly read Pliny the Elder and incorporated his ideas into their thinking about portraits. In one section of Pliny’s *Historia Naturalis* devoted to ancient Greek artists, he remarked on the importance of representing individuals and the use and display of portraits in Roman homes. He expressed esteem for portrait images stimulated not just by their traditional commemorative function. He wrote that it was an honor to be represented, and he complained about the decline of accurate portraiture as well as the carelessness with which portraits were used in Roman homes, unlike in the homes of their ancestors. In antiquity, portraits were used publicly to display strength of character, equating subjects with good citizens having cherished public virtues believed to be inscribed in their external facial features.

Traditional items from antiquity, such as painted effigies, sarcophagi, death masks, sculpted figures, *imagines clipeatae* or portraits within shields, gems, and ancient coins, exist with double-figure compositions. This phenomenon contributed to double-portrait...
interest in later centuries. Death masks, due to the nature and purpose of their construction, do not have double-figure components, but their veristic quality stimulated portraiture in general. A Renaissance example is Ghirlandaio’s bust-length Portrait of an Old Man, done in red chalk. The man’s state with closed eyes suggests that the portrait was drawn from a death mask. There are notable painted double-portrait effigies of doubles from Pompeii, such as Pasquale Procure with his Wife and a roundel with bust-length image of a bare-chested man and a woman in a blue tunic, though these images were not available to Renaissance artists.

The Impact of Ancient Sculptural Pairing on Renaissance Imagery

Ancient sculptural doubles, more likely, figured into Renaissance artistic usage. In Etruscan funerary art, an interest in coupling developed, as witnessed by the two famous sarcophagi from Cerveteri upon which couples, sculpted in the round, embrace on the lids of their tombs. The practice of copying after this type of double-figure sarcophagus is witnessed through Renaissance drawings. A colossal Roman sarcophagus depicting The Labours of Hercules was, at least by the sixteenth century, in the house of Cardinal Savelli (later Palazzo Orsini), built over the Teatro Marcello and described by

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9 The Latin for “shield” is clypeus. Therefore, an imago clipeata is a portrait within a shield. The Basilica Aemelia in the Roman Forum was decorated with them. A double imago clipeata with busts of a man and a woman, c. 270 CE is located in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston [1990.242].
10 Domenico Ghirlandaio, Portrait of an Old Man, red chalk, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm. The drawing was used for the painting of an old man with his grandson, located in the Louvre.
11 Pompeii, Pasquale Procure with his Wife, 60-79 CE, wall painting, 0.58 m high, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples; and Pompeii, Roundel of a Man and a Woman, 30 BC c., British Museum, London.
Albertini in 1510. The cover is composed of a reclining husband and wife with one putto at each end, one standing cross-legged toward the front and the other seated at the end. Two Renaissance drawings of unknown attribution replicate the couple on the lid. One drawing illustrates the back of the lid, showing the couple from behind, while the other sketch shows reclining figures in a frontal position (Fig. 1.1).

The Renaissance world included remnants of the antique embedded in the everyday, which sometimes included doubles. Ancient marbles and spoglie (literally, “spoils”) were incorporated into new buildings; old sarcophagi were recarved to provide new tombs. Many palazzi incorporated such remnants into new buildings, as seen by the renderings in the sketchbook of Marten van Heemskerck from c. 1535. The Palazzo Mattei di Giove in Rome, though a somewhat late instance, is a superb example of a building riddled with ancient double-portrait reliefs attached to the walls of the cortile d’onore (court of honor) (Fig. 1.2). The use of these antique double-portrait reliefs as spoglie is also found in the painted narratives by Jacopo Bellini and Andrea Mantegna, who

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14 Roman, The Labours of Hercules, third century CE, Palazzo Torlonia, Rome. The sarcophagus was still in the Palazzo Orsini in the nineteenth century and then was subsequently moved to Palazzo Torlonia, Rome. See Phyllis Pray Bober and Ruth Rubinstein, Renaissance Artists & Antique Sculpture: A Handbook of Sources, 170, Cat. 134.

15 Italian artist, Drawing after The Roman Labours of Hercules sarcophagus, c. 1550-55, Codex Coburgensis, folios 95-96, Kupferstichkabinett der Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg, Coburg [Hz 2]. See Codex Coburgensis, folio 95 (Carl Robert, Friedrich Matz, et al, Die Antiken Sarkophagreliefs... [1871], 196); and Codex Coburgensis, folio 96 (Robert and Matz, et al, 196), respectively. Same front view is also in Codex Pighianus, folio 313 (See Otto Jahn, Aus der Altertumswissenschaft: Populäre Aufsätze [Bonn: 1868], 201). In addition, I would like to point out that in the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili, even though the figures are separated, two sarcophagi are illustrated with the covers decorated with scales, surmounted by the nude figures of a King and Queen (woodcuts 13 &14).

16 See Evelyn Welch, Art and Society in Italy 1350-1500, 30.


18 It was constructed on the instructions by Asdrubale Mattei, Marchese of Monte Giove. Palazzo Mattei was begun by Carlo Maderno in 1598. The three-floor palace, constructed of brick and travertine stone, has a late sixteenth-century façade with a decorated cornice including the family’s heraldic emblems. Maderno, based on the Marchese’s wishes, designed a courtyard to fill the owner’s collection of antique marbles. Considered the “cortile d’onore” (court of honor) it is decorated with a multitude of antique fragments of various types from sarcophagus fronts, reliefs, epigraphs, inscriptions, and Roman statuary.
demonstrated their antiquarian sensibilities by placing similar walls within their architectural settings.

Such objects as ancient statues, sculpted effigies, and grave stelae all were brought into the Renaissance artistic and cultural milieu. Peter Stewart has pointed out that “effigies have appeared in every generation, but not free-standing statues in the familiar sense; the statue designated as such is essentially a fifteenth-century import from the classical world.”¹⁹ The word “statue” itself was adopted primarily from Latin around 1400, and the concept of the term that went with it was also a reinvention of antiquity.²⁰ Antique statues were primarily attached to a funerary context, such as the Roman *Funerary Relief of a Standing Couple* that was once on the Via Statilia in Rome.²¹ They could also be set within another structure, such as an ancient stone funerary or grave stele, decorated to rest on the grave, marking its position and identifying the dead buried in that location. Veristic portraits were often inserted into these memorial markers, such as the Roman *Funerary Stele of C. Caleius Silo and Capella* and the *Funerary Stele of Lucius Rubrius Stabilio Primus*, both from the first century CE (Fig. 1.3).²² Ciriaco d’Ancona (c. 1391-1453), an Italian antiquary and learned epigrapher, made several commercial voyages from the 1420s-40s throughout the East where he collected a great store of inscriptions,

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²⁰ See Peter Stewart, *Statues in Roman Society: Representation and Response*, 12

²¹ Roman, *Funerary Relief of a Standing Couple*, 70-50 BCE, marble, 1.8 m, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome (originally on the Via Statilia, Rome). See Peter Stewart, *Statues in Roman Society: Representation and Response* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 95, fig. 13.

manuscripts, and other antiquities.²³ In his collection of papers, a drawing after a stele from Kharia was made by Ciriaco (Fig. 1.4).²⁴ Perhaps, due to his epigraphic sensibilities, he copied it for the lettering written above and below a figural scene. He took great delight, however, in noting two sets of couples; two men on the left holding hands and on the right, a man and a woman holding hands.²⁵ Also, in his Commentaria of 1447-48, he noted on the lower right corner of the sheet another grave stele of two full-length figures from the church of Panaghia (Merbaka).²⁶

Later antiquarians, including Giovanni Marcanova, and artists such as Jacopo Bellini and Andrea Mantegna, not only looked at scattered Roman monuments, but also reviewed Ciriaco’s compilations. Jacopo Bellini’s drawing after the Metellia Prima stele in his Paris notebook shows his choice to portray a double-portrait monument (Fig. 1.5).²⁷

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²⁴ He enjoyed the patronage, for example, of Cosimo de’ Medici and the Visconti family in Milan. Ciriaco’s drawing is after an inscribed and sculpted sarcophagus that adorned the church [of the Forerunner] in the village of Kharia, on the Tainaron peninsula in the Peloponese. It was in a report (Diary V, 26), with written notations and hand-sketched illustrations of 1447-48 when Ciriaco d’Ancona went on a journey to that region. See Ms. Trotti 373, fol. 107r (Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan); and cited in Bernard Degenhart and Annegret Schmitt, Corpus der Italianischen Zeichnungen, 1300-1450: Jacopo Bellini (Berlin: Mann, 1990), tome II, vol. 5, 193, fig. 192; E.W. Bodnar, Ciriacus of Ancona’s Journeys…., (1444-5, vol. 112), ed. by E.W. Bodnar and C. Mitchell (Philadelphia: 1976), esp. 313, pl. V; and Phyllis Williams Lehmann, Cyriacus of Ancona’s Egyptian Visit and its Reflections in Gentile Bellini and Hieronymous Bosch (Locust Valley, NY: J.J. Augustin, 1977). The later antiquarians, including Johannes Marcanova (c. 1410-1467) and other artists examined Ciriaco’s compilations.

²⁵ Both sets of figures embrace with hand-holding, one even placing the other hand on the opposite shoulder. This is known as “in dextrarum iunctio” and a display of fidelity. The gesture is visible in many monuments, such as the Roman Aedicule and Podium Frame with Couples in Display of Fidelity, first century CE, marble funerary stele, Museo Civico, Reggio Emilia; and the Roman, Couple in Dextrarum Iunctio, c. 40 CE, marble funerary altar, Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome [124514].

²⁶ See Commentaria, Diary V, 67, ma5, folio 115r, in Ms. Trotti 373, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan. Another sketch of a couple is in the lower left corner of a drawing of three funeral reliefs from Nauplion, Peloponese in his Diary V, 61-62, ma5, folio 113r.

²⁷ Jacopo Bellini, Roman Monuments: Metella-Stele, from his Book of Drawings, c. 1440, pen and ink over silverpoint on parchment, 29 x 42.7 cm, folio 44, Cabinet des Dessins, Louvre, Paris [R.F. 1512]. See Bernhard Degenhart and Annegret Schmitt, Corpus der Italianischen Zeichnungen, 1300-1450, II, Venedig Jacopo Bellini 5, 211, fig. 235.
Felice Feliciano, a pupil of Ciriaco, made his own drawn version of a double portrait from a similar monument (Fig. 1.6). 28 Jacopo Bellini more than likely freely copied from the *Metellia Prima* grave monument itself or a sketch of it in his possession. 29 In his drawing, portrait busts of a man and a woman are turned in oblique positions toward each other within a roundel, unlike the more straightforward appearance of busts seen in ancient grave monuments. Below the first pair is another pair set in a roundel, but in profile. 30 Extant funerary grave monuments similar in design to the *Metellia Prima* are the *Stele of Egnatier* in the Tempio Capitolino, Piazza del Foro, Brescia, and the *Stele of Concordii* in Reggio Emilia. 31

Another double-figure object that influenced Renaissance artists, a descendant of the grave stele, was the funerary relief with niche portraits representing portraits of the deceased in bust-length. One such example is the Roman *Funerary Relief of a Husband and Wife* of the first century CE (Fig. 1.7). 32 The man and woman are set within a rectangular niche. Their arms have been truncated just below the shoulders and are shown like sculpted busts that were normally set on pedestals. A type of sepulchral altar also could

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30 This funerary stele was once in San Salvatore in Brescia.


have been influential on Renaissance double portraits with two bust-length figures set within a square as in the Roman *Sepulchral Altar of Cornelia Tyche and Julia Secunda.* Not only did they assemble two individuals, but the design formats of these ancient double-portrait reliefs also became prototypes for Renaissance versions.

Ancient statues, grave stelae, and reliefs were refashioned by Renaissance artists for their own purposes with or without a funerary context. For example, Andrea Mantegna, in his fresco of the *Martyrdom of Saint Christopher,* placed an antique double-portrait bust relief of a man and a woman paired with another double-portrait bust relief of two men within niches on the palace wall in the background of both scenes, consecutively (Fig. 1.8). With regard to sculpted busts, Tullio Lombardo (c. 1460-1532) projected a classicizing style in his frontal bust-length double portrait of a man and woman in the Ca d’Or, Venice (Fig. 1.9). In addition, a truncated sculpted portrait bust, perhaps *all’antica,* confronts another face in profile on a medal by Alfonso Ruspagiari (1521-1576) (Fig. 1.10). These can be connected visually to antique statuary, including niche portraits on Roman grave monuments.

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33 These two women perished at sea. Here, they are embellished with the attributes of Fortuna and Diana. The altar is located in the Louvre, Paris. See Erwin Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture: Four Lectures on its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini,* fig. 94; and Phyllis L. Williams, “Two Roman Reliefs in Renaissance Disguise,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* IV, nos. 1/2 (October 1940), 47-66.

34 Andrea Mantegna, *Martyrdom of Saint Christopher,* scenes 1-2, bottom register left and right, Ovetari chapel, Church of the Eremitani, Padua. See Ronald Lightbown, *Mantegna* (Oxford: Phaidon/Christie’s, 1986), Cat. 1, pls. 26, 28. Mantegna copied it from an antique relief now untraced, but mentioned by Furlanetto in the nineteenth century. They can be compared to Roman tomb reliefs of the Opii in the Museo Civico, Padua or the tomb slab of C. Fannius (see Furlanetto [1847], 328-29).

35 Tullio Lombardo, *Double Portrait of a Man and Woman,* 1490-1510, marble, 47 x 50 cm, Galleria Franchetti, Ca’ d’Oro, Venice.

Ancient three-dimensional objects should be considered significant for more than Renaissance sculpture, including their impact on other media. As we have seen, ancient elements were disseminated through the medium of drawing. Their compositions could also have been conveyed to other media such as painting, and, specifically, painted portraits. Significantly, antique numismatic portraits have been connected to Renaissance profile portraits. Marble double-figure grave reliefs probably played an influential role in painted profile portraits as well. A marble grave relief in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek (Copenhagen), for example, shows busts of a man and a woman facing each other in profile in open cupboards (Fig. 1.11). Similarly, a Funerary Relief with Images of Ancestors has a dedication flanked by two sets of profile heads on both sides (Fig. 1.12).

Examples of profile portraits on marble reliefs such as these could have been adapted for use in profile pendant portraits, such as Bonifacio Bembo’s Pendant Portraits of Francesco Sforza and Bianca Maria Visconti Sforza from the 1470s, and on sculpted profile double portraits, such as the unknown man and woman on the reverse of a single sculpted portrait by an artist from Urbino or the Marches (Fig. 1.13), or Sperandio da Mantova’s Medal of Ercole I and Eleonora of 1473. Mantegna’s Portrait of Lodovico Gonzaga and Barbara

C. Wilson (1983), 170, Cat. 2; and Washington, National Gallery of Art, Renaissance Medals, volume one, Italy (2007), cat. by John Graham Pollard, 523, Cat. 519, reprod.

37 See Sarah Wilk, The Sculpture of Tullio Lombardo: Studies in Sources and Meaning (New York/London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1978) for influence on his work by ancient and northern sources. Her excellent study presented some similar ideas that I also concluded independently. I would like to further add that the influence from antiquity played a significant role in other media, including painting, and should not just be considered nor viewed for its influence only on Renaissance sculpture.

38 Roman, busts of a Man and a Woman in Cupboards, grave relief, marble, National Museum (Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek), Copenhagen [1187]. Another ancient example is the Roman marriage sarcophagus in Isola Sacra, Ostia, where in the center of the panel, a man and a woman hold hands under a portico. To the left and right of the central scene, two pairs of putti with garland swags present profiled portrait heads facing one another. See Anna Marguerite McCann, Roman Sarcophagi in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1978), Cat. 19, fig. 161.

39 Roman, funerary relief with images of the ancestors, first century BCE, Montemartini Museum, Rome [15312].

40 Bonifacio Bembo, Pendant Portraits of Francesco Sforza and Bianca Maria Visconti Sforza, c.1470, tempera on panel, 40 x 31 and 49 x 31 cm, respectively, Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan; Urbino or Marches artist, Double
of Brandenburg presents to the viewer bust-length, slightly oblique portraits of the couple separated from each other by a column which displays their coat of arms (Fig. 1.14).\textsuperscript{41} Their double portrait individually inset within archways separated by a column has a similar design format to the portraits in the \textit{Stele Funeraria dei Salvius} in Modena (Fig. 1.15).\textsuperscript{42}

A similar mixture of sources—antiquarian spirit, Renaissance drawings after ancient—double-portrait reliefs, and double portraits \textit{all’antica}—also affected the popular early modern text, the \textit{Hypnerotomachia Poliphili}.\textsuperscript{43} It tells the story of Poliphilo, who goes on a pilgrimage in search of antiquity. The narrative, which is lavishly illustrated, opens with him falling asleep and entering an ancient world within his dream, in which he searches for, grasps, and then loses his beloved, Polia.\textsuperscript{44} His wanderings lead him through a landscape full of ancient architecture, statuary, and inscriptions revealing the author’s knowledge of architecture, landscape design, engineering, painting, and sculpture. In particular, the illustrations showed this love story unfolding in the midst of recently rediscovered Roman antiquities. The typeface used in the \textit{Hypnerotomachia Poliphili} was also based on ancient Roman inscriptions and is a harmonious marriage of text and image.

Drawn in an unadorned but skillful manner, the book’s illustrations incorporate genuine Roman ruins and reliefs along with partly invented monuments. Title pages, an invention of the mid-Quattrocento, developed into beautifully hand-painted frontispieces for

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\textsuperscript{41} Attributed to Andrea Mantegna, \textit{Portrait of Lodovico Gonzaga and Barbara of Brandenburg}, oil on panel, location unknown.

\textsuperscript{42} Roman, \textit{Stele Funeraria dei Salvius}, Lapidario Romano dei Musei Civici, Modena. Other images worth noting in similar construction are Northern European paintings, such as the Franco-Flemish, \textit{Christ and the Virgin}, located in the Fine Arts Gallery in San Diego that separates the two figures with a column.

\textsuperscript{43} It was known colloquially as the \textit{Dream of Poliphilo} and published by the Aldus Manutius press in 1499. See Liane Lefaivre, \textit{Leon Battista Alberti’s Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: Re-Cognizing the Architectural Body in the Early Italian Renaissance} (Boston: The MIT Press, 1997).

\textsuperscript{44} In Greek, \textit{Polia} means antiquity.
manuscripts as well as for the newly printed books of the time. Notably, the
_Hypnerotomachia_ includes a woodcut image as the frontispiece reminiscent of the
previously mentioned drawings after the _Metellia Prima_ stele by Bellini and Feliciano and
Tullio Lombardo’s sculpted double in Venice. It shows a tomb monument of Sertullius
and Rancilia, signaling the proliferation of the Renaissance interest in doubling and its
connection to antiquity (Fig. 1.16).

Antique funerary sculpture also affected the design of tomb sculpture in the
Renaissance and eventually the double-portrait format. With the resurgence of
commemorative interest during the first decades of the fifteenth century, an imitation of
classical prototypes occurred as evidenced by the epitaphs _alla Romana_. In the _Tomb of
Raoul of De Lannoy and his Wife, Jeanne de Poix_ of 1507-08 in Folleville, France, the Italian
artists Antonio della Porta and Pace Gaggini included the couple’s coat of arms
supported by Italian _spiritelli_, while the decorations of the walls near the Madonna are
covered with classical motifs of centaurs, sirens, and profile heads similar to those on
Roman coins. At times, artists literally translated ancient prototypes into contemporary
epitaphs, as in the _Epitaph of Stefano and Maddalena Satri_ in S. Omobono, Rome (Fig. 1.17),
which was precisely copied from an original Augustan tombstone, now in the Vatican.

The _Satri Epitaph_, which includes a man and a woman with a male child between them,
mirrors the Roman tombstone, which similarly displays a man and his wife with hands
joined accompanied by a small boy.

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45 See _Hypnerotomachia Poliphili_ (Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1499), Chapter 19, folio R. 3r.
46 The _Tomb of Raoul de Lannoy and Jeanne de Poix_ (1507-8) in the parish church of Folleville in Picardy was
carved in Italy and brought to France. It introduced a French national taste for the Italian manner. See
Erwin Panofsky, _Tomb Sculpture: Four Lectures on Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini_, fig. 272.
47 See Erwin Panofsky, _Tomb Sculpture_, fig. 288; and Phyllis L. Williams, “Two Roman Reliefs in Renaissance
Disguise,” _Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes_ IV, nos. 1/2 (October 1940), 47-66.
Incorporation of the Roman *Imago Clipeata* and Roundel into Renaissance Designs

In ancient Rome, it was also customary to have pictures of ancestors made on round objects that were suspended, a type of shield, and these too influenced Renaissance double portraits. This type of image called an *imago clipeata* comprises any portrait within a shield or a round frame. Simple roundels were also used to display portraits, such as the marble funerary relief of *Lucius Antistius Sarculo and Antistia Plutia*, where the heads of the man and woman are deeply inset in separated roundels next to each other (Fig. 1.18). That the roundel and *imago clipeata* designs were incorporated into Renaissance imagery is witnessed, for example, by Jacopo Bellini’s Louvre sketchbook, in which the artist drew a scallop shell inside the front of the triangular pediment of a building. This organic form was a typical background for an ancient *imago clipeata*. His use of a shell could have been taken from shells in front of portrait busts used in *imagines clipeatae*, such as the one on a Roman sarcophagus in the Palazzo Giustiniani, Rome (Fig. 1.19). On Donatello’s *Cantoria* of 1439, the artist created five consoles supported by pairs of

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48 An example of this type of display is a Roman (Early Imperial Period), *Fresco Panel with Imago Clipeata*, 14-62 CE, fresco, 100.5 x 113 cm (39 9/16 x 44 ½ in) in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston [25.47]. It was excavated in 1901-02 by Gennaro Matrone and found within a room on the south side of the villa of the Contrada Bottaro, near Pompeii. The panel displays fantastical architecture on a black ground. Within two Ionic columns supported by a coffered ceiling is another doorway with a suspended tragic mask. Above the portal is a reed supporting a yellow disc with black center, which originally was probably an *imago clipeata* as a yellow shield with white interior and a portrait bust painted in the center.

49 Perhaps the idea of the *tondo*, such as Michelangelo’s *Doni Tondo*, developed from the *imago clipeata*. For a brief discussion of the *imago clipeata* tradition on sarcophagi, see Erwin Panofošky, *Tomb Sculpture*, 93-94; Henriette s’Jacob, *Idealism and Realism: A Study of Sepulchral Symbolism* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1954), 115-25, esp. 190-92; and Bernard Degenhart & Annegrit Schmitt, *Corpus der Italienschen Zeichnungen 1300-1450*, II, Venice, Jacopo Bellini 5, 211.


columns with a pediment of acanthus leaves. A frieze of animated putti runs behind the line of columns. Below, Donatello added two frontal, high-relief bronze heads of antique sages in roundels to the marble and mosaic ensemble. Likewise, in two drawings associated with Marco Zoppo (1433-1478), the *imago clipeata* motif and roundels were utilized. In a drawing of the *Palace of Caesar*, a scallop shell similar to that in Bellini's drawing appears as the pediment above the door frame. Zoppo's *Drawing after Roman Grave Monuments* illustrates a street of tombs (Fig. 1.20). On several of the monuments, the artist included garland-encircled roundels and *imagines clipeatae* with portrait busts in the triangular pediments of the grave monuments. Raphael and his workshop utilized this same *imago clipeata* motif in the painted and stucco work of the Villa Madama, Rome. On the vaulted ceiling of the grand *salone*, painted by Giulio Romano, Medici emblems appear along the cornice, such as the spheres and diamond ring, along with a garland supporting an *imago clipeata* which suspends a cardinal’s hat (Fig. 1.21). In Giovanni da Udine’s stucco work in Raphael’s Loggia, the *imago clipeata* motif was incorporated into the decoration on the flat walls by inserting face-like shields hanging from a reed, as well as seen by the portrait busts within scallop shells in the decorative archways (Figs. 1.22 and

52 Donatello, *Cantoria*, c. 1433-39, marble with gold and colored marble inlay, 348 x 570 cm, Museo dell’Opera del Duomo, Florence.

53 Workshop of Marco Zoppo, *Palace of Caesar*, Ms. a. L. 5. 15 (Ms. Lat. 992), folio 25 (recto), pen and ink with washes on parchment, 34.3 x 24.0 cm, Biblioteca Estense, Modena.


55 The Villa Madama was commissioned by Cardinal Giulio de’ Medici (later, Pope Clement VII), cousin of reigning pontiff Leo X on the slopes of Monte Mario outlying Rome. Raphael designed and executed the plan (starting in 1518) with his workshop including Antonio da Sangallo the Younger (for the construction), Giulio Romano and Baldassare Peruzzi (for the decoration), Giovanni da Udine (for the stucco bas-reliefs, imitating the recently discovered *Domus Aurea*), and Francesco Penni and Baccio Bandinelli. The Villa Madama was completed in 1524-25. It was the first of the revived Roman type of suburban villa based on descriptions of villas from Antiquity, specifically Pliny’s famous description of his own Tuscan and Laurentian villas.

An early example of an *imago clipeata*-like representation is by the early Renaissance artist Francesco Laurana, who used this design for the funerary mask of Battista Sforza, duchess of Urbino (1444-1472) in the 1470s (Fig. 1.24). Her face, with eyes closed and mouth open, rests within a scallop-shell design surrounded by a circular garland.

As mentioned, Andrea Mantegna incorporated Roman antiquities into his compositions. Collecting and studying Roman antiquities was popular in Padua, and Mantegna collaborated with many local scholars and antiquarians. From 1448-57, he worked on the fresco decoration in the Ovetari Chapel of the Eremitani Church in Padua. In the background of his scene of *St. James before Herod Agrippa*, he inserted two portrait roundels with bas-reliefs into a triumphal arch (Figs. 1.25 and 1.26). After moving to Mantua to work for Ludovico Gonzaga in 1459, classicizing elements remained in his work. In his *Camera Picta*, figures reminiscent of emperors appear, as do women, located in roundels, looking down from the ceiling. Mantegna’s self-portrait bust in bronze for his funerary chapel in Sant’ Andrea, Mantua, shows the artist jutting out of a circular disc with laurel wreath on his head in a manner similar to the antique *imago clipeata* (Fig. 1.27). Similarly, in the *Epitaph of Andrea Bregno* of 1506, Luigi Capponi’s bust-length portrait of the sculptor within an *imago clipeata* is freely combined

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58 Francesco Laurana, *Funerary Mask of a Lady*, terra cotta with traces of polychrome, c. 1470s, 48 m H, Musée du Louvre, Paris. It was used also by Laurana for the execution of the marble bust of the same lady in the Bargello, Florence.
59 Andrea Mantegna, *St. James before Herod Agrippa*, detail of portrait roundels on triumphal arch, c. 1457, fresco, Ovetari chapel, Church of the Eremitani, Padua.
60 The Gonzaga court is known to have had a fine collection from antiquity as well as being a humanist environ for the study of antiquity. See Bernard Degenhart & Annegrit Schmitt, *Corpus der Italienschen Zeichnungen 1300-1450*, II, Venice, Jacopo Bellini, 5 (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1990), fig. 205. Bernard Degenhart & Annegrit Schmitt also connected this use to Roman coins.
61 Andrea Mantegna, *Self-Portrait*, pre-1506, Bronze, porphyry and Istrian stone, 47 cm h, Sant’Andrea, Mantua.
with a memorial tablet displaying professional attributes (Fig. 1.28). Tullio Lombardo similarly constructed a free-standing architectural monument for the Tomb of Doge Andrea Vendramin in 1490-94. On the right of the tomb, the helmeted warrior wears a cuirass that incorporates a decorative element all’antica. On the lappets of the cuirass, portrait busts are set within individualized rounded segments, much as in imagines clipeatae (Fig. 1.29).

The importance of the image clipeata was for its widely revered design format, notably as a double-portrait prototype, used in imagery for subsequent centuries. Double-figure compositions within imagines clipeatae were popular for ancient and Early Christian art objects. Typically, married couples were displayed within a tondo such as an example of 250-270 CE (Fig. 1.30). Here, a man in a toga holds a scroll in his left hand, while a cloaked woman places her left arm and hand around his shoulders. Sarcophagus fronts often have portraits of a couple in the middle, framed by a circle. Sometimes, this circular frame is held by cupids, and there is an inscription underneath. One such example is the imago clipeata on the Vatican’s Season Sarcophagus (Fig. 1.31).

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62 Luigi Capponi, Epitaph of Andrea Bregno, 1506, marble, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Rome. A later example of this type of portrayal is Caravaggio’s use of a leather shield painted bronze as the backdrop surface for his self-portrait as the severed head of Medusa. It was a commission of a ceremonial shield for Cardinal Francesco Maria del Monte presented as a gift to Ferdinando I de’Medici. See Michelangelo Merisi, called Caravaggio, Medusa, c. 1589, oil on wood covered with canvas, diam. 55, Uffizi, Florence.

63 Tullio Lombardo and workshop, Tomb of Doge Andrea Vendramin, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice. It was originally erected in the Church of the Servi near the Vendramin family palace. Sheard believed that the Vendramin tomb is the first Doge’s tomb to overtly replicate a Roman triumphal arch, specifically the Arch of Constantine and a visual statement of the Doge Vendramin compared implicitly to Constantine. See Wendy Stedman Sheard, “Tullio Lombardo in Rome? The Arch of Constantine, the Vendramin Tomb, and the Reinvention of Monumental Classicizing Relief,” Artibus et Historiae, 18, no. 35 (1997), 161-179.

64 Roman, Late Imperial, Tondo-Imago Clipeata with Busts of a Man and a Woman, c. 250-270 CE, Marble, 46 cm, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston [1990.242].

65 One but probably not both individuals of the depicted couple, was deceased at the time of its making. Early Christian examples are the Roman, Bucolic Scene with Imago Clipeata of a Couple on a Stigilated Sarcophagus (Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome), Roman, Sarcophagus with Imago Clipeata of a Couple, Dumbarton Oaks [from Palazzo Barberini], Washington DC. See Anna Marguerite McCann, Roman Sarcophagus in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1978), fig. 117. Early Christian examples
extensive influence of the *imago clipeata* type, it comes as little surprise that Renaissance double portraits reflected the double-figure *imago clipeata*. The positioning of the figures within the circular frame often with hands clasped and hand or arm on one shoulder, reverberated in Renaissance versions of two figures within the same frame.67

The Effect of Ancient Coins and Medals on Renaissance Formats in General

More intimate artistic objects from antiquity that could be hand-held, such as coins, cameos, and carved gems, interested Renaissance artists as well. A thriving community of antiquarian collectors contributed to the display of such objects. In the *Portrait of Paolo Capranica as a Collector* by Alessandro Allori, the young man holds a coin in his left hand and a small sculpture is provocatively positioned on the table behind him (Fig. 1.32).68 Roman emperors used coinage not just for currency, but also for propaganda purposes. Retaining the same circular format, medallions, which were more limited in number and large in size, were issued for special occasions. These objects often contained profile portraits. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it was a popular practice to collect Roman coins and medallions, which were plentiful, economical, and obtainable. Renaissance artists, aware of the medallion precedent, started imitating Roman coins, including coins with the double portraits of emperors and their wives. In the sixteenth century, numismatic books, such as Andrea Fulvio’s *Illustrium imagines* (1517), began to be

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67 The circular double portrait, held up by cupids of the *imago clipeata*, is discussed as an influence on the “portrait within a portrait” type in Chapter Four.

published. The profile portraits on ancient coins and narrative scenes that sometimes appeared on the reverse, as well as their inscriptions, were easily reproduced in woodcut or engraved form. These portable printed books of numismatic collections facilitated the transference of classical antiquity throughout Europe. In 1548, Enea Vico filled the pages of his *Imagini con tutti i riversi* with portraits and scenes of Roman life.\(^6^9\) Vico also illustrated pages of coins in two other notable collection books, *Le Imagini degli imperatori* of 1548 and *Le imagini delle donne auguste* of 1557. Renaissance artists frequently utilized all of these sources.\(^7^0\)

The basic form of the Renaissance portrait medal seems to have been invented by Antonio Pisanello in 1438. Liberated from the monetary use of ancient coinage, the medal commemorated individuals and had the portability to transmit information easily.\(^7^1\) The Renaissance medal, in general, did not directly cling to imitating Roman coins. However, Pisanello did look to them for inspiration, perhaps also collecting them, and one example is in the *Codex Vallardi*, reproduce ancient coins or heads from them.\(^7^2\) One folio that is relevant here is a sketch after a *Double Bust Coin of Maximinus I and Thrax (Historia Augusta)* in profile (Fig. 1.33).\(^7^3\)

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Leon Battista Alberti was also a precursor in making Renaissance profile portrait medals and one of the earliest Renaissance revivalists of the Roman imperial cameo. A self-portrait bronze medal of Alberti *alla romana* (c. 1430) displays the artist clean-shaven with close-cropped hair in left profile. It has direct parallels with a gem of the head of Apollo and a cameo portrait of Augustus (14-20 CE). During Alberti’s period at the papal court, when he was associated with Donatello, who worked at this time for the Roman Curia, Alberti probably studied classical antiquities first-hand. He must have had access to collections of antique coins and gems which were created under Pope Eugenius IV.

Following the medal tradition established by Pisanello and Alberti, Renaissance double-portrait medals became plentiful in Italy, especially after 1530. One instance is that of Giovanni di Bartolommeo dal Cavino (1500-1570), who was mentioned in *Imagini con tutti i riversi* by Enea Vico as an imitator of antique coins evoking the classical style. His most well-known medals are, in fact, of ancient subjects made after or in the style of ancient coins. One 1538 copper-alloy medal that evokes a classical sensibility, depicts Cavino with his friend, Alessandro Bassiano, in profile, and is stylistically similar to a Roman coin (Fig. 1.34). It has been compared to a double-bust Roman medallion of the

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74 A winged eye is located at his neck and along the right edge is “L·BAP” for Leon Battista.
76 It has been speculated that he produced this relief, *Self-Portrait*, when he went, as a member of the papal entourage, to Ferrara to attend an ecumenical Council of the Greek and Roman Churches. He also made contact with Pisanello’s successor, the medalist Matteo de’Pasti. See Washington DC, National Gallery of Art, *Currency of Fame*, exh. cat. by Stephen Schwer, Cat. 3, repro.
77 Giovanni di Bartolommeo dal Cavino, *Alessandro Bassiano with the Artist*, obverse, *Genius Sacrificing at a Flaming Altar*, reverse, copper alloy, 36.35 mm. diam., National Gallery of Art, Samuel H. Kress Collection,
third century, portraying a profiled Postumeus facing right, coupled with a Hercules behind him and a double-image medal of Commodus with Roma (or Minerva).\(^7\) 

Renaissance artists produced medals, including noteworthy examples of double-portrait medals, for the courts of Mantua and Ferrara. One such example is a squared medal, akin to a canvas, from the Ferrarese school, which shows a double portrait of a man and a woman (Fig. 1.35).\(^7\) There is a hole in the center at the top, suggesting the purpose of adornment. A woman on the left faces a man on the right in profile. It is interesting to note the gendered treatment, with the man larger in size and protruding significantly more than the woman. Another example, mentioned earlier, is a double-portrait medal of Ercole I and Eleonora by Sperandio da Mantova. Encircled by a wreath of garland, the bust-length man on the viewer’s right faces the bust-length woman on the viewer’s left in profile and similar dimensions (Fig. 1.36).\(^8\) Often, the imagery of Roman coins was appropriated by Renaissance artists for other means. One example is folio 28 of Jacopo Bellini’s Paris notebook in which the artist inserted a medallion resembling a Roman coin of Nero as an architectural element in the backdrop (Fig. 1.37).\(^9\) In addition, the lower roundels on his drawing after the Metellia Prima stele are reminiscent of ancient coins (see Fig. 1.5).

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7\) Roman, *Double Portrait Medallion of Postumus and Hercules*, third century; see J.M.C. Toynbee, *The Roman Art Treasures from the Temple of Mithras* (London: The Society, 1986), 157, n. 130, 162, n. 166, Cat. 8, pl. XLVI. 
Ancient and Renaissance Cameos Illustrating Portraits

The art of cameo carving, which reached its peak under Emperor Augustus in the first century CE, experienced a revival in the Renaissance, when these works were avidly collected and stimulated the contemporary use of gems. Nicole Dacos has stressed the importance of small, portable works of art by Renaissance artists. The appeal of cameo carving as a medium for portraiture was the durability of the precious stones themselves, the skill required to carve them, as well as the desire to exploit the material that nature provided to create a work of art. Ancient double-figure compositions are extant as in the third-century BCE cameo of a Ptolemaic Couple (Fig. 1.38) or the so-called Gonzaga Cameo, Depicting Ptolemy II Philadelphus and his Wife, Arsinoë from the Hellenistic period (Fig. 1.39). In the Renaissance, cameos were usually made to be worn as jewelry. They often depicted classical subjects or were copies after antique sculptures. In Sandro Botticelli’s Portrait of a Young Woman in Mythological Guise of c. 1480, the subject wears a cameo depicting Apollo and Marsyas. Cameos also included portraits, such as one of Cosimo I de’ Medici made of lapis lazuli, based on an ancient portrait medallion and documented in

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82 During the sixteenth century, the art of gem engraving probably spread from Italy into France, Germany, and the Netherlands. Often Flemish engravers used Italian models. The diffusion of this method is still understudied. See Ernst Kris, “Notes on Renaissance Cameos and Intaglios,” Metropolitan Museum Studies, III (1930-1931), 12-13.


85 Another example is the cameo of An Emperor and a Woman, Possibly Roma in the Louvre, Paris.

86 Sandro Botticelli, Portrait of a Young Woman in Mythological Guise, c. 1480, Städelisches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main. An agate duplicate was once in the Medici collection and now in Naples. Jacqueline Herald commented that most jewels were uncomplicated in design because the importance was attached to the quality of the stones themselves. See Jacqueline Herald, Renaissance Dress in Italy 1400-1500 (New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1981), 171. The realistic depiction of jewelry in portraits was also because Renaissance painters were often goldsmiths as well, such as Botticelli and Donatello. For a discussion of this subject, see Clare Phillips, Jewelry From Antiquity to Present (New York: Thames & Hudson, 1996).
the Medici inventory of 1588.87 Another exquisite portrait cameo of numerous individuals is the *Cameo of the Portraits of the Duke Cosimo I de’ Medici and of his Family* by Giovanni Antonio de’ Rossi (Fig. 1.40).88 Giorgio Vasari also made a drawn version of this cameo, adding more of the Medici daughters than possible on the smaller-sized gem.89 The Renaissance double portrait medal of *Alessandro Bassiano with the Artist* by Cavino (see Fig. 1.34) was mentioned earlier for its connection to imagery on Roman coins, but it is also stylistically comparable to a cameo of two bust-length men in profile, *Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus*, from the second century CE (Fig. 1.41). It is known that Pietro Lombardo and his workshop studied cameos for their sculpted double portraits.90 Figural pairings on ancient gems are comparable to medals used for adornment, as in the one of *Constantius and his Wife* (Fig. 1.42), for displaying wedding scenes in gold glass (Fig. 1.43), or for illustrations of couples in numismatic books of printed coins (Fig. 1.44), and all should be considered for their influence on Renaissance designs.91

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87 One such example is found in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. Florentine artist, *Cameo with a Portrait of Cosimo I de’ Medici*, 1567-86, Lapis lazuli, 2 ½ in (6.4 cm), Metropolitan Museum of Art, Milton Weil Worgelt Collection (1938), New York [38.150.13].
88 Giovanni Antonio de’ Rossi, *Cameo of the Portraits of the Duke Cosimo I de’ Medici and of His Family*, cameo, 18.5 x 16.5 cm, Museo degli Argenti, Palazzo Pitti, Florence.
Influence of Ancient Coins, Medals, and Cameos Influence on Renaissance Doubles

In addition to ancient prototypes, contemporary sources might have influenced Italian Renaissance double portraiture. Sarah Wilk has suggested that inexpensive jewelry from Northern Europe contributed to the transference of double-figure imagery from Northern compositions to their Italian counterparts, but this was probably a less decisive influence. The thriving markets of Roman coins placed prominently throughout Europe made coins more ubiquitous, and these coins were probably the stimulus for Northern jewelry. As suggested by Le Pois in his Discours sur les médailles of 1579, he stated that “there is no place, region, or country of ancient habitation, where one cannot find these medals of the Romans, serving as witnesses to their grandeur, and as memorials of their empire extending throughout the provinces of the world.” Girolamo Ruscelli in his 1571 preface to Sebastiano Erizzo’s Discorso sopra le medaglie antiche also commented that “there are many, many medals throughout the world.” As early as the 1460s, medals with double-figure compositions were struck by Italian Renaissance artists such as Francesco Laurana (1430-1502). They were commissioned by the interrelated European nobility, as witnessed by the Medal of Rene d’Anjou and Jeanne de Laval of 1463, which shows the king with his second wife (Fig. 1.45).

Renaissance examples of double-portrait cameos, although they still need to be further identified and evaluated, exist in sufficient numbers to analyze as a class of

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94 Ibid., 3-4.
95 Francesco Laurana, Rene d’Anjou, King of Naples, and Jeanne de Laval, obverse, Peace Holding an Olive-Branch and Helmet, reverse, 1463, lead medal, 9 cm (3 17/32 in) diameter, National Gallery of Art, Samuel H. Kress Collection, Washington DC [1957.14.616.a-b].
imagery. One notable object is the *Double Portrait Cameo of Cosimo I and Eleonora of Toledo* by Domenico Compagni, a Roman gem-engraver and medalist, in which the duke and his wife face each other in profile within the same space (Fig. 1.46). After acquiring the Medici art and antiquities collection from his father Cosimo I in 1574, Francesco I commissioned Compagni to create this small cameo to commemorate his parents. In a letter of May 1574 by Giovanni Antonio Dosio, he described the cameo and its ability to exploit nature’s elements for producing a life-like quality in the sitters’ visages. Dosio wrote of the spots in the top layer of the stone that created beauty in the woman’s cheeks, detail in the drapery on the chest, and texture in the man’s beard. This comment is related to a description by Pliny the Elder of King Pyrrhus’ agate. The stone had markings which revealed Apollo and his lyre along with the Muses, as an example of “nature painting on stone and thus, art revealed by nature.” The significant historic presence of ancient sculpture, coins, and gems, signals that double portraits were actively included in the Renaissance artists’ milieu. Even though many works have been lost over time, it is clear that Renaissance artists copied and adapted ancient examples frequently.

**The Double-Portrait Format in Manuscript Illuminations**

The inspiration for portraits, and particularly double portraits, in the Renaissance could also stem from the intimate images within manuscript illuminations or miniatures.

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96 Domenico Compagni, *Double Portrait of Cosimo I and Eleonora*, cameo, 1574, Museo degli Argenti, Florence. Another cameo is by Leone Leoni, *Charles V and Philip II*, onyx, 1 x 1 3/8 in. (2.5 x 3.5 cm), Weil Collection, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Isabella is on the reverse of the cameo, much like a coin. Cosimo I and his successive family members added to the Medici gem collection. His wife, Eleonora of Toledo, acquired a number of engraved gems, which contained ancient and contemporary portraits.


98 Ibid., 46-47.

99 The influence of double-figure coins and cameos could have been influential on double portraits done later in the sixteenth century in wax. See Italian School, *Portrait of Ferdinand and Cristina*, 1590, colored wax, Staatliche Museen, Berlin.
Portrait heads can be found within the lettering and in the decoration of medieval manuscripts. In one early example, Giovanni di Bindino inserted male heads, perhaps his own, within the letters “O” and “P” in his manuscript of 1300 (Fig. 1.47). Early medieval illuminations included “true likenesses” of religious characters, such as “portraits” of the Evangelists. By the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, miniatures were increasingly incorporated into manuscripts, and elaborate illuminated borders started to fill every page. Illuminators even began to insert their own self-portraits. With increased numbers of portraits inserted into this genre, an expansion of imagery to double portrayals is also signaled. In the late fourteenth century, Petrarch wrote sonnets on Simone Martini’s portrait of his beloved Laura, and these pictorial praises were also expressed in manuscript illuminations. Petrarch and Laura are sometimes displayed together in portrait-like fashion, as in a miniature in the Giolitti edition published in 1544. In addition, Francesco di Antonio del Chierico (1433-1484), the illuminator of a Renaissance version of Pliny’s Historia Naturalis, decided to illustrate the section of the ancient text which discussed the origins of portraiture, tracing it to a story of two lovers, with a double-portrait composition. The amatory association of the profile was widely

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100 Folios 115 and 177, see Bernhard Degenhart and Annegrit Schmitt, Corpus der Italienischen Zeichnungen 1300-1450, I (Sud-und Mittelitalien), band 3 (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1968), Cat. 118, pl. 164 b and c.


102 In the story of Butades in Corinth, the circumscription of her lover’s shadow fell on a wall, and she subsequently traced it, creating a tangible, remembrance object. It was not a double portrait in the story, but Renaissance interpretation made the composition into one. See Pliny the Elder, Natural History, XV, Book XXXV, 270-71. It is referred to by Quintilian, Instituto Oratoria, Book X, ii, 7, trans. by H.E. Butler
acknowledged and confirmed in the illuminated borders of numerous manuscripts from
the 1450s onwards. In a 1458 copy of Pliny, a detail shows an amorino looking down
approvingly at a courtly couple, whose profile heads face one another (Fig. 1.48). The
profile portrait within manuscript borders, as seen here in a double-portrait format,
reflects the trend of including profile heads in contemporary panel painting. The
tradition was also reinforced by ancient coins. The Venetian manuscript illuminator who
designed the Giuramento of Bertuccio Contarini in 1485 drew from a mixture of Christian
roots and pagan appropriation. On the title page of his elaborately decorated Giuramento,
Contarini illustrated his pledge to take office as Procurator of San Marco. Here, he is
displayed full-length in classical dress next to the letter “I” that starts the text, which is
written in Gothic script. The page is densely overlaid with trompe-l’oeil motifs of flowers
and vines. Significantly, two medallions featuring double-portrait profile busts all’antica are
embedded in the foliage (Fig. 1.49). The inspired classical motifs in manuscript
illuminations, including the emblematic double-portrait medallion, as seen here, became a
direct means inspiring double portrayals of contemporaries in similar texts.
Pairing in Tomb Sculpture

A long tradition of displaying two persons together existed in tomb sculpture going back to antiquity. In the late medieval period, monumental brass and sculptural effigies on tomb slabs sometimes showed a man and woman side by side in death, the obvious pairing being of husband and wife (Fig. 1.50).\(^{108}\) The tomb effigies of King Henry II of England and his wife Eleanor of Aquitaine show the king robed and crowned as he was carried to his burial, while Eleanor is in repose, holding a prayer book. The physiognomies of the king and queen approached “true likenesses.” They are not on a flat slab of stone but recumbent with their garments arranged to conform to the idea of bodies lying in state (Fig. 1.51).\(^{109}\) Italian tomb sculptures also employ this two-figure composition, as in the Monument of Duke Lodovico Sforza and Beatrice d’Este by Cristoforo Solari of c. 1497-99 in the Church of the Certosa in Pavia (Fig. 1.52).\(^{110}\) The husband and wife lie in state side by side with their heads propped on cushions. Sixteenth-century tomb sculpture became even more monumental, with effigies fully in the round. Husband and wife remained next to each other on the same monument but were now penitent

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\(^{108}\) They were influenced by earlier mosaic tomb slabs and sculptural tomb slabs developed in Northern Europe, first appearing around the 1100s. Without a continuous tradition of tomb sculpture, it borrowed also from the Gallo-Roman sarcophagus type as well as the mosaic tomb slab. These three-dimensional images were translated from the images in late Ottonian painting or book illumination. See Erwin Panofsky, Tomb Sculpture, esp. figs. 212, 221, 222. A few examples are the Brass of a Married Couple, Sir Edward Cerne and Lady Elyne Cerne, 1393, monumental brass, St. James Church, Draycott Cerne, Wilts; and Robert de Freville and Wife Clarice, 1410, monumental brass, 32 x 17 in, All Saints Church, Parish, Shelford Little, Cambridgeshire, England.

\(^{109}\) British artist, Tomb of King Henry II of England and Eleanor of Aquitaine, c. 1200, Abbey Church, Fontevrault. Erwin Panofsky has commented that “when Guido Mazzoni in his Tomb of Charles VIII removed the kneeling figure from the throne room of the Madonna and deprived it of a celestial sponsor, that this isolation and monumentalization amounted to a promotion of what had been an adjunct of the effigy to the status of an effigy in its own right. An effigy which shows the deceased not only restored to life, but endowed with the capacity for self-determined action.” See Erwin Panofsky, Tomb Sculpture, 78 (Drawing after the Tomb of Charles VIII, formerly in St. Denis. Collection Roger de Gaignières). Thus, tomb sculpture with its portraits as effigies could have developed as a transition into independent portraiture as well similar, to moving secular figures from the religious realm into their own separated spaces cut off from religious support. See the later discussion of the same issue in sacred scenes with donors.

upright figures, as in the *Tomb of Louis XII and Anne de Bretagne* by Antonio and Giovanni Giusti of 1515-31 (Fig. 1.53) or the *Tomb of Henry II and Catherine de’Medici* by Francesco Primaticcio and Germain Pilon, which both rest in the Abbey Church of St. Denis, France.

**From Sacred to Secular and Northern Representations**

Northern European imagery also had an impact on the double-figure composition in Italy, perhaps due to the increased interaction of the European court cultures.111 Double portraits had been popularized in Northern Europe, particularly in Germany, since medieval times. One example is the half-length *Double Portrait of Wilhelm IV. Graf Schenk von Schenkenstein and his Wife Agnes Gräfin von Werdenberg-Trochtelfingen* by an unknown Swabian master of 1455 (see Fig. I.7).112 The married couple, standing behind a protruding parapet that displays their coats of arms, each slightly turns toward the other touching the same strand of beads. The double portrait appears frequently in the Netherlands beginning in the early 1420s-30s. One example is Jan van Eyck’s famous *Portrait of Giovanni Arnolfini and his Wife (The Arnolfini Double Portrait)* of 1434 (Fig. 1.54).113

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111 It should be noted that Northern artists were also influenced by ancient artistic precedence. Sarah Wilk has argued that the Northern painters usually camouflaged their borrowing: the sculpted niche portraits were transformed into a detailed fifteenth-century architectural setting, and the Roman couple became fifteenth-century bourgeoisie. See Sarah Wilk, *The Sculpture of Tullio Lombardo: Studies in Sources and Meaning*, 65.


113 Jan van Eyck, *Portrait of Giovanni Arnolfini and his Wife (The Arnolfini Double Portrait)*, 1434, oil on oak panel, 82.2 x 60 cm., National Gallery of Art, London. As a Northern example, this image presents a portrait of a couple in full-length. Italian double-figure representations at this time have only been considered in the scholarship as bust-length and profile not evolving to ¾-length and full-length until at least the 1500s. However, there are examples in diverse media, such as wall decorations and birth trays that place couples in full-length, such as in the Garden of Love. For double portraits in German art, see Ernst Büchner, *Das deutsche Bildnis der Spätgotik und der frühen Dürerzeit* (Berlin: 1953). For Netherlandish art, see Jane Hutchinson, *The Development of the Double Portrait in Northern European Painting of the Fifteenth Century*, MA thesis, Oberlin College, 1958.
Italian artists were clearly aware of Northern double-figure compositions that were housed in Italian art collections. Marcantonio Michiel, for example, described a Venetian collection in the palazzo of Cardinal Grimani in Venice in which he witnessed “two portraits…of a man and wife together in the Flemish manner.”  

A now lost painting by Jan van Eyck, *Noble and his Agent*, was also in Italy and owned by the Lampognano family in Milan, possibly as early as the 1490s. The flow of prints between Northern Europe and Italy after 1400, contributed to a trading of influences. An engraving by Israhel van Meckenem shows the artist and his wife bust-length in front of a flat, brocaded backdrop (Fig. 1.55). The engraving was widely disseminated and an Italian engraved copy, in reverse, was made by Nicoletto Rosex da Modena (c. 1500-1520).

Double-figure compositions were also used to depict religious or commemorative acts in sacred scenes. The common employment of two bust-length figures against a flat background in Northern images has also been connected to similar compositions in Northern Italy. Many images of Christ and the Virgin are displayed close-up to the picture plane, either with both shown frontally looking out at the viewer, or one figure turned toward the other in diptychs, pendants, and single panels. One such example is *Christ and the Virgin* of c. 1430-35 by Robert Campin, also called the Master of Flémalle.

Sarah Wilk has connected the compositional arrangement of this Northern prototype to the Venetian artist Tullio Lombardo’s double portrait reliefs in Venice and Vienna (see...

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114 See Marcantonio Michiel, *Der Anonim Morelliano*, I, 102-103, entry dated 1521.


117 Robert Campin, also called the Master of Flémalle, *Christ and the Virgin*, c. 1430-35, oil and gold on panel, 11 1/4 x 17 15/16 in (28.6 x 45.6 cm), cut down at top, Philadelphia Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia [332].
However, early depictions of two martyrs or saints from other regions besides Northern Europe also show the figures frontally, in bust-length, and close to the picture plane (For example, see the sixth-seventh century *Pair of Martyrs* from Sinai [Fig. 1.56] or *Saints Peter and John the Evangelist* by the Italian Giovanni Agostino da Lodi of c. 1495-97). Images of the Virgin and Child with donors, such as Hans Memling’s *Diptych of Maarten Nieuwenhove* of 1487, also place the figures close to the picture plane, but with an illusionistic background. A sculptural comparison would be the *Epitaph of Conrad von Busang* of 1464 by Gerhaert von Leyden in the Cathedral in Strasbourg (Fig. 1.57). Here, the Virgin and Child and the faithful Busang are near the picture plane under a vaulted roof. There is a spatial intimacy between the holy figures and the donor that is enhanced by the equal size of the figures. Compositions showing two donors within a larger religious format offer a relevant model for independent double portraiture. Hugo van der Goes’ extraordinary large-scale *Portinari Altarpiece* of c. 1483, now in the Uffizi, Florence, is monumental in the size of the panel and also in the unprecedented scale of the figures, particularly the donors. It was influential in Italy, where it adorned the church of Sant’ Egidio in the Santa Maria Nuova complex in Florence. It was commissioned by a Florentine banker, Tommaso Portinari, who lived in Bruges and acted as the Flanders agent for the Medici family. The altarpiece is notable not only for its meticulous oil technique, but also for its role as an example of Transalpine cultural connections during

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119 See *Pair of Martyrs* from the 600-700s with a cover of the *Ascension of Christ* is located in the Monastery of St. Catherine, Sinai; illustrated in Angelica Dülberg, *Privatporträts: Geschichte und Ikonologie einer Gattung im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, pl. 4, figs. 7-8. A bust-length portrayal of two saints is Giovanni Agostino da Lodi’s *Saints Peter and John the Evangelist*, c. 1495-97, Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan.
120 Hans Memling, *Diptych of Maarten Nieuwenhove*, 1487, oil on oak panel, 52 x 41.5 cm (each), Memlingmuseum, Sint-Janshospitaal, Bruges.
the Renaissance. In this work, the donors, though on separated wings, are prominent in figural size and, therefore, more integrated in the religious context of the Adoration of the Christ child. More relevant for the double-portrait format is an Italian devotional image of c. 1460, Gentile Bellini’s *Madonna and Child with Donors*, in which the donors coalesce as a pair in adoration of the Virgin and Child (Fig. 1.58). Against a flat gold background, the profiled bust-length man and woman in prayer look up at the Virgin and Child, twice their size. The donors exist in the space of the Virgin and Child, pressed flatly against the lower half of the Madonna’s cloak. In a much later image, Giovanni Francesco Caroto’s *Self-Portrait with Wife* of c. 1566, the religious figures are eliminated completely and the viewer sees the couple next to each other, alone in prayer (Fig. 1.59).

The religious icon is also expunged in a portrait of Doge Peter Orseolo and the Dogaressa Felicita by the school of Giovanni Bellini (Fig. 1.60). The background consists of a Renaissance interior containing a niche with a classicizing torso and sarcophagus, and open windows revealing a landscape. The patrons kneel piously in the foreground. Toward the latter part of the sixteenth century, the donor’s importance was elevated, and at times, the sacred space of the Virgin and Child was compromised in

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122 An interesting diptych from the Netherlandish school (1460-1500) places the Virgin and Child in the left panel and a praying male donor dressed in black with his wife behind him is located on the right panel. The portraits of the husband and wife are closer to the picture plane and larger in size than the Virgin and Child. See Netherlandish artist (c. 1460-1500), *Virgin and Child with Two Donors*, oil on panel, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp; see Washington DC, National Gallery of Art, *Prayers and Portraits: Unfolding the Netherlandish Diptych*, exh. cat. by J.O. Hand, C. A. Metzger, and R. Spronk (2007), 206-209, Cat. 30, repro.


124 Giovanni Francesco Caroto, *Self-Portrait with Wife*, c. 1566, Museo di Castelvecchio, Verona. There is the possibility that this is meant to have a devotional panel to the viewer’s right.

125 School of Giovanni Bellini, *Double Portrait of Doge Peter Orseolo and the Dogaressa Felicita*, Museo Correr, Venice.
favor of the double portrait. In Giovan Battista Moroni’s *Pious Couple in Prayer before the Madonna, the Christ Child and Saint Michael*, the couple (husband and wife) are bust-length up against the picture plane and in front of a ledge (Fig. 1.61).\(^{126}\) The man looks out at the viewer from the left as he points up to the holy figures on a heavenly cloud above. The wife, with hands clasped in front of her prayer book, faces her husband in profile. If the donors were depicted full-length, they would be more than twice the size of the religious scene set on a remote cloud, accessible to the viewer through the mediating presence of the donors. The double portrait could have emerged from depictions of donors in a religious context to become independent compositions in their own right.\(^{127}\)

**Portrait-Like Appearances Shift in Mode of Display**

The Renaissance concept of setting apart a likeness of a person in a frame changed the manner of displaying portrayals. As mentioned in the Introduction, medieval secular painting included life-like characterizations of ancestors along with current family members in decorative schemes and narratives on the walls of family palaces, particularly in court settings. Series of *Uomini Famosi* also began to appear in private as well as civic buildings in the fourteenth century. Andrew Martindale has pointed out that in this “lost genre of secular painting…the non-events or minimal events [of the family] become a

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126 Giovanni Battista Moroni, *The Donor Couple in front of the Madonna and Child and Saint Michael*, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, Virginia. Moroni utilized this format with other religious images with a donor such as *A Donor in Contemplation of the Baptism of Christ* (c. 1550, oil on canvas, 104 cm x 112.8, Etro Collection); *Donor in Contemplation of the Cross with Saints* (Chiesa di Sant’Alessandro della Croce, Bergamo); *Man in Prayer in Front of the Madonna and Child* (National Gallery of Art, Washington DC); and it has affinities to Moretto’s *Christ Carrying the Cross Adored by a Donor* (Accademia Carrara, Bergamo).

127 Both Hinz and Büchner believed that double portraits were taken out of a religious context. See Berthold Hinz, *Studien zur Geschichte des Ehepaarbildnisses*, in *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* (Universität Marburg der Lahn, 1974); and Ernst Büchner, *Das deutsche Bildnis der Spätgotik und der Frühen Dürerzeit* (Berlin: 1953). Alois Riegl suggested that the group portrait must have had its roots also in religious painting, such as in religious paintings which portray more than one donor. See Alois Riegl, *The Group Portraiture in Holland*, intro. by Wolfgang Kemp and trans. by Evelyn M. Kain and David Britt (*Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute*, 1999), 67.
vehicle for extensive portraiture. The earliest account of someone being taken round a family portrait gallery in Europe was Edmund de Dynter’s account from October 1414 of his visit to the Karlstein Castle in Bohemia. Dynter, secretary to the duke of Brabant (Anthony of Burgundy), was on a diplomatic mission in Bohemia. He recorded in his chronicles a memorable event hosted by the king of Bohemia, the ex-emperor Charles. He took de Dynter by the hand after one audience and led him through to another room, where the images of all the dukes of Brabant down to John III were painted.

Commissioned by the Emperor Charles IV of Luxemburg, this figural row “created a painted genealogical link descending from the progeny of the Trojans.” The tradition of creating a visual genealogy continued in Italian rulers’ residences, which incorporated their families and familial activities as painted decoration, such as in the Sforza Castle in Milan or the Gonzaga residence in Mantua. Another early example of the family portrait gallery is a series of male portraits of the Vitelli family from Città di Castello by Luca Signorelli. Such family portraits often displayed their heraldry, suggesting tradition, family continuity, and nobility.

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128 See Andrew Martindale in Painting the Palace: Studies in the History of Medieval Secular Painting (London: The Pindar Press, 1995), 17; R. Signorini, “Federico III e Cristiano I nella Camera degli Sposi del Mantegna,” Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz XVIII (1974), 227. Martindale believed that the nobility did not have in the camera particular events but the walls were used more for divertissement. He also noticed that in the Mantuan palace, Emperor Frederick III and King Christian I of Denmark are represented in the Camera Dipinta in the Castello S. Giorgio, Mantua. It was in an exchange of letters of 1475 between the Mantuan envoy in Milan and Lodovico Gonzaga from the Archivio Gonzaga. Galeazzo Maria, Duke of Milan, had expected to be included too and was annoyed to find out that he had been omitted from the scheme. Martindale has suggested that instead of it being a programmed historiated scene, it was a casual assemblage of rulers, courtiers, and household staff present in Mantua or Italy in c. 1465-74.

129 They were destroyed in the late sixteenth century. However, late sixteenth-century copies after the portrait-like figures are extant. They seem to have been enclosed in narrow niches in a row of cusped frames. The best known manuscript copy of the cycle is in Vienna, National Library, Cod. 8330 or a replica in Prague at the archives of the National Gallery, Codex Heidelbergensis. Both copies date from c. 1570. Tewkesbury claimed to have the first surviving painted gallery of ancestors in Europe. In the thirteenth century and throughout the fourteenth century, more diverse human types, emotional states, and a variety of people started being portrayed. See Andrew Martindale, Painting the Palace: Studies in the History of Medieval Secular Painting, 75, 89.
Adorning Italian town halls and rulers’ residences, *Uomini Famosi* cycles varied by having a different cast of heroes (and sometimes, in the case of *Donne Illustre*, heroines) reflecting local traditions as well as the specific location. The first known example of such a *Uomini Famosi* cycle was done by Giotto for King Robert I of Anjou in the Castel Nuovo, Naples. According to sonnets, the cycle displayed biblical and profane heroes and often showed men and women in pairs, such as Alexander and Roxanne, Hector and Andromeda, Aeneas and Dido, Paris and Helen, Hercules and Deianera, Samson and Delilah, and Caesar and Cleopatra. The women seem to have been standing behind the men, all life-size, linking the two in the same space. It is possible that this lost work is one of the first portrait-like displays of two persons within one space, and therefore, an important prototype for double portraits.

Other famed series by Jacques Iverny, Andrea del Castagno, and Domenico Ghirlandaio also display heroic men and women, mainly full-length. Iverny, from Avignon, portrayed heroes and heroines from the Bible and ancient history in a wall fresco executed in the 1420s for the Marquis Alerano in a sala of Castello della Manta, Saluzzo (near Mantua). Alternatingly, each man and woman appears in his or her own niche-like space decorated with fauna. For the Florentine gonfaloniere Filippo Giovanni di Carducci, Castagno frescoed a *Uomini Famosi* cycle in the Villa Carducci, southwest of Florence. Nine men and women stand in shallow niches. Delineated by decorative

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132 Andrea del Castagno, *Uomini Famosi Cycle*, 1457, fresco, once Villa Carducci, presently Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence. In a thematic scheme, they are divided in units of three: Florentine generals (Pippo Spano or Filippo Scolari, Farinata degli Uberti, and Niccolo Acciaiuoli); the women (Cumean sibyl, Queen Esther, and Queen Tomyris); and the poets (Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio).
white pilasters, they are in a long row against a red or black porphyry background with
Latin verses of presentation below each of them. The figures are distinguished by gender,
with men clad in contemporary dress, women in ancient garb. The male figures relate to
Florence. Specifically, they comprise a group of three Florentine heroes and three
Florentine poets, while the women more generically represent the ideals of wisdom,
bravery, and beauty.

Ghirlandaio’s *Uomini Famosi* cycle of the 1480s in the *Sala dei Gigli* in the Palazzo
Vecchio in Florence contains men within a frame of painted architecture on one wall.\(^{133}\)
The wall was divided lengthwise into three parts, each one marked off by an arcade or
triumphal arch. At the side of the capitals of the pilasters, the artist painted medallions
with Roman ladies and emperors, copied after ancient coins. The secular figures, each
accompanied by a Latin inscription, are placed in lunettes opening against a blue sky: the
left-hand triad consists of Brutus the Elder, Mucius Scaevola, and Camillus, the right-
hand one of Decius Mus, Scipio Africanus, and Cicero.\(^{134}\) Also designed by Ghirlandaio
on the doors of the Sala dei Gigli, completed in 1476, Dante and Petrarch are depicted in
the intarsia panels. Even though women are not included with the *Uomini Famosi*, they are
present in the medallions.

Family portrait galleries remained popular in the Quattrocento and Cinquecento.
These collections were important vehicles of identity, displaying the self and family

\(^{133}\) Three of the walls in the room were painted blue with Florentine golden lilies, thus the name *Sala dei
Gigli*. The wall with the *Uomini Famosi* cycle was originally an outer palatial wall in the 1480s.

\(^{134}\) The arcade leads to a balcony covered by a *baldacchino*, in which the presence of a religious protector,
Saint Zenobius, the patron saint of Florence, is located among the secular figures. They have been
symbolically connected to the republican government of the Florentine regime and also to Lorenzo de’
Medici’s rule.
connections. They have precedents in dynastic galleries and in the *Uomini Famosi* series of the Trecento and Quattrocento. Meanwhile, the portrait-like mythological and biblical heroes and heroines were eventually supplanted by more authentic contemporary likenesses of *Illustri* in historiated portrait collections. Whereas family portrait galleries would link the assembled portraits based on shared hereditary lines, portrait collections of *illustri* or *famosi* linked the subjects based on exemplary worth of an intellectual or historical nature. The primary connection between the two types is display or presentation, for both comprise a string of portraits placed together in a single location.

Paolo Giovio (1486-1552), the papal physician, historian, and avid scholar of literature, geography, exploration, and the arts, wrote biographies and amassed one of the most well-known and largest sixteenth-century galleries of historical portraits by the 1540s at his villa-*musaem* on Lake Como. His two-volume *Elogia*, from about the same time, commemorated the lives and deeds of the men honored through the painted portraits. In the introduction to the 1546 edition, he described his villa and its connection to that of Pliny which was supposedly located on the same spot. Giovio linked his enormous collection of portraits to Pliny’s advice on collecting. He claimed that there were approximately four hundred paintings in his villa depicting the “true

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136 Historical characters were often included in these series as well.

137 When describing the portrait museum at Lake Como, Giovio actually related it to Pliny’s villa that was once in that region stating that “the villa, which is within sight of the city, extends like a peninsula into the broad expanse of Lake Como, which washes its foundations where its square front and straight sides run out into the water toward the north. It stands on a shore clean and sandy and therefore exceedingly healthful on the very site of Pliny’s villa. Indeed this remarkable evidence of a revered antiquity increases to a great extent the charm of the house and wins for it a glorious and admired distinction. It has certainly given me the keenest pleasure that, with a not ignoble enthusiasm and a fitting devotion, I have revived in his native place the memory of my most illustrious fellow townsman, which lay deeply buried under the decay of ages.” See Paolo Giovio, *An Italian Portrait Gallery* (1546) and Tommaso Casini, *Ritratti Parlanti: Collezionismo e Biografie Illustrate nei Secoli XVI e XVII* (Florence: Edifir edizioni Firenze, 2004).

138 The *Elogia veris clarorum virorum imaginibus apposite quae in Museo comi spectantur* (Venice, 1546) and the *Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium supposita quae apud Museum spectantur* (Florence, 1551).
likenesses” of an unparalleled range of Europeans and non-Westerners from antiquity to
the sixteenth century, and connected this array to Pliny’s recommendation to hang
virtuous portraits in the home. Giovio’s historiated portraits were first organized by
character and achievement, then chronologically by death date. His property was
dispersed at the time of his death in 1552. A visual record of his collection survived,
however, remaining through many sets of copies (painted and printed) made from the
portraits in Como, including a series made for Cosimo I de’ Medici.

Throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, family portrait galleries that
stressed the ancestral line remained popular among the elite. In 1528-30, Andrea Doria
commissioned Perino del Vaga to paint portraits of Doria’s ancestors in the vestibule of
his Palazzo Doria dei Principi in Fasolo, near Genoa. In the Palladian Villa Cornaro in
Piombino, the son of Giorgio Cornaro, the original owner, commissioned six statues
from Camillo Mariani to decorate the grand salon in 1588. Filling the niches as part of the
Palladian design, these full-length sculptures constituted a private family portrait gallery

139 See Linda Klinger Aleci, “Images of Identity: Italian Portrait Collections of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth
140 See ibid., 69.
141 Minor members of a prestigious family might have presented portraits of greater names traditionally
linking them. In June 1536, the painter Battista Franco prepared decorations for the wedding celebrations
of Alessandro and Margherita d’Austria, working especially in the house of Ottaviano de’ Medici, a member
of the minor branch of the family. Ottaviano, who directed the decoration of the Medici villa at Poggio a
Caiano, was in charge of the mint under Alessandro and patronized many Florentine artists. Ottaviano
assiduously collected Medici family portraits such as Vasari’s Portrait of Alessandro. See Carl Brandon
Strehlke, “Pontormo, Alessandro de’ Medici and the Palazzo Pazzi,” in Medici Portraits: Bulletin of the
142 Notably, Doria’s ancestors were positioned near ancient triumphs and scenes of famous ancient Roman
heroes, which were analogically linked to the Doria name. For more information on the palazzo, see Bernice
depicting the prominent members of his family, including Doge Marco Cornaro and Caterina Cornaro, Queen of Cyprus.  

The displaying of “likenesses” visually transitioned from portraits contained in secular narratives and full-length figures in *Uomini Famosi* series within medieval palace complexes to isolating famous or familial portraits in frames in Renaissance buildings. Perhaps the most prominent Renaissance series of framed portraits is that in the Galleria degli Uffizi, originally administrative offices of the government. Here, a Medici family portrait series was united with a copy of Giovio’s famed portrait collection made by Crisofano dell’Altissimo and commissioned for Cosimo I de’ Medici in 1553. The series of Medici portraits, the so-called *Serie Aulica*, was begun in 1584-86 under Francesco I, as a commission from twelve artists for twenty-two family portraits. In succeeding years, additional canvases were added, some of new family members, others to replace earlier images that were outmoded. They were situated along the high rim of the corridors, fusing a historiated portrait collection on one side of the corridor with a family portrait series hung on the other (Fig. 1.62). A miniaturized series of Medici portraits existed from 1555-65 by the workshop of Bronzino, and according to Vasari, located “dietro alla porta d’uno studiolo” in Palazzo Vecchio (Fig. 1.63). In 1587-91, the larger *Serie Aulica* was united with the *Illustri Portraits*. Though single portraits prevail in this series, two doubles

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143 For information on the *palazzo*, see Branko Mitrovic and Stephen R. Wassell, eds., *Andrea Palladio: Villa Cornaro in Piombino Dese* (New York: 2006).
144 Ferdinando I and Cosimo II added to the series.
were included, the *Portrait of Giovanni de’ Medici, called Bande Nere (1496-1526) with his Wife, Maria Salviati (1495-1526) (1585)* by Giovanni Battista Naldini and the *Portrait of Pierfrancesco de’ Medici (1467-1498) with his Wife, Caterina Sforza (1462-1509) (1585)* by Lorenzo Valiani, called Lo Sciorina.\(^{146}\) Eventually, the family collection swelled to forty-one portraits and also included a double portrait of the Grand Duke Ferdinando I (1549-1609) with his wife, Christine of Lorraine.

The display of double portraits within the context of a family portrait gallery signals their consistent use within Renaissance culture. It should also be noted that the artists received greater pay when the portrait included more than one person. Three double portraits were included within the larger portrait gallery scheme. The rationale for their inclusion still remains intriguing and undetermined. Why were these three married couples singled out to be painted together? These important unions wanted to be further stressed, for the individuals displayed were from prominent families.

On a more general note, the two different types of collections, one familial, the other historiated, were separated in this instance by different collecting practices. The historiated portrait collection in the Uffizi originated in the collection of Paolo Giovio. It was “a portrait collection shaped over a lifetime by the collecting patterns of one individual based on nuanced conditions—social, moral, psychological, and utilitarian.”\(^{147}\) The Medici family gallery, by contrast, was commissioned at a specific time, based on fixed criteria, the selection of characters based on prominence and identity through blood line and family ties. The wedding of the two collections connected the Medici to the

\(^{146}\) Giovan Battista Naldini, *Portrait of Giovanni de’ Medici, called Bande Nere (1496-1526), and his Wife Maria Salviati (1499-1543)*, 1585, oil on panel, 140 x 115 cm, Uffizi, Florence [2232] See Poggi, doc. 12; Lorenzo Vaiani, called lo Sciorina, *Portrait of Giovanni di Pierfrancesco de’ Medici with his Wife Caterina Sforza*, 1585, oil on panel, 140 x 117 cm, Uffizi, Florence [2221]. See Inventario (1890), 2.

greater historic or intellectual credentials of illustrious persons, forming yet an additional type of portrait collection for display. This combined, formulated series could be related to a belief central to the presentation of *Uomini Famosi* series, in which famed personages were placed as if present in the beholder's space.\(^{148}\) Thus, Renaissance viewers oscillated, as in this case, among varied levels of contact with ancient and contemporary individuals.

As time passed, representational imperatives developed and decoration trends changed. Seemingly cropped from a serial format, double-figure compositions showing individual subjects became more common. Perhaps this modification followed changes in the structure of *palazzi*, which began to exclude the extended family during the Renaissance. As the domestic spaces of display within Renaissance society changed, the desire for a smaller format in which to show connected individuals precipitated the double portrait’s creation and proliferation. Due to the increasing popularity of portraits in Renaissance Italy from the fifteenth to the sixteenth centuries, artists were experimenting with various forms including double, triple, quadruple, and group portraits. The double portrait’s increase in numbers in the 1500s was also due to the interest in portraiture by a larger pool of patrons, allowing interactions across European court culture. The enlargement of the panel or canvas size permitted more variation in figural positioning and gestures, facilitating the representation of two individuals together. The growing importance in representing the sitter’s appearance and the placement of the sitters within their social context were also contributing factors. Given the European courts’ increased communication, the popularity of the double portrait in Europe could have been the added stimulus for the proliferation of double-portrait imagery in Italy by the sixteenth century. As John Pope-Hennessy has pointed out, “European courts

enjoyed what was practically a common market of portraiture. Taste and style…spread with remarkable rapidity.” Thus, the double-portrait type probably had cross-cultural influences, containing coded iconography based on theme, and dispersed via print media, illuminations, painted images, and medals. The double portrait, based on a mix of sources, developed into a distinctly Italian artistic format with variable design options.

**The Display of Double Portraits**

**Painted Portrayals**

The audience for and practice of displaying double portraits are difficult to determine. Early Medieval and Renaissance likenesses of individuals were painted on paper or in small cameo size, thus easily transported and viewed in intimate environments. One purpose of these portraits was to give bridegrooms an image of the countenance of their potential betrothed. Andrew Martindale has speculated on other functions and display contexts of these portraits; reasoning that well-equipped households had an all-purpose closet where these objects were stored, as opposed to being kept constantly on display. Indeed, evidence from the fifteenth century indicates that many of these objects were not intended to hang on walls. Early painted portraits, in the form of diptychs with covers or armorial devices painted on their versos, were similar in design to portrait medals developed by Pisanello and equally portable. Their rather

150 Galeazzo Maria Sforza sent Zanetto Bugatto to Paris to produce a portrait of his potential bride to be.
151 These early portraits appear to have no theme, historical or genealogical, and they were not placed in conventional portrait galleries. See Andrew Martindale, *Painting the Palace: Studies in the History of Medieval Secular Painting*, 104. Sometimes artistic competitions over painting a patron’s portrait occurred such as the contest in Ferrara in May 1441 between Bellini and Pisanello in the making of a portrait of Leonello d’Este. Bellini won, but Pisanello’s picture survives (Accademia Carrara, Bergamo). It was recorded by two contemporaries, Ulisse degli Aleotti and Angelo Decembrio. Lodovico Carbone, poet and man of letters, had the Pisanello resting in his *studiolo*. 
small size made them appropriate for intimate hand-held examination as well as storage within a closet or studio space, and also meant that they were ideal for a traveling merchant class.  

In the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, portraits began to be displayed in less intimate settings. A more modern approach to the display of portraits (as for paintings in general) followed naturally on the heels of changes in portraiture’s increase in size, type, and function, as well as in Renaissance spaces due to improved social and economic conditions. Cities changed from the towered, fortress-like communities to more public domains where the ruling urban aristocracy, including wealthy merchants and bankers, built *palazzi* on major squares and avenues within central areas of town, creating neighborhoods. The extended family lived together through the beginning of the Renaissance. The fifteenth century also showed an increase in palace building occurring in Florence as well as Venice. By the sixteenth century, the urban elites of other Italian cities began to build homes on a grander scale.

The family residence, more than purely a functional domestic space, also became a symbol of status. As Patricia Fortini-Brown has noted, “the house was not a neutral shell; it was an embodiment of the family.” Richard A. Goldthwaite has described the fifteenth-century Florentine palace with a grand façade as a public presence of a particular

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152 There is only one fourteenth-century description of one of these objects in what might have been close to its original setting. Listed in the 1380 inventory of Charles V of France, a description of a curious cluster of four heads where as the four separate images were joined together in such a way that the man who made the inventory classified them as a single entry. Their portraits were named as John II of France, Emperor Charles IV, Edward II of England, and Charles V, all related by family ties, and probably ultimately owned by Charles V. It was listed as being in the royal palace, Hôtel de St. Pol, in Paris. There it stood in a room called the “*petite estude*” with only four items located within it. This item plus an additional group of small religious pictures painted on parchment, the claw of a griffin with two bird’s feet all with silver gilt mounts, and the fourth item of a pair of hunting horns. According to Martindale, these portrait paintings became sort of “high-class curios,” once painted and delivered, had little function, and came to rest in odd places. See Andrew Martindale, *Painting the Palace: Studies in the History of Medieval Secular Painting*, 103.

aristocratic family. By the middle of the fifteenth century the palazzo sealed the private off from the public realm, and its economic value barely moved beyond its domestic function focusing on one man’s private residence and socially limited to his immediate family.\textsuperscript{154} The new structuring of the family in domestic planning reflected the concern for privacy as in Serlio’s architectural treatise on domestic dwellings.\textsuperscript{155}

The late fourteenth-century Florentine writer Paolo da Certaldo, in his \textit{Book of Good Customs}, wrote: “it is a fine and great thing to know how to earn money, but a finer and greater one, to know how to spend it with moderation, and where it is seemly.”\textsuperscript{156}

Around 1400, homes with many rooms remained sparsely furnished and the furnishings and luxury items were concentrated in a chamber or a study while the rest of the rooms were probably multi-functional. Paolo Uccello’s \textit{Profanation of the Host} of c. 1468 depicts sparsely decorated interior spaces (Fig. 1.64).\textsuperscript{157} The arrangement of goods within the home can be surmised from inventories and private account books from Florence, Venice, and Northern Italian courts.\textsuperscript{158} Some early fifteenth-century inventories have

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\textsuperscript{154} See Richard A. Goldthwaite, \textit{The Building of Renaissance Florence: An Economic and Social History} (Baltimore/London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), 110; and Charles Burroughs, \textit{The Italian Renaissance Palace Façade: Structures of Authority, Surfaces of Sense} (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002). Burroughs considered the Renaissance palace façade as creating meaning for the patron both on a personal basis and as a reflection of a larger urban identity. The façade was seen as a dynamic force, revealing information about the building’s interior domestic function.

\textsuperscript{155} Serlio’s treatise was never published during his lifetime, but we can still use his example for Renaissance thought on domestic spaces.


\textsuperscript{157} Paolo Uccello (1397-1475), \textit{The Miracle of the Desecrated Host}, scenes 1 & 2, c. 1465-69, tempera on panel, 43 x 58 cm (separately), Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Palazzo Ducale, Urbino. \textit{The Miracle of the Desecrated Host} was painted as the \textit{predella} for the 1472 altarpiece, \textit{The Communion of the Apostles}, by Justus of Ghent for the Church of Corpus Domini in Urbino. Uccello’s scenes tell the antisemitic legend unveiled through six scenes.

\textsuperscript{158} See Richard A. Goldthwaite, \textit{Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy 1300-1600} (Baltimore/London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 225 and 236 (in particular reference to Florence). For Venetian inventories, primarily from the sixteenth century, see Isabella Palumbo Fossati, “L’Interno della Casa dell’Artigiano e dell’Artista nella Venezia del Cinquecento,” \textit{Studi Veneziani} 8 (1984), 1-45. Pictures seemed to have a “massive presence” according to Palumbo Fossati. Molmetti’s book on Venetian life in the Middle Ages did not discuss furnishings at all.
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recorded furniture as resolutely functional: used for purposes of eating, sitting, sleeping, and storage.\textsuperscript{159} In addition to utilitarian rooms like kitchens and pantries there were domestic spaces (larger rooms, sometimes having beds in them) that centered around the chamber of the master of the household, which was usually reached by an antechamber.\textsuperscript{160} According to Goldthwaite, the master’s chamber was a small multi-functional space that served primarily as a bedroom, but also as an inner sanctum for total privacy and a multitude of purposes. It was the intimate core of the household.

The furnishing of the camera was usually a one-time expense and was done at the time of an impending marriage. In this way, it often represented the beginning of a separate household and a symbolic declaration of independence. It was decorated with large pieces of furniture and artworks, including (eventually) portraits.\textsuperscript{161}

Leon Battista Alberti’s Della Famiglia (1435) offers further indication of the display of portraits in the fifteenth century. The treatise is a dialogue between the brothers of a wealthy Italian merchant-banking family at the deathbed of the patriarch. In the third book, which deals with domestic finances, Alberti recounted a story of Giannozzo, who

\textsuperscript{159} See Howard Saalman and Philip Matox, “The First Medici Palace,” Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 44 (1985), 329-45. The 1418 inventory of Giovanni di Bicci de’ Medici reveals a house of fewer than thirty rooms: these centered on the three suites of Giovanni and his two sons, Cosimo and Lorenzo, each consisting of a chamber, antechamber, water closet, and included, in addition, seven other chambers and three general living spaces (two sale and a saletta). Fairly all of the furnishings of importance were concentrated in the chamber and antechamber of these private apartments. See Richard A. Goldthwaite, Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy 1300-1600, 225. Its internal arrangements and furnishings were also discussed in John Kent Lydecker, “Il Patriziato Fiorentino e la Committenza Artistica per La Casa,” in I Ceti Dirigenti nella Toscana del Quattrocento (Atti del V Convegno, 1982) (Florence: 1987), 209-22.

\textsuperscript{160} The account describing Datini’s house also gave evidence of domestic space. According to his 1405 inventory, the ground floor rooms included an office, a small cellar, a guest room, and a loggia called la loggia della corte, with its primary function for entertaining. Datini’s crest hung in the halls. He placed his coat of arms not only on shields and over doorways, but also on linens and utensils. The use of arms was not only to display nobility but a mark of standing. In the upstairs rooms of his abode, there was a sala grande in the center with rooms leading out from it in addition to the master bedroom, two guest rooms, the upstairs kitchen, the upstairs loggia, and a small room which was Francesco’s office or studiolo. The beds, which were strewn around in the larger spaces of the house, were probably used for servants (who were without rooms), and they slept probably where it was most convenient. See Iris Origo, The Merchant of Prato: Francesco di Marco Datini, 1335-1410 (Boston: 1986), 241-263.

\textsuperscript{161} See Richard A. Goldthwaite, Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy 1300-1600, 228.
escorted his wife on her first tour of his premises. Upon showing her the last room on the tour, the chamber, he closed and locked the door behind them and stressed to her the sanctity of the place, where he kept his most precious items in designated spots: his treasury, silver, tapestry, garments, and jewels. Consumer habits changed in the fifteenth century, and there was an increase and richness of domestic goods. Leonardo Bruni’s *Laudatio* of Florence written at the beginning of the fifteenth century described the “beautiful chambers decorated with fine furniture, gold, silver, and brocaded hangings and precious carpets.” Inventories survive of Cosimo de’ Medici’s palace on Via Larga in Florence, begun in the mid-1440s, which united the main house with flanking buildings behind a uniform façade. An inventory from the earlier structure of March 1418 listed all of the rooms in the house with their contents described by name and general location, including an inventory of Cosimo’s personal collection of art and books at that date. The increased need to describe the home’s interior objects, including portraits, demonstrates an escalating importance on behalf of society for display. Portraits were, therefore, nestled within the residence, and thereby equated to an ever-growing rich and sumptuous context.

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Goldthwaite has commented that in the fifteenth century painted pictures began to be incorporated along with the elaborately carved wooden furniture in the master’s chamber. These images were neither framed nor hung on the walls, but inserted into the wainscoting along the walls and applied to pieces of furniture, such as *cassoni* and *lettucci*, as part of the decoration.\(^{165}\) Pictures in the form of roundels were another common innovation, while the chamber also contained traditional, yet decorative, religious items, as well as portraits, busts, and other works of art that were not built-in.\(^{166}\) Iris Origo described a late-fourteenth-century account of portrait display in the Pratese home of the merchant Francesco di Marco Datini.\(^{167}\) Even though the shape of the rooms in his home had been completely altered, in one of them a portrait of Francesco displayed high on a wall shows him peering down at the viewer, with a commentary beneath the image stating: “Francesco io son di Marco che lasciai // Di mie sustanze herede I miei Pratesi / /Perchè la patria mia più ch’ altro amai.”\(^{168}\)

Spaces in palaces were gradually dedicated to more specific functions and decor. By the sixteenth century, palace owners were realizing the full potential of their increased residential spaces, specifying rooms for use, for the accumulation of more objects, and for settings of large-scale social ceremonies, which could all affect portrait display. Serlio’s treatise on domestic architecture reveals the society’s etiquette of decoration based on

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\(^{165}\) Examples are Botticelli’s *Primavera* which served as the back of a *lettuccio* or his *Venus and Mars* which was a panel of a *cassone*. Uccello’s *The Rout of San Romano* of c. 1456 in the National Gallery, London was probably intended to be placed above the wainscoting, paneling covering the lower part of the wall, in a room in the Palazzo Medici.

\(^{166}\) See Richard A. Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy 1300-1600*, 229.

\(^{167}\) Francesco Datini had a more modest house than Giovanni de’ Medici, but it was still of similar construction containing simple furniture, a handful of religious pictures, and several pieces of ceramic, glass, and silver. See Iris Origo, *The Merchant of Prato: Francesco di Marco Datini*, 1335-1410 (Boston: 1986), 246.

\(^{168}\) “I am Francesco di Marco, who left my Pratesi as heirs of all my fortune, because I loved my city above all other things,” see ibid., 246.
social status. He understood that contemporary society had a number of socio-economic strata which he accommodated in his suitably constructed dwellings. He related an individual’s status to the height and decorative detailing on the palace façade, and to the number, size, and degree of privacy of interior spaces. In the vast palaces of Rome, rooms were designed as quasi-public spaces to accommodate the ceremonial lifestyle of the papal and curial aristocracy. Paolo Cortesi, in his *De Cardinalatu*, did not see an inconsistency between a cardinal’s religious duties and the noticeable display of wealth in his residence. Genoa and Bologna also followed suit with the trend to accumulate in the domestic interior.

The *palazzo* generally incorporated a great hall for ceremonies, a chapel, a gallery, a grand staircase, service rooms for the staff, and apartments for distant relatives and friends. Goldthwaite observed that “the whole place became crammed with the accumulated furnishings of generations—furniture, pictures, sculptures, pottery, and

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169 See James S. Ackerman and Myra Nan Rosenfeld, *Sebastiano Serlio on Domestic Architecture: Different Dwellings from the Meanest Hovel to the Most Ornate Palace* (The Sixteenth-Century Manuscript of Book VI in the Avery Library of Columbia University (New York: The Architectural History Foundation/Cambridge, Mass./London: The MIT Press, 1978), no. 1, 9. Andrea Palladio discussed domestic architecture, particularly private town houses and country estates, almost all designed by him for the Venetian area and Vicenza. In his second book, he stated that the “house only be called convenient, which is suitable to the quality of him that is to dwell in it, and whose parts correspond to the whole and to each other.” He also stated that “as Vitruvius, the architect out to observe that for great men…the houses are required with loggias and spacious halls adorned, that in such places those may be amused with pleasure…and for gentlemen of a meaner station, the [houses] have fewer ornaments.” See Andrea Palladio, *The Four Books of Architecture*, intro. by Adolf K. Placzek (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1965), particularly the second book.

170 See Richard A. Goldthwaite, *The Building of Renaissance Florence: An Economic and Social History*, 110. Paolo Cortesi wrote *De Cardinalatu*, an encyclopedic book of conduct for established and aspiring prelates, in which he included a description of a cardinal’s ideal palace in the second chapter of the second book. It was published in 1510. In his concern for the value of the palace based on function, he discussed the distribution of the rooms and interior decoration, primarily appropriate subject matter of paintings for the many rooms. Due to the nature of the position, the construction of the house differed from other residences which thought of the spaces for a married couple. They were constructed as masculine territories, with no female component. Cortesi also mentioned portrayals of famous men as models for cardinals and their secular virtue exemplary for religious behavior of prelates. See Kathleen Weil-Garris and John F. D’Amico, “The Renaissance Cardinal’s Ideal Palace: A Chapter from Cortesi’s *De Cardinalatu*,” in *Studies in Italian Art and Architecture 15th through 18th Centuries* (Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome, XXXV), ed. by Henry A. Millon (Roma: Edizioni dell’ Elefante/ Cambridge, Mass. And London, England: The MIT Press, 1980), 47-123, especially 52, 90-95, 117.
stuffs of all kinds—until the very structure of the building was lost in the surfeit of decoration.” As the palace was spatially redefined, the private domestic world became a stage on which people acted out their social roles, and within this setting, their displayed portraits became an additional layer of their projected social selves. The social functions enacted within the domestic interior expanded radically, and occasions were created for the specific purpose of showcasing one’s increasing possessions. Double portraits, which hung within these spaces, also provided a visual link between the residents and their accumulated goods, thereby exhibiting their status two-fold.

Concurrently, urban society in Italy witnessed a rise in wages and an increase in highly-skilled craftsmen in the fifteenth century, and men of even modest status were able to afford luxury items beyond the necessities. In the courts of Northern Italy, larger wealth was concentrated in the hands of a single prince or small circle of courtiers, but in other cities, an “aggregate of individuals while spending at minimal levels still contributed to a higher total spending value. Florence, for example, became a veritable marketplace for objects, including the decorative arts.” Thriving open markets existed for certain categories of art objects in Florence, Rome, Venice, and other parts of Italy. Depending mainly on economic class and the size of a residence, certain types of objects common to many households, such as “bronze or wood crucifixes, smaller devotional panels, cassoni, maiolica, busts of the Virgin, and decorative tableware or jewelry,” increased the interaction between people and physical objects, fashioning the consumer’s own identity.

171 See Richard A. Goldthwaite, Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy 1300-1600, 111. He also commented that by the end of the century, there were separate rooms for sleeping, for eating, for receptions, for visitors, for games, for artworks, and for the family archives.
172 Ibid., 239. It seems that the increase and expansiveness of portraiture could be easily accommodated in these new surroundings.
through a personal collection of objects. The display of the decorative arts is suggested by the drawn image by a Florentine artist, Maso Finaguerra, which shows the presentation of *maiolica* plates and other wares on the back wall to the right in the scene of *Susanna and the Elders* (Fig. 1.65). The rising interest of the double-portrait format can also be seen through its transference to maiolica ware and its display in more diverse households by the sixteenth century. Throughout all this, portraits increased their consumer’s market.

The painted picture, considered one of the most high-ranking household objects, became increasingly secularized during this period. Although Alberti hardly mentioned furniture and furnishings, it is clear that paintings, including portraits, became an essential part of interior decoration everywhere in Italy. In a woodcut image from the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, a framed painting of two figures hangs on the back wall of Poliphilo’s bedroom showing a double-portrait prototype (Fig. 1.66). A *desco da parto* (birth tray) of c. 1580 by the workshop of the Patanazzi family presents an image of a couple in a sumptuously decorated room. In Armenini’s 1586 manual on painting, he wrote a section on the appropriate subjects for private palace decoration, which included

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174 See Arne R. Flaten, “Portrait Medals and Assembly-line Art in Late Quattrocento Florence,” in Marcello Fantoni, Marcello, Louisa C. Matthew, Sara F. Matthews-Grieco, eds., *The Art Market in Italy 15th-17th centuries (Il Mercato dell’Arte in Italia, Sec. XV-XVII)* (Ferrara: Franco Cosimo Panini Editore, 2003), 116; and Jacqueline Marie Musacchio, “The Medici Sale of 1495 and the Second-Hand Market for Domestic Goods in Late Fifteenth-Century Florence,” in ibid., 313. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, “the cardinal Giovanni Dominici emphasized the importance of having paintings in the home, especially pictures of child saints and young virgins for the religious education of children. Pictures were utilized by even modest homes due to the diffusion of inexpensive panel painting in the marketplace and the rise of devotional piety. Inventories in Florence even showed the commonality of the use of paintings through indication of them in every room including the kitchen and in the possession of servants.” See Richard A. Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy 1300-1600*, 142.


176 Poliphilo complains that Polia never answers his letters, Polifilo’s bedroom with painting on back wall, Hypnerotomachia Poliphili, Chapter 32, Woodcut, Venice, 1499.

177 Workshop of the Patanazzi family, *A Family*, top of a desco da parto, c. 1580, maiolica, Kunstgewerbemuseum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Also, Sienese artist, *Confinement Room Scene with the Back Wall Containing a Convex Mirror and a Painting of the Nativity*, c. 1520, wooden childbirth tray, Private Collection, Italy. This scene displays a convex mirror and a *Nativity* on the back wall.
paintings of history and poetry, relating to the virtues and profession of the patron and
his ancestors. His discussion largely focused on wall paintings with historical or
mythological themes for designated rooms. The subjects were to be arranged judiciously
in accordance with each location’s characteristics and their ability to enhance and
appropriately adorn them (i.e. more virtuous and skillful subjects for grand halls and
playful, made with less effort, and, perhaps, cheerful subjects for minor rooms). In one
instance, he mentioned portraiture, stating that “oil paintings or life-size portraits of
illustrious persons, painted by the most excellent masters” were for the adornment of
studies. According to Armenini, painted subjects, which include portraits, were also
suitable for minor rooms, such as antechambers, halls, stairs, balconies, baths,
conservatories, and storage rooms, arranged based on judgment as location-
appropriate. Still later, advice for the hanging and preserving of paintings was included
in Giulio Mancini’s treatise, Considerazioni sulla pittura, written around 1603 as a
consumer’s manual aimed even at purchasers of moderate means in the expanding art
market. Mancini described where certain paintings should be hung according to the
patron’s status and the spaciousness of their habitations, distinguishing practices for
princes, public figures, and private individuals. Portraits were no longer hidden in
sheltered spaces in closed cabinets by thesixteenth century. Tendency toward
aggrandizement in domestic interiors went hand-in-hand with the desires of individuals to
display oneself through portraiture, making visible connections with their residences and
property.

180 The size of the canvas also expanded.
The Renaissance attention to ancient precedent could also provide a clue to portrait display. Pliny commented that "round the doorways...in the halls of our ancestors, portraits were the objects displayed on a separate support to furnish likenesses of the family."\(^{181}\) Vitruvius in *De Architectura* suggested the wall height at which to hang *imaginies*. Harriet I. Flower has examined the display of portraits, including *imaginies clipeatae*, as described in a number of sources in Roman culture.\(^{182}\) Portrait busts, for example, were on display in niches and behind curtains. She also has suggested that a Roman house contained many ancestral portraits, especially in the entrance areas, as well as family trees, illustrated with painted portraits, shield portraits, busts, trophies with portraits, and narrative paintings.

Renaissance sources also provide clues to displaying portraits. Vasari wrote that "infinite numbers [of portraits], so well made and natural that they seem alive, are to be seen in every house in Florence, over chimneys, doors, windows, and cornices."\(^{183}\) His words are well illustrated by *Decorative Profile Portraits of Men and Women with Coat of Arms* by a Cremonese artist, now in the internal cornice of a room in the Museo Poldi Pezzuoli,

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181 See Pliny, *Natural History*, XXXV, ii.8, 6. Peter Stewart has commented that most ancient authors were preoccupied with Rome in their writings. See Peter Stewart, *Statues in Roman Society: Representation and Response* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 10; and Douglas Lewis, "An Early Series of Dynastic Busts by Alessandro Vittoria," *Artefact* 35, xviii (1997), 113.

182 The presence of the *imaginies* in the *atrium* even allowed the ancestors to appear as spectators for the rituals and activities in that particular location. See Harriet I. Flower, *Ancestor Masks and Aristocratic Power in Roman Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), esp. 32-33, 40-41, 202, 211-12, 222. I hardly think that this display type is an anomaly since it also occurs in the Renaissance, such as portrait busts residing in courtyards and lining family portraits in galleries, and displaying early portraits behind curtains or on protective shelves.

183 See Lorne Campbell, *Renaissance Portraits: European Portrait-Painting in the 14th, 15th, and 16th Centuries* (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 1990), 190. Also, Vasari mentioned a similar adornment in the houses in Venice in his biography of Giovanni Bellini (c. 1430-1516). He stated the following: "In all the houses of Venice, there are many portraits and in many of the gentlemen’s houses one may see their fathers and grandfathers up to the fourth generation, and in some of the most noble they go still farther back—a fashion which has ever been truly worthy of the greatest praise and existed even among the ancients." See Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, trans. by G. de Vere, I (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996), 494-95.
Milan, displayed much as they were in a fifteenth-century Cremonese palazzo (Fig. 1.67).\textsuperscript{184} In the biography of Giovanni Bellini included in his \textit{Vite}, Vasari also mentioned family portraits hanging in houses.\textsuperscript{185} A collection catalogue of Gabriele Vendramin’s palace on the Grand Canal, near San Gregorio, also indicates portrait display within the Venetian home. It states that “medium and small-sized pictures [are located] in the studies, that have not been depicted because they are old and they are put in some places to fill the compartments” and “diverse portraits… are for adornment of the house.”\textsuperscript{186} These statements indicate that portraits functioned as a decorative means, and not simply as fillers, in Venice, where accumulation of goods was at a high rate. A reference to the display of portraits is noted also in Mancini’s \textit{Considerazione della Pittura}, in his discussion of palatial habitations containing a variety of apartments. He stressed that portraits of illustrious personages and noble individuals should be hung in spaces where anyone is allowed to come, such as a hall or antechamber. In cases of an overabundance of pictures for one building, all that did not fit in such spaces could be placed in an improvised

\textsuperscript{184} Cremonese artist, \textit{Decorative Profile Portraits of Men and Women with Coat of Arms}, fifteenth century, oil on panel, cornice from Cremonese palace, now Museo Poldi Pezzuoli, Milan. Also consider how the portrait gallery is arranged in the Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.

\textsuperscript{185} He discussed portraits adorning public and private spaces and their display connected to antiquity. “e perché si era dato a far ritratti di naturale, introdusse usanza in quella città, che era in qualche grado si faceva o da lui o da altri ritrarre; onde in tutte le case di Vinezia sono molto ritratti, e in molte de’ gentiluomini si veggono gli avi e padri loro insino in quarta generazione, ed in alcune più nobili molto più oltre: usanza, certo, che è stata sempre lodevolissima, eziando appresso gli antichi. E chi non sente infinito piacere e contento, oltre l’orrevolezza ed ornamento che fanno, in vedere l’imagini de’ suoi maggiori; e massimamente se per I governi delle repubbliche, per opera egregie fatte in guerra ed in pace, e per letter, o per altra notabile e degnalata virtù, sono stati chieri ed illustri? Ed a che altro fine come si è detto in altro luogo, ponevano gli antichi le imagini degli uomini grandi ne’luoghi pubblici con onorate inscrizioni, che per accendere gli animi di coloro che venivano, alla virtù ed alla gloria.” See Giorgio Vasari, \textit{Le Opere di Giorgio Vasari}, III, 168-169 (located in the section on the Bellini family).

gallery of paintings arranged according to theme. Portraits, therefore, could also be concentrated in one location.\textsuperscript{187}

Framed portraits were even inserted into religious narratives in churches, a brazen act of self-commemoration that confirms widespread display and popularity.\textsuperscript{188} One such example is the self-portrait in a fresco cycle by Bernardino Pinturicchio (1454-1513), who painted his self-portrait in the classically-inspired scene of the \textit{Annunciation} in Santa Maria Maggiore in Spello (Fig. 1.68).\textsuperscript{189} Even business offices, such as the meeting room of an exchange guild, were utilized for portrait display. Perugino (1450-1523) showed himself in a framed self-portrait illusionistically hanging against the decorative border between two classicizing lunettes of twelve antique heroes with the four cardinal virtues in the Sala dell’Udienza of the Collegio del Cambio, Perugia (Fig. 1.69).\textsuperscript{190} In such instances, the artists are cast in illusionistic easel paintings, playing on notions of reality and artifice.

\textbf{The Dissemination of Portrait-like Representations Through Medals}

The growing popularity of portraits in fifteenth-century Italy can also be seen in Renaissance medals.\textsuperscript{191} While painted portraits appeared to have a familial or local audience, those on medals and prints were produced in multiples and easily transportable.

\textsuperscript{187} See Theron Bowcutt Butler, \textit{Giulio Mancini’s ‘Considerations on Painting’}, PhD Diss., Case Western Reserve University, 1972, 203-05.
\textsuperscript{188} Frames were beginning to be in use and elaborated. Pictures had the addition of picture frames which was a new type of display revolutionizing art itself. See Creighton Gilbert, “Peintres et Menuisiers au Debut de la Renaissance en Italie,” \textit{Revue de l’Art} 37 (1977), 14.
\textsuperscript{189} Bernardino di Betto, called il Pinturicchio, \textit{Annunciation}, details of his \textit{Self-Portrait}, fresco, Santa Maria Maggiore, Spello.
\textsuperscript{190} Perugino, \textit{Fresco Cycle with Framed Self-Portrait between Two Scenes}, c. 1500, fresco, Sala dell’Udienza, Collegio del Cambio, Perugia.
\textsuperscript{191} Portraits can be viewed in many capacities. Evelyn Welch has even mentioned the display of a mid-fifteenth century glass plate, decorated with grapes and vine leaves, peacocks, and other birds, while the center was left for a female figure wearing a French style head dress. She also has referred to an enameled white \textit{lattimo} drinking glass of c. 1495-1505, attributed to Giovanni Baroveir and Giovanni Maria Obizzo, which displays a frontal bust-length male figure in a \textit{tondo} on the glass. See Evelyn Welch, \textit{Art and Society in Italy 1350-1500} (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 61-62.
suggesting a broader audience. Renaissance scholars and friends used the medal medium in their portrait exchanges. Portraits of powerful individuals were also inserted in prints and book illustrations, on political and transnational levels.\textsuperscript{192} Portrait medals, which began as private commissions or tributes, entered the open market, due to the medalist Niccolò Fiorentino (1430-1514) who customized portrait medals with stock reverses of popular subjects. Portrait-like medals of the famed writers of Florence, such as Petrarch, Dante, and Boccaccio, also suggests an enterprise for tourists and a large collector's market.\textsuperscript{193} Medals of Florentine contemporaries such as Cosimo “il Vecchio” de’ Medici or Lorenzo “il Magnifico” appealed to Medici supporters, tourists, and collectors, indicated by the Portrait of a Man with the Medal of Cosimo de’ Medici the Elder by Sandro Botticelli. A young man, obviously a Medici enthusiast, holds up a portrait medal of Cosimo the Elder (Fig. 1.70).\textsuperscript{194}

In the last quarter of the fifteenth century, the function of medals continued to expand, as witnessed by the development of the uniface medal, which, lacking a reverse was displayed in many ways. These medals resided in bags, small boxes, as well as wooden, stucco, and jeweled cabinets; they were propped on ledges, fastened to frames and books, attached to furniture, and at times worn by patrons on small chains. They were also sometimes hung from chains across the doorways and interiors of studioli.\textsuperscript{195} This type of display is quite reminiscent of Pliny the Elder’s advice to hang likenesses


\textsuperscript{193}See Arne R. Flaten, “Portrait Medals and Assembly-Line Art in Late Quattrocento Florence,” in Marcello Fantoni, Louisa C. Matthew, Sara F. Matthews-Grieco, eds., The Art Market in Italy 15th-17th Centuries (Il Mercato dell’ Arte in Italia, Sec. XV-XVII, 116-126, esp. 134.

\textsuperscript{194}Sandro Botticelli, Portrait of a Man with the Medal of Cosimo de Medici the Elder, c. 1474-75, tempera on panel, 57.5 x 44 cm, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence. This painting is a part of the “portrait within a portrait” genre further discussed in Chapter Four.

\textsuperscript{195} See Marcello Fantoni, Louisa C. Matthew, Sara F. Matthews-Grieco, eds., The Art Market in Italy 15th-17th Centuries (Il Mercato dell’ Arte in Italia, Sec. XV-XVII, 132.
around doorways. A fifteenth-century _Double Portrait Medal of a Man and a Lady_ of the Ferrarese School has two sets of holes at the top center, perhaps one for hanging on a wall and another for use as jewelry (see Fig. 1.35).

**The Placement of Sculpted Portraits**

With the imitation of display _alla romana_, people commissioned sculpted portraits as well. However, unlike the case in ancient times, sculptural portraits of living persons were rarely displayed outside private palaces—where they were found in bedrooms, semi-public rooms, and _cortili_. The placing of a single bust over a doorway, much in the manner Pliny described, was popular. Vasari recorded having seen the portrait busts of Piero de’ Medici (“The Unfortunate,” 1471-1503) and his wife, Alfonsina Orsini de’ Medici (1472-1520), above the doors of Piero’s apartment in the Medici palace. Patricia Fortini-Brown has mentioned a growing penchant in Venice for “ostentation and display” over utility by the sixteenth century—a taste that inflected commissions for portraiture. Since wealthy people did not live on the ground floor in Venetian _palazzi_ as in those of other Italian cities, the staircase, often wide and grand, became a place of presentation in the Renaissance. Such staircases often opened directly onto a courtyard. They were sometimes adorned with colonnaded banisters and sculpted decoration of animals, foliage, or human heads. The human heads were usually portraits of the family, and precursors to portrait busts _all’antica_, such as were placed in the courtyard of the Zorzi

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197 Consideration still needs to be made as to where Tullio Lombardo’s double portrait reliefs were placed.
family. Perhaps in a similar manner, double-portrait heads are visible in two columns found on the colonnade of the loggia surrounding the Doge’s palace (Fig. 1.71).

**Signs of the Increasing Popularity of Double Portraits**

The increase in residential space and interest in the accumulation of luxury goods probably also contributed to the usage of double portraits in the sixteenth century. Double-portrait examples exist from most major cities in Italy, including Florence, Venice, Milan, and Rome. The genre also spread through the provinces, as Lorenzo Lotto in the Marches, the Bassano family in the Veneto, and the Campi family in Cremona experimented with double portraiture, and examples are still extant. Records such as residential inventories list double portraits in their contents. A Medici inventory, for example, records that the painter Giovanni Battista Franco (c. 1500-1561) made a *pastiche* portrait of Clement VII with Ippolito for the duke Cosimo de’Medici. Similarly, the *Inventario dei Mobile di Bonifazio Negri* mentioned that while in Negri’s *salotta*, a public room, displayed religious paintings of Saint Joseph and the Madonna, his bedroom, a private chamber, contained profane paintings of Diana, another of Venus, and one of the two goddesses together. The *Inventario* of the *camera* refers to a mythological double portrayal, described as “un retratto di una Venere et Diana cornisato” (a portrait of a

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199 Venetian artist, *Capitals with Double-Portrait Composition*, c. 1400, marble or Istrian stone, Museo dell’Opera di Palazzo Ducale, Venice.


Venus and Diana framed).\textsuperscript{202} As we shall see, double portraits sometimes were hidden within the context of allegorical or mythological figures, similar to the description of Bonifazio’s Venus and Diana.

Eager Bolognese private collectors Alessio Orsi and Tommaso Gozzadini listed many paintings in their property from the 1570s. Caroline P. Murphy has pointed out that property inventories from the first generation of Bolognese collectors, who were born in the 1540s and 50s had a varied taste in painting subjects, unlike the earlier generations. They acquired a substantial number of diversified pictures to furnish their houses.\textsuperscript{203} Orsi’s 1574 property inventory, for example, indicates that his palazzo contained religious and secular imagery, including portraits and a literary double portrait. It lists an example of The Agony in the Garden, Pietà, two Annunciations, fourteen unnamed paintings of various subjects, a portrait of the patron, six other portraits, and, significantly, a portrait-like representation of Petrarch with Laura.\textsuperscript{204}

A sixteenth-century inventory of the Malvezzi-Lupari family in Bologna lists “un quadretto con due sposi” (a small painting of a married couple) among the other images—religious, secular, and portraits.\textsuperscript{205} This inventory not only mentioned the possession of a double portrait, but suggests the importance of listing it, by this date, as a separate item. Two other inventories from Ferrara and Rome list double portraits by

\textsuperscript{202} Perhaps, the placement of the goddess of love together with the goddess of chastity was for a matrimonial context.

\textsuperscript{203} See Caroline P. Murphy, “The Market for Pictures in Post-Tridentine Bologna,” in Marcello Fantoni, Louisa C. Matthew, Sara F. Matthews-Grieco, eds., The Art Market in Italy 15th-17th Centuries (Il Mercato dell’Arte in Italia, Sec. XV.-XVII, 45.

\textsuperscript{204} See “27 Ottobre 1574. Tutella et inventario dell’heredità del Mag. S. Alessio delli Orsi, nella S. Sulpitia del Co. Girolamo Pepoli sua Moglie,” Archivio Orsi, Istumenti 135, no. 7. ASB. Cited in Ibid., 45.

\textsuperscript{205} See the complete inventory of Pirro Malvezzi’s paintings, Archivio Malvezzi-Lupari, Istrumenti (Serie II) 25, no 109, ASB: no. 9. “9” cited in Marcello Fantoni, Louisa C. Matthew, Sara F. Matthews-Grieco, eds., The Art Market in Italy 15th-17th Centuries (Il Mercato dell’Arte in Italia, Sec. XV.-XI II, esp. 45, 48. When Malvezzi died in 1603, about seventy-five paintings were listed in his home. Thirteen were religious, some recorded his alliance with the Hapsburgs, and he also had a huge collection of family portraits.
Giorgione. The 1632 inventory of the possessions of Roberto Canonici of Ferrara notes “Due figure dal mezzo in sù di Giorgione da Castelfranco,” (two half-length figures above by Giorgione) while that of the Ludovisi collection in Rome lists “un quadro di due ritratti mezzo figure” (a painting of two portraits half-length) by the same artist.206

As noted, Vasari wrote that portraits were displayed in many areas of residences including *sopraporti*, the spaces above the doorways. Horizontal bust-length double portraits tended to be painted on a wide canvas or panel to accommodate a second person, a format well suited to such spaces. In the Sala di Clementino of the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence, two double portraits, decorated with a cornice, still hang where they were originally placed above doorways, quite similar to Vasari’s description (Fig. 1.72). These works by Vasari (and the assistance of Stradano), the *Double Portrait of Pope Clement VII* (*Giulio di Giuliano de’Medici*) with Francis I and *Double Portrait of Pope Clement VII and Charles V*, each depict two bust-length men, a Medici pope with a ruler, turning toward each other (Fig. 1.72).207 They not only demonstrate the allegiance of the two men to each other, but also symbolically display power from their placement above the doorways, linking the images to the possessor of the room.

Ostentatious accumulation of possessions and display of wealth contributed to the placement of portraits as a means to express ownership. The arrangement of a semi-public room could become a type of art gallery in and of itself. Renaissance inventories tend to be silent on the specific arrangement of paintings within houses, yet a later

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lithograph after a drawing by the English artist, Lake Price, gives a sense of the appearance of an early seventeenth-century art gallery in a Venetian residence.\(^{208}\) By the sixteenth century, double portraits were in wide use to display familial or political connections. Perhaps the largest display of double portraits from the 1580s is in the Sala del Gran Consiglio of the Palazzo Ducale, Venice, where the portraits line the walls near the ceiling, chronologically presenting the doges in pairs (Figs. 1.73 and 1.74).\(^{209}\) Such a grand display undoubtedly stimulated further production of double portraiture.

**The Audience and Reception for the Double Portrait**

Spectatorship is inherently linked to the spaces in which double portraits were located. As we have seen, Renaissance families who enjoyed or aspired to higher social status filled their palaces with sumptuous furniture, clothing, and art objects that became props in their presentation of self. Portraits helped in the construction of identity. Their original settings were primarily residential palaces or homes allowing visitors to gaze upon images of the proprietor’s ancestors, current family members, and friends. These portraits were for privileged viewers granted entry to these premises: family, friends, and guests. Doubles became exemplars in these reception spaces, where they could be seen everyday, as when the patron walked through his home; or periodically, by guests coming into these spaces upon occasion; or durationally—by the extended family over generations, like ancestral portraits for emulation.\(^{210}\) With the multiplication of portraits through medallic


\(^{209}\) The display of the doges in pairs is further discussed in Chapter Five of my dissertation.

\(^{210}\) Ancient *imagines* hung in similar areas of the house, such as the entrance and reception areas, as focal points and serving as backdrops to occasions, such as festivities in honor of birth, coming of age, marriage,
or print media, additional onlookers could gaze upon important, prestigious pairings of contemporary figures. Yet, because of their small scale, medals and prints ensured an intimate viewing context.

The role of the audience is not passive, but rather involves an active stance in constructing meanings. Aristotle defined representation as “making present again.” There is an intrinsic need for an onlooker when viewing a portrait that involves the recognition of a missing individual. By identifying a “likeness,” the portrait makes someone present through a visual form. By realizing who is absent through the substitution process, the portrait gives the absent person a tangible presence.211 By applying Aristotle’s theory of “re-presentation” to the viewer of not only the appearance of one person’s “likeness,” but also to the visual embodiment of two sitters, how does the notion of absence/presence differ? The onlooker of the double portrait has the ability to respond to the substitution or loss of each individual, the two presented individuals, and the represented relationship on view. If the patron, is he/she viewed in the image? And, is their associated companion in the double portrait distant or deceased? If the viewer was patron for a double portrait, he could respond not only to the loss of a loved one, but also attempt to visually re-enact the loss of the relationship with that other person (illustrated especially in the thematic doubles of the “portrait within the portrait” or marriage) or the viewer could re-create the absence of two people (as in friendship double

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portraits). If the assumed sitters were both alive and geographically close, the double portrait could also serve as a recognizable and documented reminder of an important occasion for all to remember—a record for the patron and/or sitters viewing, and for subsequent generational viewing of the double portrait after the patron and/or sitters’ demise. Double portraits, through exhibiting an intimacy by pairing, performed a certain role within Renaissance society, becoming visual testimonies to relationships.

The representation of a person implies and necessitates the viewer’s conscious response to the subject. Linda Seidel has stated that meaning is neither found nor given, but … takes shape arbitrarily, and … is dependent upon associations and circumstances that scholars, artists, and viewers all bring to their engagement with paintings. It is not constructed by any one of them alone, although each of us is responsible for the orchestration of our own responses.

Alberti distinguished the interests of the viewer from those of the artist and of the sitter, believing that “mimetic painting, epitomized by portraiture, thus involved a relationship between three distinguishable personae or voices.” The viewer interprets with his/her individual mental framework an image of a sitter or two sitters that is already endowed with meaning. By extension, the painting, specifically a double portrait, reflects the visual culture of the Renaissance sitters and viewers. The attitudes and expectations are thereby common to the inhabitants of that particular society, who collectively recognize what is being indicated and the meanings invoked by the double portraits. Michael Baxandall has

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212 The “portrait within the portrait” clearly indicated a defunct person together with an alive person in the same image, while double portraits of husbands and wives also sometimes reveal a dead and an alive individual within the same frame. It is known that this was done by documentary evidence, that of an inscription on the back of a canvas, which indicated three living and two dead people in a group portrait. See Lavinia Fontana, Portrait of the Gozzadini Family, oil on canvas, 253 x 191 cm, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna [1161].

213 See Peter Stewart, Statues in Roman Society: Representation and Response, 13.


emphasized the cultural construction of vision, what he termed the “period eye,” which typified a set of viewing norms to which artists responded in their works.\footnote{216} According to Baxandall, the typical Renaissance viewer was male.\footnote{217} Some women, however, such as widows or female patricians could have commissioned double portraits, such as images of themselves with their deceased spouses.\footnote{218} Even if women were not patrons, they could still play a role, though diminished, as spectators if a double portrait was hanging on the wall in the family palazzo.\footnote{219}

The reception of double images, as opposed to portraits presenting a solitary sitter, complicates the notion of a “social front” for the sitter and interpretation by the viewer.

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\footnote{217} Patricia Simons also believed that profile portraits of Florentine women from the Quattrocento were primarily made for male patrons and addressed male viewers. The male gaze was, thus, “a metaphor for worldliness and virility.” See Patricia Simons, “Women in Frames: The Gaze, the Eye, the Profile in Renaissance Portraiture” \textit{History Workshop}, 25 (1988), 4-30, reproduced also in \textit{The Expanding Discourse: Feminism and Art History}, ed. by Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrard (New York: Harper Collins Books, 1992), 39-58, esp. 41.

\footnote{218} A woman could be sometimes considered a patron of a “portrait within a portrait,” in which a woman is seen holding up a framed portrait of her dead husband. Certain painted objects were linked to women as viewer, such as \textit{deschi da parto}, which were for women only, though they could have been devised by men. Boccaccio’s \textit{Lady Fiammetta} could be considered an active feminine voice and for women readers. Boccaccio, though male, has the lady speak in her own voice as she writes in the first person. See Adrian W.B. Randolph, “Gendering the Period Eye: \textit{Deschi da Parto} and Renaissance Visual Culture,” \textit{Art History} 27:4 (September 2004), 538-562; Edward J. Olszewski, “Piero di Cosimo’s Lady Fiammetta,” \textit{Source} 21/2, winter 2002, 6-21.

\footnote{219} In discussing a fragmented feminine discourse for Quattrocento Florence, Simons believed that the profile portrait could also be added to the conversation. In this instance, Simons has argued that “a young female viewer was instructed by her mother’s portrait and shaped herself in her mother’s image.” In addition, women became informed participants in the selection of brides, “taking on a surrogate male position, [as]…fierce female observers…defending their stake in their own economy.” See Patricia Simons, “Women in Frames: The Gaze, the Eye, the Profile in Renaissance Portraiture,” in \textit{The Expanding Discourse: Feminism and Art History}, ed. by Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrard (New York: Harper Collins Books, 1992), 48-49. Jennifer Craven has also suggested female viewing of portraits. She believed that housewives were trained to be active onlookers in fifteenth-century Florence, especially from palace windows in their homes and mindful of their self-presentation in the home and out in public. See Jennifer E. Craven, “A New Historical View of the Independent Female Portrait in Fifteenth-Century Florentine Painting,” PhD diss, University of Pittsburgh, 1997, 171.
For the paired portrait, three parties perform an interchange, two within the frame and the viewer outside. One member of the portrait could aid in the viewer’s understanding of the other sitter. The two portrayed persons could present a sort of power control over the viewer in their concerted presence, or as suggested by Raphael’s *Double Portrait of Andrea Navagero and Agostino Beazzano*, the double portrait could require the viewer to complete the circle and therefore the composition of the portrait (Fig. 1.75).²²⁰ The spectator is presented with a certain relationship set up within the image evoking a meaning constructed by social concerns. The double portrait presents the onlooker with a perceived affiliation that the patron, artist, and sitters wanted to communicate with their cognizant audience, such as stressing a marital bond using emblems (i.e. a strand of beads or an embrace of hands). These details were culturally recognizable and established a set of norms to indicate what the paired sitters and/or patron would like to convey. The combined meanings of these signs within double portraits rendered the nature of the relationships on view transparent to their known and invited contemporary audience of similar standing. Reception, therefore, was a complex series of exchanges, in which the viewer as interpreter decoded the visual language of the double portrait. The coming together of paired sitters defines a specific moment in many cases, a precise time when the lives of two individuals converge.

Chapter Two  
*With or Without Constraints: Love and Marriage in Double Portraiture*

*Introduction*

The subject of this chapter is the representation of a man and woman within the same frame. The most common form and obvious occasion for this type of double portrait is the presentation of a couple in a marital bond, thus creating a visual record consciously unifying families and displaying their rank. In the discussion that follows, I concentrate on the visual construction of male and female identity as reflected in marital doubles, addressing issues of gender, sexual difference, audience, and the gaze through individual art objects, primarily paintings. I then extend my discussion of double portraits to encompass other facets of visual culture (i.e. maiolica plates, prints, and medals). These art objects illuminate transference of double-portrait design and motifs from one medium to another to enrich what we can learn about the culture, gender relations, and function of them in Renaissance Italy.

Scholarship on Renaissance portraits separates discourse along gendered terms. Feminist art history typically situates portraits of Renaissance women into a stylistically generalized category, focusing on the beauty of the subjects and their status as display objects for the male gaze. Male portraits are often thought to be societal display-objects projecting the virility, status, and wealth of the subjects. The divergent approaches to male and female portraits are reevaluated in this chapter when considering double portraits of two genders. How do male and female roles, discussed in previous scholarship and seemingly enacted in individual portraits, change when placed in the context of a single frame? Gendered (male and female) double portraiture sets up a dynamic that does not obtain in individual portraits. The treatment of each gender in
isolation is impractical, for a balancing act is formed within the pictorial realm. Are the two sitters given equal importance in the composition, or do men maintain superiority over women? In considering the balancing act within the image, do the two sitters maintain equal importance within the composition and, if so, what does this reveal about the society in which they were produced? Do these portraits differ from single portraits in relation to gaze, beauty, and relative placement? Double portraiture in this chapter is seen not just a representation of two people, but presents the viewer with a solid relationship, that of marital union.

The subjects in a conjugal double portrait are tied to each other in the common visual field. In contrast, paired portraits, or pendants, of a married couple, as mentioned in the Introduction, maintain the autonomy of each individual. The literature on portraiture has continually perpetuated the theory that, though there are exceptions, the Italian conjugal double portrait was rare and of less interest in Italy than in the North.1 David R. Smith has assessed Dutch marriage portraiture, including pendant portraits and double portraits, as a manifestation of the social principles of seventeenth-century Dutch culture. He reiterated this same erroneous speculation of the inconsequential nature of Italian double portraits in his book, and equated the limited number of marital double portraits in Italy to the disproportionately small number of female portraits that have survived.2

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If the couple is bound by law, why not also be wed in an image? The double portrait in Italy developed in tandem with artistic and societal changes in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Double portraits initially presented a disconnected pair of individuals in a common visual pattern, but artists progressively moved toward a compositional structure that melded the two persons in a conversational space. In pendants of a man and a woman, one could be painted, the other added at a later date, but at the expense of the dialogue between the two individuals involved. This was impossible in a double portrait, which presupposed the integration of the two sitters and was often created to commemorate their engagement.

Artists from a variety of regions in Italy, including Venice by the sixteenth century, grappled with the compositional format needed to display matrimony. The fervent writings about marriage during this period surely invigorated the production of the painted image of conjugality. In this culture bound to courtly behavior, as described by Castiglione in his Book of the Courtier, the marital image also adhered to a tradition of formality: the subjects were constrained even while conjoined. They became actors on a stage projecting a proper appearance and comportment, as well as inhabiting a certain setting, all to be decoded by a knowing audience.

The compositional elements in Italian marital double portraiture, like those of double portraits in general as mentioned in Chapter One, stemmed from a myriad of sources, such as Roman grave stelae and religious images containing donor portraits. Smith has claimed that Italian artists lacked widely accepted pictorial conventions to draw

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3 In On Painting, Alberti counseled painters to familiarize themselves with poets, rhetoricians, and others equally well learned in letters, incorporating written ideas, such as in this case with texts on matrimony, into their painted subjects. See Leon Battista Alberti, On Painting, trans. by John R. Spencer (New Haven/London: 1966), 91.

4 See Stephen Greenblatt’s work which focuses on the need to view the formal aspects of texts through the sociological determinants at the time of production. See Stephen Greenblatt, Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).
upon, unlike their Dutch counterparts. Yet, Italian marriage double portraits did have standard pictorial conventions and iconography. The audience viewing the conjugal double portraits would have been mindful of hierarchical positioning, eye contact, and traditional signs which indicated a pair as wed and conveyed the expected roles of the husband and wife in that union.

Portraiture’s development, including experimentation with format (bust, half, three-quarter, and full-length) and figural positioning to fit the desired content, was a transnational affair. Jan van Eyck is noted for his impact on European portraits through his detailed rendering of facial features, while Titian influenced Netherlandish portraiture by revealing more of the body in lengthening the portrait size. Germany seems to have been the place of origin for marital portraits later found in the Netherlands and Italy. Berthold Hinz, the first scholar to trace the development of the marriage portrait in Germany, the Netherlands, and Italy during the sixteenth century, believed that the marriage portrait was made strictly for dynastic interests. In my catalogue of Italian marriage double portraits, the sheer abundance of examples forces a reconsideration of this assumption. Hinz’s heraldic concern is certainly a key factor in the conjugal double portrait, and aristocratic decorum is readily apparent. Yet, there were other types of marriage portraits in sixteenth-century Italy that expressed the religious piety of the sitters or their occupations. There are signals of broader usage among the social classes, and examples of more relaxed domestic images of married couples, with an interest in genre

6 Titian’s style had a direct influence, for example, on the portraits by Antonius Mor.
8 He connected the marriage double portrait to medieval tomb sculpture and the illustrated family tree. See Berthold Hinz, “Studien zur Geschichte Ehepaarbildnisses,” 139-218.
scenes. The category is therefore considerably varied contradicting the assumptions of most previous scholars.

**Reading the Signs of Lavinia Fontana’s Portrait of a Couple**

In the following discussion of a single Italian double portrait, I unravel the compositional and social structures that are built into this kind of composition and situate it within its historical and artistic context. The *Portrait of a Couple* in the Cleveland Museum of Art is currently attributed to Lavinia Fontana and approximately dated c. 1560-1585 (see Fig. I.1). An elaborately dressed man and a woman, both in three-quarter view, turn toward each other at an angle, before a grayish-brown background. Their ages, thirty-two and twenty-eight, respectively, are inscribed above their heads (reminiscent of a feature on some ancient grave stelae). The date of the painting, the artist who produced it, and the identity of the sitters remain matters of speculation. Nonetheless, this image of a married couple displays their expected conjugal roles within wedlock and interlocking matrimonial bond through the use of positioning, gesture, and costume. The man turns to the viewer’s right while the woman is rotated uncomfortably to the viewer’s left. Their pivotal stance toward each other causes the two figures to appear intertwined by an overlapping of the man’s left arm and the woman’s right (Fig.

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9 Unlike the increasing role of domesticity within double portraits in seventeenth-century Holland, Smith has argued that patrons were not inclined to commemorate their married lives in portraiture nor in portraying domestic interests in sixteenth-century Italy. He believed that since the major role a woman could play in a portrait during this period was that of a wife and mother in the company of her husband that she was on the majority left out of portrait images. However, this belief is incorrect. The sixteenth century was a time of renewed discussions on the roles of women and their importance within the family line for the very fact that they were mothers. As I will mention, these discussions are illustrated in portraiture of the time. See David R. Smith, “Rembrandt’s Early Double Portraits and the Dutch Conversation Piece,” *Art Bulletin*, LXIV, no. 2 (June 1982), 272, fn. 45.

10 Attributed to Lavinia Fontana, *Portrait of a Couple*, c. 1580-85, oil on canvas, 99.8 cm x 140.5 cm, Cleveland Museum of Art [1916.793]. The attribution is questionable.
The joining of their arms forms a V-shape and evokes a degree of familiarity. The man wears a black velvet suit and starched white undershirt. He is adorned with three gold chain links around his neck, two swords, a belt, and a single ring. He grips a book in his right hand and rests his left hand on the hilt of his sword. A letter rests on the corner of the table next to him and, along with the book, indicates his learning (Fig. 2.2). His scholarly accomplishment is coupled with a sense of power and nobility through his display of two swords. The manner in which he is portrayed is linked to the elaborate rhetoric of costume and gesture in Renaissance society. Quintilian, in his *Institutio Oratoria*, advised the orator to raise his left hand far enough to form a right angle at the elbow, in a similar manner to how the man’s left arm is crooked. Quintilian, whose work was much read in the Renaissance, further suggested that the right hand should be active when making a speech, or holding an object, to make an imperative gesture, much as the nobleman in the double portrait is gripping the book in front of him with his right hand.

The woman wears a black ornamented dress with puffed sleeves. Her hair is pulled back and is covered with a transparent veil. Her left arm hangs down stiffly to her side and she holds a *flohpelz* or marten’s skin with a jeweled head, a traditional sign of propriety (Fig. 2.3). Her fair complex contrasts with a ruddy one of her husband. She

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11 Diagonal lines are also formed from her shoulder down across her dress to his hand and from his right shoulder across the diagonal of his belt to her body.
12 Renaissance society read ancient ideas on rhetoric by such writers as Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian. See Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, trans. H.E. Butler (Loeb Classical Library: 1972), IV, 332 [XI, iii.141]. The publishing of John Bulwer’s treatise on gestures, *Chirologia: or the Natural Language of the Hand and Chironomia: or the Art of Manual Rhetoric*, which was first published in 1644, derived from earlier manuals of gestures, such as Giovanni Bonifacio’s *L’arte de’ cenni con la quale formandosi favella visibile, si tratta della muta eloquenza, che non è altro che un facendo silento* (Vicenza: Francesco Grossi, 1616). See John Bulwer, *Chirologia: or the Natural Language of the Hand and Chironomia: or the Art of Manual Rhetoric*, ed. by J. W. Cleary (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1974).
13 Bound hair or a covering of the hair is a traditional sign of a married woman. This could stem from the Bible (I Corinthians 11:5-7), which suggested that women must cover their heads in church as a sign of submission. Thereby, it could indicate her submission to her husband.
14 These furs primarily had two distinct functions: an apotropaic use and a prominent accessory to the lady’s dress. They also had the added use of attracting fleas off the human body and onto the animal skin.
wears a gold *paternoster*, a type of chain belt frequently worn by married women, signaling her virtue and marital status. The linked signs of costume, jewelry, skin tones, and gestures direct the viewer’s attention to courtly status and wealth, and the sitters’ balanced appearance suggests their shared social class.¹⁵

The two figures are, in a sense, fighting for space within the frame. Both their gazes vie for the attention of the viewer. The man’s dark coat contrasts with the abundance of white in the woman’s garments and face, forcing the viewer’s eyes to jump back and forth between the two. The Cleveland *Portrait of a Couple* is consistent with the separation of the genders in traditional Italian portraiture in so far as the figures maintain a psychological distance from each other. By being pushed back from the picture plane, the sitters are distanced from the viewer even while they compete for the viewer’s attention. Though the man and woman connect by the touching of their arms, the manner in which they touch lacks obvious symbols (hand-holding or the exchange of rings) of a betrothal or wedding ceremony portrait such as Jan van Eyck’s *Arnolfini Double*.

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¹⁵ In sixteenth-century Italy, it was the norm to marry within one’s own social stratum.
Portrait (see Fig. 1.54), or the most famous Italian example, Lorenzo Lotto’s *Double Portrait of Antonio Marsilio and his Bride, Faustina Cassotti* (1523) (Fig. 2.4).¹⁶

The *Portrait of a Couple* also can be read as posing a hierarchical and traditional opposition of the traditional roles of male and female. The male character projects himself forward and eclipses the female figure, compelling her to become more submissive. His active role is reinforced by his accessories: swords, letter, and book (see Fig. 2.2). She, by contrast, is empty-handed except for the fur piece. The male figure’s dress is closed showing no flesh except for the hands and the face, while the woman wears an open collar, perhaps indicating receptiveness to the man and the viewer. Yet, the choker she wears around her neck suggests the imposition of traditional societal norms imposed, and she is literally constrained behind her husband by the placement of his arm in front of her (see Fig. 2.1).¹⁷ The triangle formed by her belt ends at a point immediately above his hand, thus indicating her tie to him. In addition, her costume and jewelry do not demonstrate her status in society as much as his rank.¹⁸ Jewelry was either borrowed from or given by the groom and the spouse becomes a display platform for the groom’s

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¹⁷ Jacques Heers has suggested that a *collana* worn by the bride symbolized submission to her husband. When the bride was paraded to her new husband’s home, she wore a crown, as Altiere mentioned as a tribute to her virginity and could be equated to the Virgin Mary. See Jacques Heers, *Fêtes jeux et joutes dans les Sociétés d’Occident à la fin du Moyen age* (Montreal/Paris: 1974), 17.

property, a sign of his wealth. The woman’s appearance, in this way, reflected the status of her father or husband.\textsuperscript{19}

Along with the positioning of the man in front of the woman, his sword becomes a phallic symbol and alludes to his active role in the sexual contact leading toward procreation. His hand and the hilt of the sword are also placed at an angle toward her pelvic region. The man’s left hand is shown against her pelvic region, playfully nuzzling the nose of the flohpelz as if it was a pet (Fig. 2.5). The marten’s fur thus becomes a metaphoric device, allowing the wife to also become the husband’s pet. The symbolic meaning traditionally associated with animals such as rabbits and martens is reproductive.\textsuperscript{20} The placement of the marten within the context of a double portrait possibly alludes to the fecundity of the couple.\textsuperscript{21} Bracelets worn around both her wrists are made of coral, an apotropaic symbol, and perhaps also signaling good fortune in marriage and in producing offspring. The man’s dominant role within the double portrait

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\textsuperscript{19} Margaret L. King has also discussed the woman’s appearance as a reflection of the status of the woman’s father or husband. She stated that “the material adornments of a woman’s body were, then, expressions of the status of a related male: clothing, and even more jewelry, were signs of his social standing.” See Margaret L. King, \textit{Women of the Renaissance} (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991), 53; and Patricia Simons, “Women in Frames: the Gaze, the Eye, the Profile in Renaissance Portraiture,” 42-43.

\textsuperscript{20} In Paolo Veronese’s \textit{Portrait of Countess Lucia da Porto Thiene and her Daughter Poggi} (c. 1551, oil on canvas, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore), the lady, shown full-length, wears loose clothing on her now larger form and a marten’s head hangs from her fur piece. Her hand is also placed on the right side of her body. The countess, at this date, was pregnant, and her condition could be alluded to by these references.

\textsuperscript{21} The woman’s right hand, placed on the right side of her ribcage, could refer to a pregnant state. Peter Humfrey has suggested such for the \textit{Portrait of Lucina Brembate} (c. 1520, oil on panel, Accademia dell’Arte, Bergamo), in which the “sitter’s hand across her stomach supposes that she is pregnant.” Lucina also holds a weasel-head pelt, which signals her hopes for a successful outcome. The fact that the woman in the Cleveland \textit{Double Portrait} places her right hand on the right side of her body possibly reiterates the hope of a male heir. Giorgione’s \textit{Venus of 1507-08} (Dresden) and Titian’s \textit{Venus of Urbino} of 1538 (Florence) were wedding commissions. Rona Goffen has discussed the relationship between brides and Venuses. Since the Venus is lying on her right side, it indicates future marriage nuptials and the bride’s hope of conception of a male heir. Rudolf M. Bell, after studying several sixteenth-century advice manuals, has noted the importance of the right side of the body. He has suggested that “Savonarola posits that the right side of the wife’s uterus is warmer and more likely to aid in producing a male child.” One such anonymous advice manual, called \textit{Segreti bellissimi}, stated that if the woman “walks leading with her right foot, then it’s a boy….” The author assures readers, that [the woman has] more right-side movements …not only will the mother-to-be of a son walk with her right foot first, she will also get up from a chair by leaning on her right arm.” See Peter Humfrey, \textit{Lorenzo Lotto} (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1997), 69; Rona Goffen, ed., \textit{Titian’s ‘Venus of Urbino’} (Cambridge University Press: 1997), 78; and Rudolf M. Bell, \textit{How to Do It: Guides to Good Living for Renaissance Italians} (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1999), 24 and 76.
could also refer to the fact that he is protecting his wife. She is of utmost importance in procreation, as a bearer of his children, and her role as such is the source of her own power and privilege in the relationship. The husband, asserting his role as provider/protector of the family, not only shelters her from the (male) viewer’s gaze, but also guards his family lineage. In this reading, the man has not allowed his wife to take the privileged position on the heraldic dexter. She remains on the traditional heraldic sinister side. In this way, the male priority over the female is retained within the framework of the Cleveland Portrait of a Couple.

**Gendered Portrayal in the Conjugal Double Portrait**

Close examination of the Portrait of a Couple in Cleveland provides a lens into the role of each gendered sitter in society. In art historical scholarship devoted to gender distinctions in Italian Renaissance portraiture, a point of departure is provided by early modern literature, particularly sonnets and treatises, which form a dialectic of masculinity and femininity. These works describe the active role and individual character of the male, while the female characterization centers on generalized notions of feminine beauty. Separations made by gender affected their visual counterparts in portraiture. Feminist art history understands Renaissance women as display objects for the male gaze. Their representation is keyed to the assumed male spectator.

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22 In heraldry, each coat of arms has a right (dexter) and left (sinister) side, as observed by the person carrying the shield. Dexter has also been named the “masculine” side and sinister the “feminine.” One of the ways to represent a married couple in heraldry is by placing both partners’ arms side by side, called impaled, on one shield, with the husband’s on the viewer’s left (or heraldic dexter) and the wife’s on the viewer’s right (or heraldic sinister).

23 Rona Goffen has suggested the misogynistic undercurrent in Renaissance literature, poems, and treatises at this time that set up almost impossible ideals and idealized generalizations for women, primarily regarding beauty. There was a rapid proliferation of these writings by the beginning of the sixteenth century. See Rona Goffen, *Titian’s Women* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1997), 5; and André Chastel, *Art et Humanisme à Florence au temps de Laurent le Magnifique: Etudes sur la Renaissance et l’Humanisme platonicien*, 2nd ed. (Paris: 1961), 297-98.
Traditional fifteenth-century portraits separate the man from the woman in different frames, as in Ercole de’ Roberti’s *Portrait of Giovanni II Bentivoglio* and *Portrait of Ginevra Bentivoglio* of c. 1474/77.\(^{24}\) Up to mid-century, the profile was the most popular pose.\(^{25}\) Loren Campbell has suggested that this type of presentation limited the painter, unable to individualize or characterize the sitter’s features.\(^{26}\) Profile portraits tend to give the countenances of both male and female sitters a stylized, ornamental character. Profile portraits of men focus on the nobility of their birth, power, and wealth, while women’s profile portraits serve to emphasize their role in perpetuating the family line, and were often gazed upon primarily by their husbands. In the profile format, female portraits idealize their sitter’s beauty and contain emblems of their virtue. With their emphasis on elaborate hairstyles, jewelry, and costume, they are decorative in nature. The profile format helps to call attention to their adornments, which, as Francesco Barbaro wrote in his treatise, *On Wifely Duties* (1416), “are taken as evidence of the wealth of the husband.”\(^{27}\)

From the second half of the fifteenth century, male portraits more often abandoned these conventions, turning the sitter to create a closer connection between viewer and subject.\(^{28}\) This male portrayal follows suit in pendant portraits. Paired portraits of married couples, such as the one by Sebastiano Mainardi in the Huntington Library, often show the male in three-quarter view in front of a landscape with an active city,

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\(^{24}\) See Ercole de’ Roberti, *Portrait of Giovanni II Bentivoglio* and *Portrait of Ginevra Bentivoglio*, c. 1474/77, tempera on panel, National Gallery of Art, Washington DC.

\(^{25}\) The profile format was used for relatively all male and female portraits until the 1470s. The artistic precedents of the antique, profiled heads on Roman coins, and the religious images of a centralized Madonna with profiled kneeling donors resulted in the popularity of this profile portrait type.

\(^{26}\) See Lorne Campbell, *Renaissance Portraits: European Portrait-Painting in the 14th, 15th, and 16th Centuries*, 81.

\(^{27}\) See Patricia Simons, “Women in Frames: The Gaze, the Eye, the Profile in Renaissance Portraiture,” 43. Francesco Barbaro’s writings continued to be read well into the sixteenth century.

\(^{28}\) See Andrea del Castagno, *Portrait of a Man*, c. 1450, oil on panel, 54 x 40.5 cm, National Gallery of Art, Washington DC.
while the female remains in profile (Fig. 2.6). Patricia Simons described the woman as being painted in a flatter, more absent manner, cut off in a loggia and housebound. While the man can make eye contact with the viewer, the woman’s profile portrayal prevents such a direct connection, setting up a more remote and less accessible stance. By around 1500, the profile format gave way to a three-quarter or frontal position, influenced by Flemish models and Northern diptych portraits, such as Hans Memling’s Portrait of an Old Man and Portrait of an Old Woman (see Fig. I.5).

By experimenting with the positioning of sitters and enlarging the format of the portrait, artists were able to reveal more vitality in their subjects. At the same time, portraiture increased in status, and female portraits were produced in greater numbers by the middle of the sixteenth century. As in the fifteenth century, portraits of sixteenth-century men and women displayed the qualities of male virtù, or strength, wealth, and intelligence as indicated by their stature, their facial expression, and attributes such as books, letters, batons, swords, or armor. Women, on the other hand, were often portrayed in a manner conforming to societal codes which equated beauty with virtue.

This concept derived from literary works and poetic descriptions by writers such as Dante, Petrarch, and Marsilio Ficino; from treatises on female beauty such as Agnolo Firenzuola’s Dialogo delle bellezze donne of 1548 and Federico Luigini’s Il libro della belladonna.

29 Sebastiano Mainardi, Portrait of a Young Man and Portrait of a Young Woman, late fifteenth century, Huntington Library, San Marino, California and Bastiano Mainardi, Portrait of a Lady, late 1400s, tempera on panel, 44 x 33 cm, Staatliche Museen, Berlin. See Patricia Simons, “Women in Frames: The Gaze, the Eye, the Profile in Renaissance Portraiture,” 52.
31 Gestures and facial expressions used in portraits were probably influenced by Quintilian, Institutio Oratoria (especially Book XI, Chapter 3) which embues a gesture or facial expression with significance. It was mainly referred to in ancient texts, but was also influential in the Renaissance.
32 St. Bonaventura provided a validation for the contemplation of women, in claiming that through their beauty it is possible to communicate with God, similar to Neoplatonic thought on the subject. See Ian Maclean, The Renaissance Notion of Woman: A Study in the Fortunes of Scholasticism and Medical Science in European Intellectual Life (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 17.
(Venice 1554); and from Giangiorgio Trissino’s *Ritratti* (Rome 1524). In his Neoplatonic tome, *Commentarium in Convivium Platonis: De amore*, Marsilio Ficino stated that “the internal perfection produces the external. The former we can call goodness, the latter beauty. For this reason, we say that beauty is a certain blossom of goodness.” Firenzuola discussed feminine beauty to formulate an “ideal” composite woman, Selvaggia, based on the best features of four contemporary women, outlining a process similar to that of the ancient painter Zeuxis, as described by Pliny the Elder. Firenzuola upheld decorum and retained modesty by asserting that the parts of the body normally on display (hands, face) possess absolute beauty, a gift given to woman by God.

Mary Rogers has suggested that the literature of the time shared a set of aesthetic, social, and moral ideals with contemporary paintings of beautiful women. Composure, body language, dress, and accessories in female portraiture visualized ideas of decorum based on morality, virtue, rank, economics, and sexual relationships. According to Elizabeth Cropper, “a Renaissance portrait of a beautiful woman is not, in other words, simply a portrait with a female, rather than a male subject.” Though portraits of either sex could present an ideal of virtue, masculine portraits linked image and character to the

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35 Zeuxis painted a female figure of ideal beauty based on the most beautiful features from five beautiful maidens of Croton. He was able to “transfer the truth of life to a mute image.” See Cicero, ii, i, 1; Pliny, *Natural History*, xxxix, 19.
actual individual. In contrast, the beauty and virtues instilled in portraits of women were not credited to the female sitter. They were bestowed on her by nature or God and their successful portrayal was a credit to the ability of the painter, while the patron received recognition for ordering the commission. Rogers has noted that “male portraits, like history or biography, present the social status and suggest the actions and virtues of the sitter, claiming to deal with objective realities. Female portraits resemble lyric poetry, and they imply first and foremost portraits of beautiful women.”

In *Política*, Aristotle indicated gender polarities by stating that “the courage of a man is shown in commanding, of a woman in obeying.” Similarly, Renaissance man and woman become binary opposites when considering gender as a social construct. Woman becomes man’s foil. Man is equated with culture and considered public, strong, aggressive, and rational, while woman is equated with nature and considered private, weak, passive, and irrational. Aligned with this social construct, male and female portraits are considered in the scholarship as separate categories based on gender. However, marriage double portraits, such as Cleveland’s *Portrait of a Couple*, create a more complex dynamic resulting from both genders’ constraint within the same space (see Fig. I.1). They are ostensibly given equal worth in the composition as peers, yet men

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38 The highest virtues associated with women are humility, chastity, and charity.
39 See Mary Rogers, “Sonnets on Female Portraits from Renaissance North Italy,” 292.
40 See Aristotle, *Politics*, 1260a.20 in W.D. Ross, ed., *The Works of Aristotle Translated into English*, trans. by B. Jowett (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908-52), x, 1260a.20. Aristotle also wrote in *Oeconomica* that “nature has made the one sex stronger, the other weaker” and “the one may acquire possessions outside the house, the other preserve those within.” See Aristotle, *Oeconomica*, x, 1343b.25, 1344a.5 in Ian Maclean, *The Renaissance Notion of Woman: A Study in the Fortunes of Scholasticism and Medical Science in European Intellectual Life*, 57.
41 Aristotle, in his *Metaphysics* [A.3], attributed related opposites such as male/female, right/left, good/evil, vocal/silent, and active/passive, to the Pythagoreans. Renaissance *literati* were aware of this set of “constructed” opposites.
42 Due to dowry inflation in the Renaissance, it could have reflected the decreased status of women, a setback from their position in the Middle Ages when marriageable girls were in high demand in Europe due to a demographic downfall. See Margaret King, *Women of the Renaissance* (Chicago/London: The University of Chicago Press, 1991), 27.
consistently maintain a lead position over the women in this pictorial context. The pictorial and iconographic signs in marital double portraits elucidate this issue.

**Figural Placement in the Double Portrait**

The placement of two figures within a double portrait is worthy of consideration. In defining placement, proper right and proper left refer to heraldic positioning (dexter and sinister) which would be the opposite of the viewer’s right and left.\(^{43}\) Traditionally, the place of honor in an image is to the sitter’s right (therefore, the viewer’s left). The root of this convention is partly religious. In Last Judgments, the “saved” individuals are to Christ’s right (the viewer’s left) while the “damned” are on his left (the viewer’s right).\(^{44}\) It could also be argued that the honored position would be where Christ is located (on the proper left), as seen in the apse mosaic of the *Coronation of the Virgin* by Jacopo Torriti of 1292 (Fig. 2.7).\(^{45}\) However, Christ determines who is to be honored. Here, the Virgin is being crowned on the proper right next to him. Similarly, the eleventh-century Byzantine mosaic of *Christ Enthroned between Empress Zoe and her Third Husband Constantine IX Monomachos* utilizes the same position of honor (Fig. 2.8).\(^{46}\) Christ as the supreme power stands between the married couple, blessing their union and endowing both the man and woman with his endorsement.\(^{47}\) Yet, the man is conventionally placed on the hierarchically superior heraldic dexter (or proper right) while the woman is on the

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43 See fn. 23.
44 See Michelangelo, *Last Judgment*, 1537-41, fresco, 1370 x 1220 cm, Cappella Sistina, Vatican.
45 See Jacopo Torriti, *Coronation of the Virgin*, c. 1292, apse mosaic, Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome and also the earlier apse mosaic with a similar portrayal of the Virgin crowned to Christ’s right of 1140-80 in Santa Maria in Trastevere (Rome), under Pope Innocent II. It has been suggested that the western images of Mary, Queen of Heaven, were fashioned and also replaced images of the empresses of the Roman Empire in the West, who disappeared during the fifth century. See Judith Herrin, “The Imperial Feminine in Byzantium,” *Past and Present* (2000), 15.
47 The family lineage was subsequently approved of by Christ. The anticipated outcome of their marriage, children, can be seen in family images of the emperor and empress with their offspring adorning palace walls, public monuments, and manuscripts. See “The Imperial Feminine in Byzantium,” *Past and Present* (2000), 21.
heraldic sinister, or left-hand side of God. If one were to remove the pivot, Christ, a double portrait would result in which the empress remains to the man’s left, maintaining her traditional role as the wife of the emperor and bearer of his legacy.

Roman sarcophagus reliefs or funerary urns which illustrate marriage often represent the sign of the *dextrarum iunctio* (joining of right hands), thus favoring again the right over the left. This handclasp, was a gesture of loyalty and mutual fidelity.

Sometimes accompanying the bridal pair is Juno Pronuba, the goddess of marriage, or Concordia in a similar positioning to Christ in the *Empress Zoe and Constantine IX Monomachos* mosaic, between the couple. One example is a Roman *Marriage Sarcophagus* depicting a married couple in *dextrarum iunctio* flanked by two columns (Fig. 2.9). The Roman *Cinerary Urn of Vernasia Cyclas* contains the ashes of the eponymous woman and

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48 Another example in the same location is a twelfth-century mosaic, *John II Komnenos and his Wife Irene, Accompanied by Their Son Alexios*. An early mid-fourth-century Imperial example is an Ivory located in the Louvre, Paris. Constantius II sits to the right of his empress. The image of Justinian and Theodora in Ravenna is similar in concept. By entering the church, Justinian’s portrait is on the proper right (viewer’s left), while Theodora’s portrait is on the proper left (viewer’s right). Christ is located above the altar in the center position. In Byzantium, a dynastic occupation was associated with Christian marriage. Based on the Christian notion of matrimony, visual images of Emperors were united with their wives seen as a lifelong vow. Examples include the images of Christ blessing the Imperial couple found on late antique coins, rings, and wedding belts. See Gary Vikan, “Art and Marriage in Early Byzantium,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, xliv (1990), Josef Engemann discussed the place of honor (on the proper right) in Late Antique and Early Christian representations of meals. It is regarded as the *cornu dextro* (proper right). See Josef Engemann, “Der Ehrenplatz beim antiken Sigmamahl,” in *Jenseitsvorstellungen in Antike und Christentum: Gedenkschrift für Alfred Stuiber, Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 9 (Münster Westfalen: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1982), 239-250. I would like to also point out the second-century *Representation of the Eucharist* in the Catacomb of Santa Priscilla in Rome, called the “Fractio Panis” in the *Capella Greca*. The scene shows several persons at a table reclining on a semi-circular divan. One of the banqueters is a woman. The place of honor, on the proper right, is occupied by the “President of the Brethren”, i.e. bishop or priest who performs the privileged function of the breaking of the bread.

49 The man is not always seen on the proper right, while retaining the woman on the proper left. It is more interchangeable depending on the scene. However, the proper right side is favored in the handclasp.


was commissioned by her husband, Vitalis (Fig. 2.10).\textsuperscript{52} In the inscription on the urn, Vernasia is praised as an excellent wife, who died at the age of twenty-seven. The young couple, flanked by two tall torches, is commemorated in the scene on the front of the urn. They stand, Vitalis on the proper right and Vernasia on the proper left, with their right hands joined as during the wedding ritual. An Early Christian medal in the Metropolitan Museum of Art also shows a wedding scene with the bridal couple in \textit{dextrarum iunctio} (Fig. 2.11).\textsuperscript{53}

Renaissance artists tended to utilize the same symbolism for conjugal unity in their imagery. In Andrea Alciati’s \textit{Book of Emblems} published in 1534, one emblem shows \textit{in fidem uxoriam}, “On Wifely Fidelity” or marriage, with a seated man and woman joining their right hands with a dog nestled at their feet (Fig. 2.12).\textsuperscript{54} One instance of the handclasp motif in Renaissance portraiture can be seen in an inkstand from 1500 (Fig. 2.13).\textsuperscript{55} Profiled portraits of a man on the proper right or viewer’s left and a woman on the proper left or viewer’s right are separated by a central circle containing the \textit{dextrarum iunctio}. By the sixteenth century the handclasp was a conventional symbol of marriage in double and family portraits, as in Bernardino Licinio’s \textit{Family Group} (Fig. 2.14).\textsuperscript{56}

The favoring of the proper right over the left was common in imagery of the Middle Ages and continuing with its use in the Renaissance. It was commonplace to

\textsuperscript{52} Roman, \textit{Cinerary Urn of Vernasia Cyclas}, first century CE, marble, 50.5 cm, British Museum, London [GR 1805.7-3.158 (sculpture 2379)].


\textsuperscript{54} See Andrea Alciati’s \textit{Emblemata libellus} (Little Book of Emblems), published in Paris/Augsburg, 1534, emblem 191 “\textit{in fidem uxoriam}.”

\textsuperscript{55} Faenza artist, \textit{Inkstand with Images of a Couple and Clasped Hands}, 1500, tin-glazed ceramic, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

\textsuperscript{56} Bernardino Licinio, \textit{Family Group}, Accademia, Venice.
discriminate between the two sides of the body, because the morally superior right side was understood to be guarded by God, while the left was exposed. According to Renaissance medical authorities, the right side of the human body was warmer than the left, due to the location of the liver. Males, deriving from biological warmth, became the superior and females, due to their inherent state of cold, were ranked as inferior. Figural placement in portraits illustrates these beliefs. The right/left orientation developed further in the 1400s in diptych portraits of married couples which tended to place the man on the proper right and the woman on the proper left. This positioning recalls the Byzantine tradition of showing Imperial couples separated by Christ, in which the man was on the heraldic dexter, the woman on the heraldic sinister. Similarly, in Renaissance diptychs, the profiled lady faced her husband on the proper right. This format caused her left shoulder to be exposed, even while safeguarded by a garment usually heavily adorned with jewelry or embroidery.

The miniaturist Taddeo Crivelli (1425-1479) espoused this profile diptych style for a couple’s portrayal in the famous two-volume Bible of Borso d’Este (Fig. 2.15). In the decorated borders of page 19r, a bearded man in profile is positioned on the proper right, in a circular format, complementing the image of a young lady on the proper left. In Raphael’s frontal bust-length pendant portraits of Angelo Doni and Maddalena Strozzi Doni of c. 1505, the artist positioned the couple in the same traditional format with the woman

58 See Rona Goffen, ed., Titian’s ‘Venus of Urbino’, 78.
59 See Ercole de’ Roberti, Portrait of Giovanni II Bentivoglio and Portrait of Ginerva Bentivoglio, c. 1474/77, tempera on panel, 53.7 x 38.7 cm (21 1/8 x 15 1/4 in), Samuel H. Kress Collection National Gallery of Art, Washington DC. [1939.1.219-220].
61 Taddeo Crivelli, Profiled Portraits of a Man and a Lady, detail of decoration, Bible of Borso d’Este, I, c. 19r, Biblioteca Estense, Modena, ms. V.G. 12=Lat CCCXXIII. See Hermann Julius Hermann, La Miniatura Estense (Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini: 1994), 80, Fig. 28.
to the man’s left (see Fig. I.3). In Renaissance funerary tradition, too, the format was common when the married couple was laid next to each other on a funerary monument, the man was placed on the heraldic dexter, as in Cristoforo Solari’s *Monument of Duke Lodovico Sforza and Beatrice d’Este* of c. 1497-98 (see Fig. 1.52).  

The pious activity of the Cremonese couple, Bianca Maria Visconti and Francesco Sforza, is witnessed by portrait representations of them as donors, on their knees adoring the Madonna, as seen in a portrait drawing of them in the Albertina (Fig. 2.16). Francesco is on the proper right and Bianca Maria on the proper left. A painted version with identical positioning exists in Sant’ Agostino, Cremona (Fig. 2.17). In 1463, the Church of S. Sigismondo in Cremona was begun to commemorate the marriage of Visconti and Sforza, who were wed in 1441. There, too, in the apse of the church, the decoration incorporates individual sculpted portraits of the couple in roundels along the cornice, facing the direction of the altar, with the man on the proper right and the woman on the proper left (Fig. 2.18). Even in architectural decoration, a similar scheme was employed. On the façade of the Cathedral in Cremona, below the tympanum in the niches of the attic, four sculpted saints and protectors of the city, Peter, Paul, Marcellino, and Peter stand erect (Fig. 2.19). They are flanked by the portrait medallions by Giovanni

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64 Giulio Campi, *Francesco Sforza and Bianca Maria Visconti Adoring the Madonna*, Albertina, Vienna (for S. Agostino, Cremona).
65 Giulio Campi, *Francesco Sforza and Bianca Maria Visconti Adoring the Virgin and Child*, Sant’ Agostino, Cremona.
66 Italian artist, *Francesco Sforza and Bianca Maria Visconti in roundels*, 1463, cornice, S. Sigismondo, Cremona.
di Pietro da Rho from c. 1491-1505 of Francesco Visconti and his wife, Bianca Maria Visconti, in their now familiar positions (Fig. 2.20). 67

As mentioned in Chapter One, Italian portraits were influenced by the popular Northern model of diptych imagery, such as Hans Memling’s *Portraits of Willem Moreel and Wife* or devotional images of Christ and the Virgin. 68 Devotional images of kneeling donors were also traditionally represented in profile, praying to a centralized Virgin or saint. Northern European portraits tended to turn their sitters from profile to a three-quarter position as early as 1420, while the Italian counterparts primarily remained in profile fashion until around the 1470s. Piero della Francesca’s *Diptych of Battista Sforza and Federico da Montefeltro* does not follow the standard protocol of positioning the man in the place of honor on the proper right, but this is a special case (see Fig. I.2). 69 Because the duke’s right eye had been disfigured in a tournament match, he wanted to face to the proper right in order to show off his “good” side. This cosmetic reason is coupled with the commemorative nature of the diptych. Creighton Gilbert suggested that the portrait was painted as a result of, and only after, Battista Sforza’s death in 1472, because the inscription of *tenuit* on the reverse of her panel referred to her in the past tense. 70

Presumably, therefore, the pendants commemorate her death and thus she was now worthy of the honored position to the right of her husband.

Heraldic standards probably encouraged the tradition for hierarchic gender positioning in double portraits. Families that possessed coats of arms often created a composite heraldic shield to mark an important marital union. These two armigerous families forged one impresa. Impalement, which refers to the joining of two coats of arms side by side on one shield separated by a vertical division, denotes union. The husband’s shield was stationed on the proper right and the wife’s armorial device placed on the proper left. A double portrait of a man and wife from the 1530s by an artist from Friesland demonstrates the link to heraldic standards by displaying their unified impresa between the sitters (Fig. 2.21).71

A subtle way to display the unification of two families in Renaissance Italy was the placement of the coats of arms of the respective families next to each other on functional items in the home, as in festive tapestries or architectural decoration. In some cases, the reverses of deschi da parto were painted with game boards embellished with coats of arms, symbolically demonstrating the linking of families. One example displays the shields of the Pilli, del Biada, Scarlattini, and Buonaccorsi families (Fig. 2.22).72 Another birth tray at the Yale Art Museum bears the coat of arms of Bartolomea Piccolomini and Cristofano Marsili of Siena, who wed in the year this object was produced, suggesting that it was given at the time of their marriage in hope and preparation for their future

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71 Matrimonial double portraits began to be popularly painted in Northern Europe at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Friesland (North Netherlands) artist, Portrait of Ivo van Frittema and Tjaertke Donia, 1535, once Arthur Kay Collection, Edinburgh.

72 Florentine artist, Gameboard with Four Imprese, desco da parto, 1370, Musée Chartreuse, Douai.
offspring.73 A *spalliera* panel from a series of four made in 1483 by Sandro Botticelli for the marriage of Gianozzo Pucci and Lucrezia Bini shows off their *imprese* as well (Fig. 2.23).74 Within the decorative scheme, the coats of arms of the couple’s families are prominently placed on the exterior columns along with the *imprese* of the individual who had arranged the match, Lorenzo di Piero de’ Medici (Fig. 2.24). In a similar fashion, tapestries hang from the outside of a palazzo in the background of Vittorio Carpaccio’s *Healing of the Possessed Man* of 1494 (Fig. 2.25).75 Interestingly, the fabrics that the woman suspends out on the rooftop include coats of arms, presumably from the families of a husband and wife.

Coupled with portraits, the symbolic placement of the *imprese* of two families increased their visual unification.76 On a Venetian entrance arch, a *Madonna della Misericordia* shelters two kneeling patrons, one male and another female (Fig. 2.26).77 They are flanked by the *stemme* of the Foscari and Mocenigo families. Patricia Fortini Brown has pointed out that these two figures with their respective coats of arms could be Pellegrina Foscari and Alvise Mocenigo, who were married in 1491 (Fig. 2.27). The property on the Calle del Paradiso where this sculpted archway is located was included in her dowry.78 A link between portraits and *imprese* also appears on the front of a

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74 Sandro Botticelli, *Wedding Banquet from Boccaccio’s Story of Nastaglio degli Onesti*, 1483, spalliera, tempera on panel, private collection.


76 It has been noted that in fifteenth-century Florence, the “joined arms” of allied families were added, in enamel, to the goblets that circulated at births. See Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy*, trans. by Lydia Cochrane (Chicago/London: The University of Chicago Press, 1985), 239, fn. 83.

77 Venetian artist, *Madonna della Misericordia with Two Patrons*, late fifteenth century, Istrian stone, Calle del Paradiso, near Santa Maria Formosa, Venice.

78 In the marriage contract, it was written that the conjugal union would be under the protection of the Virgin and all the celestial court. See Patricia Fortini Brown, *Private Lives in Renaissance Venice: Art, Architecture, and the Family* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2004), 14-15, figs. 16, 17.
Quattrocento cassone (Fig. 2.28). A marriage ceremony is centrally placed on the front. It is flanked by the portraits of a bust-length man in three-quarter view on the proper right and a bust-length woman in profile on the proper left. Their families’ stemme are positioned on the ends. We see this same connection in the Friesland double portrait mentioned earlier in a Swabian work of c. 1455, the Double Portrait of Wilheim Schenk von Schenkenstein and Agnes von Werdenberg (see Fig. I.7). Here, the man (on the proper right) and the woman (on the proper left) hold a symbolic marital strand of beads and stand on a protruding balcony-like structure. Hanging from the balcony beneath the man and the woman are their respective families’ arms.

In the sixteenth-century Cleveland Portrait of a Couple discussed earlier, the traditional gender distinctions of Italian male and female portraiture are amplified (see Fig. I.1). The woman exhibits decorous female behavior and maintains the feminine ideals of beauty, chastity, and devotion. Placed behind her husband, she loses a degree of independence she might have retained if she were painted within her own frame. Located in the same context as the man, she might be another accoutrement of his. Like the book, the letter, and the sword, she becomes another symbol of his social standing. Placed on the proper right, his stance eclipses her position. Yet, they could also be balanced in conformity with the social requirement of the woman to match her husband’s appearance. In a sixteenth-century conduct book for new brides, a father counseled his daughter to recreate herself in her husband’s image so that she would transform herself

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79 Italian artist, Marriage Cassone, 1400s, Formerly Spanish Art Gallery, London.
80 Swabian artist, Double Portrait of Wilheim Schenk von Schenkenstein and Agnes von Werdenberg, c. 1455, oil on firwood panel, 14.9 cm x 00 cm, Fürst Fürstenberg, Donauschingen. It has been claimed to be the oldest German double portrait. See Ernst Büchner, Das deutsche Bildnis der Spätgotik und der frühen Dürerzeit (Berlin: 1953), chapter IX on doppelbildnis, specifically 170, Cat. 195. Büchner has suggested that the architectural sensibility to this double portrait lends to the possibility that its prototype was perhaps a fresco of a Stammbaum or family tree in a grand armorial hall of a palace. A number of couples would have been arranged in painted niches.
“totally in him,” becoming a chameleon by procuring from him “the colour that he shows [her].”[^81] In the Cleveland double portrait, the subjects’ roles are clearly gendered and complementary, and however subordinate, the female part was essential to the expression of the male role.

On the whole, Italian marriage double portraits conventionally place the male in the honored position on the heraldic dexter until at least the middle of the sixteenth century, when women were given increased recognition for their role in procreation, as I will discuss later in this chapter. Lorenzo Lotto, in his *Double Portrait of Antonio Marsilio and his Bride, Faustina Cassotti* of 1523, painted both sitters facing the viewer (see Fig. 2.4). The woman is accepting the wedding ring, a type of matrimonial document, from the man, and there appear several symbols (the cupid, the marital yoke, and the laurel), derived from matrimonial imagery on Roman sarcophagi.[^82] She is dressed in red, a customary color worn by Venetian brides. Though engaged in an event of reciprocation, he remains in the superior position, for his is the active role as he places the ring on her finger.[^83]

[^81]: See Pietro Belmonte, *Institutione della Sposa* (1587); cited in Patricia Simons, “Portraiture, Portrayal, and Ideaization: Ambiguous Individualism in Representations of Renaissance Women,” in *Language and Images of Renaissance Italy*, ed. by Alison Brown (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 271. A similar notion was suggested by the Renaissance theologian Cornelius a Lapide in his commentary on 1 Cor. 11:7 (“The woman is the glory of the man”) stated that a “woman, insofar as she is a wife, is the glory of man, what is his glorious image…and in man’s likeness, so that she might represent man as a copy of him.” See Cornelius a Lapide, *In omnès divi Pauli epístolas commentaria* (Paris: 1638), 284-85; and quoted in Ian Maclean, *The Renaissance Notion of Woman: A Study in the Fortunes of Scholasticism and Medical Science in European Intellectual Life*, 11.

[^82]: See Diana Wronski Galis, “Lorenzo Lotto: A Study of His Career and Character, with Particular Emphasis on his Emblematic and Hieroglyphic Works”; and Andrea Zaharia-Roth, “Lorenzo Lotto’s Marriage Portraits: Visions of Matriarchal Authority within Conjugal Ideals,” Master’s Thesis, University of Southern California (1995). John Pope Hennessy has argued that Lorenzo Lotto was influenced by a German betrothal portrait type in which Cupid links the engaged pair. One example is an Austrian Betrothal Portrait in a Private collection. See John Pope Hennessy, *The Portrait in the Renaissance* (London: Phaidon Press Ltd, 1963), 226-27, fig. 251. However, a cupid-like figure to unite a couple was used in the fifteenth-century in Italy, such as a version of a medal of a lady and man by Sperandio from the 1470s in the British Museum, London. See G.F. Hill, *Medals of the Renaissance* (London: British Museum, 1978), Cat. 366a. Vivarini’s *Golden Gate* of 1473 also shows an angel linking Joachim and Anna. A cupid-like figure uniting couples can be traced back to images on Roman sarcophagi, which Lotto could have seen or been aware from the publication of Jacopo Mazzocchi, *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis Romae*, of 1521.

[^83]: A ring, though as a reference to eternal love, could also be a sign of the wife’s subjection to her husband, as images of marriage typically show the man placing the ring on the woman’s finger.
The Venetian artist Giovanni Cariani also placed the subjects of his *Double Portrait of a Married Couple* in the standard positioning (Fig. 2.29).\(^{84}\) The couple appears behind a parapet and against a wall which terminates to the left at an opening leading to a pleasant landscape. Standing on the proper right, the man sports a short cropped beard, and a Venetian *zazera* under a round cap, while the fingers of his right hand rest on the raised ledge of the parapet. The woman wears a voluminous striped cap and her garb includes a fur-trimmed collar. She stands on the heraldic sinister, placing her right hand on her husband’s shoulder as she looks out at the viewer with apprehension. The man is placed in front of an open window, leaving the woman in a more “housebound” location as befits their respective public and private roles. By contrast, a *Double Portrait of a Man and Woman* of c. 1516, attributed to Francesco Torbido, seems to veer from the representational convention at first glance with the woman placed on the proper right (Fig. 2.30).\(^{85}\) However, the man is the figure actively engaged with the viewer while the woman focuses her gaze on him. As usual, she is not on the honored “right” position of her husband but to his left because his body is turned away from the viewer. They hold each other’s right hands in a *dextrarum iunctio*, symbolic of conjugality. Therefore, pictorial and iconographic conventions were established within double portraits to reinforce gender roles.


\(^{85}\) Francesco Torbido, called “Il Moro,” *Double Portrait of a Man and Woman*, c. 1516, oil on canvas, 55.6 x 70.2 cm. (21 7/8 x 27 5/8”), Berea College Study Collection, Berea, Kentucky [140.18]. It was a part of the Samuel H. Kress Foundation [K1778]. It has also been attributed to Domenico Mancini. See Marina Repetto Contaldo, “Francesco Torbido detto ‘Il Moro’” in *Saggi e Memoria di Storia dell’Arte*, 14 (1984), 43-76, 133-170, fig. 3.
Promotion of the Marital Relationship in Renaissance Imagery

Renaissance imagery regularly promoted domestic ideals for how to behave, how to conduct gender relations, and how to live, even as they promulgate the political and social ties of important families based on marriage. A fused representation of matrimony occurs in double portraits that focus on recognizable contemporary sitters. Yet, the conjugal, or marriage, double portrait can also be linked to a whole genre of visual images in the Renaissance that focus on matrimony and reveal conventional gender roles. Biblical images promoting matrimonial union comprise the many paintings of the marriage of the Virgin or the betrothal of Jacob and Rachel. In the Sistine Chapel, Michelangelo included sets of individualized males with female companions in a seemingly equal representation of gender within a unified space.86 The biblical couples become more approachable to the audience due to their location within internal domestic compartments, as they sit on benches or lean against walls in spaces that contain everyday household objects or furniture such as a mirror or a stool. Some figures appear indolent and restless, silently stare out of their contained spaces or slumber within them. However, each individual lunette of the Ancestors of Christ discloses gender preference by the inscribed plaque within the framework which names only each male ancestor. The male and female units

imply gender hierarchy in other ways, too. While men engage in intellectual activities such as reading, writing, and (tortured) thinking, women perform domestic undertakings such as cleaning or sewing. One example is the Lunette of Aminadab located over the first window on the left when facing the altar (Fig. 2.31). While Aminadab on the proper right sits upright with his hands crossed in his lap, and staring out of his space with large eyes toward the altar, the woman to his left crosses her legs and languidly combs her long blond hair. Such gender distinctions in biblical scenes are consistently echoed in double portraits of contemporary sitters.

Double portraits become integral components of the elaborate marriage ritual with its emphasis on the promotion of conjugal ideals. Marital ideals and symbols promoting a union, imbedded within double portraits of conjugality, are also visually depicted in Renaissance imagery. From the 1300s-1600s, narrative scenes showing private (domestic) life, and particularly a couple’s relationship in matrimony, were displayed on walls in palazzi, on decorative objects adorning homes, or in sacred images. In a small room, probably the private chamber of the commune’s chief magistrate of the Palazzo Communale in San Gimignano, Memmo di Filippuccio (active 1288-1324) depicted a young couple’s progression into married life with courtship, wedding, shared bath, and matrimonial bed (Fig. 2.32). The intimate and erotic nature of these frescoes suggests an audience consisting primarily of the couple, and implies the function of the imagery as a stimulus for procreation. Utilitarian household objects reinforced values on a daily basis, with images painted on cassoni (matrimonial chests which were often placed around beds)

87 Aminadab, an ancestor of David and transporter of the Ark of the Covenant into Jerusalem, is mentioned in the book of Genesis and 1 Chron. 15:10-26 of the Bible.
88 Niccolò di Segna’s also produced scenes of marriage from the 1300s in San Gimignano, Italy. See G. Previtale, Paragone, XIII, no. 155 and Rivista d’Arte 20, 1938, 379.
or spalliere (wainscoting around the room). Cassoni were commonly decorated with popular romantic subjects that expressed marital ideals such as fidelity.  

The joining of two families in matrimony was a familial and public event. The array of events associated with marriage varied, for there existed the option to exclude or combine components, depending on the wealth of the families involved. The courtship began with negotiation of the bride’s dowry, a formal (private or public) exchange of vows in the presence of a notary, a presentation of the bride’s box (casetta da sposa; little chest which contained jewelry and letters), and a secular ceremony, in which the groom would place a signet ring with his family’s impresa on the finger of the bride.  

Subsequently, male relatives of the groom would give additional rings to the bride in commemoration of the marriage alliance, the mother of the bride would give to the groom a domestic item with the coat of arms of the bride’s family, and the recently married would attend a mass as a couple. To announce the nuptials to the community, a public wedding feast would be held including a reception with music, dancing, tournaments or allegorical plays, and other public festivities celebrating the

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90 The groom’s action with the ring recalls the act in Lotto’s Double Portrait of Antonio Marsilio and his Bride, Faustina Cassotti. The bride would take a casetta da sposa with her when she departed from her father’s house for her husband’s abode. San Bernardino in Siena in 1425 described this type of box. See Fra Bernardino of Siena, Le prediche volgari inedita, ed. by P. Dionisio Pacetti (Siena: 1935), 413; Adrian W.B. Randolph, “Performing the Bridal Body in Fifteenth-Century Florence,” Art History, 21/2 (January 1998), 196; and Luke Syson and Dora Thornton, Objects of Virtue: Art in Renaissance Italy (London: The British Museum Press, 2001), 58-63, figs. 40, 41, 42. Two examples include Northern Italian artist, Betrothal Box, early fifteenth century, wood with painted and gilded gesso decoration, The British Museum, London; and Sienese artist, Round Box with Image on Lid of a Putto Blowing a Trumpet, first half of fifteenth century, wood with painted and gilded gesso decoration, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

91 In a detail of an illuminated initial E from the Stefaneschi Missal, a nuptial mass is seen with a tonsured priest reading from an open book in front of a man and woman. They are both kneeling in prayer with hands joined. See Master of St. George Codex (Florentine or Avignon artist), Stefaneschi Missal, detail of Initial E, Ms. M. 713, f/ 152r, late 1320s, vellum, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York [Ms. M. 713].
consummation of the match (which normally occurred in the household of the bride),
ending with the procession of the bride to her new home led by her husband.92

The importance of this customary agenda is indicated by numerous visual
references.93 As noted, the exchange of vows was a secular event that unfolded in the
presence of a notary, sometimes in the study of the head of the household. This is the
first time the bride would take part in the ritual process.94 A maiolica inkstand with a
matrimonial theme, mentioned earlier, could have been used in this event and perhaps
rested in the study where family documents were signed and stored (see Fig. 2.13). The
matrimonial significance is indicated by an inscription, “IO TE DO LA MANO, DAME
LA FEDE” (I give you my hand, give me your faith), that complements the portrait-like
visages of a couple and the symbolic display of the dextrarum iunctio decorating the
object.95 While the exchange of vows was mainly civil, it sometimes occurred near a

92 For more information on wedding nuptials, see P. Allerston, “Wedding Finery in Sixteenth Century
Sanudo, Patricia H. Labalme, Laura Sanguineti White, and Linda Carroll, “How to (and How Not to) Get
Married in Sixteenth-Century Venice (Selections from the Diaries of Marin Sanudo),” Renaissance Quarterly
52, no. 1 (spring 1999), 43-72 (for Venice); Marco Antonio Altieri, Le Nuptiali, ed. by Enrico Narducci
(Rome: Tipografia Romana di C. Bartoli, 1873) (for Rome); and Anthony Molho, Marriage Alliance in Late
Medieval Florence (Cambridge, Mass/London: Harvard University Press, 1994); Francesco Guicciardini, Opera
inedita, Ricordi (Florence:1867), 117; and Francesco Guicciardini, Ricordi Diari Memorie (Rome: Edizioni

93 By the Workshop of Ghirlandaio, a scene of the dowering of orphan girls is in the Oratory of San
Martino del Vescovo in Florence. The painting represents a dual ceremony with a couple exchanging vows
and the groom placing a ring on his bride’s finger. Another wedding scene is in a Hebrew Codice of c.
1477. In Halakah Miscellany, a manuscript which contains Jewish dietary laws and regulations for women, a
full-length woman and man in elegant dress participate in an independent marriage ceremony with only a
dog as their witness. See Italian artist, Marriage Ceremony, in Halakah Miscellany, Padua, c. 1477, Codice Heb.
337 (Serin 132), folio 75v, Staats-und Universitätsbibliothek, Hamburg. It is reproduced in color in Barbara
Wisch, “Vested Interest: Redressing Jews on Michelangelo’s Sistine Ceiling,” in Artibus et Historiae 48 (2003),
158, fig. 13. The post-ceremony festivities are also displayed on the Adimari Cassone, showing men and
women festively dancing and drinking to a playing band. See Giovanni Ser Giovanni Guidi, Marriage
Festivities on the spalliera panel of the so-called Adimari Cassone, c. 1450, tempera on panel, Accademia,
Cassone,’” Image Musicae: International Yearbook of Musical Iconography, IX-XII (1992-95), 139-57. Dancing after
a wedding feast is inserted in an engraving from Naples. See Neapolitan artist?, Danza Nazionale from Vita e le
Favole di Esopo, Naples, c. 1485, fig. 48.


95 See Luke Syson, Objects of Virtue: Art in Renaissance Italy, fig. 44; and J. Mallet, “Un Calamaro in Maiolica di
Boston,” Faenza LXII (1976), 79-81, Fig. XXV.
church where a religious leader would preside, often for the higher ranking nobility, to demonstrate an important political alliance. Renaissance religious narrative programs often promoted family unions, as in Carpaccio’s *Legend of St. Ursula* cycle (signed and dated 1495), which includes the first meeting of the betrothed couple as they board a boat to take leave of Ursula’s parents. Within the historical fresco cycle of the life of the Sienese Pope Pius II in the Piccolomini Library of the Duomo in Siena, Pinturicchio included a scene showing the pope officiating at a wedding ceremony: *The Wedding of Frederic III and His Wife Eleanora of Portugal by Pius II Outside the Gates of Spain*. The couple performs the symbolic right handclasp.

The Medici family was particularly fond of historical programs demonstrating their powerful political allegiances through marriage. Examples include Giorgio Vasari’s *Marriage of Catherine de’ Medici to the Future Henri II of France*, and illustrated volumes published to celebrate Medici weddings and triumphal entries, such as Gualterotti’s *Descrizione del Regale Apparato per le Nozze della Serenissima Madama Cristiana di Loreno…* (Florence 1589).96 Wedding events showing the patrician and middle classes also were recorded visually, as in the *Marriage of a Patrician Couple* by Nicolò dell’Abate of c. 1540-43 (Fig. 2.33).97 Elegantly dressed men and women clumped in pairs or small groups gather

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96 Giorgio Vasari, *Clement VII Marries Catherine de’ Medici to the Future Henri II of France*, c. 1560, ceiling fresco, Sala di Clement VII, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence. Jacopo Empoli also painted a series of historic weddings such as this one for Maria de’ Medici in Luxembourg around 1609, in which Jacques Callot engraved. See Anthony Blunt, “A Series of Paintings Illustrating the History of the Medici Family Executed for Marie de Médicis – II,” *The Burlington Magazine* (1967), 565. Wedding scenes were common to the decoration schemes of palaces. The Farnese hired the Zuccari brothers to illustrate the *Wedding of Ottavio Farnese and Margherita of Austria* and the *Wedding of Orazio Farnese and Diana di Valois* on the same wall in the Sala del Fasti Farnesiani at the villa in Caprarola. The artist had the assistance of historians, such as Annibale Caro and Onofrio Panvinio for the concept of these elaborate mythological and historical-dynastic programs in the palace. See Christina Acidini Luchinat, *Taddeo e Federico Zuccari, Fratelli Pittori del Cinquecento* (Rome/Milan: Jandi Sapi Editori, Arch Arte Antica, 1998), I, fgs. 51-52.

97 Nicolò dell’Abate, *Marriage of a Patrician Couple*, c. 1540-43, oil on paper, pricked for transfer, 16 x 18 13/16 in., Getty Art Museum, Los Angeles [87.GG.41]. Other parts of this now lost cycle are extant through a number of drawings by Abate that are still extant, as in another illustration in the Louvre, Paris. Nicolò dell’Abate, *Illustration from Ariosto’s Orlando Furioso*, Louvre, Paris. See Modena, Foro Boario, Nicolò
at the wedding festivities of a couple, who walk hand-in-hand into the scene from the right. This highly finished work was a preparatory oil sketch for a larger painting in Abate’s *Orlando Furioso* cycle, painted for the cortile of the ducal palace in Sassuolo, near Modena. Abate probably used a contemporary wedding event as his source for his final scene showing the wedding of Ruggiero and Bradamante, from Ariosto’s 1532 edition of *Orlando Furioso*. This scene further connects a fictitious heroic couple to contemporary individuals since following this union, Bradamante bore a son, who supposedly spawned the family line of Ippolito d’Este, duke of Ferrara and the poet’s patron.

In the later part of the sixteenth century, the artist Federico Zuccari decorated several rooms with a domestic theme in his family palazzo in Rome. He dedicated the artistic program of one room to his own self-portrayal with his wife, in images of the sacrament of marriage. On the ceiling in his *camera degli sposi*, Federico and Francesca take their wedding vows, the ceremony officiated by a centralized angel who hangs a heart on a yoke of flowers (Fig. 2.34).98 The elegantly-dressed profiled couple is kneeling full-length, in a manner similar to donor portraits. Their hands are clasped in *dextrarum iunctio*, while two putti play with a mirror and armor, attributes of Venus and Mars. A more eroticized image of the couple scantily clothed in a seated position occupies a circular frame *all’antica* on the wall. Their right hands rest on each other’s bare shoulders while their left hands together raise a heart (Figs. 2.35 and 2.36).99

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99 Federico Zuccari, *Matrimonial Composition*, c. 1598, fresco, Camera Degli Sposi, Palazzo Zuccari, Rome. It has a semblance to a mythological pair seen in the earlier painted fresco images of Palazzo Farnese in Caprarola which displays Hermes and Athena on the ceiling of the Gabinetto della Hermathena in which the two gods are linked in an intertwining seated position.
On a cassone front painted by Giovanni Ser Giovanni Guidi, a final event in the wedding festivities is depicted.\textsuperscript{100} On the front of the chest, the wedding procession escorts the new bride into her husband’s home along with her belongings. At the far right, a painted cassone is carried on the back of a retainer. On a similar cassone front, the same event is taking place, with the chest carried by two men in procession in front of the bride, Lionora de’ Bardi, placed behind her new husband, who occupies the central area of the scene (Fig. 2.37).\textsuperscript{101} Cassoni that were brought into the home often concealed a depiction of a nude reclining man and a nude reclining woman on the panels inside their lids. Cassoni were always made in pairs, for each member of the couple, expressively signifying matrimony, and linking the man and woman again within the same context.\textsuperscript{102}

Portraits also had functions related to various stages of courtship and matrimony. One traditional use of portraits was to enable a groom to choose a bride from far away.\textsuperscript{103} Scholars have also questioned whether during the marriage, ritual portraits, like mirrors, were given to the bride.\textsuperscript{104} Leon Battista Alberti promulgated an ancient tradition of hanging portraits of dignified men with a handsome appearance, stemming from the

\textsuperscript{100} Giovanni Ser Giovanni Guidi, \textit{Wedding Procession}, detail from cassone, c. 1470, tempera on panel, Alberto Bruschi Collection, Florence.

\textsuperscript{101} Florentine artist, \textit{Cassone Panel of the Wedding Procession of Lionora de’ Bardi and Filippo Buondelmonte}, c. 1440, oil on panel, formerly the collection of Professor Heinrich Brockhaus, Dresden.

\textsuperscript{102} They were traditionally commissioned by the groom or kinsmen for a wedding occasion. They seemed to be consistently made in twos until sometime in the Cinquecento. See Peter Thornton, \textit{The Italian Renaissance Interior 1400-1600} (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1991), 195, 201, 204; and John Kent Lydecker, “The Domestic Setting of the Arts in Renaissance Florence,” PhD diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1987, 55, 157. The placement of the cassone with the nude male and female inside the lids oriented with the “male” cassone on the proper right and the “female” cassone on the proper left did not necessarily occur. For procreation reasons, the woman would be painted to rest on her right side to insure a male offspring for the couple and thus, for decorative arrangement, the “female” cassone would also be placed on the proper right, in line with her important moment in matrimony and for her procreative significance.

\textsuperscript{103} It is known that Zanetto Bugatto went to France in 1468 to paint Bona of Savoy, sister of the Queen of France, who would become Duke Galeazzo Sforza’s wife. The desire of an accurate depiction of an unseen bride-to-be was the primary focus for this type of representation. Holbein also painted portraits of the bride-to-be for Henry VIII.

notion that when a man and woman came together such images would encourage fertility of the mother and the winsome appearance of future offspring. Double portraits of marriage served as visual records of the joining of two aristocratic families. Their use was also appropriated by the growing middle class of merchants, indication of their emulation of a higher social bracket.

The displaying of double portraits should be considered an additional stage in the matrimonial ritual. When nobles were wedded, it was important that an apartment be prepared that provided a worthy setting for the new consort. Jennifer Craven has pointed out that female portraits in the fifteenth-century were displayed in the upper-story chambers of Florentine palazzi. Noble marriages were primarily arranged for dynastic purposes and not for amatory reasons. The ensuing living arrangements would be suitable in honoring the bride and through her, compliment her illustrious family, in an equation roughly balanced by the dynastic connection being gained by her husband. The visual display of their union was appropriate within the couple’s new domestic setting. The commissioning of an conjugal double portrait appropriately joins the events in the beginning years of marriage when items, such as the jewels adorning the brides during marriage exchanges, remained present and represented economic and social honor. According to sumptuary laws, women after several years of marriage were adorned

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106 These areas were considered feminine spaces, due to their privacy. See Jennifer E. Craven, “A New Historical View of the Independent Female Portrait in Fifteenth-Century Florentine Painting,” PhD diss, University of Pittsburgh, 1997, 121, 143-44, 148-49.
107 When Giovanna of Austria married into the bloodline of the Medici, a triumphal arch was raised which displayed Hapsburg and Medician effigies of past generations and living offspring, which also was encouragement for a future generation. Vasari mentioned the need for future offspring in this union by stating that “having conducted thither with them the illustrious bride, were come before to meet as kinsmen with the house of Medici, and to prove of what stock, and how glorious, was the noble virgin whom they sought to present to the Medici.” See Giorgio Vasari, *Le Opere di Giorgio Vasari*, annotated by Gaetano Milanesi [Reprint of *Le vite de’ più eccelenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*] (Florence: Sansoni, 1981), VIII, 531; recorded in Randolph Starn and Loren Partridge, *Arts of Power: Three Halls of State in Italy, 1300-1600* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/Oxford: University of California Press, 1991), 172, 346, fn. 80.
with less jewelry, decreasing the opportunity for ritual display of the couple.\textsuperscript{109} Therefore, the desire to display the union in visual form at this period within this new setting was a logical stage in the progression of the marriage ritual following the selection of the bride, betrothal, and the initial furnishing of the interior space of the home.\textsuperscript{110} Double portraits fit well within the visual imagery on matrimony. They not only contain marital iconographic motifs and illustrate conjugal traditions similar to Renaissance narrative scenes, but also assimilate these aspects into a contemporary reality.

**Early Double Portrayals of Marriage**

The social and often political importance of marriage led to their celebration both publicly and privately. Though much of the process did not include the bride, the events where she became an active participant linked bride and bridegroom and the couple was often commemorated visually in one scene. At the top of a page in an illuminated manuscript called *I discreti di Papa Innocenzo IV*, an exchange of wedding vows is shown taking place between a bride and groom in a Renaissance setting (Fig. 2.38).\textsuperscript{111} On the same page, within the Initial “O,” an intimate conjugal exchange between a man and woman appears within the enclosed space of the letter (Fig. 2.39). They lean together in an intimate kiss, much as in medieval religious depictions of Christ and his mother (Fig.

\textsuperscript{109} See A.W.B. Randolph, “Performing the Bridal Body in Fifteenth–Century Florence,” 189.

\textsuperscript{110} Documents often do not list the specific location in which double portraits were hung or have yet to be found, complicating the matter. Christiane Klapisch-Zuber has commented that pictures were frequently given as wedding presents, and newly-weds frequently had their portraits painted, the bride wearing the new clothes given her by the husband's family and sometimes bearing their badge, thus marking her as theirs. See Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy*, trans. by Lydia Cochrane, 225.

\textsuperscript{111} Italian artist, *I discreti di Papa Innocenzo IV, Scene of Matrimony*, Ms. Lat. 3988, Bibliotheque nationale, Paris.
The placement of a couple’s union within the letter “O” in manuscripts has been connected to the word *osculetur* (to kiss).

The double portrait was an ideal framework for the representation of marital union, especially when attempting to maintain or increase the status of a couple. The popular belief that double portraits were rarely produced in Renaissance Italy is inaccurate. Representations of a married couple placed together, though often seen with an intercessor such as Juno, Venus, or Christ, were standard images of social connection in classical and medieval imagery. Pictorial representations of a man and woman in the same space without an intercessor began to appear in the early part of the Quattrocento. Two column capitals in the Palazzo Ducale in Venice from c. 1400 unite the heads of a man and a woman (see Fig. 1.71). In cases when there existed a relatively small space for the portrayal of both genders, such as in illuminated manuscripts, profile depictions within a single frame were an obvious solution. The Pliny Master in c. 1470 used this approach in an *Initial “L”* on the opening page in a manuscript of Plutarch’s *Life of Lucullus* (Fig. 2.41). The three-dimensional letter is on a painted roundel attached to a blue tablet. The circular form contains profile busts of a man and woman divided by a palm tree which is entwined with winged snakes to form a caduceus. Conjugal double portraits proliferated in number and variety from the fifteenth to the sixteenth century, in

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112 In the case of the religious couple within the letter “O”, the bride is on the proper right because she is receiving the honor from the male subject and is the prominent voice in the *Song of Songs* it illustrates. The secular couple within the “O” changes the position allowing for the male to resume the prominent role.


congruity with the general rise of interest in portraits. One of the earliest accounts of an Italian Renaissance double portrait of marriage from before 1471 is a record of Baldassare d’Este’s (1443-1504) representation of Galeazzo Maria Sforza, Duke of Milan, and his wife. Early double-portrait examples seemed to follow the same stylistic manner as diptych portraits, as in Bonifacio Bembo’s *Portraits of Bianca Maria Visconti (Sforza) and Francesco Sforza* (Fig. 2.42). Profile views of married couples remained standard until around 1470.

One of the earliest extant painted versions of an Italian double portrait of both genders on a single panel is by Fra Filippo Lippi from c. 1440 (Fig. 2.43). This double portrait follows the vogue of the mid-Quattrocento with both male and female in profile. The profile portrait, which is reminiscent of likenesses on coins, retains a permanent, emblematic quality. In this format, the sitter is represented in a formal and ideal projection with a stiff posture and a stylishly detailed countenance. For the woman, the profile format allowed more attention to be paid to her elaborate coiffure and jeweled

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116 It was placed in the Palazzo Schifanoia. The record states “1473. per m° Baldissera Credito…Et per una altra tella suso la quale e el Duca Galeazo et la dona retracta dal naturale, la quale have il prefato Duca Borso in schivenioio…duc. 100’ See Venturi (1885), 721, n. 1. Baldassare was employed in 1470-71 in the Palazzo Schifanoia at Ferrara to improve thirty-six heads, perhaps correcting the likenesses in the portrait heads of the frescoes in the Hall of the Months, originally executed by Francesco del Cossa and his assistants. See R. Molajoli, *Cosme Tura e I grandi pittori ferraresi del suo tempo* (Milan 1974) for an account of the Palazzo Schifanoia.

117 Bonifacio Bembo, *Portrait of Bianca Maria Visconti (Sforza) and Portrait of Francesco Sforza*, 1460, tempera on panel, 49 x 31 cm (19 ¼ x 12 1/8 in), Pinacoteca Brera, Milan.

118 An inventory compiler wrote that he was astonished to come across Italian portraits that represented the sitters with “two eyes.” See A. Vernarecci (1886), 522 stating the inventory notation as “La testa de III S. Constanio in duy occij”; cited in Lorne Campbell, *Renaissance Portraits: European Portrait-Painting in the 14th, 15th, and 16th Centuries*, 259, fn. 7.

119 Fra Filippo Lippi, *Portrait of a Man and a Woman at a Casement*, c. 1440, tempera on panel, 25 ¼ x 16 ½ in. (64.1 x 41.9 cm), Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York [89.15.19]. It is inscribed on the edge of the woman’s cuff ‘LEALT[A]’ (Loyalty).

120 Francis Ames-Lewis mentioned the influence of Rogier van der Weyden and the Tournai school on Filippo Lippi. In his discussion, he commented on the *Portrait of a Man and a Woman at a Casement* of c. 1440. The jewels, decorative fabrics, and landscape through a window were treated with the same detail as found in the painter’s *Tarquinia Madonna*, influenced by Rogier’s compositions. He has suggested that the double profile could stem from Flemish portrait diptychs, suggesting that the style was not repeated in Italy before della Francesca’s diptych portrait of Federigo da Montefeltro and his wife in the Uffizi. See Frances Ames-Lewis, “Fra Filippo Lippi and Flanders,” *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* (1979), 269.
headdress. The man appears through a window casement on the proper right and the woman stands in an alcove clearly inside a room. Through the rear window, a vista of a road flanked by buildings and a fenced-in field can be observed. In conformance with conventional gender roles, he takes on a more public role, viewing the woman from the outside through a window, while the woman, within the confines of a room, is in a more restricted, private, domestic position. The man wears a red wool berretta all’ capitanesca and is presenting his heraldic impresa, made up of three black stripes on a gold-colored ground, to the lady. This presentation is consistent with the traditional giving of presents to the betrothed woman in Italian Renaissance marriage ritual.

Her clothing and jewelry were also given to her by the groom’s family during the betrothal process. In this painting, the woman is attired in three layers of formal dress with the undergarment of a white camicia visible at the neckline, a brocaded green gamurra, and a fur-lined, crimson cioppa with openings at the elbow to reveal the gamurra beneath. The color crimson was often used in garments of the bride-to-be. In a letter written from Naples by the widow Alessandra Macinghi Strozzi to her son in Florence in 1447, she wrote approvingly of the gifts received from the groom, Marco Parenti, to her daughter, Caterina. She mentioned that when Caterina was betrothed, the groom ordered a gown of crimson silk velvet for her and a surcoat of the same along with a necklace of plumes and pearls.122

The woman in the Metropolitan double portrait is additionally trimmed with jewelry. The cuff of her left sleeve is stitched with pearls inscribed “LEALTÀ,” loyalty,

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121 The image of a woman in a casement also recalls images of women by Botticelli such as Portrait of Smeralda Brandini, c. 1470-75 in the Victoria & Albert Museum and Portrait of a Lady in Profile, 1475. When the woman takes a central position and the man encroaches upon her, it alludes to courtly love with the woman in power over her lover’s gaze. However, it differs in this situation due to gender positioning.

122 See Alessandra Macinghi negli Strozzi, Lettere di una Gentildonna Fiorentina del Secolo XV ai Figliuoli Esuli, ed. by Cesare Guasti (Florence: 1877); and Anthony Molho, Marriage Alliance in Late Medieval Florence (Cambridge, Mass/London: Harvard University Press, 1994), 129.
the key quality for a wife. Chastity in unmarried women and fidelity in wives also reflected on the current or future husband. These feminine virtues, inscribed on their clothing, insured the purity of the family line, the legitimacy of heirs, and the reputation of the family in general. In the fifteenth century, a string of pearls, a head brooch, and a shoulder brooch (fermagle da spalla) or pendant were frequently worn by brides. Accordingly, in this portrait she is adorned with multiple rings, wears a stella (headdress) with a fringe and pearl appliqué, and on her left shoulder is pinned a brochette di testa. Wedding pendants or brooches (pendette di moglianza) often adorned the bride-to-be or newly wed lady similar to those of the woman in this double portrait. A Florentine edict of 1472 proclaimed that married women could wear certain pieces of jewelry associated with betrothal and marriage for only three years after the nuptials, which indicates a time span for painted portraits containing women adorned with such items. Moreover, in Lippi’s double portrait, the woman’s position close to the picture plane allows her beauty to be clearly displayed. Her idealized features, fancy dress, and elaborate jewelry are visual devices contributing to her loveliness. Her beauty can thus be linked to her virtue in this portrait. Renaissance writers commented that when a man picked a bride, she needed to be beautiful.

123 The sexual honor of a woman was not only hers or even predominantly hers, but also tied to a more complex notion of honor involving the family and the man who dominated the family. See Margaret King, Women of the Renaissance, 29. Baldassare Castiglione mentioned the importance of Chastity in the Courtier claiming “to devote all their strength to keeping themselves in this the virtue of chastity; without which their children would be uncertain, and that tie would be dissolved which binds the whole world by blood and by the natural love of each man for what he has produced. See Baldassare Castiglione, Il Libro del Cortegiano del Conte Baldasar Castigliane, V. Cian, ed. (Florence: n.d.), 353 [III.26]; cited in Baldassare Castiglione, The Book of the Courtier, trans. G. Bull, rev. edn. (London: 1973), 241.

124 See Luke Syson and Dora Thornton, Objects of Virtue: Art in Renaissance Italy, 43.

125 Rings were worn whenever possible, and sometimes several worn on one finger. One Florentine sumptuary law in 1415 stated that “a woman cannot wear on one or more fingers more than a total of three rings and across all the rings and fingers she may not have more than one pearl or another precious stone. These restrictions apply to both hands.” See Jacqueline Herald, Renaissance Dress in Italy, 1400-1500 (London: Bell and Hyman, 1981), 173.

126 See Adrian W.B. Randolph “Performing the Bridal Body in Fifteenth-Century Florence,” 189.
The woman, who is elaborately dressed in a profile position, signals further meaning. Joanna Woods-Marsden has pointed out that Renaissance societal norms dictated that the lady give the impression that her body was contained and protected and her limbs controlled. Her eye contact also remained minimal from this profile position, consistent with the warning to women against too much eye contact with the men they encountered.127 Also, when a dress with elaborate sleeves had embroidery confined to one arm only, the left sleeve was favored.128 The woman’s profile to the left in this painting reveals her left arm, and particularly, her left shoulder, to the viewer. The shoulder brooch, which adorns her left shoulder, was placed there for protection, as a talisman for the side more vulnerable to evil.

The woman’s placement inside a window frame and the man gazing upon her from the outside recalls images of courtly love. Medieval courtly scenes, inspired by love poetry of the period, also connect a couple in an amorous setting. In the early fifteenth-century drawing, *A Lady and her Lover*, attributed to Stefano da Verona (1375-1450/1), a full-length profiled man and woman are in dialogue (Fig. 2.44).129 The composition is

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129 Stefano da Verona (1375-1450/51), *A Lady and Her Lover*, pen and brown ink, lower left corner torn away, upper and lower edges cut irregularly and made up; thinly relined, 291 x 195 mm, Frits Lugt Collection, Paris. (A dog’s head in profile to right, partly cut-off, upper right. Above, probably in the artist’s hand in pen and brown ink, the following inscription: “Most noble lady adorned with all beauties, fair are you in your beauteous face. As your nobility is set so high it is not possible for all to understand your lofty thoughts. But as broken by the harshness of the god of love [I] cannot refrain from writing down how many and how great are the innumerable sufferings which I bear, I say, because you madona who are wholly wrong…[at the bottom of the page it continues…] I have done you honor, and I do so now, so that I can stay in dalliance with you. “O nobilisima dona Adornata de oni belece/ vega siete nei vostri bei senbiati / posto chesi tanta la vosstra nobilita inaltece / che Atuti no sia possibile Copede [comprendre] e vostri vagi pesieri tanti / ma io come spezato daldio damore [con] so Asperate / nono potuto far dimeno chi o no ischruia quati / E quali sono le mie inumirabile pene chi porta / dicho perte madona che sei tuta tota / [continuing below] Onor vi o fato o fazo / p poder star [con] vuy insolazo.”) See James Byam Shaw, *The Italian Drawings in the Fritz Lugt Collection* (Paris: Institut Néerlandais, 1983), I, 195-7, Cat. 193; and Paris, Musée du Louvre, *Pisanello: Le Peintre aux Sept Vertus*, exh. cat. (1990), 175, 185-86, Cat. 104, repro.
completely in the realm of courtly love as he is on a bent knee approaching his beloved to his right. His gaze does not capture hers. An inscribed text attesting to her beauty and his adoration is written above and below their heads. A similar scene of a man gazing upon a beautiful woman in a window is found on a cassone panel (c. 1475) by Liberale di Verona (1445-1527/29) (or attributed to Francesco di Giorgio or Girolamo da Cremona) (Fig. 2.45). Even though there are other characters, the painted scene spotlights the connection between the man and woman. Many scholars have considered the subject of this panel to be taken from an unknown novella. However, Patricia Simons has suggested a viable scene from Boccaccio’s *Filocolo*, an adaptation of a French romance from the 1330s, in which a pair of lovers in several occurrences or dream sequences is visually connected, yet separated at a distance via a window, which acts as the intermediary/mediator. The painted image shows a couple communicating by word and

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130 Liberale da Verona (Francesco di Giorgio or Girolamo da Cremona, attributed), *Scene from a Novella: Young Man Gazing at a Girl in the Window*, cassone panel, c. 1475, tempera on panel, 13 ¼ x 16 ¼ in (33 x 41 cm), Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gwynne Andrews Fund [1986.147]. See John Pope-Hennessy and Keith Christiansen, *Secular Painting in 15th-Century Tuscany: Birth Trays, Cassone Panels, and Portraits* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980), 52-5. They have determined that the interpretation of this scene “still remains an enigma,” while Paul Schubring has suggested that the chess playing scene (another image attached to this panel) was based on a Boccaccio story. See Paul Schubring, “New Cassone Panels—III,” *Apollo*, 5 (1927), 156.

131 In scenes of romantic, poetic love, the woman may be in a higher position or more dominant position in the scene, or even portrait, for in these cases the beautiful woman is being pursued by a suitor.

132 See Patricia Simons, “(Check) Mating the Grand Masters: The Gendered, Sexualized Politics of Chess in Renaissance Italy,” *Oxford Art Journal*, 16, no. 1 (1993), 68. One episode in the story relays that the male hero Florio envisioned his beloved Bianciaslire standing at the windows of her house. He spent that day “restlessly seeking the higher places where he could better see Bianciare and at night he sat at the gates of the palace weeping about the gates that kept his love locked up inside. When his friends came across Florio in a garden, he was “sad and pensive…brooding, with his blond head resting on his left hand”…imagining his beloved Bianciare. He conjured a vision of his beloved as the story continues “as often as she comes into my memory, so often this desire burns more hotly in me and distracts me from all other sensation, so that if I were to see her then I would believe myself more blessed than any god.” Just before his rescue of his beloved, the male hero looked from afar to her tower and saw a maiden in the window, imagining that it was his Bianciasliore. Mistakenly identifying his beloved with one of her maidservants, Sisife, the story unfolds that a melancholic Florio (now called Filocolo) “sitting on an ancient piece of marble placed in front of Sisife’s great houses when it happened that Sisife herself lingered at a window looking out over the sea, and she saw him and watched him for a long while…” Sisife’s realization that Filocolo must be longing for Bianciasliore, she then gives him news. See Giovanni Boccaccio, *Il Filocolo*, trans. by Donald Cheney with Thomas G. Bergin (New York/London: Garland, 1985), book 2, chapter 26, 77, book 3, chapter 12, 149, chapter 13, 151, book 4, chapter 91, 218, chapter 76, 304.
sight through a window. The woman’s hand, which points at her eyes as she stares out at
the young man, indicates the centrality of the gaze to the narrative. Simons has suggested
that windows frequently signified the opening through which domesticated, contained
women interact with the exterior world of masculine action. In another image from a
Milanese Codex, Massimo Sforza is triumphantly portrayed in armor on a horse parading
through a street (Fig. 2.46). A woman in a window gazes down toward him on the road.
The image is reminiscent of another courtly story of Duke Huon of Bordeaux, specifically
a scene in which, after a game of chess, the Duke, in his armor and mounted on a horse
about to depart, is beheld from afar by King Ivoryn’s daughter. A similar design to
Lippi’s double portrait is also found in Munich by an Upper Swabian master. The
frontally-placed woman is retained in a closed space and a man peers at her through a
window, presenting her with a flower (Fig. 2.47). It is of a courtly nature with the man
on the heraldic sinister.

In Lippi’s panel, the man and woman do not share the space equally, but rather
the woman monumentalizes her position and is close to the picture plane, while the
man’s profile recedes into the background. They do not capture each other’s gaze but
miss their mutual line of vision. However, the ability of the viewer to gaze upon his
subject is still of utmost importance in this image, much like the focus on the gaze in the
above mentioned narrative images. Even though the man misses her line of vision within

135 Upper Swabian Master, Portrait of a Man Looking at a Woman in a Casement, Kunsthandel (art dealer), Munich.
the image, he is still shown making his mark. He advances, with his family’s coat of arms, from the active, external world into her domesticated space. Moreover, he is, in all likelihood, the actual possessor of the image in question. His placement on the heraldic dexter in this scene furthers this idea since it differs from the lady’s placement on the proper right in an image like Liberale da Verona’s *Lady and Her Lover* (see Fig. 2.45). These clues suggest a gender shift in power. While the male suitor on the heraldic sinister attempts to possess his lady, placed on the honored right, in the courtly love image, Lippi’s *Double Portrait*, which illustrates matrimony, visually indicates that he has already taken possession of the woman due to their opposing figural placement. In addition, the beautiful display of this woman might reflect a personal imperative of the artist. Giorgio Vasari commented that Filippo Lippi compensated himself by portraying women he could not sexually possess. Seen in this light, this image could have served for the visual delectation of the artist while he painted it.

136 In the marriage ritual, the dressing of the bride was a rite of passage, or rather assimilation into the husband’s family. In Florentine practice, the groom would sometimes “mark” his bride with dresses and jewels that would bear his crest. This custom would introduce his wife into his group and signal the rights he acquired over her, initiating her into her new role as a married woman. See Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy*, trans. by Lydia Cochrane, 225. The Lippi double portrait seems to reference precisely this moment in the marriage ritual.

137 Joseph Breck suggested that it commemorated the marriage of Lorenzo di Rinieri Scolari (1407-1478) and Angiola di Bernardo Sapiti because of his identification of the Florentine Scolari family *impresa* in the panel. See Joseph Breck, “A Double Portrait by Fra Filippo Lippi,” *Art in America* 2 (1914), 44-55. Ludwig Goldscheider believed the coat of arms was from the Pratese Datini family in 1954, while Dieter Jansen claimed the coat of arms belonged to the Piemontese Ferrero family living in Prati. See Ludwig Goldscheider, “unpublished letter to the Metropolitan Museum of Art,” 1954; and Dieter Jannsen, “F.F.L.s Doppeldbnis im New Yorker Metropolitan Museum,” in *Wallraf Richarz Jahrboek* (1987-88), 48-. Other theories on this painting have suggested that the woman retains the focal point because she is pregnant or that it illustrates the Song of Songs in the Bible. John Pope-Hennessy dated the panel to c. 1435-40 and believed that it was in response to the birth of Lorenzo and Angiola’s first born. Sixten Ringbom and Robert Baldwin saw the open window and the gaze between the couple as symbolism for the Song of Songs. See Sixten Ringbom, “F.F.L.s New Yorker Doppelporträt: eine Deutung der Fenstersymbolik,” in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, XLVII/2 (1985), 133-37; and Robert Baldwin, “A Window from the Song of Songs in Conjugal Portraits by Fra Filippo Lippi and Bartholomäus Zeitlom,” *Source* 5 (1986), 7-14. See also Keith Christiansen, “New Light on the early work of F.L.,” in *Archivio Storico Pratese* LXIV, nos. 1-2 (1988), 142-153. Adding to the belief that the patron of the image was indeed the groom or newly-wed husband could also stem from common practice for them to purchase window glass and a casement, recording the expense incurring from having a window cut into a chamber wall mentioned in fifteenth-century *Ricordanze* and ledger books. See Jennifer E. Craven, “A New Historical View of the Independent Female Portrait in Fifteenth-Century Florentine Painting,” 158.
In another double portrait attributed to Fra Filippo Lippi, a woman again remains enclosed within a window casement, but this time she is frontally placed (Fig. 2.48). With bound hair and a graceful, long neck, she tilts her head to give a three-quarter view of her face. A profiled man with a cap gestures toward the windowsill from the lower right corner of the panel. Both sitters direct their gaze to flowers in a pot on the ledge to the viewer’s left. The flowers, pinks, are traditional symbols of betrothal and weddings. The persevering nature of the flower signifies trustworthiness for the young couple, especially the bride. Her beauty displayed at a window once again recalls the courtly stories of young lovers divided by a window.

Profile portraits in manuscript illuminations conventionally reflect those in contemporary painting. There are numerous examples of portraits imbedded in illuminated manuscripts. Classicized heads in profile, reminiscent of portraits on Roman coins, are woven into the borders of pages and sometimes appeared in double-bust format, as in medallions in the *Giuramento di Bertuccio Contarini* (Fig. 2.49). By the 1470s, the sitters no longer remain in severe profile but are varied in positioning much as in the case with portrait panels. Within two ornamented vertical panels resembling candelabras on the frontispiece of the Bible of Federico da Montefeltro, produced by Francesco Rosselli, two separated full-face portraits of Federico and his wife Battista are presented in circular garlands, with their respective *imprese*, held up by paired amorini (Fig. 2.50).

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139 It has particular resonance with the Latin poem called *Carmina Burana*. It begins with the man suggesting for his love to accept his gift of the flower “because a flower stands for love.” For the passage, see Michael Camille, *The Medieval Art of Love: Objects and Subjects of Desire*, 25.
140 Francesco Rosselli, *Ornamented Portraits of Federico and Battista*, in *Bible of Federico da Montefeltro*, 1476-78, Ms. Urb. Lat. 1, Vol. 1, folio 1v, Biblioteca Vaticana, Rome. Another similar portrayal in manuscript illuminations is by Francesco di Antonio del Chierico of a woman and man gazing at each other from opposite sides of a page. See Frontispiece, Cicerone’s *Orazioni*, Ms. Digby 231, fol 1, Bodleian Library, Oxford.
Even in Renaissance illumination of ancient texts, contemporary sitters were placed within the illustrated pages, utilizing the double-portrait format. Francesco di Antonio del Chierico created some of the most well-designed miniatures of the fifteenth century, rich in elaborate stylistic and thematic invention. He worked for the most important art patrons in Italy and other parts of Europe, such as Cosimo il Vecchio de’ Medici, Federico II da Montefeltro, Ferdinand I, King of Naples, and Louis XI of France. Del Chierico’s introduction of portraits within the decorative pages of manuscripts was particularly innovative. In an illumination within a version of Pliny’s *Historia Naturalis* of 1458, a man on the proper right faces a woman on the proper left in profile (Figs. 1.48 and 2.51).²¹ The elegant couple in contemporary dress is located within a star-like aperture. The portrait-like representations within this manuscript are congruent with the written text, in which Pliny the Elder mentioned the origin of portraiture from the circumscription of the lover’s shadow falling on a wall.²² An *amorino* from the ornamented border looks down approvingly at the couple. Another detail in an illuminated page by Chierico also shows a stylishly dressed couple facing each other in a circular-shaped opening (Fig. 2.52).²³

The emphasis on the decorative can also be seen in a tripartite bas-relief that includes four putti in the center, two of which are in flight holding the *stemma* of the

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²¹ Francesco d’Antonio del Chierico (1433-1484), *Pliny’s Historia Naturalis*, detail of *Double Bust of Man and Woman*, *Pluteo* 82.3, folio 4, 1458, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence. The manuscript is illustrated in its entirety in A. Garzelli and A. de la Mare *Miniatura Fiorentina del Rinascimento, 1440-1525. Un Primo Censimento* (Florence: 1985), esp. fig. 388.


²³ Francesco di Antonio del Chierico, Ms. 309, folio 1, detail, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.
Gonzaga family, much as in the classical *imago clipeata* (Fig. 2.53). The *impresa* is flanked by two sets of elegant profile double portraits. On the left, the profiles of Federico Gonzaga, primogenitor of Marchese Ludovico II, and his consort Margherita of Wittelsbach (or of Bavaria) decoratively balance the Marchese Ludovico II Gonzaga and his wife Barbara of Hohenzollern (or of Brandenburg) on the right (Figs. 2.54 and 2.55). The headdress of Margherita recalls that of the woman in Lippi’s *Man and Woman in a Casement* (see Fig. 2.43).

On the reverse of a sculpted portrait of the Italian poet, Francesco Cinzio Benincasa, the appearance of an unfinished and badly damaged double portrait is visible (see Fig. 1.13). It is in a horizontal format, recessed within a flat framed moulding by a different hand. A man and woman face each other in profile. The man, wearing a close-fitting bodice and a jewel falling upon his chest, is located on the proper right. Placed on the proper left, the woman has a large star-like diamond on her headband. A brooch attached to the headband is typically part of wedding adornment, as in the frontally placed lady in *Saint Catherine of Bologna with Three Donors*, Bruges by the Baroncelli Master of c. 1470. The use of a marital jewel on the bride’s head resembles a crown, as often seen in images

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144 Luca Fancelli (?), *Fregio di Camino*, 1450-60, marble, 35.5 x 178 x 7 cm, Museo di Palazzo Ducale, Castello di San Giorgio, camera dei Soli, Mantua [G. 11548]. See Mantua, *A Casa di Andrea Mantegna: Cultura Artistica a Mantova nel Quattrocento*, exh. cat. by Rodolfo Signorini and Daniela Sogliani (Milan: Silvano Editorale, 2006), Cat. 27.


of the Virgin Mary. It is partially effaced with drill holes (mainly in the more finished area of the faces) and this, along with its unfinished state, could allude to the fact that it was to be reused for another purpose. Perhaps the portrait was to be turned in the opposite direction to allow for a vertical portrait format on the front. Recessed double-portrait reliefs are also in Northern European representations. In a limestone relief attributed to the German artist Hans Schenk Scheutzlich (1500-1572), a married couple, Herzog Barnims XI von Pommern and his wife Anna, shown in a frontal bust-length representation, look out at the viewer from a recessed horizontal slab (Fig. 2.56).

The juxtaposed profile busts of the sculpted man and woman in the Victoria and Albert Museum mimic a similar stylized painted version of a marriage double portrait, which is a copy after Zanetto Bugatto (Fig. 2.57). Zanetto Bugatto was noteworthy as the portraitist of the courts of the two first Sforza dukes of Milan, Lodovico and Gian Galeazzo Maria, and for his training under the influential Netherlandish artist Rogier van der Weyden between 1460 and 1463. Bugatto was also known for his portrait designs on coins and medals. From November 12, 1470-March 3, 1471, he designed ten life-size gold medallions for the Milanese court, five of the bust of Galeazzo and five bearing the

147 Attributed to Hans Schenk Scheutzlich, Portrait Herzog Barnims XI von Pommern and Anna, Kalksteinrelief (limestone relief), Pommersches Landesmuseum, Ehem Stettin.
148 Copy after Zanetto Bugatto, Double Portrait of Galeazzo Maria Sforza and Bona of Savoy, sixteenth century?, formerly Gatti collection, now Castello Sforzesco, Milan. Though this might be from the sixteenth century, perhaps it is very early, since the style is modeled after a fifteenth-century double-portrait convention with the two portraits in profile facing one another. In any event, this double portrait also attests to the rising popularity of double portraits in the sixteenth century, even if perhaps based on pendant portraits originally. This portrayal of a double portrait resembling a fifteenth-century version is appropriate for its contemporary fifteenth-century sitters.

features of Bona of Savoy, Galeazzo’s wife and sister to the Queen of France. These works were perhaps similar in design to the large life-size medallions of the men on a marble doorway and the women on a corresponding doorway showing portraits of the members of the Visconti and Sforza families at the Certosa in Pavia (Fig. 2.58). Two stone *Medallions of a Man and a Woman* (possibly Galeazzo and Bona) are presently located in the Milanese Castello Sforzesco and could be similar to two that were originally hung in their bed chamber (Fig. 2.59).

The portrayal of Duke Galeazzo in the double portrait can also be compared to his profile representation, dressed in gold, on a panel painting attributed to Zanetto Bugatto, also in the Castello Sforzesco (Milan). A fragment of an altarpiece attributed to Bugatto, showing the kneeling Bona being presented by a Saint, possibly St. Bonne of Rheims, to a now lost Madonna and Child closely resembles her portrayal in the double portrait. She has similar arched eyebrows, puffy cheeks, and her signature headdress.

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150 Luke Syson has mentioned that their portraits were also located on stone medallions of the same dimensions in the ducal bedchamber. While Zanetto designed the portraits for the medals, Francesco da Mantova and Maffio Civate collaborated as mouldmakers and goldsmiths. See Luke Syson, “Zanetto Bugatto,” *Burlington Magazine*, 300.

151 Italian artist, *Door Frame with Portraits of Visconti and Sforza*, Sacrestia, Certosa, Pavia. Galeazzo Sforza liked to stress his descent as well from the prominent family of Visconti rulers through his mother Bianca Maria Visconti. By seeing these door frames with the Sforza and Visconti personages, it reinforced the strategic planning to demonstrate the powerful political connection of these families through a visual one. See E.S. Welch, “Galeazzo Maria Sforza and the Castello di Pavia, 1469,” *Art Bulletin* LXXI (1989), 351-75.


154 Attributed to Zanetto Bugatto, *Portrait of Bona of Savoy and a Female Saint (Possibly St. Bonne of Rheims)*, c. 1474, oil on canvas, transferred from panel, 90 x 56 cm, Castello Sforzesco, Milan. It was once in the Treccani Collection and considered to be by Zenale or an Italian artist working in the circle of Bonifacio Bembo around 1470. See M. Salmi, “Nota su Bonifacio Bembo,” *Commentari*, IV (1953), 12. It is considered by Luke Syson to be a work of Zanetto Bugatto and possibly a part of an altarpiece for the Milan cathedral. See “Zanetto Bugatto,” *Burlington Magazine*, 306, fig. 9.
decorated with fleurs-de-lys. 155 In the double portraits of Galeazzo Sforza and Bona of Savoy, their inward turning profile representation maintains a distant feel and a sense of unapproachability. As in coin and medal representations, the profile format gives the man and woman equilibrium within the same frame.

The symmetry maintained in the sculpted and painted profile double portraits, finds its way into common objects, such as belt ends (Fig. 2.60). 156 These were given as tailored gifts of love and indicators of betrothal. In one example, a double-sided belt end, the nielloed plaques display images of marriage. 157 One end of the belt shows a woman beneath an arch holding the symbolic flower of love, a pink or carnation. Significantly, on the other end a well-dressed couple is shown beneath an arcade, bust-length and in profile. This representation recalls fifteenth-century marriage double portraits in their sculpted and painted forms. The man is on the traditional heraldic right, while the woman is on the heraldic sinister. She wears a pearl necklace and a head brooch, typical of bridal adornment. This image, however, increases the intimacy between the couple over that exhibited in other versions of this format in other media. The lady makes physical contact with her husband by wrapping her arm amorously around him and placing her hand on his neck.

However, amorous display can also be seen in the borders of illuminated manuscripts from the time. Within a Petrarchian text, Francesco di Antonio del' Chierico embraced the theme of couples by showing in one aperture a couple intimately holding one another as their

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155 She seems to bear an uncanny likeness to her mother in law, Bianca Maria Visconti. Images of Bianca Maria are mentioned earlier in this chapter, such as Fig. 2.16, fig. 2.17 and Fig. 2.18.
156 See Luke Syson and Dora Thornton, Objects of Virtue: Art in Renaissance Italy, 55, fig. 36.
hands touch and the man wraps his arm around the woman’s shoulder (Fig. 2.61). Another example of the matrimonial belt type is a silver-gilt buckle and belt end with nielloed plaques attached to a velvet band, also in the British Museum. The buckle’s image is of profile portraits of a man and a woman against a hatched ground inset into a roundel with a shield of arms and the initials L and B. The belt-end has two sides for imagery—on one side, the nielloed imprese of the Malatesta of Rimini and Cesena with the initials “L” and “B” (possibly for the couple’s first names) are displayed together on an inset roundel presented by an angel—and on the other side, a nielloed plaque shows a couple in profile facing one another in an inset roundel with the Italian inscription CON EL TEMPO (with time). A sufficient number of prints of similar profile portrait designs suggest the idea that these images were produced after medals.

It was popular to wear figurative enameled gold brooches given as wedding gifts, as seen in Florentine and Northern Italian paintings. Elaborate jeweled pendants containing gold, silver, rubies, and diamonds were not only made to mark betrothal, but also cheaper versions for use during nuptials were made of parcel-gilt, niello, and copper alloy. In paintings of women from the fifteenth century, the subjects sometimes wear jewelry from Northern Europe, suggesting a certain commonality of elite material culture across Europe. This influence flowed both ways. On a German nielloed medallion, a

158 Francesco di Antonio del Chierico, A Couple in an Aperture, Ms. 1108 (Petrarchian text), Biblioteca Riccardiana, Florence. Entwined couples correspond to scenes of the Triumphs of Love and can be associated with double-portrait like displays of lovers mentioned in Chapter Four.
163 See ibid., 45.
bearded man on the proper right grips the arm of a young lady on the proper left against a checkered background, much as in Italian representations (Fig. 2.62).  

Another fifteenth-century double portrait, Portrait of Lodovico Gonzaga and Barbara of Brandenburg, formerly attributed to Andrea Mantegna, represents a man and woman facing toward the front (see Fig. 1.14). The noble couple rest on one panel within a recessed space. They are separated by a column adorned with an impresa. Their gazes, both directed off to the right, avoid eye contact with the viewer. A ledge also constricts the viewer’s access, while the column segments the subjects from each other. Lodovico wears the same red cap and his consort is identically attired as in their portrayal in Mantegna’s Family and Court of Lodovico Gonzaga II in the Ducal Palace in Mantua from 1474. The awkward positioning and averted gaze of the two sitters indicates that this portrait imitated artistic sources that similarly showed the pair separated. The couple is united in similar fashion to Roman grave stelae (see Fig. 1.15) and images of the Christ and the Virgin, discussed in Chapter One, as in a Franco-Flemish panel with Christ placed on the proper right, segmented from his mother on the proper left by a column (Fig. 2.63). The shift in compositional format from religious to secular is also in a double portrait version by Jörg Breu the Elder where the man and woman appear in separate arches, segmented by an insert displaying their coat of arms (Fig. 2.64). The portrait of Lodovico Gonzaga and his wife is an Italian version of these Northern images.

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164 German artist, Medallion with Two Figures, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts.
165 Formerly attributed to Andrea Mantegna, Portrait of Lodovico Gonzaga and Barbara of Brandenburg, Unknown location. Found in the Getty Photographic Archives. Zanetto is found at the Gonzaga court in 1471, probably at the wishes of Galeazzo Maria Sforza, to see works by Andrea Mantegna in Mantua. At this time, Lodovico Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, asked Mantegna to bring two portraits “quelli dui retracti” with him to Gonzaga and to return with Zanetto to Mantua. See P. Kristeller, Andrea Mantegna (Berlin and Leipzig: 1902), 527, document 44.
166 Jörg Breu the Elder, Portrait of Coloman Helschmid and his Wife Agnes Breu, c. 1500-1505, oil on panel, 38 x 47.9 cm, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid. Another Northern example would be Quinten Metsys’ Portrait of a Man and Portrait of a Lady which was originally a double portrait on one panel which was split
As noted, the display of both genders together also corresponds to donor portraits of married couples, as in Hans Memling’s *Portrait of Tommaso Portinari and His Wife* from c. 1470.\(^{167}\) Italian artists also used this convention, as in the early painted panel from 1339 showing the *Madonna and Child with Doge Dandolo and His Wife* by Domenico Veneziano (see Fig. I.4) and in the *Double Portrait of Doge Peter Orseolo and the Dogaressa Felicita* by the school of Giovanni Bellini, in which the couple kneels in prayer together in absence of a religious icon (see Fig. 1.60).\(^{168}\) As mentioned in Chapter One, the earliest displays of gendered couples together stemmed from a funerary context, and this tradition continued through the sixteenth century. A later sixteenth-century upright wall tomb by an anonymous artist in the Cathedral in Trent also contains a man and woman within the same arched frame. Sharing the same space eternally, they are shown frontally, in half-length, with a plaque revealing their identity below them (Fig. 2.65).\(^{169}\) In the fifteenth century, double portraits similarly responded to the treatment, with an ornamental emphasis, of sitters in individual portraits. Double portrayals, also visually connected the bride and bridegroom through a variety of media, from painted or sculpted forms to prints and medallion adornment objects.

**Comparative Northern Double Portraits**

Northern European double portraits on marriage have been written about extensively. Appearing early in Germany, double portraits often have affinities with both into two. There is a similar column motif between the sitters. See Quinten Metsys, *Portrait of a Man*, c. 1510-20, oil on panel, 47.6 x 41.5 cm, Private Collection, Switzerland; and Quinten Metsys, *Portrait of a Lady*, c. 1510-20 oil on panel, 47.4 x 41.4 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York [32.100.47].

\(^{167}\) Hans Memling, *Portrait of Tommaso Portinari and His Wife, Maria Portinari (Maria Maddalena Baroncelli)*, c. 1470, oil on panel, 44.1 x 33.7 cm (17 3/8 x 13 ¼ in) and 44.1 x 34 cm (17 3/8 x 13 3/8 in), respectively, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York [14.40.626-27].

\(^{168}\) Even in this more pious context, respective gender roles are reiterated by their placement in the room with the man in front of the open loggia while the woman is flush against the wall.

\(^{169}\) Italian artist, *Double Portrait Tomb*, Cathedral, Trent.
the Northern European type and the Italian counterpart, affirming an exchange north and south of the border. The most famous marriage double portrait, and one of the earliest, is Jan van Eyck’s *Arnolfini Double Portrait* of 1434, showing a couple full-length in a ceremonial handclasp with witnesses, including the artist, appearing in the mirror behind (see Fig. 1.54). German examples of couples portrayed full-length often incorporate further meaning, unlike Italian representations, by attaching a *memento mori* to the portrait. In a *Marriage Portrait* by the Master of the Aachen Panels of the Virgin of c. 1470, the couple, connected by the symbolic handclasp ritual, stand in a nuptial chamber, much as in van Eyck’s double portrait, while on the reverse of the panel, two skeletons, indicating their inevitable death, dance in a landscape (Fig. 2.66). Full-length double portraits were also woven into large dynastic tapestries, as well as inserted into illuminated manuscripts. Yet, Italian examples of this type of full-length portrayal of a couple in a double portrait, though found in narrative scenes, are less frequent in the fifteenth and into the sixteenth century than bust-length or three-quarter length portrayals.

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171 Master of the Aachen Panels of the Virgin, *Marriage Portrait*, with its reverse, *Two Corpses*, c. 1470, Aloysiuskolleg, Bad Godesburg, on loan to Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn. Another example is the Upper Rhenish Master (Cologne School), *A Young Bridal Couple in a Garden*, c. 1470, oil on fir panel, 64.7 x 39.5 cm, Delia E. Holdin and L. E. Holden Funds, Cleveland Museum of Art [32.179] (with its separated reverse, *Two Corpses*, Musée de l’Oeuvre Notre-Dame, Strasbourg). The Cleveland panel has a detached reverse, located in Strasbourg, which represents a bleak setting with the decaying corpses of an elderly man and woman.

172 The same theme is reiterated in a religious context in Italy, that of Masaccio’s *Trinity* of c. 1425-28, in which a painted skeleton in a sarcophagus below the image is inscribed with the quote: “I was what you are and what I am you shall be.” The Trinity, set within a triumphal arch, rises above it. Two patrons, a married couple, are positioned between the two sections, occupying the viewer’s space in front of the picture plane. They are depicted in the traditional prayerful pose, but realistically life-size. The patrons have been identified as members of the Lenzi family or as Berto di Bartolomeo del Bandeario and his wife. See Masaccio, *The Holy Trinity, with the Virgin and Saint John and Donors*, c. 1425-28, fresco, Santa Maria Novella, Florence.
German artists used the double-portrait format extensively and in a variety of ways. The straightforward depiction of a married couple can be seen in several examples, such as the Portrait of Lorenz and Christina Tucher by the Master of the Landauer Altarpiece (Fig. 2.67). The couple is presented half-length in three-quarter stance against a window revealing a Franconian landscape. The date of the painting, considered 1475 (though inscribed at a later date) is shown on the window ledge. The couple is close to the picture plane, with the wife’s shoulder eclipsing her husband on his sinister side, yet he supersedes her by prominently displaying a ring for his companion with his right hand. He looks intent on the presentation while his wife gazes unresponsively past her husband, as well as the offered ring. A similar depiction is the Portrait of Ladislaus V and Madeleine de France by an Austrian master of c. 1500 (Fig. 2.68). The artist portrayed the couple half-length, turned toward each other against a dark background, in commemoration of their formal engagement. Ladislaus V (1440-57), King of Hungary and Bohemia, placed on the dexter side, wears a crown of roses and presents a ring to his lady, while Madeleine of France, staring out at the viewer, holds out with her left hand a single flower, most likely a nelke, a type of small carnation, commonly known as a pink or clover gillyflower. The marriage never occurred, for Ladislaus V died before the nuptials, thus this double portrait was made by combining two single portraits to create this image of a proactive

engagement. The awkward design of some early double portraits by Northern and Italian artists stems from the use of individual portraits for their formation.

A print by the artist Israhel van Meckenem of himself with his wife of c. 1490, mentioned in Chapter One, displays only their heads (see Fig. 1.55). This image is considered the first printed self-portrait by an engraver of himself and his wife, and is also claimed to be the first portrait print of identifiable individuals. The sitters, shown as if separate portraits against a continuous brocaded backdrop, gaze out without acknowledgement of each other’s presence, in a manner reminiscent of portrait representations on Roman grave stelae. The print exists in two states, inscribed with the artist’s monogram and the sitters’ names along the lower ridge of the print. Since it appears in multiple impressions, the plate apparently was reworked more than once by his workshop with many surviving impressions. This type of double-figure display, disseminated through prints, could have been a stimulus for more images of the type.176

Jan Gossaert’s Double Portrait of an Elderly Couple of c. 1510-28 has a similar appearance to Meckenem’s (Fig. 2.69).177 It is set in a horizontal format with both male and female heads covered by a hat, and veil, respectively. Though it differs from being in bust-length format, the sitters here too appear to be individual portraits, combined and set in front of a flat dark-green background. Their stoic gazes do not connect them to each other, suggesting a source in separate drawn portrait studies. The man on the proper right is more active than his wife, as he grips his fur collar and holds on to the metal end of a cane. She remains behind her husband with concealed hands and downcast eyes.

176 Israhel van Meckenem was interested in portraying images of married couples. In a series made around 1500, Meckenem also portrayed good and bad couples in twelve engravings. See Washington, National Gallery, *Fifteenth-Century Engravings of Northern Europe from the Collection of the National Gallery of Art*, exh. cat. by Alan Shestack (1967), 233-243.

177 Jan Gossaert, *Portrait of an Elderly Couple*, 1510-28, oil on vellum?, 46 x 66.9 cm, National Gallery, London [NG1689]. The man’s hat has a badge of a young nude couple with a cornucopia.
Gossaert is known for infusing an Italian expression into Northern art as a result of his sojourn in Italy in 1508, and perhaps this portrayal was stimulated by ancient portraits on Roman sarcophagi as well as examples from the print medium like Meckenem’s double portrait. The badge on the man’s hat showing two nudes with a cornucopia, symbolic of fortune, fertility, or abundance, exudes an influence from antiquity.

A Flemish double portrait by the Master of Frankfurt depicts the artist with his wife in 1496 (Fig. 2.70). They are portrayed in three-quarter view, turning to the left and right, respectively. The left arm of the man is hidden behind the body of the woman, probably an indication the he used a mirror for his self-portrayal. She, in turn, is handing him, with her left hand, a small flower, specifically a gillyflower, symbolic of betrothal as well as of the Antwerp Guild of St. Luke. A table running parallel to the picture plane in the foreground adds a genre aspect to the portrait, for upon it an array of objects is displayed, including portions of bread, a slice of cheese, a knife, two tumblers, a large bowl of cherries, and a flower pot from which the wife plucked the offering to give to her husband. At the bottom of the frame, the ages of the sitters and the date are inscribed, while at the top of the composition, the heraldic device of Antwerp’s Guild of St. Luke

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178 Master of Frankfurt, *Self-Portrait of the Artist with His Wife*, 1496, oil on panel, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp [5096]. Grete Ring has noted that a panel of identical description was mentioned in the inventory of Margaret of Austria’s collection at the court of Mâlines in 1516, along with the *Arnolfini Double Portrait* by Jan van Eyck. See Grete Ring, “Wiedergefundene Bilder aus den Sammlungen der Margarete von Österreich,” *Monatshefte für Kunswissenschaft*, VIII (1914), 263. Friedländer has suggested that this painting was once in the Baron van der Elst Collection in Rome. See Max J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting* 7 (Leyden/Brussels: 1971), 54, Cat. 163, pl. 117.

179 Smith has interpreted the flower as a *Chieri*, a symbol of mourning love and fidelity till death while the fly on it was a symbol of mortality. He further suggested that the painting is an epitaph commemorating the death of the artist’s wife. See David R. Smith, *Masks of Wedlock: Seventeenth-Century Dutch Marriage Portraiture*, 59; and Sixten Ringbom, “Nuptial Symbolism in some Fifteenth-Century Reflections of Roman Sepulchral Portraiture,” *Temenos* 2 (1966), 93-95.

180 The image has been said to have a sacramental theme. The table almost becomes an altar with the ceremony occurring in front of it. The table acts as an intermediary object between the couple represented and the viewer. Smith considered it as a public ritual in which the man and woman announce their betrothal by taking part in a toast and a meal. The still-life objects on the table are associated with the ceremony. See David R. Smith, *Masks of Wedlock: Seventeenth-Century Dutch Marriage Portraiture*, 59.
This work was probably influenced by earlier German double portraits. In these early Northern double portraits, the compositions lack reciprocation between the sitters, indicating a forced combination from two separate portrait studies.

The Conjugal Double Portrait as a Societal Product

As images on domestic life encourage ideal behavior in how to live, marriage double portraits demonstrate how to behave, how to be represented, and how to be perceived in conjugal life. In Machiavelli’s *The Prince*, he stated that “it is not necessary…for a prince to possess all the good qualities I have enumerated but it is indispensable that he should appear to have them.” This projection of appearance can be extended to the images of two persons in portraiture. As single portraits often show idealized self-presentation, marriage double portraits demonstrate the socially acceptable display of the marital relationship. Marriage was encouraged in treatises of the Quattro- and Cinquecento. In *Della famiglia*, Alberti wrote that “we must persuade our young men to take wives. With reasons, with blandishments, with prizes, and with every argument, effort, and skill,” reflecting his belief that marriage promoted a healthy society. As we have seen, conjugal narrative scenes sometimes incorporated the same marital symbols as marital double portraits. Conjugal double portraits responded to societal expectations for the proper gender roles by reiterating an expected pattern, though expressed using diverse

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181 The frame is the painting’s original. Hinz has argued that the frame alluded to an altarpiece in ornamentation and with its predella. See Berthold Hinz, “Studien zur Geschichte des Ehepaarbildnisses,” 163.
elements, to their audience. The conventional portrayal, as mentioned, placed the man in the commanding position, either to the proper right or at center.\textsuperscript{184}

The gestures and signifiers within an image of a man and woman reinforced their gender roles. A vertical double portrait by an unknown Florentine artist, presumably after an original by Agnolo Bronzino, shows Cosimo I de’ Medici and his wife, Eleonora of Toledo, seated behind a table together in front of a window opening into a view of Florence and its Duomo (Fig. 2.71).\textsuperscript{185} Cosimo, on the heraldic dexter, enjoys a commanding presence as he actively manipulates a divider on a map of Pisa which is resting on the table.\textsuperscript{186} Tucked behind Cosimo’s left shoulder, his wife stands in a supportive role. Eleonora holds her right hand to her bodice, spreading her fingers, while keeping the two middle fingers together as an indicator of elegance.\textsuperscript{187} Her gesture, with her hand on her chest close to the heart, also signifies a pledge of marital faith.\textsuperscript{188}

\textsuperscript{184} In the marriage ceremony, wives were called upon above all to be subject to their husbands because a husband was head of the wife just as Christ is head of the Church. See \textit{Rituale Sacramentorum ad Usum Mediolanensis Ecclesiae (Ritual Ambrosianum)}, Ephesians 5:22-24, 33, Colossians 3:18, Peter I 3:1-6. Ephesians states “Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the Church.”

\textsuperscript{185} Three versions of this image are known. See the following: Italian artist after Agnolo Bronzino, \textit{Cosimo I de’ Medici and His Wife, Eleonora of Toledo}, 1546, oil on canvas; 12 x 9 ½” (30.5 x 24), Private collection, Kent, England; Workshop of Bronzino, \textit{Cosimo I de’ Medici and his Wife, Eleonora of Toledo}, 1546, oil on panel, 30.5 x 24 cm, inscribed top left ‘1546’, Private Collection (Arthur Erlanger), New York; and Drawing after Workshop of Bronzino, \textit{Cosimo I de’ Medici and His Wife, Eleonora of Toledo}, 1700s?, oil on panel, 31.2 x 23.5 cm, dated in top left corner, Gabinetto di disegni e stampe, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence [Santarelli 1495]. This drawing was probably in preparation for an engraving. See Karla Langedijk, \textit{Portraits of the Medici, 15th–18th Centuries} (Florence: Studio Per Edizioni Scelte, 1981-83), 419, Cat. 27, nos. 32 & 32a.

\textsuperscript{186} Cosimo is seen with a divider as a symbol of his calculated victory, as in the ceiling painting, \textit{Cosimo I Plans the War of Siena}, by Vasari and his workshop in the Sala Grande, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence.

\textsuperscript{187} Her hand held tightly against her bodice is also an emphatic symbol. Bulwer commented that “the hand brought unto the stomach…doth conscientiously …affirm anything of themselves.” Perhaps this further suggests her important placement in her married role. See John Bulwer, \textit{Chirologia: or the Natural Language of the Hand and Chironomia: or the Art of Manual Rhetoric}, ed. by J. W. Cleary (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1974), 182, Canon XXVIII.

\textsuperscript{188} The gesture of resting one’s hand open to one’s heart was mentioned by Cesare Ripa (\textit{Consciente affirmo} Chapter, in \textit{Promissiones Querela a Dio} and Teologia in J. Bulwer, \textit{Chirologia or the natural Language…of the Hand} (London: 1644), 88. Erwin Panofsky also has mentioned the “\textit{Donna…che si tenga la destra mano sopra il petto}” as coming from Ripa, \textit{Fede Cattolica} for representations of Faith. In Veronese’s \textit{Fidelità (Happy Union)}, the lady, perhaps copied from Titian’s painting of the \textit{Allegory of the Marquis d’Avalos}, with a dog, the symbol of fidelity, chained to her girdle. A cupid tries to unleash him. See The British Museum [1326] in G. Fiocco,
Similarly, in an Emilian double portrait by the artist Bartolomeo Passerotti, the man once again takes the central position in a vertical composition (Fig. 2.72). An aged gentleman, dressed in black and sporting a white beard, points to himself with his left hand and gestures toward the viewer with his right. His wife stands to the right of him, yet she maintains a lesser position, being eclipsed by her husband’s presence and relatively diminished in the background. As she rests her hand on her chest in a vow, similar to Eleonora, she gazes directly at her husband. These two examples of sixteenth-century marriage portraits demonstrate an increasing proficiency in the display of two people within a single format, as the sitters are integrated in a more unified image, and are not merely separate portraits forced together in one space.

The popularity of the double portrait by the sixteenth century is witnessed by the Serie Aulica in the Uffizi. As mentioned in Chapter One, this series comprises three vertical double portraits of prominent Medici couples, two painted posthumously, made by three Tuscan artists. To show enduring Medici bloodlines, Lorenzo Vaiani, called Lo Sciorina, painted the Portrait of Giovanni Pierfrancesco de’ Medici with his Wife, Caterina Sforza (Fig. 2.73), while Giovan Battista Naldini painted their subsequent lineage through the double portrait of their son, Giovanni de’ Medici, called “delle Bande Nere” with his wife, Maria Salviati (Fig. 2.74). Subsequently, the double portrait of the then-reigning Granduke Ferdinand I and his wife, Christina of Lorrain, was added to the series.

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190 Lorenzo (Vaiani) dello Sciorina, Portrait of Giovanni di Pierfrancesco Poolano and his Wife Caterina Sforza, 1585, oil on panel, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence; and Giovan Battista Naldini, Portrait of Giovanni de’ Medici, called “delle Bande Nere” and His Wife Maria Salviati, 1585, oil on panel, Serie Aulica, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.

191 A later image attributed to Jacopo Ligozzi shows them being wedded. They are seated behind a table. Their right hands are joined in the dextrarum iunctio. They are arranged with their sons behind their father and the daughters behind their mother. The duke’s crown rests on the table. See Jacopo Ligozzi, attributed
Lorenzo Vaiani, in his representation of Giovanni di Pierfrancesco, based his representation on an earlier portrait by Vasari located in the Sala di Giovanni delle Bande Nere (c. 1556-59), of the Palazzo Vecchio, Florence.\textsuperscript{192} Vaiani used Vasari’s prototype for the face of the grandduke with his wife, Caterina Sforza (1463-1509), in his own portrait of 1585. Caterina Sforza, who became female regent at the time of the death of her first husband, Girolamo Riario, in 1488, had utilized portraiture during her reign to combine the attributes of virtuous women with those of male rulers.\textsuperscript{193} Here, however, her image has received a more traditional female treatment (see Fig. 2.73). Shrouded by a mourning veil and holding a handkerchief, she is presented to the proper left of her deceased Medici second husband who is placed on the heraldic dexter.\textsuperscript{194} To increase his sense of power, he is depicted holding a letter in his left hand, a symbol of literacy, and points with the index finger of his right hand in an oratory gesture of command that the first-century Roman writer Quintilian had described in his famous “Education of the Orator.” The sixteenth-century humanist Enea Vico reiterated the use of the hands to convey meaning (as did many contemporary treatises on rhetoric), stating that “the hand signifies power.”\textsuperscript{195} The use of this commanding gesture was but one means employed by the artists of the \textit{Serie Aulica} to convey male power. In the later portrait by Naldini, the artist depicted Giovanni de’ Medici in full-armored regalia as a sign of valor. He is in the center

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Vasari had previously used as his model for the young Pierfrancesco the supposed portrait of him as the youngest magus in the \textit{Adoration of the Magi} (1496) by Filippino Lippi for the monastery of S. Donato a Scopeto, now located in the Uffizi, Florence. Karla Langedijk rejected the possibility of Medici portraits in the Filippino painting. See Karla Langedijk, \textit{The Portraits of the Medici} (Florence: 1981), I, 102-107.


\item They were never officially married as she would have lost rights to property gained by her first husband, Girolamo Riario.

\item See Enea Vico, \textit{Scienza Nuova} (1744), paragraph 1027.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
of the canvas, while his wife, Maria Salviati, is diminished in the background, and adorned with a mourning veil.

By the sixteenth century, double portraits were not restricted to those of noble birth, and the elite utilized the double-portrait format while maintaining the same gendered display as the nobility. In a Double Portrait of a Man and Woman by the Venetian artist Giovanni Antonio Fasolo of c. 1560, the espoused fill the horizontal format proportionately (Fig. 2.75). The husband, adorned in black with a ruffled collar, is on the heraldic dexter, obscuring part of his wife’s body with his bent left arm. He turns his head to his right, away from his wife, and is adorned with emblems of fortitude, intellect, and power: he holds a letter, points the finger of his upraised right hand, and the base of a column is visible over his right shoulder. To his left, his wife turns her head slightly, placing a shadow on the left side of her face. She is positioned next to her husband, yet on the same plane as the column, his attribute in the background. The wife holds a characteristically female element, a handkerchief. The act of holding a handkerchief, like that of holding a glove instead of wearing it, calls attention to “beautiful naked hands,” much written about in Petrarch’s poems. The use of the handkerchief reinforces an intimacy shared by a lover and his beloved through emblematic means.

Lavinia Fontana’s Portrait of a Couple mentioned earlier demonstrates the same imbalance within the picture (see Fig. I.1). Though the man and woman both gaze out at the viewer, he still retains the dominant positioning and the signs of power intelligence, and nobility, for he is shown with two letters, a book, and a sword (see Fig. 2.2). The two types of male attributes linked to him correspond to the ideal combination of arts and

196 Other examples I have found treat the subject in a similar manner, but are in poor condition.
197 Giovanni Antonio Fasolo, Double Portrait of a Man and Woman, location unknown.
198 As well as a symbol of the Colonna family, the column is also a metonym for Ancient Rome and its splendid palaces and indicative of a noble setting in Vitruvian fashion.
letters that Castiglione described in *The Courtier*. The man’s noble status is clear by his display of swords, which, as Lomazzo mentioned, is a display restricted to the elite. The woman’s fashionable dress and jewelry indicate the couple’s wealth, and the manner in which she holds her hand and clutches the flohpelz are traditional signs of her decorum, elegance, beauty, and fecundity (see Fig. 2.5). All of these attributes were no doubt an asset to her husband’s position. In perhaps the most well-known marriage double portrait, Lorenzo Lotto’s *Double Portrait of Antonio Marsilio and his Bride, Faustina Cassotti*, the artist retains the conventional inequality of the genders as the couple is shown in the act of exchanging a ring (see Fig. 2.4). The painting, a record of Antonio Marsilio’s marriage to Faustina, shows him in the active role as he places a ring on his wife’s finger. He has the commanding action in the image, while she is simply the submissive recipient.

Another element worth mentioning in the conjugal double portrait is the two sitters’ gaze, in relation to each other and to the viewer, as a key reference to gendered hierarchy and control within the composition. Poems on male portraits, through their long listing of commendable attributes, suggest that the viewer is a distant admirer. By contrast, poems dedicated to female sitters suggest two different manners of viewing: extolling virtues from a sizeable distance and asserting a relationship between the female sitter and the (male) spectator indicating not only acknowledgement of his gaze, but also responsiveness to it. Likewise, male sitters in their individual portraits for the most part direct their gaze out toward the viewer. However, portraits of female sitters distinguish two modes: either their eyes connect with those of the beholder or are averted. These modes often reflected whether the woman was of high rank or not. In *Libro delle Belle*

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199 Mary Rogers has commented that “while in Renaissance writing, masculine portraits are often said to be alive, even speaking,…rarely is it implied that the sitter is speaking to or establishing contact with the spectator.” Poems of responsive female portraits depart from Petrarchan conventions. See Mary Rogers, “Sonnets on Female Portraits from Renaissance North Italy,” 292, 294.
Donna, Federigo Luigini referred to the turn of the eyes and action of the hands by an ideal beautiful lady as factors which direct the viewer’s eyes to uncovered areas, promoting the sense of a relationship between the painted woman and the (male) beholder. That was certainly not the approach to take when portraying a married woman. In regard to respectable married women, such as Eleanora Gonzaga, Aretino characterized her gaze as *un sguardo signorile*, an aristocratic gaze, suggesting a look which distances the viewer from the sitter (Fig. 2.76).

These interactions shift in marriage double portraits. Obviously, marriage double portraits in profile force the stares of the couple to remain intently on their partner, ignoring the viewer. However, when the sitters are turned to face the viewer, their poses and eye movement confront the beholder. One gender or the other (or both) could ignore the viewer entirely, directing attention to the spouse. Yet, in conjugal double portraits in which both sitters stare out of the picture plane, the man seizes control of the viewer’s attention. The male sitter transcends the “aloofness” written about in Renaissance poems on male portraits; he does not ignore, but actively engages the beholder with his gaze. For the woman, seemingly staring out at the viewer, the artist conventionally averts her look through shifting eyes, slight turn or tilt of the head, or shadowing on her face to maintain a sense of decorum and discretion, as in the *Portrait of a Couple* in Cleveland. The women in conjugal double portraits were displayed more openly than early Renaissance portraits of individual women, which were normally


202 In double portraits of lovers, the women are actively enticing the male viewer.
covered so that only their husbands could remove the concealer to gaze into their eyes. As we have seen, other methods of control within the image were used to continue this tradition of subjugation.

The signs within a double portrait that must be decoded to understand the image depend on an understanding of the wider culture in which the double portrait is embedded. In the case of the Portrait of a Couple in Cleveland (see Fig. I.1), the double portrait becomes a paradigm for the objectives of marriage in sixteenth-century court society. The contemporary viewer would have recognized the traditional roles played by the man and the woman, amplified by pictorial conventions and iconography, within the context of this double portrait (and others like it), which thus becomes a visual metaphor for the marital contract. The gender polarities, indicated by the signs in the image, could also be considered a balanced union of differences, enhanced by the double portrait’s ability to unify the male and female sitters within the same frame as a shared concetto.

**Woman’s Reform in the Conjugal Double Portrait**

In the sixteenth century, the humanist Juan Luis Vives, in The Instruction of a Christian Woman, set up three phases of a woman’s life: pre-marriage youth, marriage domesticity, and widowhood. In conjunction with his first phase, the youthful pictures of profiled women with their elegant coiffures and jewelry from the fifteenth century come to mind, such as Domenico Ghirlandaio’s Portrait of Giovanna Tornabuoni of 1488 or

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203 Juan Luis Vives, along with some other Renaissance writers, placed greater emphasis on companionship in marriage. The functions of marriage related equally to both partners centered on mutual help, companionship, and procreation. See Juan Luis Vives, The Instruction of A Christian Woman (1523); and Margaret King, Women of the Renaissance, 24, fn. 166. In “economics” or the household, the mulier economica is defined as a married woman, about to be married, destined for marriage or a widow: there is no place in the system of practical philosophy for the woman who intends to remain unmarried. See Ian Maclean, The Renaissance Nation of Woman: A Study in the Fortunes of Scholasticism and Medical Science in European Intellectual Life, 57, 4.51.
Titian’s frontally positioned *La Bella* from the sixteenth century. Women marked by widowhood were normally represented somberly dressed, adorned with minimal jewelry, such as a ring or medallion, and simply veiled. Many examples of this type exist from the Renaissance. Bernardino Licinio’s *Widow with Her Three Sons* shows an elderly woman surrounded by her offspring, and, therefore, her husband’s succession. (Fig. 2.77)

The most important phase of a woman’s life was her marriage and family production. A cultural shift toward the end of the sixteenth century meant that women acquired increasing credit for the continuation of the family line and were placed in more active and elevated roles. Female offspring assured continuity of the bloodline in a way that male offspring could not, namely for being the carrier of the next generation. Women also offered the possibility of an advantageous alliance with other families of great importance among the elite. Daughters were regarded less as a potential loss of family honor or a drain on wealth due to inflated dowries, but instead recognized as an asset for potential marriage connections and continuation of the family line. This viewpoint was expressed by writers, who noted that women had the power to “carry the blood of their ancestors into other houses and thus bind them to their own line,” and possibly to aid in a vertical shift of their family’s status due to a desirable match. The Venetian nobleman Francesco Barbaro, though considered misogynistic by some of his commentaries, also suggested the importance of a virtuous woman in his book *On_
Marriage. 208 “While virtue is the preeminate requirement in a wife,” he wrote, “nobility exalts the race: the best fruit produces the best seed. For all men agree that they may expect from excellent wives even more excellent offspring.” 209 In a letter by Leonardo Bruni that addressed the death of an honorable woman, he wrote:

I was unable to attend the sad funeral of that excellent woman and best of mothers…The excellence of a woman’s life are reckoned to be, unless I am mistaken, good family, a good appearance, modesty, fertility, children, riches, and above all virtue and a good name…and married to a most fortunate man…she bore a numerous progeny…the greatness of her prudence can be estimated from the way she governed a very large household, [and] a large crowd of clients…a vast and diversified business enterprise…210

Bruni described a prominent lady in society who would be admired by later generations of women. Also indicative of the shift in attitudes toward women is that by the end of the sixteenth century many doctors in the medical community wrote against Aristotle and the wrong he had done to woman’s honor. This positive reevaluation did not reach the theological spheres. However, doctors recognized that both sexes were needed for reproduction whereas previously women were considered as incomplete versions of male counterparts.211

208 Baldassare Castiglione also discussed the reasoning for and against female inferiority in book 3 of his Il Cortegiano (1528).
209 In the sixteenth century, Marco Antonio Altieri agreed with Barbaro suggesting marriage as a device for the consolidation of the Roman patriciate. See Margaret King, Women of the Renaissance, 32, fn 234-235.
210 This letter was written by Leonardo Bruni (c. 1370-1444) to her son, Nicola di Vieri de’ Medici, after missing the funeral of Bice de’ Medici in 1434. See Gordon Griffiths, James Hankins, and David Thompson, trans. and ed., The Humanism of Leonardo Bruni: Selected Texts (Binghamton [New York]: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies in conjunction with the Renaissance Society of America, 1987), 337-39.
211 Gabriele Falloppio’s Observationes anatomicae (1561) described female genitalia as its own entity, differing from the pre-conceived notion of female genitalia, such as the uterus as an inverted penis, proposed by Galen. By 1600, in about all the medical textbooks, one sex was no longer considered to be imperfect and an incomplete version of the other. The female uterus by this time evoked admiration for its astounding role in procreation. A proliferation of writings on women occurred around 1540-1600 after the more recent anatomical findings. The general notion of woman, based on physiology and humours (physical and mental), still place the female as inferior to the male. See Ian Maclean, Renaissance Notions of Woman: A Study in the Fortunes of Scholasticism and Medical Science in European Intellectual Life, 29, 44.
An optimistic perspective on women is also seen in family portraits, such as Bernardino Licinio’s *Portrait of Arrigo Licinio and his Family* (Fig. 2.78). The figures are arranged surrounding the mother, Agnese, who is at the focal point in the center of the composition. One of her young sons pays her respect by offering her a basket of roses. Her eldest son is placed on the proper left while he is flanked on the other side by his father and Agnese’s husband, the sculptor Arrigo, still situated in the conventional manner on the proper right. However, she is exalted by the focus on her procreative success. Licinio utilized this same compositional format for a noble family portrait in his image of the ducal Este family of Modena (Fig. 2.79). He placed the woman holding a child in the center foreground of the painting. She looks toward her husband, behind her on the proper left, while another woman holds a child behind her on the proper right. The women both turn their heads toward the man as he directs his attention toward the grouping of women and children to his right. This elevation of the woman takes us out of the context of the double portrait into the family group portrait, in which the focus is not only the joining of two families through matrimony but also the continuation of a legacy. Such works focused on procreation in response to a need among elite groups to

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212 Bernardino Licinio, *Portrait of Arrigo Licinio and his Family*, c. 1532, oil on canvas, Galleria Borghese, Rome [115].
213 The eldest son holds a model of the *Torso Belvedere* indicating his aspiring role to become a part of the same profession as his father.
215 *Deschi da parto*, birth trays, were sometimes commissioned by male advocates in order to honor the triumph of the mother at the hour of birth, as they similarly did on the bride’s wedding day. Like a bride on her wedding day, a woman who gave birth also was placed in a passing position of honor. To be pregnant was also a mark of honor. See Margaret King, *Women of the Renaissance*, 4. For a full discussion of the subject of *deschi da parto*, see Jacqueline Marie Musacchio, *The Art and Ritual of Childbirth in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999). Alois Riegl, in his attempt to define the “group portrait” in Holland differentiated between the “corporate” group and the “family” group by stating that “A group portrait…unites a number of figures in one picture. It does not include family portraiture…because the family portrait is essentially nothing more than an elaboration of the individual portrait. A husband and a wife are, so to speak, two sides of the same coin, their children of the same stamp, and all of them are naturally of the same mintage.” See Alois Riegl, *The Group Portraiture in Holland*, intro. by Wolfgang Kemp and trans. by Evelyn M. Kain and David Britt (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 1999), 62.
...produce heirs. Women from the noble class primarily did not nurse their babies in order to create more continuous months of fertility, since it was prohibited to have sexual intercourse during lactation, which also had a natural contraceptive effect. Images on deschi da parto, birth trays, could provide stimulation for further procreation, or reveal its success. In a desco da parto from Florence, the success of the birth is combined with a couple sitting next to each other with two children. (Fig. 2.80)

Family portraits should be considered expansions of double portraits of marriage. Sometimes in these portraits, children are meant to reflect on the couple, rather than having independent identities within the representation. Other family portraits retain some of the same symbolic details and compositional conventions that characterize double portraits of marriage. The Portrait of the Bonaventura Strozzi Family of 1580 presents the family in a circular format (Fig. 2.81). The husband sits on the proper right and his wife rests on the proper left. Their conjugal tie, as in marriage double portraits, is illustrated through their handclasp. Two young children encircle the mother, while the eldest child, placed front and center between the married couple, recalls cupid figures in marriage double portraits, as if a remembrance of their wedding.

In the Northern Double Portrait of Justinian von Holzhausen and His Wife, Anna von Furstenberg, the couple is centrally placed behind a marbleized ledge (Fig. 2.82). A small

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216 The children of the rich were often fed by wet nurses who were from a poorer class. See Margaret King, Women of the Renaissance, 14.
217 Workshop of the Patanazzi family, A Family, top of a desco da parto, c. 1580, maiolica, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.
218 Florentine School, Portrait of Bonaventura Strozzi Family, 1580, oil on panel, once Von S. collection.
219 The child between his parents as a cupid-like figure also evokes the imago clipeata composition on sarcophagus fronts.
220 Conrad Faber von Creuznach, Double Portrait of Justinian von Holzhausen and His Wife, Anna von Fürstenberg, 1536, mixed media on limewood, 68.8 x 98.7 cm, Stadel Museum, Frankfurt am Main [1729]. It is inscribed in the upper left part of the window with Justinian's coat of arms encircled by the inscription IVSTINIANVS.VON.HOLTZHAVSEN.1536. In the upper right part of the window is Anna's coat of arms, hidden, with the word FVRSTENBERG. See Bodo Brinkmann and Jochen Sander, German Painting Before 1800 at the Städel (Frankfurt am Main: Blick in die Welt Film-Und Dokumentations-GMBH: 1999).
nude child, who sits playfully on a velvet cushion, connects the man and woman through his actions. As if to balance himself, the cupid-like child holds onto the end of an arrow with his right hand, while the husband carefully braces the tip between his fingers. With his right hand, the child reaches for a clump of grapes held by the wife.\textsuperscript{221} Resting on the ledge, a piece of fruit and a bowl of grapes become symbols of abundance as well as fertility and regeneration as containers of seeds for new plants. The painting has affinities to Lorenzo Lotto’s \textit{Portrait of Giovanni della Volta with his Wife and Children}, which places a family around a Turkish-carpeted table in front of an open landscape seen through a window (Fig. 2.83).\textsuperscript{222} The wife and her daughter are, unusually, placed on the heraldic dexter, while Giovanni della Volta and his scantily clad young son are placed on the

\textsuperscript{221} The nude child holding grapes is reminiscent of images of the Christ child holding this type of fruit such as in \textit{The Christ Child with a Bunch of Grapes} in the manner of Joos van Cleve in the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne. The grapes in the portrait could refer to the Passion, and, therefore, to the sacramental basis of conjugal love. See E. de Jongh, “Grape Symbolism in Paintings of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,” \textit{Simiolus} 7, no. 4 (1974), 166-191.

\textsuperscript{222} Lorenzo Lotto, \textit{Portrait of Giovanni della Volta with His Wife and children}, c. 1547, oil on canvas, 104.5 x 138 cm, National Gallery, London. The image was reproduced as an engraving in Ricciani’s \textit{Choix de gravures…après les peintures originales…de la galerie de Lucien Bonaparte} (London: 1812), no. 12, as \textit{Carlo Lotto e Sua Famiglia} (The Northern Painter Karl van Loth and His Family). Since no other portrait of a man, woman, and two children is known by Lotto, this image is presumably the portrait of a Venetian merchant, Giovanni della Volta, and his family described in Lotto’s account books between 1538 and 1547. Lorenzo Lotto wrote on 23 September 1547, “[t]o Misser Zuane della Volta mio patron de casa” “un quadro de picture con el suo retrato de naturale e la donna con doi fioli tutti insieme cioè n° 4” See Lorenzo Lotto, \textit{Il “Libro di spese diverse” con aggiunta di lettere e d’altri documenti}, ed. by Pietro Zampetti (Venice/Rome: Istituto per la collaborazione culturale, 1969), 259-260.
However, the male figures in the composition are more imposing, placed in front of the table, while the mother and daughter are set to the table’s side. The mother offers cherries to her daughter who is propped up on the table, while the father offers a strand of cherries to his son, who in the manner in which he is dressed seems like a classically-inspired cupid. Cherries could be a symbol of fruitful productivity of the espoused.

In the late sixteenth century, therefore, traditional roles and gender positioning are maintained in conjugal double portraits, while other double portraits relating to marriage illustrate shifting thoughts on women. Conjugal double portraits which emphasize fecundity no longer placed the woman behind the man, but moved the woman to a frontal position, as in Sofonisba Anguissola’s Double Portrait of a Married Couple (c.

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223 The male child in the picture is probably the son of Zuane [Giovanni] della Volta, Iseppo Volta. It has been suggested by Nicolas Penny that the child was based on a sculptural precedent, a contemporary Tuscan “putino di relevo” brought from Florence to Venice in April 1542 by a sculptor in the workshop of Lotto’s friend, Jacopo Sansovino. See London, National Gallery of Art, The Sixteenth Century Italian Paintings, cat. by Nicholas Penny (2004), I, 96, Cat. NG1047. The nude child, especially holding cherries, was possibly an allegorical reference of a contemporary child as the Christ child. Women during this time also liked to equate themselves with the Virgin Mary, thus giving this figural group a covert display of the Madonna and child from the religious fervor of the time and of Lotto himself. It has also been suggested that portraying a child nude indicated death. The small daughter in the image is adorned with a pearl necklace, which supports a small red cross, probably made of coral, an apotropaic symbol.

224 Another intimate family portrait is by Ludovico Carracci. The woman is seated on the proper right, while the man stands on the proper left and gazes out at the viewer. Two male children are located between their parents. See Ludovico Carracci, Portrait of the Family Tacconi, c. 1584, oil on canvas, 97 x 76 cm, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna [6484].

225 Maarten van Heemskerck’s Portrait of Pieter Jan Foppesz and His Wife and Family resembles Lotto’s image. See Maerten van Heemskerck, Portrait of Pieter Jan Foppesz and His Wife and Family, c. 1530, Gemäldegalerie (Alte Meister), Kassel. After Heemskerck’s return to Haarlem after his Roman sojourn, he lived with the burgher, Pieter Jan Foppesz, and his family. See Rainald Grosshans, Maerten van Heemskerck: die Gemälde (Berlin: 1980), Cat. 29, figs. 32-44.

226 For this interpretation, see Diana Wronski Gallis, “Lorenzo Lotto: A Study of His Career and Character, with Particular Emphasis on His Emblematic and Hieroglyphic Works,” PhD diss., Bryn Mawr College (1977), 242. In the Renaissance, cherries were also considered as a solar symbol, as a symbol of the Passion, as a Resurrection sign, as one of the fruits of paradise, and purity through Ovid’s story of Ganymede.

227 Ian Maclean has argued that by the end of the Renaissance, the notion of woman and social realities had greater discrepancy. See Ian Maclean, The Renaissance Notion of Woman: A Study in the Fortunes of Scholasticism and Medical Science in European Intellectual Life, 1.
It could be argued that the woman gained a more significant position in this composition due to the fact that the artist was a woman, but it should also be noted that the female sitter holds up a pomegranate, indicating her fecundity, and thus her important contribution to the union. Her husband stands behind her and, showing affection, gently rests his left hand on her arm. Similarly, in a double portrait by Veronese of c. 1570, an elegantly dressed woman rests in a chair in three-quarter view, filling the space of the square composition (Fig. 2.85). To the left, a bearded man, dressed in black, presents his wife to the viewer. Their conjugal union is indicated by their handclasp. The double portrait and its extension, the family portrait, by the late sixteenth century demonstrated an adherence to pictorial and iconographic norms, while at the same time, markedly presented enhanced attitudes on women.

**The Conjugal Double Portrait’s Placement in a Religious Space**

In the interiors of Renaissance churches, portraits of contemporaries were often inserted within narrative fresco cycles as actors in the scenes. However, the rise of portraiture, and particularly double portraiture, changed the way in which contemporaries were displayed in these religious settings. As mentioned in Chapter One, donor portraits of married couples within religious images are important precedents for the double-

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228 Sofonisba Anguissola, *Double Portrait of a Married Couple*, c. 1570, oil on canvas, 72 x 65 cm, Galleria Doria Pamphilj, Rome [5361].

229 Men dressed in black still showed a sense of decorum, that of seriousness and respect. According to Castiglione’s *The Book of the Courtier* of 1528, he stated that “the most agreeable color is black, and if not black, then at least something fairly dark.” See Baldassare Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, trans. by G. Bull (New York: Penguin, 1976), 135.

230 The chronicler Niccolò della Tuccia in 1458 and 1469 wrote about the intrusion of contemporary portraits within traditional religious narrative paintings giving two examples. He mentioned a *Madonna of Mercy* which shows the Virgin spreading her cloak wide to provide refuge to devotees, separated in gendered groups with equal numbers of men with recognizable portrait features on one side and women on the other, arranging them according to their social groups. He also referred to a narrative fresco of a saint’s life which included contemporary portraits as spectators. The original text is in *Cronache e Statuti della Città di Viterbo* (1872, 67, 97, cited in Creighton E. Gilbert, *Italian Art 1400-1500: Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1980), 211-13.
portrait format. In addition, in the sixteenth century, the size of donors at times increased while the size of the sacred figures within a religious image was reduced. Their importance thus competes with the religious icons in the image for the viewer’s attention. Such is the case in Moroni’s *Donor Couple in Front of the Madonna, the Christ Child, and Saint Michael* (see Fig. 1.61) and Lorenzo Lotto’s *Madonna and Child with Two Donors*. Similarly, in a lunette near the entrance of San Giovanni Elemosinario in Venice, Domenico Tintoretto placed the portraits of Doge Mario Grimani and Doggeressa Morosina Morosini along with members of the Scuola dei Pollaioli (Fig. 2.86). The painting is devoid of religious content and is an instance of secular portraiture within a religious space. Federico Zuccari’s *Imposizione del Cappello Cardinalizio a Carlo Borromeo* shows, in the lower right corner, a married couple in bust-length format staring out at the viewer.

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231 Alois Riegl noted the change in donor group portraits in which there is a shift from praying to an iconic figure to figures in a devotional stance devoid of the holy figures, such as in Domenico Tintoretto’s *Eighteen Confratelli of the Scuola dei Mercanti in Venice*, Akademie der bildenden Künste zu Wien, Vienna (originally located in the Madonna dell’Orto, Venice). He has noted that “representations of this kind, the portraits are still directly connected with the devotional image, …[while at the same time] there are no holy figures at all…It is also obvious that the panels are not complete in themselves, but are probably two wings once flanking a central devotional image. However, even if there had not been a central panel with a holy figure, the assumption would always have been that the viewer would imagine an object of devotion for the individuals portrayed on either side.” See Alois Riegl, *The Group Portraiture in Holland*, intro. by Wolfgang Kemp and trans. by Evelyn M. Kain and David Britt (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 1999), 99.

232 In Moroni’s painting, the Madonna and Child with Saint Michael rest on billowy clouds in front of a golden sky. The married couple in the image exists almost in the viewer’s space, in the foreground separated from the religious grouping by a parapet. On the heraldic left, the profiled woman with her hands in prayer position has just set down her prayerbook on the ledge. Her husband, placed on the heraldic dexter, is in a more active pose becoming the interlocutor as he points to the religious vision and turns toward the viewer. In Lorenzo Lotto’s *Madonna and Child with Donors*, the profiled portraits of the donors show proper gendered placement with the woman to the proper left of the man. See Lorenzo Lotto, *Madonna and Child with Two Donors*, c. 1525-30, oil on canvas, 33 ¼ x 45 ½ in., Getty Art Museum, Los Angeles [70.PA.110]. For standard gendered positioning, see also Moretto da Brescia, *Virgin and Child with Two Donors*, c. 1528-30, oil on canvas, 48 ½ x 62 ½ in. (123.2 x 158.7), John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia Museum of Art [236]; and Andrea Solario, *Madonna and Child with Donors*, tempera and oil on panel, transferred to canvas, 69.8 x 90.2 cm, John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia Museum of Art [272].

separated completely from the narrative scene (Fig. 2.87). This double portrait was not a part of the initial conception, since a couple of chatty male bystanders occupies the same location in the compositional sketch for the larger painted scene (Fig. 2.88). The married couple’s connection is to the viewer, for they ignore the action in the narrative. They could also stand in as an embodiment of the “signature” for the artist or his patron (with the able decision to include his wife). Images of piety in which the sacred figures have been completely removed become double portraits of married couples as religious devotees, taking their cue from the early Double Portrait of Doge Peter Orseolo and the Dogaressa Felicita from the school of Giovanni Bellini (see Fig. 1.60). The Veronese artist Giovanni Caroto painted a Self-Portrait with His Wife kneeling in prayer (see Fig. 1.59), while a Double Portrait by the school of Giulio Campi also presents a woman quietly sitting and reading from what is presumably a prayer book (Fig. 2.89). Glancing up from the same book, her husband stands by her side with his arm around her.

A Balanced View of Marriage

Double portraits could balance their subjects equally within a frame, perhaps reflecting the influence of marriage treatises, such as Alberti’s, that were begun in the

234 Federico Zuccari, *Imposizione del Cappello Cardinalizio a Carlo Borromeo*, 1603-04, Collegio Borromeo, Padua. The man looks very similar to a self-portrait of Federico in which he is dining with his wife at a table, located in a lunette in the Casa Zuccari, Florence. So it could be a sort of signature or testimony authenticating these images as his works. The couple has also been considered the father (and wife) of Cardinal Borromeo, Conte Giberto based on a portrait now located in a private collection. See Bonita Cleri, ed., *Federico Zuccari: Le idee, gli scritti, Atti del Convegno di Sant’ Angelo in Vado* (Milan: Electa, 1997), 78.


236 School of Giulio Campi, *Double Portrait of a Man with His Arms around His Wife Who is Reading, Perhaps, a Prayer Book*, c. 1530?, oil on canvas, Formerly Jose Pijoan Collection, Madrid. Another example is Jacopo Stradano, *Double Portrait of Maddalena and Antonio Vasari*, oil on panel, 45 x 74 cm, Altare Vasari, facciata posteriore, a destra, secondo ordine, Chiesa delle Sante Flora e Lucille, Arezzo. Another example of this type is on the back of an altar in the chiesa delle Sante Flora e Lucilla. Stradano painted Maddalena and Antonio Vasari, the mother and father of Giorgio Vasari, as religious devotees. They both kneel, while Antonio places his hands in a praying position and Maddalena holds her rosary to her chest. See Stradano, *Maddalena and Antonio Vasari*, from altare Vasari, oil on panel, 45 x 74 cm, chiesa delle Sante Flora e Lucilla, Arezzo.
fifteenth century but continued to be available in print throughout the sixteenth century. In his *Della famiglia*, Alberti saw marriage as a union of two entities with similar upbringing, writing that good marriages increased the number of family alliances within a city, making it stronger. A startling modern and almost photographic approach to a Renaissance marriage double portrait is a 1560 painting of Cosimo and Eleonora de’ Medici by a painter in the school of Alessandro Allori (Fig. 2.90). Yet, the subjects’ bust-length portrayal also shows them in the frontal plane, reminiscent of couple portraits on Roman grave stelae. Their heads fill the composition as their similar expressions and intent eyes stare directly at the viewer. Cosimo is placed on the heraldic dexter, next to his wife Eleonora, who is conventionally placed to the left of him, yet their equivalent immediacy and gaze projects a balanced appearance to the viewer. Eleonora overlaps Cosimo, in an indication of the high regard in which he held her and her high social status. A Northern double portrait by Jan Jacobsz Doubijn (1540-1584/85), *Portrait of a Couple*, has a similar effect (Fig. 2.91). Though the sitters are shown in standard gendered positioning and three-quarter length, they seem almost flush with the picture plane and fill the space symmetrically. The *imprese* of their families hang between them.

Marriage double portraits become representations of the Renaissance value on this institution as a partnership. Leonardo Bruni, in his commentary on Florentine

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237 In theological writings in the Renaissance, woman was the inferior of the man by nature, his equal by grace. See Ian Maclean, *The Renaissance Notion of Woman: A Study in the Fortunes of Scholasticism and Medical Science in European Intellectual Life*, 27.


239 School of Alessandro Allori, *Portrait of a Married Couple (Cosimo and Eleonora)*, c. 1560, oil on panel, Musée des Beaux Arts, Strasbourg.

240 Jan Jacobsz. Doubijn, *Portrait of Jacob Hallincg and Kornelia van der Bies*, 1564, Stedelijke Museum, Backer Stichting, Amsterdam. In Holland, portraits of individuals were hung in private houses and collected family portraits, often in the form of copies, by about 1550, however somewhat earlier in Dordrecht. This composition is known through a seventeenth-century copy in the Backer Stichting. Jan Jacobsz. Doubijn’s *Portrait of Jacob Paulwesz. Hallincg and His Wife* of 1564 shows a straightforward approach to the sitters. See A. Staring, “Jan Jacobsz Doubijn Portretschilder te Dordrecht,” *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 14 (1963), 61-82, fig. 2.
society, wrote of the “harmonious cooperation of its citizens, who move and act properly within its well-defined spaces.” The administration of the household was still a male endeavor, but a balance between the husband and wife was seen in their similar cultural makeup and their comparable views and aspirations. Different viewpoints on these subjects by the married pair were thought to underlie the moral foundation upon which marriage was based. Married partnerships were thought to make-up a good strong civil society. By the sixteenth century, double-figure marriage compositions were able to show a man and woman in an enlarged format due to an increase in format size, allowing the figures to fit comfortably in an ample space. The development enabled more cohesion and communication between the sitters, a relationship that was previously more static and disparate. In a painting historically identified as Portrait of Andrea del’ Sarto and His Wife of c. 1520, the man and woman are placed in a horizontal format (Fig. 2.92). The figures are not only two single portraits now united in one space, but they also interact within it. The woman, unusually placed on the heraldic dexter, stares out at the viewer while presenting a piece of paper to the onlooker. The man, on the sinister side, is turned toward his companion, gazing at her and the letter she holds. He places his right

243 Florentine School (Follower of Andrea del Sarto), Portrait of the Artist and His Wife, c. 1520, oil on panel, 62.5 86.3 cm, Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti, Florence [1812 n. 118]. It was once in the collection of Antonio de’ Medici (1588-1621) in Casino di San Marco, attributed to Andrea del Sarto. It was subsequently transferred to the Villa of Poggio Imperiale and then became a part of the Palazzo Pitti collection by 1782, registered as “del Volterrano” and subsequently as “Scuola d’Andrea”. See Collection catalogue, 1993, 378-79, Cat. 614. For an example of a double portrait that was sawed in half, see Ludolf de Jongh’s Portrait of a Wine Merchant and His Wife. Its separated pieces were subsequently reunited. The painting was formerly in the Provincial museum in Bonn and illustrated in E. De Jongh, “Grape Symbolism in Paintings of the 16th and 17th centuries,” Simiolus 7, 1974, fig. 11.
arm around her shoulders, indicating intimacy, while gesturing toward the document with
his left hand.244

The Florentine double portrait consists of two panels of equal dimensions united
at the time of its making by a single ground layer. The two panels, made of the same type
of wood, united the man and woman in a connected display. By examining a *pentimento*,
visible by the x-radiograph, the underdrawing reveals that the woman’s position was
changed to a more independent pose, from one that was originally like her husband’s.
The two portraits, however, seem to have been painted by the same hand. Since traces of
hinges exist, the two panels were probably akin to a foldable, portable diptych, like that of
Piero della Francesca’s Montefeltro spouses in the Uffizi.

The subject of the double portrait is unclear. By the nineteenth century, it was
interpreted as Lucrezia, Andrea del Sarto’s wife, holding a letter that she affectionately
wrote to her husband asking him to return home from France. Debates occurred during
the Renaissance over the priority of the word or the image. The motif of the letter as a
substitute for speech was popular in the sixteenth and throughout the seventeenth
centuries. The written note in a portrait often indicated the sitter’s voice. Paintings also
attempted to recreate the senses, such as hearing. The concept of “speaking portraits”
increased the use of the letter motif as a substitute for speech in Renaissance portraits,
and this double portrait could have been a result of that ongoing discussion.245 In this
image, the letter serves to further a dialogical element within a marital relationship.

244 Hans Burgkmair, *Drawing after Double Portrait*, 1479, Musée du Louvre, Paris. This drawing is similar to
the painting, *Portrait of the Artist and His Wife*, with the use of a letter motif. In the drawing, however, the
man returns to the heraldic right holding the letter, while the woman remains on the sinister side. The
drawing was made after yet another double portrait.

245 For a discussion of the letter motif, see I.A. Emmens, “Ay Rembrandt, maal Cornelis stem,” *Nederlands
Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, VII (1956), 134-54; and David R. Smith, “Rembrandt’s Early Double Portraits and
the Dutch Conversation Piece,” *Art Bulletin* LXIV, no. 2 (June 1982), 273, fn. 48.
In his *Vita Civile*, Matteo Palmieri remarked that husbands and wives must share the same traditions (*costumi*) and habits to ensure *perfecto amore*. Patricia Fortini-Brown, in her discussion of marriage in Venice, pointed out that in Venetian treatises, the model of a good marriage comes across as patriarchal and civic, but also as a partnership. The diligence of both husband and wife was held to be necessary for the well-being of the family. While the husband’s role was to acquire and provide goods, the wife’s was to conserve their holdings. This construct of marital equality takes visual form in marriage doubles as exemplified in Lorenzo Lotto’s *Portrait of a Married Couple* (Fig. 2.93). The seventeenth-century writer Carlo Ridolfi identified it correctly as a portrait of a “*marito e moglie*” (husband and wife). It represents a couple in a later phase of marriage, enjoying domestic comfort and an accumulation of goods. They link arms on the table in a gesture emblematic of marriage. The couple is accompanied by a dog, suggesting fidelity, and a squirrel, a symbol of cleverness, mental agility, as well as a sign of frugality and industry.

In addition, the man holds an inscription, HOMO NUMQUAM (“a man, never”), alluding to the permanency of the marital bond and fidelity. The couple could be

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248 Lorenzo Lotto, *Married Couple*, 1523-34, oil on canvas, 96 x 116 cm, The State Hermitage, St. Petersburg. The man is also in a more public role in front of the open window, while the woman is not, still maintaining the suitable public/private roles of the genders. In addition, Panofsky has termed sitters placed within fenestrated rooms as “corner space portraits,” giving credit to Petrus Christus (as in his *Portrait of Grymestone of 1446*) or to Dirk Bouts for the conception. Panofsky has argued that this innovation not only changed the portrait’s visual appearance, but also its psychological content. The placement of the sitter, and in this case two sitters, in a well-defined environment allowed the beholder to share the space with the portrayed individual(s). As in the case of Petrus Christus’ “corner-space portrait,” Panofsky remarked that it “made the individual accessible to us at the price of forcing us to divide our attention between the figure and its surroundings. The mind is no longer distracted by a multiplicity of equally compelling details but relaxes in a sense of all-enveloping unity. We find ourselves in silent rapport with a human being[s] communing with us by way of osmosis, as it were, much as his private chamber does with universal space.” See Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origins and Character* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1953), I, 316.
249 Lotto’s use of marital symbolism is seen later in his career in Venice for designs of covers for his paintings of *David and Goliath* and *David Mourning Absalom*. He utilized the marital yoke and handclasp. See Giovanni Francesco Capoferri, after designs by Lorenzo Lotto, *Covers to David and Goliath and David*
related to the sitters in Lotto’s other double portrait in Madrid, by showing Apollonia, daughter of Zanin Casotti, and her husband Antonio Agliardi, or Giovanni Maria, Zanin’s oldest son and Marsilio’s elder brother, and his wife, or Zuan Maria Cassotti, himself, with Laura Assonica, his first wife who died a bit before the painting’s execution.\(^{250}\) The image’s well thought-out construction is indicated by a preparatory drawing for the double portrait, a pen and ink sketch that arranges the couple in their surroundings with lack of detail.\(^{251}\)

It is known that Lotto was also in touch with Albrecht Dürer in 1508, when Lotto was painting at Recanati. The artist clearly looked at Northern images, for in October 1540, during his second Venetian period, he painted portraits of Martin Luther and his

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\(^{250}\) Giovanni Maria and his wife and children are recorded by Michiel as living in the house of his father Zanin Cassotti during this time. See T. Frimmel, *Der Anonimo Morelliano: Marcantonio Michiels Notizie d’opere del disegno* (Vienna: 1888), 68; and Peter Humphrey, *Lorenzo Lotto* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 71. The other identifications were mentioned by Maria Serena Amaglio, “I ritratti di Antonio Agliardi e Apollonia Cassotti in un Dipinto di Lorenzo Lotto,” in *La Rivista di Bergamo*, XLIII [November-December 1992], 17-18; and F. Cortesi Bosco, “I coniugi di Lotto all’Eremitage e la loro ‘impressa’,” in R. Varese, *Studi per Pietro Zampetti* (Ancona: 1993), 336-49. Mario Lucco has suggested Zanin and his first wife. See *Washington DC, National Gallery of Art, Lorenzo Lotto, A Rediscovered Master*, exh. cat. (1997), 148-151, Cat. 25. The *Double Portrait of Marsilio and His Bride*, along with the painting of the *Madonna and Child with Six Saints* in Palazzo Barberini (Rome), were presented by Lotto to Zanin Cassotti (or perhaps—to his sons after the loss of their father who died in February 1525; which would explain his timore of not being painted e il preventive ricorso all sconto). It is written in his letters as “cunto de li quadri.” See Luigi Chiiodi, ed., *Lettere unedited di Lorenzo Lotto* (Bergamo: 1968/1998), 9 [19]. Augusto Gentili has agreed with this identification. The squirrel, since it covers its eyes, has also been thought of as a *momento mori*. Gentili saw it as a prophetic creature that with the cartello relays the concept that one must be aware not to ignore the fleeting moments of time. Gentili also has suggested that the woman in the double portrait is the same as the woman used as the model for the *Madonna and Child with Six Saints* in Galleria Nazionale d’Arte Antica, Palazzo Barberini, Rome. See Augusto Gentili, “Lotto, Cariani e Storie di Scoiattoli,” *Venezia Cinquecento*, no. 20 (2000), 18. In the *Libro di spesi diverse* (1538-1556), the inventory of paintings made by Lotto for the Cassotti family, he also listed two other not yet precisely identified as “el quadro per la Camera de miser Juan Maria, la Madona in mezzo con el filiolo…>>15//dalla parte dritta el retrato de miser Zan Maria cola sua putina Lucretia…>>15// dalla parte sinistra el retrato della sua consorte et la sua putina Isabeta computato in tutto quelli paesi de dritto…>>15//.” The portraits presumably would have been painted on either side of a central Madonna and Child. See *Libro di spesi diverse* (1538-1556), 260.

wife, Catharina von Bora, perhaps based on German woodcuts. John Pope Hennessy has also pointed out a possible German influence on Lotto’s *Double Portrait of Antonio Marsilio and his Bride, Faustina Cassotti* (see Fig. 2.4). A German *Double Portrait* of startling similarity to Lotto’s *Married Couple* is by Ulrich Apt the Elder (Fig. 2.94). The work shows an older married couple turned toward each other in front of a cut-off landscape through a window similar to Lotto’s version in the Hermitage.

Double portraits embodying a tender connection between an espoused couple proliferated by the mid-to-late sixteenth century. The standards that were set in place varied in terms of format and communication of the gendered sitters. Margaret King has suggested that

> in the period before the Reformation and the legislation of the Council of Trent, the marital act was not a pledge of love and fidelity but the approval of a marriage contract involving the mention of hard sums and real property, accomplished with a variety of ritual acts and followed by sexual consummation. After this period, proper publicity and a church ceremony became required, placing a greater emphasis on the spousal relationship and less on the exchange of property.

The bonds of decorum were loosened and there was less of a gripping tie to social ritual and formality. As a result of this new-found freedom, double portraits could also evoke the more private, domestic side of marital relationships. There developed a campanionship type of marriage double portrait, displaying more informality between the couple. The Sienese Humanist Alessandro Piccolomini indicated this trend in his *Della Institutione Morale* by adding affection to social equality as a prerequisite for an ideal

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252 It is perhaps a pair of woodcuts created by Hans Brosamer, first published in Nuremberg in 1530 and widely circulated during the subsequent decade. See Hollstein, 596-7.
marriage. In a sixteenth-century double portrait in Columbus, Ohio, attributed to Sebastiano del Piombo, the couple holds hands in a casual intimacy, against a dark green background (Figs. 15 and 2.95). The woman, sometimes identified as Vittoria Colonna, is placed on the heraldic dexter. She averts her eyes from the viewer and toward her husband, the Marchese dell’Pescara, who is dressed in black and prominently seated on the proper left, staring out at the viewer. The wife leans one arm on her husband’s right shoulder in an action that tends to relax the mood of the double portrait. Their gesture is reminiscent of the symbol of marriage in Alciati’s Emblematica (see Fig. 2.12).

In Federico Barocci’s Double Portrait of a Man and Woman there is a sense of domesticity to the composition created by the figural engagement and setting (Fig. 2.96). The sense of intimacy between the sitters is heightened by the fact that they do not acknowledge the viewer’s presence. They appear assured, unconstrained by a formal rhetorical pose and his gestures, and comfortable in their familiar residential surroundings. The woman is beautifully adorned, wearing a yellow and grey dress decorated with two strands of pearls and a pendant of gold. She appears to have been startled from reading her book, which rests on the table in front of her, by the man on

257 Circle of Sebastiano del Piombo, Double Portrait of Fernando d’Avalos, Marchese dell’Pescara, and Vittoria Colonna, His Wife and the Celebrated Poetess, c. 1530-40, oil on canvas (transferred from panel in 1909), 35 ¼ x 45 ½, Frederick W. Schumacher Collection, Columbus, Ohio [57.38.007].
258 The wife’s dress with its high neckline and veil suggests the style of a widow. It could indicate that this is a posthumous portrait of her husband at the time of the Marchese’s death. With him seated in the chair, she is providing him with an additional tribute. Vittoria Colonna was betrothed to Francesco d’Avalos before she was four years old. Their marriage took place in Naples in 1509. In 1525, after fighting the French under Charles V, Marchese dell’ Pescara died of wounds. During their marriage, Vittoria Colonna, childless, spent most of her time at her husband’s court on the island of Ischia, near Naples. After Pescara’s death, she made her permanent home in Rome, was friends with Michelangelo, and lived in a series of convents.
259 See Andrea Alciati’s Emblemata libellus (Little Book of Emblems), published in Paris/Augsburg, 1534, emblem 191 “in fidem uxoriam.”
260 Federico Barocci, Double Portrait with the Emblem of the Rovere Family, oil on canvas, 92 x 78 cm, Private Collection, Italy.
the proper right. She looks toward the heraldic emblem in his right hand to which her husband is gesturing.261 This double portrait has been read as a celebratory painting of Lavinia della Rovere’s marriage to Alfonso Felice d’Avalos, Marchese del Vaso, in 1583. However, it has also been argued that the couple is Francesco Maria II della Rovere, Sixth Duke of Urbino, dressed in black with his second wife and cousin, Livia, also a part of the della Rovere family, who became the last duchess of Urbino.262 The domesticity of the image is underscored by Barocci’s ambient warm light. A similar casual feeling pervades Bernardino Licinio’s Portrait of a Husband and Wife Before a Window Ledge with Rosebuds with the sitters’ informal ease of gesticulation and its setting (Fig. 2.97).263 A woman in an elaborate dress leans on a pedestal behind a ledge strewn with roses, gazing to her right in the direction of a romantic landscape through a window. A man is behind her, over her left shoulder looking in the other direction.

The Popularity of the Double Portrait among Venetian Artists

Double portraits were popular in many regions in Italy, including Tuscany, Lombardy, and the Veneto. Though Nicholas Penny has suggested there existed less interest in this type in Venice than Lombardy, there is evidence to suggest otherwise. Venetian compositions in the Renaissance suggested an interest in the marriage theme. In

261 The presence of the Rovere family, an oak branch, is held by the man in the painting. Her hair is bound and she wears a pendant typical of betrothed or newly wedded women. She has a similar look to a Portrait of a Young Woman by Barocci in the Uffizi and said to be of Lavinia della Rovere.


263 Bernardino Licinio, Portrait of a Husband and Wife Before a Window Ledge with Rosebuds, oil on canvas transferred from panel, once Private collection Countess Manzi, Lucca as of 1991. It is believed that this double portrait was cut down, and there was possibly a third figure included in the scene. The image could have been similar to a painting by Bernardino Licinio in the Collection Koelliker in Milan. See Bernardino Licinio, Ritratto di Donna con Partitura Musicale e Due Uomini, c. 1520, oil on canvas, 108.5 x 94 cm, Koelliker Collection, Milan.
Venetian family albums, full-length couples stand with their family stemme below them, as in one late sixteenth-century album of the de’ Freschi family (Fig. 2.98). Tullio Lombardo also sculpted double portraits in Venice and Vienna, along with sculptures of double portraits by his followers that will be discuss in the subsequent chapter on allegory.

Titian is known to have painted double portraits, with at least four examples extant. Around 1530, he painted the so-called Allegory of Marriage (Allegory of Alfonso d’Avalos) (Fig. 2.99). Though it contains more than two figures, the composition is an allegorical treatment of the theme of marriage. Erwin Panofsky has suggested that two figures in the image are a married couple in the guise of Mars and Venus. Three additional figures, Panofsky argued, personify three theological Virtues in classical guise: Love, represented by Cupid; Faith, characterized by the wreath made from a myrtle plant on her head (emblem of marital faith) and the gesture of placing her right hand upon her breast; and Hope, identified by her upward glance and the basket of flowers she holds.

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265 See London, National Gallery of Art, The Sixteenth Century Italian Paintings, exh. cat., I, 96, Cat. NG1047. This idea is probably based on the idea that female portraits in sixteenth-century Venice, as companion pieces of male portraits, are thought to not exist in Titian’s work or his contemporaries. Goffen has pointed out that a doge’s tomb often included his effigy, but almost never that of his dogaressa, nor is she mentioned in the monument’s inscription extolling her husband’s accomplishments. This, she believed, suggested that, at least for the ducal families, it could be equated with dynastic ambition. According to Goffen, the visualization of women could be seen as politically incorrect from the Venetian point of view. See Rona Goffen, Titian’s Women, 59. However, women did make public appearances for ritual occasions and always in fitting company, which could suggest the same manner in which to present women in visual form through a double portrait which revealed her marital status. Companion panels also exist, as in Paris Bordone’s Portrait of an Unknown Woman (National Gallery, London) which is possibly the pendant to Portrait of an Unknown Man (Palazzo Borromeo, Lago Maggiore).

266 Titian, An Allegory of Marriage, with Vesta and Hymen as Protectors and Advisers of the Union of Venus and Mars, once considered Allegory of Alfonso d’Avalos (Marchese del Vasto), c. 1530 oil on canvas, Musée du Louvre, Paris [754].

267 It has been suggested that the man in the painting was Alfonso d’Avalos, Marchese del Vasto, as well as Titian himself with his wife, Cecilia, upon her death in 1530. See Erwin Panofsky, Problems in Titian, Mostly Iconographic (New York: New York University Press, 1969), 126.
above her head. Hope and her flowering basket signify harmony and the anticipation of fruitfulness in the marriage. Walter Friedländer recognized the figure of Venus as the chaste Vesta, goddess of marriage, giving the painting a less erotic and more domestic feel. The glass sphere, which the most prominent woman holds in her lap, could symbolize Harmony, which could be destroyed by fate or death. The underdrawing which appears to represent the bride and groom in the guise of Mars and Venus in a private matrimonial oath with their hands placed on their chests, was changed in the final composition. Perhaps, one of the main subjects died before its completion, suggesting the epithalmic painting instead became in memoriam.

Two double portraits by Titian have been discovered through the use of x-radiographs. Perhaps they were painted over due to the death of one of the subjects or lack of payment (as was probably the case of a sculpted double portrait, mentioned earlier [see Fig. 1.13]). Under the Venus with a Mirror of c. 1555 in Washington’s National Gallery, a man and woman appear in three-quarter length (Fig. 2.100). The wife is placed unusually on the proper right while her husband is to her left. As they turn toward each other, his face is in almost pure profile while her husband is to her left. As they turn toward each other, his face is in almost pure profile while hers is in three-quarter view. Their


270 The underdrawing of the painting has the principal characters dressed and positioned in a similar manner, except the man also places his arm on his chest as a symbol of fidelity. Panofsky has suggested that from the time of the underdrawing to the final painting that one of the main sitters, husband or wife, has died, thus changing the look of the painting from a more optimistic marriage picture to one with an underlying vanitas theme. I will discuss allegorical images of marriage further in the subsequent chapter.

271 Titian reused the man’s velvet, fur-lined coat in the original composition for Venus’ garment in the later composition of the goddess Venus. He never painted over this area. See Rona Goffen, Titian’s Women, 138.

exchange of glances and reciprocal postures unite the couple in a balanced whole. The image of the man and woman under Titian’s *Venus* is similar to *The Lovers*, attributed to a pupil of Titian or Bordone, in the Ringling Museum of Art (Sarasota, Florida). The woman revealed by the x-radiograph is fully clothed. Her dress, with the long, full sleeves drawn in by a band, has a yoke, which is cut square across the breast, while the bodice extends down to a point in front above the full skirt. The woman’s hair, worn in a full, round coiffure, is too obscured by damage and the superimposed composition to show whether jewels were entwined into it. She wears a pearl ear pendant and pearl necklace, symbolic of a bride. As her face turns toward the front, her expression is relaxed as she parts her lips. She looks dreamily out of the picture but not at the spectator. The man, in profile and probably wearing armor, looks at the woman intently. In this hidden *Double Portrait*, the x-radiograph also reveals that the woman might be holding a round fruit in her closed right hand, suggesting fertility.

The x-radiograph of Titian’s *Portrait of a Man* in Milan revealed two previous compositions: a single male portrait and a double portrait. The earliest stage was the double portrait in a horizontal format dated to about 1510 (Fig. 2.101). The man is on the right and the woman on the left, looking over her shoulder toward the man. Another marital double portrait by Titian is known from a Medici inventory of 1681, which describes a “Quadro di Tician con una Dona al naturale che si pone una mano al petto

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273 In this image, the allegorical marriage painting shows a young woman offering beauty, suggested by the golden apple, and concord, symbolized by the pomegranate, to a man in armor. Her hand holds the golden apple which rests on a lion’s head. See After Titian or Bordone, *The Lovers*, oil on canvas, 85.7 x 82.3 (33 ¾ x 32 3/8), Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota Florida [SN 63]. On the ground it is inscribed: PV1…CRI. This painting could possibly be by Polidoro da Lanciano. See Sarasota, The John & Mable Ringling Museum of Art, *Catalogue of The Italian Paintings Before 1800*, cat. by Peter Tomory (1976), 183, Cat. 222.

274 The evidence of armor connects this painting to the allegories in the Louvre and the Ringling. While the painting in the Louvre suggests an Allegory of Married Love, the painting in the Ringling suggests an Allegory of Beauty due to the presence of a golden apple.

et un uomo dietro” (“a painting by Titian of a woman from nature with a hand to her chest and a man standing behind her”).

The stateliest of Titian’s double portraits was his *Double Portrait of Charles V and Isabella of Portugal* from 1548 (Fig. 2.102). It is now known only through a copy by Peter Paul Rubens. The original was last recorded in 1636. In Ruben’s copy, both the emperor and the empress are dressed in black and traditionally placed with the man on the heraldic dexter. Yet, their placement together also signifies their nobility, status, and dynastic equality. A white partlet adorns the woman’s dress and puffs were added to the sleeves. The table in front of the couple is covered in red velvet with an Augsburgian clock, suggesting a *momento mori*, resting upon it. A deep red damask curtain separates in the background to reveal a distant landscape. In the year of the painting’s execution, 1548, Isabella had been dead for a number of years, and her portrayal in Titian’s double portrait, indicates a tribute to her *in memoriam*. The gloves of both subjects in the painting could embody a variety of meanings. Charles V holds in his right hand a pair of gloves, while Isabella grips a white handkerchief. Gloves are an indicator of noble birth. The gloves in the Emperor’s hands could symbolize an amorous offering as well as marital fidelity. The gloves which lay in front of Isabella could also be a touching allusion to her passing.

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The portrayal of Charles V in this *Double Portrait* resembles a *Portrait of the Seated Charles V* by Titian, both presumably painted in Augsburg in the same year. The empress with her hands resting upon the table wears a similar costume to the one she wore in a now lost portrait of her from 1544-45, which Charles V had brought to Augsburg in order to have her face retouched.\(^{280}\) In a letter written by Titian to Cardinal Granvelle on September 1, 1548, he promised to send the double portrait within six days, along with a single portrait of the Empress and a portrait of Charles V on horseback.\(^{281}\) The double portrait in question is now believed to have been given away by Philip IV or transferred to another palace such as the palace at Aranjuez and later destroyed.\(^{282}\) These works by Titian and other Venetian artists indicate that double portraits were hardly unpopular by artists from this region.

\(^{280}\) It looks like the portrait of Isabella that still resides in Madrid.

\(^{281}\) The *Double Portrait* was shipped from Brussels in 1556 and in an Inventory of 1556 at Saint Yuste, Spain where Charles V retired. See Inventory of August, 18, 1556, Archives in Brussels of the Registres de la chambre des Coptes, lot 96, as “Item la resamblanche de l’Empereur et de l’Imperatrice, sur toile, faict par Tiziane,” and mentioned in M. Gachard, *Retraite et mort de Charles-Quint au monastère de Yuste*, II (1855), 90; A. Pinchart, *Revue universelle des Arts*, III (1856), 229; and Manuel R. Zarco del Valle, “Unveröffentlichte Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kunstbestrebungen Karl V und Philipp II, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung Tizians,” *Jahrbuch der Wüsten Kunstsammlungen*, VII (1888), 222. It was subsequently inherited by Philip II and mentioned in an inventory of the palace in Madrid as being in Philip II’s *Guardajoyas*. It was assumedly taken to Aranjuez since it does not appear in the Alcazar inventory of 1600 nor at El Pardo in a description of 1564 or an inventory of 1582 (See C. Justi, “Verzeichnis der früher in Spanien befindlichen, jetzt verschollenen oder ins Ausland gekommenen Gemälde Tizians,” *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, X (1889), 184, no. 37; and D. Sánchez Loro, *La inquietude. Postrema de Carlos V* [Cáceres: Publicaciones del Movimiento, 1958], 507, Cat. 409). It was probably sent there to refurbish the palace at the Alcazar in Madrid after a fire in 1604. Cassiano del Pozzo mentioned it as “Carlo V con la moglie ambidue in una stessa tela e meze figure” and it hung in the bedroom of the summer palace. See Cassiano del Pozzo, folio 122. In the Alcazar inventory of 1636 (folio 36v), it is referred to as “piec en que duerme su magestad en el cuarto bajo de verano” and described as “un lienzo de 5 pies de larg…el emperador Carlo V y su mugger vestidos de negro las manos sobre un bufete carmesi y las de ella juntas…de Ticiano que se truxo de la casa del Pardo.” After 1636, the picture disappeared from the extant Royal inventories. Wethey believed that the idea that it was destroyed in the fire at the Alcazar in Madrid in 1734 was incorrect.

\(^{282}\) It was probably copied by Rubens on his diplomatic trip to Madrid in 1628, before the original’s subsequent loss, either by gift or fire. See Harold E. Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian*, II, *The Portraits* (London: Phaidon Press, 1971), 194-95, Cat. L-6, pl. 151. Ruben’s copy is listed in the 1641 inventory of the artist’s estate as “Le pourtrait dud it Empereur (Charles V) avec sa femme sur la mesme toile—Het portret van de gezeyden Keyzer met syn Egtgenote op den zelven doek.” See J. Denucé, *The Antwerp Art Galleried, Inventories of the Art Collections in Antwerp in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (1932), 58. As of 1935, Ruben’s copy was owned by Frank T. Sabin in London.
The increased use of portraits among the merchant class also included conjugal double portrayals of less noble stature in the sixteenth century. Lorne Campbell has pointed out that evidence for portraits of less exalted individuals, and the uses to which they were put is a good deal more scattered and fragmentary than that regarding portraits of princes. However, it should not be assumed that they were not commissioned or painted. The middle class also enjoyed more portrayals of their constituents, who had expendable incomes. Sixteenth-century married couples appear in images in which they take part in their everyday professions, from artist to fishmonger. There was a general rise in the vocational portrait during this time. By the late sixteenth century, Gabriele Paleotti, archbishop of Bologna, claimed that infamous people, among them heretics, tyrants, courtesans, and actors, should not be portrayed at all. This reprimanding statement coming from the religious sector implies the rise of portrait production among the various social classes.

The artist Federico Zuccari often utilized imagery of himself and his family for self-promotion and as homage to his loved ones. In his palazzo on the Pincio in Rome where he created a symbolic universe on the walls and ceilings, he inserted images of his family, including himself, his wife, his father, his siblings, and his children. In a room leading out to the garden, Zuccari painted a Self-Portrait with His Wife in a lunette (Fig. 283 See Loren Campbell, Renaissance Portraits: European Portrait-Painting in the 14th, 15th, and 16th Centuries, 208. 284 Federico’s use of portraits of his family on the grandest scale is seen within his painted imagery for a section of the Cupola of the Duomo in Florence in 1576 where he painted in himself, his family, friends, and acquaintances sitting and standing on lofty clouds. It should also be noted there were many artists that used self-portrayal with their wives that could classify as another category of conjugal double portraits. Another example worth noting is the placement of profile portraits of Baccio Bandinelli and his wife, Iacopa, on the back of his tomb in Santissima Annunciata, Florence. 285 See Bonita Cleri, ed., Federico Zuccari, Le idée, gli scritti, atti del convegno di San’ Angelo in Vado, 1994 (Milan: Electa, 1997), 71-88; and Cristina Acidini Luchinat, Taddeo e Federico Zuccari: fratelli pittori del Cinquecento, 2nd vol. (Jandi Sapi, Editori, 1999).
2.103). The couple is portrayed half-length leaning on a ledge in which their names are inscribed. He is on the heraldic dexter. Zuccari looks up from a book with a sudden glance, as though he has been surprised by the viewer’s notice of him and his wife, who also quizzically gazes out of the frame. Zuccari portrayed his father in a similar vein in the adjacent lunette. In his Portrait of Octavianus Zuccari and His Wife and Child, the bearded Octavianus in dark garb, folds his hands, his elbow falling over the ledge. His wife tucks in behind her husband on his left, while their child presses against the parapet in front of her mother. They all stare out at the viewer. The figural positioning of Octavianus is reminiscent of a Northern print of the Portrait of Casimir von Brandenburg Kumbach and Susanne von Bayern in which the man folds his hands allowing for his right elbow to extend over a ledge. The print is based on a painting in Kittingen. This was clearly a formula for the double-portrait composition. Zuccari’s double portrayals also suggest popularity of the type for artists’ self-portrayals.

Many Northern occupational portraits contained allegorical messages, as in Petrus Christus’ A Goldsmith in his Shop and Quentin Metsys’ Jeweller and His Wife. However, in sixteenth-century Italian occupational portraits or genre scenes, the allegorical intent is

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286 Federico Zuccari, Self-Portrait of Artist and His Wife, lunette, Casa Zuccari, Rome. In another occupational portrait, Zuccari portrays himself and his wife sitting at a table in front of an architectural model of a dome: Federico Zuccari, Il Passaggio delle Consegu, Biblioteca Hertziana, Rome. They are in active poses with another man. A preliminary drawing in the Uffizi for this painting includes a fourth character.
288 Copy after Peter Gernert, Double Portrait of Casimir von Brandenburg Kulmbach and Susanne von Bayern, Church, Heilsbronn.
289 Portrait of Casimir von Brandenburg Kulmbach and Susanne von Bayern, Stadt, Kitzingen.
290 Petrus Christus, A Goldsmith in His Shop, Possibly Saint Eligius, 1449, oil on wood, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection [1975.1.110]; and Quinten Metsys, Moneychanger and His Wife, 1514, Louvre, Paris. Both of these works are believed to be based on a now lost original by Jan van Eyck of a Moneychanger and His Wife which is known from a description from the Venetian writer, Marcantonio Michiel. See Erwin Panofsky, Early Netherlandish Painting (Cambridge: 1964), 203. Quinten Metsys’ detailed style was very much influenced by the Flemish tradition of van Eyck. The mirror that rests on the table reminds us of the one placed in van Eyck’s Arnolfini Double Portrait. Metsys is known to have played an active role in the intellectual life of the cities where he lived. His images of secular subjects impart moral messages warning against social vices, such as avarice.
less central to the portrayal or disappears entirely, sometimes replaced by an interest in visually identifying social classes or other such concerns relevant to Italy.\footnote{See Sheila McTighe, “Foods and the Body in Italian Genre Paintings, about 1580: Campi, Passarotti, Carracci,” \textit{Art Bulletin}, LXXXVI, no. 2 (June 2004), 301-23.} An occupational portrait by Leandro Bassano of \textit{Orazio Lago, the Moneychanger, and His Wife}, is focused on the day-to-day activities in an office cluttered with papers, books, and letters, although the subject could suggest an underlying theme of avarice.\footnote{Leandro Bassano, \textit{The Moneychanger Orazio Lago, His Wife, and a Client}, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. Another portrait by Leandro Bassano is the \textit{Portrait of a Widow at Her Devotions} (c. 1590-1600, oil on canvas, 105 x 88.5 cm, Private Collection) in which the older woman is praying before an image of the birth of the Virgin. See Edinburgh, National Galleries of Scotland, \textit{The Age of Titian: Venetian Renaissance Art from Scottish Collections} by Peter Humfrey, Timothy Clifford, Aidan Weston-Lewis, and Michael Bury (2004), 199, Cat. 75, reprod.} A painting attributed to Sofonisba Anguissola also shows a couple at a desk, perhaps a silk merchant and his wife (Fig. 2.104).\footnote{Attributed to Sofonisba Anguissola, \textit{Portrait of a Silk Merchant And His Wife}, c. 1550s, oil on canvas, 118 x 104 cm (46 x 38 ½ in.), Goudstikker Collection, 1924 and Amsterdam, Muller, June 1, 1961.} The man is actively engaged in his affairs while the woman stands as his witness, her raised hand indicating speech. In \textit{Jeweler and a Woman} by Paris Bordone, a man stands in the center of the composition (Fig. 2.105).\footnote{Paris Bordone, \textit{Double Portrait of Jeweler and His Wife}, oil on panel, 98.5 x 80.5 cm, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek, Munich. E. Verheyen has mentioned this painting as an occupational double portrait of husband and wife. See Munich, AltePinakothek, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, \textit{Gemaldekatalog: Venezianische Gemalde des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts}, IX 1971), 76-77, Cat. 925, fig. 37.} The professional double portrait of the husband “goldsmithing” with his wife could have acquired, at least by the seventeenth century, an underlying moralistic theme, instead of having one from the outset. In the 1618 inventory of the Herzoglichen Kunstkammer, it joined as a pendant to Titian’s \textit{Vanitas} in the collection. In these examples, the occupations of the husband also suggests their wealth and affordable income for acquiring a double portrait.
The Bolognese artist Bartolomeo Passerotti is known for his series of market scenes from the 1580s. A few of the paintings display mundane couples at work, such as his *Fish Seller* (Fig. 2.106). The Lombard artist, Vincenzo Campi, addressed similar themes, as in his *Fruit Seller*. Though these images are not double portraits, per se, the artist did select double-figure portrayals in which the subjects show their wares in a manner similar to the subjects of the occupational double portraits mentioned above. In Passerotti’s *Fish Sellers*, the man is on the proper right holding up a fish, while his wife looks at him from his left. In Campi’s *Fruitsellers* a woman holds out a basket of fruit in the center of the composition with a young man to her right. In these instances, the compositional format could have been derived from the double portrait. Passerotti is known to have painted double portraits, at least three of which are still extant today. These genre scenes, such as the *Fish Seller*, are a long way from formal double portraits of nobility such as the *Double Portrait of Charles V and Isabella of Portugal* (see Fig. 2.102), which focus on a rhetorical, formal compositional construct. These double-figure portrayals in a market setting also diverge from the focus on commercial exchange between vendor and seller in other market scenes, particularly themes from Northern Europe. Shiela McTighe has argued for a symbolic connection between the lower class vendors and their represented foodstuffs leading to a more cultural interpretation than an allegorical meaning. The divisions of the social classes in Italy are carefully demarcated in the paintings, which differentiate foods appropriate for high-born and low-born individuals.

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Matrimonial double portraits were not restricted to paintings hung on the walls in the homes of their subjects. The need to stress wedlock and to promote family connections within society extended past this usage to double-figure compositions in other media. Renaissance visual culture encompassed marriage double portraits in pottery, prints, and medals. Double portrait medals were being struck at least by the fifteenth century. Due to their reproducibility, they were used to commemorate important family allegiances as well as to publicize marriage connections on a broader scale. It was important for rulers to establish an official, easily reproducible image of themselves and their wives that was instantly recognizable. Often the likenesses in portrait representations on coins or medals were taken from panel paintings or drawings.297 In coins showing a high-ranking couple, the man might wish that his consort’s portrait be parallel with his own to promulgate their families’ allegiance. On the medal of Renè d’Anjou and Jeanne de Laval, the couple is seen overlapping to the right.298 Renè, who wears a buttoned robe adorned with a chain as well as a cap with the edge turned up capped by a plume, while Jeanne, behind him, has her hair bound with a double band, indicating her married status. A similar medal was made by Francesco Laurana with busts of the same man and woman turned to the right (see Fig. 1.45).299 In this version, Renè wears the

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298 Pietro da Milano (active in Naples by 1458-d 1473), Medal of Renè d’Anjou and Jeanne de Laval, 1462, medal, 104 m., inscribed, British Museum, London. On the reverse there is an image of the Judgment of Solomon. The seated king wearing a turban and long robe with girdle, holds a scepter in his right hand before an arched background. On the ground before him, a dog is present, and groups of people mingle in the scene with one of a woman carrying away her baby. See G.F. Hill, A Corpus of Italian Medals of the Renaissance before Cellini (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1930), Cat. 52, pl. 15.
299 Francesco Laurana, Medal of Renè d’Anjou and Jeanne de Laval, 1463, medal, 90 mm., inscribed, British Museum, London. On the reverse, Peace is seen as a female figure standing frontally wearing a long tunic. She holds with her right hand an olive branch and in the left rests a cippus helmet or a cuirass, depending on the version. The artist’s name is inscribed on the edge. See G.F. Hill, A Corpus of Italian Medals of the Renaissance Before Cellini (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1930), 17, Cat. 59. Another undated medal similar to this one has the same model but smaller in size and blank on the reverse. Friedlander has
same plain cap and a robe with a thick, round fur collar, while Jeanne, her hair bound by a jeweled band, is additionally adorned with a chain around her neck. Exhibiting an analogous composition is a Medal of Francesco I Gonzaga and His Wife, Isabella d’Este, struck in the late 1400s by a Mantuan medalist (Fig. 2.107).\(^{300}\) The reverse of the medal is inscribed FRL.GONZAGA ELISABELLA ESTIENSIS CONIVGES MARCHIONES MANTVAES IIII, indicating the importance of demonstrating their marital status. All of these medals were probably made to celebrate the subjects’ nuptials. The same is true of a medal made in 1473 by Sperandio di Mantova showing Ercole I and Eleonora of Aragon, in which the composition is trimmed by a garland, symbolic of marriage, and commemorates their wedding of July 3, 1473 (see Fig. 1.36).\(^{301}\) There are different versions of this medal with additional details such as a cupid or an inscription, all markedly reminiscent of painted double portraits.

Cameos and wax effigies like medals displayed a married couple in a round format. Francesco de’ Medici, upon the death of his father Cosimo, commissioned Domenico Compagni, called Domenico de’ Cammei, to produce a small cameo of profile portraits facing each other of Cosimo I and Eleonora di Toledo (see Fig. 1.46).\(^{302}\) Bronze suggested that this is a reproduction by a later hand. See G.F. Hill, *A Corpus of Italian Medals of the Renaissance Before Cellini*, 18, Cat. 64, fig. 1.

\(^{300}\) See G.F. Hill, *A Corpus of Italian Medals of the Renaissance before Cellini*, 60, pl. 41, no. 239.


\(^{302}\) Domenico Compagni, *Portraits of Cosimo I de’ Medici and Eleonora di Toledo*, 1574, cameo, agate, with metal frame, Museo degli Argenti, Florence. See Nicolas Mann and Luke Syson, Eds., *The Image of the Individual: Portraits in the Renaissance* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1998), repro. 53; and K. Langedijk, *Portraits of the Medici*, 502, Cat. 27. The placement of portraits on hardstones was made because of their efficacy, but also they symbolized virtue and were emblems of the strength of the ruler. In the famed Medici cabinet, a great number of post-Antique engraved gems of the rulers and contemporaries rested next to antique cameos with Roman imperial portraits which the Medici sought for their collection. Francesco I was an avid collector of cameos on hard stones. The portrait he commissioned of his parents was to be made out of agate by Domenico Compagni who is known to have studied the skills and compositions of the ancient gem cutters. See Martha Mccrory, “The Symbolism of Stones: Engraved Gems at the Medici
medals were often based on original compositions designed in wax. At other times, colored wax portraits were made after a popular image, sometimes medals, in order to be placed in a Kunstkammer. This was popular, for example, at the Austrian Hapsburg court in the late sixteenth century. It is known that the Italian medalist and maker of colored wax relief portraits Antonio Abondio (1538-1591) and the Paduan sculptor Francesco Segala (1558-1592) both worked for the Austrian aristocracy. Segala produced a wax image of the Archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrol around 1580 in Innsbruck.303 A colored wax medallion in Berlin showing a double portrait of the Archduke Ferdinand and His Wife Christina from 1590 was probably made for similar use (Fig. 2.108).304 The Archduke and his wife are shown in profile, turned to the right, in a circular framework. An anonymous painted Double Portrait of a Couple in the Uffizi is also seen in a miniature, round format, meant to be handheld (Fig. 2.109).305 The small, vertical image shows the couple facing forward against a draped background with the man on the heraldic dexter. In Switzerland, double portraits were also inserted into stained glass designs, as in a window by the artist Daniel Lindtmayer the Younger, which shows a full-length standing husband and wife separated by an unfinished armorial shield.306

Maiolica, a tin-glazed pottery characterized by fine detail and finish, as well as durability, was considered an elegant as well as functional medium in the mid-fifteenth to

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304 Francois Clouet and Workshop made a panel of miniature portraits illustrating the family of Henry II. In the center is presented Henry II of Valois and his wife Caterina de’ Medici surrounded by the family of him.
305 Italian artist, Double Portrait of a Couple, miniature, Uffizi, Florence [1890, no. 8856].
306 Daniel Lindtmayer, the Younger, Husband and Wife, Stained Glass Design, Museum Boymans, Rotterdam.
sixteenth centuries, and also came to be employed for double portraits. The so-called *Bella* plates, created in the early sixteenth century, are notable for their highly individualized and idealized heads of young women surrounded by decorative ribbons inscribed with the word *bella* and a female name. One example is a plate displaying the frontal bust-length portrait of a woman with an inscription in a furling ribbon inscribed “Camilla Bella.” Often these *bella* plates are referred to as betrothal gifts, and their iconography and inscriptions suggest an association with courtship and marriage ritual. They retain a portrait-like quality and their inscriptions stating the subject’s name suggest that they represented known individuals. An inscription on one *bella donna* plate at the Getty, supports this theory by stating: “when alive, I shall be among the living, and when

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307 Musacchio has mentioned that the popularity of painted wooden birth trays and bowls waned in the sixteenth century. “Beginning in the second half of the fifteenth century, wooden childbirth objects were complemented or replaced by painted maiolica wares. …Prominent Italian families often commissioned ceramics, embellished with their personal coat of arms. …the persistent demand for brilliantly colored maiolica for many routines in daily life generated sufficient interest in the process among Italian ceramists leading to the production of lusterware in several central Italian towns in the late fifteenth century.” Because of their similarly rich finish to the Spanish kind, the Italian wares also came to be identified by the term *maiolica*. See Jacqueline Marie Musacchio, *The Art and Ritual of Childbirth in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1999), 91-92; Timothy Wilson, *Ceramic Art of the Italian Renaissance* (London: 1987); and Cipriano Piccolpasso, *I Tre libri dell’arte del vasaio* (1557), ed. Ronald Lightbown and Alan Caiger-Smith (London: 1980), II, 86 and 91. The *istoriato* technique which were wares painted with complex narrative scenes derived from widely circulated contemporary prints were developed in Faenza and Urbino in the sixteenth century. The figurative possibilities of maiolica became more descriptive with the advent of these *istoriato* maiolica wares. See Grazia Biscontini Ugolini and Jacqueline Petruzzellis-Scherer, ed. *Maiolica e Incisione: Tre secoli di rapporti iconografici* (Vicenza, 1992); and the essays in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *L’Istoriato: libri a stampa e maioliche italiane del Cinquecento* (Faenza, 1993).

308 Casteldurante, *Camilla Bella*, c. 1530, maiolica dish, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore. The inscription may refer to a specific Renaissance woman named Camilla or a reference to the ancient Camilla, a female warrior who bravely fought Aeneas in *The Aeneid*, or a combination of the two.

309 These plates were produced primarily in the town of Casteldurante between 1520 and 1540. Other maiolica items connected to the marriage ritual were the spindle whorl, small colorful beads labeled with a woman’s name or initials and the word *bella*, maiolica inkwells, and a small box full of personal items like jewels, beads, and belts, presented to the bride, according to contemporary records. See Musacchio, *The Art and Ritual of Childbirth in Renaissance Italy*, 94; Marta Ajmar and Dora Thornton, “When is a Portrait Not a Portrait?: Belle donne on Maiolica and Renaissance Praise of Local Beauties,” in *The Image of the Individual: Portraits in the Renaissance*, ed. by Nicholas Mann and Luke Syson (London: 1998), 138-53.
dead I shall be among the living.”310 Portraits on maiolica differ from painted versions only in their medium, format, and artistic quality resulting in lesser specificity.

Maiolica examples of the conjugal double portrait, made for courting or marriage purposes, were used during extensive wedding festivities. Double-portrait compositions on maiolica plates were especially popular around the 1530s, as indicated by a number of extant versions. On a large dish measuring 41.5 cm, the hollow, surrounded by a narrow border of zigzags between triangles, is overlaid by bust-length profile portraits of a young woman and a young man, both facing the left (Fig. 2.111).311 An inscription on the left names DINA LVO (perhaps for “Diana, Ludovico”). The rim has a pattern of berries and tendrils on a wavy stem, perhaps symbolizing the hope for a fruitful marriage. There are variations based on this theme, with double portraits of a man and woman facing forward as well as alternating from profile to forward positions. Two examples are now located in the Hermitage (St. Petersburg) (Fig. 2.112) and in the Victoria and Albert Museum (London) (Fig. 2.113).312

Maiolica ware was not only used, but displayed, as witnessed by a drawn scene of Susannah and the Elders by Maso Finaguera from c. 1460, which includes a credenza in a room displaying such dishes (see Fig. 1.65).313 Plates representing the unification of a couple could have been easily displayed in the residence of a family, just like paintings of

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310 See Brian D. Steele, “In the Flower of Their Youth: ‘Portraits of Venetian Beauties’ ca 1500,” Sixteenth Century Journal, 28, no. 2 (summer 1997), 492.
311 See London, Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, Department of Ceramics, Catalogue of Italian Maiolica, cat. by Bernard Rackham with J.V. G. Mallet (London: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1977), 1, 121, no. 350, II, pl. 56, no. 350. The decoration on the plate is made by the same hand of an artist that produced a Bella donna dish at the Schlossmuseum in Berlin, inscribed “Cornelia Regina.”
312 Casteldurante artist, Bowl with Two Lovers, 1530-40, Hermitage, St. Petersburg and Italian artist, Double Portrait Plate with the inscription amore igrato, 1545, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. There is another plate located in the Victoria and Albert Museum of two embracing lovers that is inscribed “dulce est amare” (1535-45.
married couples. Their popularity reinforces the use of this type of composition on a number of levels. The double-portrait format extends even to tiles in a maiolica pavement in the Grotto dedicated to the goddess Diana, located at the Villa d’Este at Tivoli (Fig. 2.114). In these, the profiles of a man and a woman with inscribed ribbons of “Lav” and “Renza” are placed within a hexagonal framework. Ribbons, seen here as well as in many plate designs, often reiterated a matrimonial context. Tassels, used much like ribbons, derived from a quote in the Bible suggesting their function as engagement presents as reminders of virtue and to uphold the commandments, and were also apparently worn in lover’s caps.314

The printed medium also contributed to the dissemination of double portraits. In an engraved image of Charles Emmanuel I of Savoy (1580-1630) and his wife, Catalina (1567-1597), Francesco Terzi placed the bust-length portraits of the couple within an oculus (Fig. 2.115).315 They turn slightly toward each other. In another engraving of 1613 the round format was again utilized for the Double Portrait of Cosimo II and Maria Magdalena of Austria.316 It could have been inspired by the earlier cameo by Domenico Compagni of Cosimo and Eleanora, which was in the Medici collection (see Fig. 1.46). The man and woman are face to face in profile. The circle was evidently a popular framework for many double-portrait compositions on plates, medals, engravings, and illuminated manuscripts. It was also fittingly used to symbolize a ring, a significance derived from the letter O in

315 Francesco Terzi, *Double Portrait of Carlo and His Wife, Catalina*, print, Vienna.
316 Italian artist, *Double Portrait of Cosimo II and Maria Magdalena of Austria*, 1613, engraving.

In the sixteenth century, collections of effigies were formed. Humanists wrote treatises, such as Guillaume Budé’s *De Asse*, a promptuary which included a collection of effigies reproduced in engravings, fictive medallions of famous men (Promtuarii iconum /.../, Lugduni, apud G. Rouilium 1578). See Claude Gilbert-Dubois, “Sixteenth-Century Representation,” 467. The relationship from One to the Many—the interest in collections becoming progressively organized into special collection of such things as coins, paintings, and displayed in a showcase—series of complete collections of similar objects.
medieval manuscripts, for the verb oscular (to kiss). The ring was also a symbol of protection.

Sometimes when paintings were derived from a woodcut or engraved composition the position of the male and female was reversed, changing the normal dexter position of the male for the female. In a silverpoint drawing of a standing couple by the Master of the Housebook of c. 1485, the reversal of positions is apparent, and it was followed by a second reversal in an engraving made after the drawing. The same kind of reversal of positions occurred in a Double Portrait of a Man and His Wife by a Swabian Master of c. 1479. This bust-length portrait of a man and his wife was perhaps copied from Israhel Meckenem’s Self-Portrait with His Wife, and shares that work’s straightforward approach and placement of the figures close to the picture plane (Fig 1.55). The sitters overlap at the point of their shoulders as they gaze slightly toward each other. The disjointed placement suggests that two separate head studies were also utilized for this image.

Double portraits were copied frequently in a variety of painted, sculpted, and printed formats. A painted copy was done after the Portrait of Lorenz and Christina Tucher (1550) by the Master of the Landauer Altar (see Fig. 2.67). Now located in the Tucherscher Familienbesitz in Nurnberg, the painted copy is of a larger format with an

317 It is also osculetur. See fn. 112 and Figs. 107 and 108.
319 Swabian Master (School of Ulm, related to School of Hans Schuchlin), Double Portrait of A Man and His Wife, Bavarian Nationalmuseum, Munich. See Ernst Büchner, Das Deutsche Bildnis, 176, no. 199; and Washington, National Gallery, Fifteenth-Century Engravings of Northern Europe from the Collection of the National Gallery of Art, exh. cat. by Alan Shesckat (1967), Cat. 244.
320 Northern Italian artists copied this image as seen by an engraving by Nicoletto Rosex da Modena, copied in reverse of the Meckenem print. See A.M. Hind, Early Italian Engraving, V/II, 133, no. 97.
added inscription for increased recognizability. Titian’s *Double Portrait of Charles V and Isabella* was copied in many media. Ruben’s aforementioned seventeenth-century copy after the painting is just one example (see Fig. 2.102). A sculpted version was made by the French sculptor Jean Mone (c. 1495-c. 1548), who worked for Charles V in Flanders and was important for introducing the trends from other parts of Europe to that region (Fig. 2.116). Since the Emperor commissioned this sculpture, shortly before his wedding to Isabella, this suggests his approval of Titian’s double portrayal. In his copy, Mone pushed the couple, shown seated in high relief, closer together than in Titian’s counterparts. Under a low relief arch in the backdrop, Charles V is placed on the heraldic dexter and the couple is in the *dextro iunctio*. A printed copy after Ruben’s version of the royal couple is also extant, reversing their positions due to the transference of the image into printed form (Fig. 2.117). The popular use of the double portrait is strengthened by its appearance in varied media and its accessibility to a number of social classes.

**Conclusion**

The marriage double portrait was utilized in Renaissance Italy in myriad ways. It permeates the culture as a formal display of marriage as institution. As the medium of portraiture incorporated pan-European influences and revisited ancient prototypes, the marriage portrait also began to adjust stylistically and culturally. By the fifteenth century, people were growing increasingly concerned with the dwellings in which they lived, and the display of their wealth in domestic contexts grew in popularity for the upper middle

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class and nobility. This rise in prosperity, which continued into the sixteenth century, contributed to the popularity of the marriage double portrait as a means of displaying wealth within the home. Though minimal records have been found to indicate where these conjugal double portraits were located in the home, they were probably hung in grand entrance halls and stairways as decoration in Venice, or in the husband’s study or bedroom, within the wainscoting decoration, in Florence or Lombardy. For example, Lorenzo Lotto’s *Double Portrait of Antonio Marsilio and his Bride, Faustina Cassotti* was originally to be placed in a bedroom (see Fig. 2.4). The groom’s father, Giovannino Cassotti, ordered the painting as a wedding present. The opulence that signaled an individual family’s enhanced status was seen in their residence, and a double portrait of

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324 A larger discussion of placement is discussed in Chapter Two. Mary Rogers has also suggested the need for how portraits were placed and used as still an underdeveloped area. See Mary Rogers, “The Decorum of Women’s Beauty: Trissino, Firenzuela, Luigini and the Representation of Women in Sixteenth-Century Painting,” 55, fn. 34. For Venetian interiors, see Patricia Fortini Brown, *Private Lives in Renaissance Venice: Art, Architecture, and Family*, 60.

325 In Lotto’s account book it states the following: “el quadro delli retrati, cioè misser Marsilio et la sposa sua con quel Cupidinetto rispetto al contrafar quelli habiti di seta seu ficti e collane… >> 30 // el quadro per la Camera de miser Marsilio et nel mezzo la Madona con el figliolo in brazo….>> 15.” However, the double portrait never hung in its appropriate location, due to the dislike of the image by Marsilio. It, along with a *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine*, was instead given to Lotto’s Bergamasque landlord in payment for his rent. See Michiel in his inventory of the Bergamesque collection recorded them only as “due quadri.” See Lorenzo Lotto, *Il “Libro di spese diverse” con aggiunta di lettere e d’altri documenti*, ed. by Pietro Zampetti (Venice/Rome: Istituto per la collaborazione culturale, 1969), 259-60. Marcantonio Michiel, a Venetian patrician, compiled a contemporary document of the account of private collections in Bergamo on his visit to the city in c. 1525. See T. Frimmel, *Der Anonimo Morelliano: Marcantonio Michiels Notizie d’opere del disegno* (Vienna: 1888). Lotto’s Bergamasque patrons commissioned paintings for their family chapels but also commissioned smaller works to be viewed in the privacy of their homes. For the paintings destined for domestic settings, documentary evidence listed the paintings. In one record, a list drawn up by the artist in 1524/25 itemized at least eight paintings that he recently had made for the wealthy cloth merchant Zanin (Giovanni) Cassotti. Two of these are identified as the *Double Portrait of Marsilio, His Son, and His Bride* and a *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine* (dated 1524; now in the Palazzo Barberini, Rome), while others were small images of the *Virgin and Child*, a *Pietà*, a *St. Jerome*, and several portraits. They were all primarily hung or placed on sedimentary furniture in the bedrooms of the family members. The other account was compiled by the Venetian patrician Marcantonio Michiel of private collections in Bergamo on his visit to Bergamo in 1525. He noted pictures by Lotto for the painter’s landlord at the time, Niccolò Bonghi, who commissioned a *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine* and a portrait of himself as well as Domenico Tassi dal Cornello’s collection who owned a *Night Nativity*, *Pietà*, and *St. Jerome.*
the man and wife set within this location was visually a strong means to connect them to their wealth.  

The marriage double portrait also responded to the desire to leave a record of marriages within the family unit for later generations. Pliny the Elder had discussed the cult of ancestor worship and located it in a domestic area reserved for commemorative display, specifically the atria in Roman houses, in which portrait busts were exhibited. Similarly, Francesco Barbaro’s treatise on marriage noted that the *imagines* of parents could spur well-born individuals to emulate there ancestors’ dignity and greatness. Lodovico Dolce asserted the importance of representing character in portraits, further indicating that they could influence behavior and thereby fulfill a moral and didactic function. He explicitly stated that “images of the upright and virtuous excite mankind to virtue and good deeds.” The ideal perception of marriage was molded by societal expectations. In controlling the conjugal double portrait by means of pictorial conventions and iconography, it seemed to mediate reality, at least a localized reality of marriage and that of a married couple through the created image.

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327 Pliny stated “and there were people who became gods. In some places, when a man died, an image of him was made and placed along with other divine images of the household.” This indicates the tradition of ancestor worship. Pliny and Polybius both describe also the use of effigies in funeral processions. See Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, 25, 6-7 and Polybius, 6.53-5 in J.J. Pollitt, *The Art of Rome: c. 753 BC-AD 337* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 53.
328 Poggio Bracciolini in 1440 also pointed out that “if they wanted their own deeds to be praised and remembered by our posterity, the recollection and praise must shine as their portraits would on sons.” See Poggio Bracciolini, *Opera Omnia* (Turin: 1964), 1, 81; and Margaret L. King, “Caldiera and the Barbaros on Marriage and Family: Humanist Reflections of Venetian Realities,” *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 6 (1976), 33.
329 “Le imagini adunque de’ buoni e de’ virtuosi infiammano gli uomini, come io dico, alla virtu & alle opera buone.” See Lodovico Dolce, *Arete*, 112. On a similar note, busts of children were intended to influence the Renaissance child by providing a model of individual character for him to emulate. In the 1400s, the young Christ also appeared as a type of “holy doll.” Women sometimes held the dolls during pregnancy to influence the character of the unborn child. Klapisch-Zuber has noted that this type of engagement with an image involved “a magical transfer of virtues and forces from the effigy to its user.” See Arnold Victor Coonin, “Portrait Busts of Children in Quattrocento Florence,” *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 30 (1995), 61-69; and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, “Holy Dolls: Play and Piety in Florence in the Quattrocento,” in *Women, Family and Ritual in Renaissance Italy*, trans. by Lydia G. Cochrane, 310-329.
By placing marriage double portraits on the walls in the home, younger members of the family established visually their aspirations to maintain or increase their high status in a society that was preoccupied with lineage and family survival. The use of the marriage double portrait, rather than, say, early displays of large ancestral families on the walls in medieval palaces, could have been a result of the cultural change from concentration on the clan and bloodline to greater isolation of the nuclear family within the palazzo. With this turning inward of the family unit, the marriage double portrait continued to present stereotyped formal roles of conjugality, while at the same time it visually expanded these models to encompass piety, vocation, domesticity, and social status. The marital oath was preserved in the conjugal double portrait, to be perpetually rekindled each time the couple or their descendants gazed upon it.

330 For a discussion of this cultural shift of the family, see M. Becker, *Civility and Society in Western Europe* (Bloomington, Indiana: 1989), 12-13 and 94-97.
Chapter Three

The “Framed” Couple: Notions of Love, Allegory, and Folly

Introduction: The Other: Making Fun of Marriage

The other side of the coin for the most obvious occasion for portrayal of two genders, marriage, are portrait-like representations of both genders that become foils to conjugal double portraits. Constrained by their adherence to a strict social institution, the conjugal double portraits normally embody formality. Yet, pairings within the double-portrait idiom also take a more humorous approach when related to love, allegory, and folly. These presented relationships that exhibit a more passionate or light-hearted view of love. Often, they reveal more erotic tones and sometimes even border on the burlesque, much like the romantic and comic literature of the time.

In this chapter I examine three distinct categories: portrayals of amorous lovers, allegorical representations of couples, and depictions of foolish lovers. The art of the period in general, including double portraits of marriage, is often connected to serious literature of the time: theological, humanistic, and Neoplatonic. Yet, when considering double-figure compositions which transgress marriage, the sources are more likely to be found in romantic and comic literature. Renaissance courts encouraged less serious entertainment and literature, as indicated by the witty conversations at court mentioned by Baldassare Castiglione in the Book of the Courtier or by courtly theatrical performances and masquerades. Literary works by such writers as Jacopo Sannazaro (1457/8-1530) parallel amorous pastoral images popular in regions such as the Veneto. Love and sex were frequently joked about by Bernardo Dovizi

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1 The writers like Leon Battista Alberti, Marsilio Ficino, and Pico della Mirandola were often associated with Renaissance imagery. Writers discussing the appropriateness of marriage, such as Alessandro Piccolomini, also wrote letters and comical literature making fun of the institution. For a discussion of comic literature and art, see Paul Barolsky, Infinite Jest: Wit and Humor in Italian Renaissance Art (Columbia/London: University of Missouri Press, 1978).
de Bibbiena and other authors of Renaissance *novelle*, poetry, comedies, and satirical treatises. Comic literary works by writers such as Luigi Pulci, Bibbiena, and Pietro Aretino, among many others, should be considered the stimuli for these amorous, and often burlesque, portrayals.² Even the subject of the glory and downfall of matrimony was conveyed in Renaissance writings. In a tripartite text on marriage, Lodovico Dolce demonstrated conflicting views of matrimony.³ The first part summarized the sixth satire of Juvenal, a condemnation of marriage, while the third part, a satire adopted from a translation of Catullus [LXIV], was an epithalamium celebrating the glory of matrimony as an epic celebration.

Lovers in a double-portrait mode stray from decorum, and signs within these images denote their lapses. Gender positioning, dress, mannerisms, eye contact, and setting are important elements that will be considered in my discussion of these images. Also, artists, along with their patrons, put forth alternative portrayals of contemporary sitters through allegorical means in a double-portrait format. Within this context, the sitters were permitted to enact relationships that normally would have been unacceptable within the stringent society of Renaissance Italy. In these representations of love, the sitters gained more than one fixed notion of identity, and multiple layers of the represented sitters were expressed in these portrait-like images. The reading of these compositions, in conjunction with conjugal double portraits, permits a reassessment of perceptions of marriage and love in sixteenth-century society.

² The comic works of Luigi Pulci (1432-1484), Bernardo Dovizi de Bibbiena (1470-1520), Lodovico Ariosto (1474-1533), Annibale Caro (1507-1566), Giovanmaria Cecci (1518-1587), the poetry of Francesco Berni (1497-1536), the satires of Anton Francesco Doni (1513-1574), Niccolò Franco (1515-1570), and Giovanni Battista Gelli (1498-1563), and the *novelle* of Agnolo Firenzuola (1493-1543) and Antonio Francesco Grazzini, called “il Lasca” (1503-1584) should be particularly noted. See also Paul Barolsky, *Infinite Jest*, 2, 8-9.

³ See Lodovico Dolce, *Parafrazsi nella sesta Satira di Giuvenale, Dialogo in cui si parla di che qualità si dee tor moglie, & del modo, che vi si ha a tenere, Epithalamio di Catulo nelle nozze di Peleo & di Theti* (Venice: Per Curtio Nauo e fratelli, 1538).
Viewing Amorous Lovers

Courtly Lovers

The pairing of lovers in a double-portrait mode stems from a long tradition of coupling in images of courtly love from the Middle Ages.⁴ The figures within medieval images are not portraits representing two specific individuals, per se, but instead primarily deal with two generalized characters in the play of love. Courtly depictions of lovers diverge from marriage portraits of specific individuals containing traditional wedlock symbols. They are of a more sensual nature, visually displaying desire as it unfolds in four stages. In the beginning stages of courtly love, the gaze plays a particularly active role, followed by the kiss, the embrace, and the ultimate consummation.⁵ Displayed in visual form in the Middle Ages, these images, as Michael Camille has explained, could provide the viewer with elaborate fantasies of sexual control, submission, and desire (inside, or more often outside, wedlock).⁶

One image in which the gaze is of central importance is an illuminated folio in Richard de Fournival’s Bestiaire d’Amour of c. 1290 (Fig. 3.1).⁷ In it, a man on a horse gazes up toward a woman in a tower. The gaze denotes longing and amorous intent.⁸ Another image painted on a casetta di sposa (bride’s box) by Domenico di Bartolo, the Declaration of Love, presents two full-length figures, an elegantly dressed woman facing a caped man (Fig. 3.2).⁹ They are connected by their gaze as well as a fluttering inscribed cloth between them.

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⁵ These are defined by Andreas Capellanus in his twelfth-century manuscript, De Amore. See Michael Camille, The Medieval Art of Love, 121.
⁷ Richard de Fournival (fl. 1246-1260), Bestiaire d’Amour, c. 1290, manuscript (written and illuminated in northern Italy), 270 x 202 mm., folio 28, Morgan Library, New York [Ms. M. 459].
⁹ Domenico di Bartolo, Declaration of Love, Bride’s box, location unknown.
The figures in this scene recall standard platonic lovers in troubadourial love poetry, which center on an ideal lady to whom the suitor addressed amorous courtesies in an emblematic language. The lady returned the honor by accepting the emblem of her platonic lover, adapting it to her own use.\(^{10}\) This form of etiquette is displayed in the image on Bartolo’s bridal box in which a lady accepts a banner as a love token and will also be seen in a different context, when poet and his beloved are united in one space by an artist later in this chapter.

To illustrate a page about love’s sorrow and specifically the phrase “S’amours” (If Love) in a late thirteenth-century *Chansonnier*, a pair of seated lovers rests on a bench in a garden setting (Fig. 3.3).\(^ {11}\) The woman is placed on the heraldic dexter, typical in courtly scenes (see Fig. 2.44), for she is in the power position as the male pursues her from the heraldic sinister. The couple intimately touches, as he places his hand on her shoulder and she rests hers on his thigh. The woman pets a rabbit and the man strokes a small white dog. Animals in medieval scenes often served as veiled symbols of sexual encounters. The kind of image that here reflects the content of the songbook became a pervasive way to represent love and desire in medieval European court life. In contrast to such courtly imagery, erotically composed couples were considered shameful if set within a religious backdrop, and such displays were intended as warnings for the public. On an apse corbel on the Romanesque Church of Cénac in Dordogne from the twelfth century, a couple stares outward with embarrassment, as they embrace one another with their legs intertwined (Fig.

\(^{10}\) See Aby Warburg, “*Delle Imprese Amorose*,” 79-88, and 331-9.  
\(^{11}\) Parisian artist, *A Lover with a Dog and a Lady with a Rabbit*, from Guillaume Machaut, “S'Amours” *Chansonnier*, Paris, c. 1280, Ms H196, fol. 270r, Bibliothèque Universitaire de Médecine, Montpellier.
This sculpture was placed next to one showing the mouth of Hell, reminding the couple of their future prospect.

Erotic imagery was suppressed in the Renaissance, perhaps due to Church pressure or decreased importance on chivalry. Gabriele Paleotti (1522-1597), Cardinal and Archbishop of Bologna, played a strong role in Tridentine reform. He cautioned against the acquisition of non-sacred images, indirectly increasing the market for religious painting. In so doing, his audience was perhaps inclined to other artistic purchasing including profane paintings. But, as Caroline Murphy has pointed out, there was still a rapidly growing taste for mythological and erotic subject matter. With the regulations imposed by the Council of Trent, many erotic images were removed from public display, but still exhibited in back rooms or in country villas. Earlier, Leon Battista Alberti had distinguished various types of paintings and appropriate contexts for their display in his On the Art of Building. He stated that

since painting, like poetry, can deal with various matters—some depict the memorable deeds of great princes, others the manners of private citizens, and still others the life of the simple farmer—those first, which are the most majestic, will be appropriate for public works and for the buildings of the most eminent individuals; the second should adorn the walls of private citizens, and the last will be particularly suitable for gardens, being the most lighthearted of them all.14

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12 French artist, Shameful Couple, twelfth century, apse corbel, Church of Cénac, Dordogne. This image relates to a popular medieval story repeated in sermons of a man and woman who had sex in a church and were punished by remaining stuck together “like dogs” for a whole year. See Michael Camille, The Medieval Art of Love, 18-19, fig. 10.


Renaissance images of Italian lovers range from depictions of scenes from novelle set in pastoral settings, to close-up images of lovers engaged in some activity or solely occupied with each other. Andrea Capellanus in Book One, called “Introduction to the Treatise of Love,” and Book Two, “On the Rules of Love,” of The Art of Courtly Love (c. 1174-1186), which was often read in Renaissance circles, connected sight with love. In Book One, Capellanus defined love as “a certain inborn suffering derived from the sight of and excessive meditation upon the beauty of the opposite sex, which causes each one to wish, above all things, the embraces of the other.” To him, love was equated with suffering: "before the love becomes equally balanced on both sides there is no torment greater, since the lover is always in fear that his love may not gain its desire."15 Love was prompted by vision. The eyes of lovers, causing and communicating love, became a Renaissance truism. The glance of lovers, expressive of longing, is playful, intense, and even dangerous when directed by one sitter toward the other, engaged mutually by both sitters or, when one figure gazes outward, tempting the viewer to become a voyeur to the scene.

The image of the Garden of Love became common in the thirteenth century and acquired new popularity in the Quattrocento, when it was often connected to classical and contemporary literary sources.16 The composition is visible on cassone panels, birth trays, and a number of decorative domestic objects.17 In these images, a well-placed tree, fountain, or well, centered in a natural and romantic place, is a key feature of an enclosed, well-kept

15 See Michael Camille, The Medieval Art of Love, 27.
17 Florentine artist, The Garden of Love, engraving; ES Maestro, Il Giardino d'Amore, engraving, Bartsch X, 53, 31; and Florentine artist, Garden of Love (recto), Game board (verso), c. 1370, desco da parto, Musée de la Chartreuse, Douai.
garden. Such a setting becomes an allegory of love, and a couple is normally shown frolicking in it. An image on the front of a birth tray from the 1400s shows a full-length couple embracing as they gaze into each other’s eyes and slowly glide into a garden of love (Fig. 3.5). The man subtly yet provocatively lifts the outer dress of the lady’s gown making this a covertly suggestive image. The man’s action of parting her dress could also craftily signify the anatomy of the woman’s body that he desires to open. Since the image was placed on a tray that was often covered by a cloth or food, its risqué quality was kept in a secret location of limited visual access. Such was often the case for lascivious paintings of this nature in the Renaissance. In his treatise Considerazioni sulla pittura (c. 1621), Giulio Mancini wrote that salacious images should be covered and placed in private chambers for selective exhibition.

The growth of the romantic tendency in art and literature of the sixteenth century perpetuated lover imagery, especially popular in Venice. Lovers were often easily placed in inherently sensuous pastoral landscapes. A prime example is the popular Hypnerotomachia

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19 Florentine artist, A Couple in the Garden of Love, detail from the recto of a desco da parto, 1400s, oil on panel, bequest of Professor Frank Jewett Mather, Jr., The Art Museum, Princeton University.
20 See Giulio Mancini, Considerazioni sulla pittura (c. 1621), ed. by Adriana Marucchi, (Rome: 1956), I: 143; and Jacqueline Marie Musacchio, The Art and Ritual of Childbirth in Renaissance Italy (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1999), 133.
21 Goldthwaite pointed out the connection between word and image which was encouraged by the Humanists. He stated that “the humanists enlarged the power of the image by incorporating them into their literary culture. They loaded images with complex ideas and the recognition of the power of the visual image to convince and to impress itself on the mind led with words to put ideas across, to readers and auditors. Following this course, painting aligned itself with literature; and once painting was admitted to this rhetorical culture of the imitative arts deeply steeped in intellectual activity that separated it from the mechanical arts and placed as a sister art to poetry.” See Richard A. Goldthwaite, Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy 1300-1600 (Baltimore/London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 146. Federico Zeri commented that “…alla decisa ripresa di interesse per la poesia d’amore e all’irrefrenabile investimento psicologico che le nuove generazioni affidano alla fuga verso l’Arcadia. Lo sforzo di adeguamento imposto agli artisti, e ai pittori in primo luogo, fu di riuscire a convogliare dentro un repertorio di immagini ormai canonizzato (tanto nel mito che nella pala sacra) un’esperienza emotiva che era già stata intravista dagli artisti stessi…il severo richiamo dell’umanesimo latiniante e archeologico aveva concilato.” See Federico Zeri, Storia dell’arte italiana, VI, no. 1 (Turin: Giulio Einaudi editore s.p.a., 1981), 69.
Poliphili, published in Venice in 1499, which drew on the theme of the Garden of Love, combining word and image as it included woodcut illustrations in this story of two lovers. In the text, the lover, Poliphilo, consummated his love for his beloved, Polia, in a dream: a fulfillment that was impossible in reality. Alberti even wrote a small treatise on love called Ecatoñiflea in c. 1429, which expressed the sweetness of love along with its sensual nature.22 Jacopo Sannazaro in his Arcadia, first printed in Venice in 1502, described the wanderings of a lovesick poet, Sincero, in a bucolic world after being disappointed by love and thereafter learning of his beloved’s death.23 Sincero’s lovelorn state is heightened by his encounter of shepherds who recite amorous songs. Pietro Bembo’s Gli Asolani of 1505 also focused on love. Written for the wedding of one of the ladies-in-waiting at the court of Caterina Cornaro in Asolo, the book was published in a small format, implying the intimate act of reading, and influenced paintings by Giorgione and Titian. It has been suggested that there was a mutually reinforcing development among Giorgione’s pastoral imagery, Bembo’s rural themes, and the madrigal, a short-free style sung eclogue.24

Painted cycles within palazzi often drew on popular romantic epics, such as Matteo Maria Boiardo’s Orlando inamorato (1494) and Lodovico Ariosto’s Orlando furioso (1516), which nostalgically recalled medieval chivalric literature for the Renaissance public.25 In the center

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22 See Leon Battista Alberti, Ecatoñiflea (c. 1429), in Opera Volgari, ed. by Cecil Grayson (Bari: 1973), 3:199. Two other early works by Alberti which deal with the virtues and failures of love are Amator (c. 1429) and Deiphira (c. 1429-34).

23 See Jacopo Sannazaro (1458-1530), Arcadia, written in the 1480s, first published in Venice in 1502 and Naples in 1504.


25 Orlando inamorato was written, but left incomplete, upon the death of the author, Matteo Maria Boiardo, in 1494. Lodovico Ariosto followed with his Orlando furioso in 1516. The characters in the stories have been connected to the noble Modenese family of the Este, which rose to power in medieval and Renaissance Italy, and perfectly positioned, they were the patrons of both writers. In Ariosto’s poem he explored varied responses to love and passion by his heroes. Orlando and Rodomonte reacted violently when they lost the
of the complex of Palazzo Besta (Teglio), the grand salon on the piano nobile depicts scenes of lovers from *Orlando furioso* (Fig. 3.6). Another image of an amorous scene taken from Pietro Aretino’s text is at Piazza Mascheroni in Bergamo, painted by an anonymous Bergamasque artist, in a style similar to Giovanni Cariani (Fig. 3.7). In it, the couple embraces in a passionate kiss. Additionally, the bedroom of the Palazzo Davanzati in Florence was frescoed with scenes drawn from a fourteenth-century Italian ballad taken, in turn, from a thirteenth-century French romance called *Chatelaine of Vergi* (Fig. 3.8). It is a tale with a tragic outcome, for all the main characters die except the Duke. Renaissance writers also took inspiration from their Roman predecessors, sometimes even imitating their prose. Ovid, who wrote on topics of love as in his *Ars Amatoria*, was a stimulus to lover imagery during this time. An illustrated reprinting and commentary, entitled *De arte amandi e remedio amoris cum commentario*, was published in 1521 (Fig. 3.9). Ovid’s tales were frequently interpreted visually in the Renaissance, as artists freely adapted the text to suit their imagery.

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26 Italian artist, *Scene from Orlando Furioso*, c. 1530, Palazzo Besta, Teglio. Another image taken from *Orlando furioso* is seen by Nicolò dell’Abate in painted scenes taken from the story in the Pinacoteca Nazionale in Bologna.


Giorgione is known for having painted cupboards, headboards, and coffers, usually with Ovidian stories, according to an account by Carlo Ridolfi in 1648.30

The translation of romantic themes from written text to visual form can be seen in Giorgione’s poesie. These images, focusing on mythological, amatory, and pastoral subjects, often included portrayals of lovers, frequently shown in plush landscapes.31 An example is La Tempesta, known for its ambiguous subject matter consisting of a man staring at a woman nursing a child in a stormy and dramatic natural setting (Fig. 3.10). The pastoral landscape contains a strange mix of classical architecture and rural buildings of the Venetian terrafirma.32 One interpretation connects the image to the romantic text of Hypnerotomachia Poliphili, identifying the man as the young hero Poliphilo encountering Venus as she nurses Eros.33 The details in the image, such as the broken columns, the appearance of the female figure, and the fantastical architecture, correspond to the episode in the text. The two columns in the foreground of the painting are suggestive also of a scene in the story when Poliphilo happens across two columns in ruin (Fig. 3.11).34 The very portrayal of two columns together could refer to a pair of lovers, for Petrarch frequently used the metaphor in his love poetry for Laura.35 In addition, the male figure on the left in The Tempest is dressed

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30 Remnants of such painted furniture pieces survive and were dispersed in various collections as little wood panels painted with allegorical and mythological scenes. One such Giorgionesque example is the painted wood panel, originally the cover of a box, in Washington’s National Gallery. See Giorgionesque Furniture painter, Venus and Cupid in a Landscape, c. 1510, furniture panel that once decorated the cover of a box, 11 x 20 cm, National Gallery of Art, Washington, mentioned in Clelia Alberici, Il Mobile Veneto (Milan: Electa, 1990), 58, fig. 69C.


32 Giorgione, The Tempest, oil on canvas, 82 x 79 cm, Gallerie dell’Accademia, Venice.


like a member of the Compagnia della Calza, which was a Venetian club for young unmarried men that organized feasts, banquets, and plays, often of an erotic nature. In a parallel to Giorgione’s secular poesie, the subject matter of Venetian theater was frequently secular and commended the virtues of rural life.\(^36\)

Titian followed this romantic tradition, as in his Venus and Organist in a Landscape, known in several versions (Fig. 3.12).\(^37\) The image is a far cry from medieval images of courtly love incorporating references to music, such as The Musicians, attributed to Tomaso da Modena, in which the artist drew an exemplary, full-length, fully clothed seated woman facing a similarly styled man playing a lute (Fig. 3.13).\(^38\) By contrast, sixteenth-century images, like Titian’s Venus and the Organist, were more eroticized, and the individuals appeared more tangible to the audience by the artist’s painterly style and their placement within contemporary household surroundings.\(^39\) The Madrid version of the composition shows Venus in a more domesticated manner, accompanied by a dog. The musician serenades the reclining goddess, sitting close to her feet at the end of the bed. He gazes upon her as she remains aloof. In the background are fountains with satyrs on them, symbols of

\(^36\) It was pointed out first by Sandra Moschini Marconi (Galleria dell’Accademia di Venezia [Rome: 1962]); and Jaynie Anderson, Giorgione: The Painter of ‘Poetic Brevity’ (Paris/New York: Flammarion, 1997), 168.

\(^37\) In the first three paintings of this series, the musician plays an organ, while in the last two paintings the musician plays a lute. Other amorous portrayals of lovers in pastoral landscapes are Titian’s Three Ages of Man, Jan van Campen’s engraved Lovers in a Landscape after Titian’s painting, Dosso Dossi’s Three Ages of Man, and Palma Vecchio’s Venus, Mars, and Cupid.

\(^38\) Tomaso da Modena (1325/6-1379), The Musicians, sketchbook, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

\(^39\) Titian, Venus and the Organist with a Dog, without Cupid in a Bedroom in a Landscape, 1545-48, Museo del Prado, Madrid [420]; and Titian, Venus and the Organist with Cupid in a Loggia with Landscape, Staatliche Museen, Berlin. The Berlin version shows Venus accompanied by Cupid. Gilles Congnet produced an image that has been considered a Mars and Venus, located in the ex-collection of Hans Kisters (Kreuzlingen), but it is quite congruous or perhaps copied after the Titian version. Representations of reclining nude women could have also been utilized to stimulate procreation. For in Boccaccio’s Decameron, the viewing of a nude woman helped encourage marriage. On the fifth day in the storyline, Cymon, abusive to his parents, loathing education and disinterested in women, saw a naked sleeping beauty near a fountain with her body only slightly clothed in a diaphanous garment. This experience changed his life and after contemplating the event, he committed to marriage with Iphigenia.
lasciviousness that underscore the eroticism of the image (Fig. 3.14).40 Such scenes could also have special resonance for specific individuals. It has been proposed, for example, that in the Madrid version of the Venus and Musician series, the figures are portraits for they bear individualized features.41 The musician, especially, has often been thought of as a contemporary portrait. Rona Goffen suggested that he was a portrait of Philip II of Spain (Titian’s patron). In the background, a couple walks up a pathway, in perhaps another image of the same amorous couple. Titian secularizes Venus in this image, as well as in others, by de-mythologizing her as she becomes a contemporary woman offering herself to the man as well as the beholder in a domestic setting.42

Pairs Playing Games

Lovers conversing and playing intimate games pervade Renaissance imagery. The throwing of balls or movement of chess pieces by a couple allude to one physically touching the other or the longing to touch, thus, such images are allegories of desire. An engraving from the fifteenth century shows lovers in a circular composition equipped with a large basket of apples that they throw at each other (Fig. 3.15).43 The figures stand in a flower garden, at the center of which is a circle of balls, probably alluding to the Medici family, if not more specifically identifying the couple as Medici. The golden apples are symbols of Venus, taken from the story of the Judgment of Paris, a quite apropos allusion for this lover scene. A similar theme is evident in a fragment of a fresco from the Museo Bardini in Florence, which illustrates a profiled couple gesticulating and intensely conversing in close proximity.

40 Brendel has suggested that they allude to the senses of sight and hearing. However, Barolsky has argued that they are not of a Neoplatonic spirit but seem more in line with the playful and vulgar writings of Pietro Aretino and his circle. See O. Brendel, “The interpretation of the Holkham Venus,” Art Bulletin XXVII (1946), 65-75; and Paul Barolsky, Infinite Jest, 169.
42 The dagger that the musician wears around his waist is similar in style to one owned by Philip II. See Rona Goffen, Titian’s Women (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), 159.
43 See Arthur Hind, Early Italian Engravings (London: National Gallery of Art, 1948), no. A IV, 10, pl. 139.
proximity (Fig. 3.16). This fresco was probably inspired by scenes similar to the two larger narrative cycles from about 1440 located in the Casa Borromeo in Milan and the Villa Borromeo at Orena which focused on secular imagery. In these secular cycles, men and women play cards and ball games and hunt together.

Lover imagery becomes more specifically relevant to the sixteenth-century public when it moves from depictions of generic figures in medieval and early Renaissance imagery to representations of contemporary, sometimes recognizable, individuals at play. A scene of a couple playing chess or another board game became an allegory for strategies of seduction, a tactic that first appeared in medieval images, as evident in a depiction of a man and woman playing chess on a carved ivory mirror case of c. 1320. In a fresco cycle, based on Chatelaine of Vergi, located in the bedroom of the Florentine Palazzo Davanzati, mentioned earlier, a deceptive duchess attempts to seduce Guglielmo, the loyal courtier of her husband the duke (Fig. 3.17). The young courtier stays true to his secret love, the “donna of vergiù,” but in the poem he is being seduced by the wicked duchess over a chessboard near her bedchamber. In the frescoed scene, the transgressive couple plays a game of chess, that serves as a prelude to the Duchess’ failed attempt of seduction.

Gaming couples continued to be incorporated into imagery in the sixteenth century. The display of the couple, however, became a more tightly focused composition and not just

44 Veronese artist, Conversation Scene, c. 1400, fragment of a fresco, Museo Bardini, Florence.
45 The surviving secular wall cycle in the Casa Borromeo was divided between its location in situ in the palace complex and in part was moved also to the Rocca dei Borromeo (Angera). The Borromeo archives were sadly destroyed in 1943, but it is known from payment accounts that painters worked there in 1445-46. The secular wall cycle in Orena is similar in design to the ones in Milan. See Andrew Martindale, Painting the Palace: Studies in the History of Medieval Secular Painting (London: The Pindar Press, 1995), 7; C. Baroni and S. Samek Ludovici, La pittura lombarda del Trecento e Quattrocento (Messina-Florence: 1952, 67-73); S. Matalon and F. Mazzini, Affreschi del Trecento e Quattrocento in Lombardia (Milan: 1958); and G. Consoli, I ‘Giuocchi’ Borromeo ed il Pisanello (Milan 1966).
46 Parisian artist, The Chess Game of Love, c. 1320, ivory mirror case, 4 ¼” (10.8 cm) diam., Musée du Louvre, Paris.
47 Italian artist, Chatelaine of Vergi, detail of Chess and Seduction, late 1400s, fresco, Palazzo Davanzati, Florence.
an element of a larger cycle.\textsuperscript{48} The images, however, are still allusions to an erotic dialogue. In a \textit{Game of Chess} (c. 1530) attributed to Sofonisba Anguissola, an elaborately dressed woman on the right sits at a table playing a game of chess with a soldier.\textsuperscript{49} She turns her head, apparently to take advice from a fool in the lower right corner of the painting, as she moves a piece across the game board. A man in armor who stands in front of the table facing the match, turns his back to the viewer and displays a sword. Several onlookers crowd into the scene, which becomes a game of sensuality and power control between the virile soldier equipped with his sword and the responsive, provocative woman.

The action of playing a board game literally separates the genders across the playing field, and becomes an allusion to temptation, conquest, domination, and sexualized exchange between the sexes. In \textit{A Couple Playing a Game} (c. 1550) attributed to Moretto da Brescia, a man and woman, perhaps portraits of real individuals, are isolated in the same space against a dark background as they play Backgammon (Fig. 3.18).\textsuperscript{50} The man, placed on the heraldic

\textsuperscript{48} The story of the \textit{Chatelaine of Vergi} from Boccaccio’s \textit{Decameron} is set in the garden of a villa, where a man and woman play chess. In \textit{Hypnerotomachia Poliphili} of 1499, the author described a game of chess where nymphs became the game-pieces. The late fourteenth-century romance, \textit{The Chess of Love}, tells of a couple playing chess in a garden of love, related to courtship. See Patricia Simons, “(Check)Mating the Grand Masters: The Gendered Sexualized Politics of Chess in Renaissance Italy,” \textit{Oxford Art Journal} 161 (1993), 59.

\textsuperscript{49} Attributed to Sofonisba Anguissola (possibly, Giulio Campi), \textit{Game of Chess}, c. 1530, oil on canvas, 90 x 127 cm, Museo Civico di Arte Antica, Palazzo Madama, Turin. It was in the Venetian collection of Filippo Giordano delle Lanze till 1970, whereupon it was possibly located at the Dortheum in Vienna or in the Nigro collection in Genoa. See Adriano Chicco, “Il gioco degli scacchi del Museo Civico di Torino,” \textit{L’Italia Scacchistica} 68 (1978), 197; Roberto Longhi, “Antologia di Artisti: Indicazioni per Sofonisba Anguissola,” \textit{Paragone} 157 (1963), 50-2; and Giulio Bora, \textit{I Campi e la cultura artistica Cremonesa del Cinquecento} (Milan: Electa, 1985), 133. Bora dated the painting to about 1546, suggesting that its theme was love conquering war. While the woman with the rose is Venus, the armored man signifies Mars, and together they provide a moralizing message to newlyweds. See Turin, Galleria Civica d’Arte Moderna, \textit{I Musei Civici di Torino. Acquisti e Doni 1966-1970}, cat. by Luigi Mallè (1970), 28, pls. 32-4.

\textsuperscript{50} Attributed to Moretto da Brescia (possibly a Cremonese artist), \textit{A Couple Playing a Game}, c. 1550, once Cini Collection, Venice. The painting was probably given to a family member and its location now unknown. There is a photograph in the Fototeca Fondazione Cini, Venice. Another image of a couple playing a game of chess is attributed to Lorenzo Costa or Amico Aspertini. It shows a dignified couple playing a game of chess in a pastoral landscape. The man on the heraldic right stares intently at the chess game, while the woman in profile, looks back at him. A tree is centered in the middle of the composition and almost seems to be blooming from the game table. Two dogs, the pets of the couple, mimic the stances of their masters. See Lorenzo Costa or Amico Aspertini, attributed to, \textit{Two Chess Players}, Private Collection, Paris (once Griggs Collection New York), reproduced in Raimond van Marle, \textit{Iconographie de l’art profane au Moyen-Age et à la Renaissance} (The Hague:
right, looks over at the woman as he gesticulates toward her. After making a move, she looks cautiously up at her male companion. While the image might symbolize an erotic exchange, it also suggests an instructional purpose as the man is perhaps “teaching” the woman. Such an exchange evokes similar themes as the popular writings on marriage discussed in the previous chapter which described the role of a husband as a teacher to his young bride. One sixteenth-century text, *Rimedio de Giuocatori* (1561), claimed that chess is not only a leisure sport, but also an educational tool.\(^{51}\) Representations of gaming couples develop from more generic characters to an increasingly individualized nature, setting the lovers in a play of gendered power in one space.

**The Poet and his Lady Love**

Leonardo claimed that the painter’s “very effigy of the beloved” could “inflame men with love” so that “the lover often kisses and speaks to the picture,” reiterating well-known stories by famous poets such as Petrarch and Dante of an artist painting his or the poet’s beloved.\(^{52}\) The written word becomes inspiration, fully realized in painted form. Dante had his Beatrice, as Petrarch spoke of his Laura. The connection between poet and beloved is visualized on a page of an illuminated manuscript in which full-length figures of a poet and his lady are placed in an enclosed flowering garden (Fig. 3.19).\(^{53}\) When the beloved was not present, artists recreated her in painted form. In the imaginations of Renaissance

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viewers, portraits were the focus of animated speech and kissing. Petrarch’s Laura was known to have been painted by Simone Martini so the poet could have a physical portrayal of his beloved, and artists also began to represent the two together in the double-portrait idiom.

A painting attributed to Dosso Dossi, *Dante and His Beloved*, portrays the half-length couple within a single frame (Fig. 3.20). Dante, wearing his traditional laurel wreath, faces forward as he holds a stringed instrument, gazing to his left at a woman in profile. The couple is lost in their own interaction and indifferent to the viewer, who is separated from them by a parapet. In a similar manner, an image identified as *Poet and a Muse* in London shows a man embracing a woman (Fig. 3.21). The bust-length couple exchanges a tender embrace, not acknowledging the onlooker’s presence. The woman has flowers in her hair, specifically jasmine, a sprig of which is also held by the man who puts his arm around his lady companion. With its *di sotto in su* perspective and sky-like background, the composition is meant to be seen from below, and in a manner akin to another work by Dosso, a decorative frieze of similar couples surrounding the grand stairway of the Castello del Buonconsiglio at Trent (1532). The decorative scheme of the Castello as a whole was the

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55 Dosso Dossi, *Dante and His Beloved*, 1500s, Banca Toscana Collection, Florence.

56 Dosso Dossi, *Poet and Muse (A Man Embracing A Woman)*, c. 1520, National Gallery, London [1234]. The theme of a poet embracing a muse has been rejected recently in the Gallery’s catalogues. Yet, it does not dismiss the interest in amorous pairing. See New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Dosso Dossi: Court Painter in Renaissance Ferrara*, exh. cat. by Peter Humfrey and Mauro Lucco (1998).

57 Dosso Dossi, *Poet and Muse*, oil on panel, 53 x 75 cm, National Gallery, London [1234]. It was considered Fiametta and Boccaccio and attributed to Giorgione in the nineteenth century, believed to come from the Palazzo Borghese in Rome. See London, National Gallery, *Collection Catalogue*, cat. by Cecil Gould (1962), 81, Car. 1234; A. Mezzetti, “Le ‘Storie di Enea’ del Dosso nel ‘camerino d’alabastro’ di Alfonso I d’Este,” *Paragone* 189 (1965), 48, 93; and Felton Gibbons, *Dosso and Battista Dossi: Court Painters at Ferrara* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), 184, Cat. 33, fig. 56. Jadranka Bentini has suggested that this *Poet and Muse* belonged to the scheme of the grand tondo on the ceiling of the Camera del Poggio in the Castello Estense of Ferrara along with a *Laughing Youth* now in the Fondazione Roberto Longhi, Florence. The doors in the room were
visual statement of the patron, Cardinal Bernardo Clesio. In his frieze, Dosso painted pairs of ewes, between which were oblong ovoid panels, simulating windows, where he depicted pairs of busts against a blue sky. Felton Gibbons speculated that these courtly figures represent pairs of poets, or poets and muses, or perhaps Ariostan couples, or genre figures.

In one example, the double-portrait mode is used to show a frontal bust-length couple turning their heads to look at one another as their bodies overlap (Fig. 3.22). In the right corner rests an armored helmet, reminiscent of the type seen on armorial devices.

Dosso’s imagery reveals its debt to Giorgione in the use of idyllic landscapes that incorporate illusionistic and antique elements. In his Vite, Vasari mentioned Dosso and his connection also to the poet Ariosto by stating:

Heaven had limited mute painting to form and left poetry to its reasonings, without giving the marvelous artifices of the brush to the pen or forming pictorially the inventions of poetry. But finally, in order to join brush and pen, Ferrara was given Ludovico Ariosto, Il Divino, and at about the same time, the painter Dosso.

Once again the artist connects with the poet and subsequently creates images of amorous coupling. Petrarch wrote that “the image of the beloved is light and mirror,” providing inspiration for the poet. In two of Petrarch’s sonnets, the poet praised Simone Martini’s likeness of her.

Laura’s beauty is such as to be beyond the reach of all the greatest artists the world has ever known…the work is such as could only be imagined in heaven; for the imperfections of human existence ensure that no mortal eye or mortal experience could capture such perfection. Simone Martini went to Paradise to retrieve a real and quite specific

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probably decorated by varie teste antiche e moderne de sculptore. See Jadranka Bentini, “From Ercole I to Alfonso I: New Discoveries about the Camerini in the Castello Estense of Ferrara,” Dosso’s Fate: Painting and Court Culture in Renaissance Italy, ed. by Luisa Ciammitti, Steven F. Ostrow and Salvatore Settis (London: The Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1998), 362.


59 See Felton Gibbons, Dosso and Battista Dossi: Court Painters at Ferrara, 63.

likeness of a particular person.\textsuperscript{61}

In another sonnet, Petrarch relayed that his attention was fixed on a specific person, Laura, and not just the concepts of beauty or womankind in general. When he spoke to the Portrait of Laura made by Simone Martini, he wrote, she seemed to listen and her expression gave him peace. Yet, he was also frustrated by the painted portrait of Laura, for she could not reply to his supplications.

Neo-Petrarchian poets of the sixteenth century actually changed Petrarch’s one-sided communication, allowing contemporary portraits of beautiful women to come alive and converse with the beholder, therefore uniting the beloved with the poet.\textsuperscript{62} For I Cicognara, Storia della Scultura da Suo Risorgimento (Venice, 1823), Giuseppe Dala made an engraved image of Laura, modeled on Giorgione’s painted version (Fig. 3.23).\textsuperscript{63} Below the portrait-like image of Laura in the print, the beloved is represented with the poet in one space, suggesting their conversive relationship. In an earlier woodcut from 1544 included in a book of Petrarchian prose, the poet was also united with his beloved in the double-portrait format (Fig. 3.24).\textsuperscript{64} Here, the two characters are in profile facing one another, framed by a cornice which represents a funerary urn. The effigy of Laura is on the heraldic dexter and she is flanked by her suitor, Petrarch, on the heraldic left, in a manner recalling courtly positioning. The “likenesses” of the poet and his beloved derive from their visages in miniatures. Yet, the

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[61] See Petrarch, Sonnet, CCLXXI.
\item[62] See Andrew Martindale, Painting the Palace: Studies in the History of Medieval Secular Painting (London: The Pindar Press, 1995), 105-106. One such example of a sixteenth-century conversation between beloved and possessor is in Antonio Brocardo’s sonnet in which he conversed with a marble lady stating that “she speaks with me, and I with her.” The marble lady becomes a prosopopoeia (i.e. the fiction of an apostrophe to an absent, deceased, or voiceless entity, which posits the possibility of the latter’s reply and confers upon it the power of speech).
\item[63] Giorgione, Portrait of a Woman, Laura, dated 1506, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. An engraved version which parallels the image by Giuseppe Dala is one by Raphael Morghe after an engraving of Benvenuto. See Young Woman as Laura, National Gallery of Art, Washington DC.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
innovation of placing the poet with his beloved in a double-portrait idiom is seen only here, and is perhaps symptomatic of the increasing popularity of double portraits in the sixteenth century. The double-portrait format might also have been selected as a reflection of Petrarch’s sonnets of her. The inscription under the double portrayal of Petrarch and Laura states “sopra le ceneri del Petrarca e di Laura,” uniting the pair also in textual form. Their placement together as a double portrait on an urn, a funerary symbol, might also allude to the poet’s sixth Triumph, in which Eternity conquers Time, hence assuring that Petrarch would be united at last with Laura in the afterlife. The popularity of portrayals of Petrarch and Laura together is also suggested by a Bolognese inventory of the 1570s, which listed a painting of the couple among other images contained in the house of Alessio Orsi.

The humorous story of Aristotle and Phyllis took a moralizing tone, signaling a lesson to be learned. Instead of the platonic kind of love embodied by Beatrice and Laura, Phyllis aroused carnal, erotic urges, leading Aristotle to crawl on all fours to her bedroom. In a Florentine engraving from the fifteenth century, the poet and his beloved are presented as worthy of ridicule (Fig. 3.25). In the center of the circular composition, Phyllis rides on Aristotle’s back. Below them, the figure of Venus reclines, erotically facing the viewer in a flowering landscape with two cupid-like figures. Two full-length figures stand on both sides

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65 It was in the property inventory of Alessio Orsi from 1574 which listed “An Agony in the Garden, a painting of the Pietà, two Annunciations, fourteen unnamed various paintings, a portrait of himself, six other portraits, and showing the relative eclecticism of his taste, a painting of Petrarch and Laura, as well as three Flemish pastoral scenes. See 27 Ottobre 1574. Tutela et inventario dell’eredità del Mag. S. Alessio dell’Orsi, nella S. Sulpitia del Co. Gimilano Pèpili sua moglie.” Archivio Orsi, Istrumenti 135, No. 7, ASB, cited in Caroline P. Murphy, “The Market for Pictures in Post-Tridentine Bologna,” in Marchello Fantoni, Louisa C. Matthew, Sara F. Matthews-Grieco, eds., The Art Market in Italy 15th-17th Centuries (Il Mercato dell’Arte in Italia. Sec. XV-XVII (Ferrara: Franco Cosimo Panini Editore, 2003), 45.

66 Florentine artist, Aristotle and Phyllis in a Roundel, Surrounded by a Border with a Youth and a Girl, with Cupid, and a Naked Woman, Venus, with Two Cupids, 1465-80, engraving. One of the children blows a straight conical horn like a short trumpet. See Arthur Hind, Early Italian Engravings, A.IV. 20, pl. 140; and Raimond van Marle, Iconographie de l’art profane au Moyen-Age et à la Renaissance (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1933), I, 31, fig. 514. Other Italian portrayals of this scene include Leonardo da Vinci, The Ride of Aristotle, drawing (Kunsthalle, Hamburg); Italian artist, The Ride of Aristotle, 1500s, Bronze (Musée du Louvre, Paris); and a print done after an image by Rosso Fiorentino.
of the central scene. On the proper right, the elegantly-dressed Phyllis is flanked on the other side by a figure often identified as the young Alexander, struck by the arrow of Eros, who is portrayed above. More likely, however, is the theory that these two figures represent a contemporary couple. The poet’s quest to speak of and converse with his ideal beloved has, in this instance as in others, become lascivious, and the man made a fool when platonic love is turned to erotic *amore*.

**Erotic coupling**

More explicit sexual images of couples than those discussed above were a popular undercurrent in Renaissance culture. Pliny the Elder commented on such images in his own time, stating that “the enticements of the vices have augmented even art: it has pleased us to engrave scenes of licence upon our goblets, and to drink through the midst of obscenities.”67 Lascivious images were put into popular printed form in the sixteenth century by Marcantonio Raimondi, who published *I modi* in the 1520s with illustrations after the drawings by Giulio Romano and lewd sonnets by Pietro Aretino. Giulio Romano’s now destroyed drawings of *I Modi* carried the erotic and libidinous genre fashionable in Rome to Northern cities, like Mantua, and around Italy, by Raimondi’s now lost series. They are known through woodcut versions based on the engraved designs, accompanied by Pietro Aretino’s *Sonetti Lussoriosi*. The desire to obtain these images and others like them remained, even though the church rebuked their subject matter. Sometimes in order to make eroticized images of this sort more appropriate or acceptable, the figures within these compositions were transformed from base contemporary figures to frolicking gods and goddesses, such as in Renaissance images of the “loves of the gods.”68 However, more sordid images still permeated the culture. In a red chalk drawing by Michelangelo, *Intertwined Lovers*, the bodies

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68 As mentioned later, allegorical double portraits of contemporaries are in the guise of gods and goddesses.
of a full-length nude couple are entangled (Fig. 3.26). The slung-leg motif, as Leo Steinberg has discussed, was a direct sexual metaphor. In Michelangelo’s drawing, the female figure propped on top of the male figure twists toward her male counterpart, with her right leg wrapped over the right leg of the man.

Representations of the game of desire were sometimes set in the bedroom. The Florentine painter Giovanni di San Giovanni, for example, depicted a woman walking to her marriage bed in chopines, delicately stepping towards her disrobed husband who awaits her with open arms in a painting from the 1400s. Although this painting represents a seemingly honest bride, she is represented in an extremely sexual situation. Giulio Romano, along with his drawings of I Modi, also portrayed a nude couple entwined in bed in his painted version of Two Lovers of 1523-24 (Fig. 3.27). Despite its size and pictorial quality, this work fits within the erotic genre. Its subject matter is couched under the historical title of

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69 Michelangelo Buonarroti, Intertwined Lovers, c. 1510, sanguine on beige paper, 27.7 x 19.3 cm, Musée Bonnat, Bayonne [123]. This is the first drawing bought by Léon Bonnat in 1880. See Bayonne, Musée Bonnat, Les dessins italiens de la collection Bonnat, cat. by Jacob Bean (Paris: Éditions des Musées nationaux, 1960), Cat. 66 [CNN35]. The attribution to Michelangelo was questioned by Morelli and Berenson. However, Johannes Wilde and Jacob Bean considered it autograph.

70 Leo Steinberg believed that High Renaissance artists revived an antique symbolic form, wherein divine, mystic, or sacred marriage (hieros gamos) is indicated by one partner’s leg slung over the lap or thigh of the other. The “slung leg” motif…He further commented that by pointing to Michelangelo’s concept of the Pietà in Florence as a sacred-divine spousalizing employing the symbolism of the slung leg to intimate Mary’s union with the crucified Savior. See Leo Steinberg, “Michelangelo’s Florentine Pietà: The Missing Leg,” Art Bulletin L (1968), 343-353; and “Michelangelo’s Florentine Pietà: The Missing Leg Twenty Years After,” Art Bulletin LXXI, no. 3 (September 1989), 480-505. Frederick Hartt continued this train of thought by stating that “the now-missing left leg over the Virgin’s left knee was an attribute of sexual possessiveness [in the Florentine Pietà]…examples prior to Michelangelo show a leg thrown over the knee of another in such manner that the foot is free from the ground and points toward the observer…the toes of the foot rested on the ground…[would indicate] the leg is that of a dead person and was not thrown, but sank, into this position…” See Frederick Hartt, Michelangelo’s Three Pietàs (New York: 1975), 86-87. John Pope-Hennessy also mentioned the “slung leg motif” as an outright carnality and connected it to a vast medieval tradition concerning the erotic associations of Christ and the Magdalene. See John Pope-Hennessy, Italian High Renaissance and Baroque Sculpture (New York: 1985), I, 329. Howard Hibbard commented on Michelangelo’s “slung leg” motif in stating that the implications of the slung leg over Mary’s thigh may have become too overtly sexual for Michelangelo to tolerate. See Howard Hibbard, Michelangelo (New York: 1974), 284.

71 Giovanni di San Giovanni, Bedroom Scene, 1400s, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.

Alexander and Roxana, but lacks a clear connection to that story. Such images were popular among Pietro Aretino’s often bawdy literary crowd.\footnote{On the bed frame, there is a relief decoration of a satyr making love to a woman.} Later in the century, Nicoló dell’Abate also portrayed an amorous couple in an intense embrace, probably from a lower class, though fully clothed, in his drawn composition of the Innamorati (Fig. 3.28).\footnote{Nicolo dell’Abate, Innamorati, Galleria Estense, Modena. He is known for also portraying scenes from romantic novels such as Ariosto’s Orlando furioso, as in an illustration now in the Musée du Louvre, Paris as well as images of Cupid and Psyche in bed. See Nicolo dell’Abate, Cupid and Psyche, drawing, once Knoedler, New York. Another example of this imagery is by Parmigianino who drew Two Lovers. See Parmigianino, Two Lovers, from the Mariette Scrapbook of Parmigianino, Metropolitan Museum of Art [BXVI 14.14]. Images of this sort were not just popular in the sixteenth century, but an undercurrent of this interest extends back even to medieval imagery as seen in The Kiss, attributed to Tomaso da Modena in a manuscript from the fourteenth century. See Attributed to Tomaso da Modena, The Kiss, 1300s, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.} The course humor and witty conversations at court, related in Castiglione’s The Courtier (1528), Della Casa’s Galateo (1558), Romei’s Discorsi (Venice: 1585), and Stefano Guazzo’s La Civil Conversazione (1574), were socially pervasive by the sixteenth century. A connection between portraiture and a lovers’ scene is visible in the ensemble of the anonymous Portrait of a Man, covered by a tympanum illustrating A Pair of Lovers in an Interior from the sixteenth century (Fig. 3.29).\footnote{Anonymous Netherlandish or German Artist, A Pair of Lovers in an Interior (timpanum) of Portrait of a Man, recto, Staatliche Museen, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin. The intertwining legs of the standing nude couple recalls the same motif used in Michelangelo’s Entwined Couple mentioned earlier.} Signs of erotic behavior in these romantic scenes were translated into more isolated compositions of pairs of lovers arranged in the double-portrait mode, further suggesting the romantic predilection of sixteenth-century society.

**Paired Lovers in the Double Portrait Idiom**

The Renaissance interest in images of lovers as seen in pastoral or bedroom settings made its way into the portrait genre with portraits of lovers, often called amants portraits in modern scholarship. These portraits display lovers in a more straightforward, close-up to the picture plane approach, much like marital double portraits, yet in a less than decorous...
The portrayal of a man and woman in a single portrait-like space differs from conjugal portraits when the constraints and specific occasion of marriage representations are removed from the equation. One *amants portrait* which teeters between a formal marriage portrait and an image of lovers is by the German Master of the Housebook of 1484 (Fig. 3.30). This Northern example was once considered a betrothal portrait since it contains traditional symbols of matrimony, such as the exchange of a precious object and the use of a crown of flowers. It is, however, an expression of love without the marital component, for it shows a man with his concubine. The patron presumably requested the matrimonial iconography to send a message of formal unity that he wanted to promote, if falsely.

The sensual manner of *amants portraits* were sometimes masked by Renaissance conventions. These images project a couple in half-length and even full-length formats, much like matrimonial double portraits. Yet, they take on a more seductive quality, indicating their deviation from convention. *Amants portraits* were rarer than marriage portraits, perhaps because they lacked a link to a particular occasion. However, they were produced throughout Northern Europe and Italy. Lover portraits were particularly popular in the Veneto and in Northern Italy, stimulated by the popularity of romantic literature and art in those regions. While courtly and sensual compositions render generalized characters acting out erotic desires, *amants portraits* differ through their attempt to capture a sense of realistic “likenesses,” bringing them into the realm of portraiture. This credible portrayal meant that *amants portraits* could also more effectively engage the viewer. The beholder could

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76 Alfonso Ruspagniari’s *Portrait of a Woman and an Onlooker* (see Fig. 1.10) has various interpretations with one suggesting a lover’s context, though the presentation could also suggest two spouses. See M. Jones, *The Art of the Medal* (London, 1979), 64, repro. 48; and See Washington, National Gallery of Art, *Renaissance Medals, volume one, Italy* (2007), cat. by John Graham Pollard, 523, Cat. 519, repro.

77 Master of the Housebook, *The Uncourteful Lovers*, southern Germany, c. 1484, tempera on panel, Gotha Museum. It is a portrait of Count Philip von Hanau-Munzenberg (1449-1500) and his concubine Margret Weiszkircher.

associate his/her longings with those of the individual sitters through the sheer act of viewing.

Amants portraits as well as the eroticized imagery from sixteenth-century Italy often shed the satirical or moralizing tone that pervaded images of lovers in Northern Europe, such as those by Lucas Cranach, Hans Burgkmair, or the prints of the Housebook Master, not to mention writings such as Erasmus’s *In Praise of Folly* (1509). As mentioned previously, the representation of an amorous couple flanking the door of the Church of Cénac in Dordogne was meant to warn against the kind of indecorous behavior they exhibited (see Fig. 3.4). A similar example is the late fifteenth-century wooden full-length portrayal of a couple, called *Lovers on the Street*, from the Adams House in Angers (Fig. 3.31).\(^7\) Here, lovers in contemporary garb jut out into the Place Sainte Croix. The man pushes his long leg out in front of his lover as he grasps her hand. An overly long sword, clearly a sexual pun, hangs from the belt of the male lover, serving as his attribute. The work was meant to illustrate the dangers of love. In Italy, by contrast, warnings to control one’s erotic passions are seen through more generalized references, as in an engraving of unbridled horses by an artist working in the Veneto in the fifteenth century. In this work, spirited horses pull a cart in which two lovers sit, as two men run after the cart in an attempt to gain control of the situation (Fig. 3.32).\(^8\) It is a metaphor, once again, for the perils of indulging in base passions.

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\(^7\) See Michael Camille, *The Medieval Art of Love*, 162-63, fig. 148.

\(^8\) Veneto artist, *Allegory of “Taming of the Passions,”* niello, 52 x 61 cm. It is known only through an impression which appeared in the Gutekunst sale in Stuttgart, May 1, 1899, lot 1291. A handwritten note of a copy of the catalogue in the Frick Art Reference Library reads “Grandi,” suggesting that it was purchased by the Milanese print dealers Fratelli Grandi. See Arthur Hind, *Early Italian Engravings* (1948) V, 305, Cat. 51. A similar image of unruly horses, entitled “The Taming of the Passions,” is in Bocchi’s *Symbolicae quaestiones*. 
Images of Northern lovers emphasize amorous meetings with lusty intentions, as in Berhard Strigel’s drawing, *Two Lovers* (Fig. 3.33). This work was influenced by a series of twelve prints done in the late 1490s after compositions by Israhel van Meckenem, which depict various peasant couples with banderoles above their heads. In Strigel’s image, the couple directly faces the viewer in three-quarter length. The woman taunts the viewer with her gaze, while the man’s attention is focused on the woman. He gently wraps his left arm around her waist and touches her bosom with his right hand. A banderole to the upper right has an inscription interpreted as “he caresses her gently.” The lusty Northern representations take on sensual, yet a more portrait-like manner in Italian imagery of the same time period.

*Amants portraits* normally exude similar sensuality through various elements within the pictorial composition: positioning, mannerisms, dress, eye contact, and setting. The gestures and symbols in this type of double portrayal allude to the theme of seduction; crossed legs, overlapping arms, and intimate bodily contact were read by their contemporaries as allusions to the intertwining of lovers, and correspond closely to the elements in popular erotic images of the sixteenth century mentioned earlier (see Figs. 2.44-2.46). Sensual caresses by both genders and exposure of bare flesh typify *amants portraits*. Many of these incorporated the theme of dangerous female power, which, in the Renaissance, was often associated with female sexuality. The portrayal of a disheveled woman, such as with unbound or unruly hair, indicated a more risqué treatment of the portrait subject. Instead of presenting an ideal nude or an elegantly dressed lady, a woman might appear more provocative with her *camicia*

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81 Bernhard Strigel (c. 1460/61-1528), *Two Lovers*, pen and black ink, heightened with white and some yellow on reddish-brown prepared paper, 7 11/16 x 6 7/8 in (195 x 175 mm). See New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, *European Drawings 1375–1825*, cat. by Cara D. Denison, Helen B. Mules and Jane V. Shoaf (1981), 37-38, Cat. 10, repro. Gertrud Otto has suggested that this sheet was close to a drawing by the artist in Berlin called *A Pair of Unequal Lovers with the Devil and Cupid*, dated 1502. See Gertrud Otto, *Bernhard Strigel* (Munich: 1964), 30, Cat. 96, pl. 162.

or white undergarment exposed, highly suggestive of a more intimate relationship. It would be “read” as if she was in the process of dressing, or, rather, undressing. Such women were negative foils to the decorous female subjects of marriage double portraits.

The binary opposites of male and female constructed by Aristotle, which, as discussed, were influential in the Renaissance, included the qualities of vocality for a man and silence for a woman. The decorum established by this dichotomy inflects conjugal double portraits in which the man often gesticulates, indicating his speaking voice, while the woman’s still behavior shows her in proper silence (see Figs 2.72, 2.73, and 2.74). By contrast, amorous literary and visual conventions alter the lady’s role and behavior. The poet gives her voice and the artist portrays her accordingly. Amants portraits follow suit, allowing the woman to become a more active participant through gestures or parted lips suggesting speech.

The gaze of the two sitters toward the beholder in amants portraits is also often altered from conjugal double portraits. In double portraits of marriage, the gendered hierarchy is supported by the man’s control of the gaze. The respectable married woman retains her sense of discretion and propriety by averting her eyes or shifting position. Instructions for proper composure by women was often discussed in the Renaissance. In El Costume de le donne (published in Brescia, 1536), it advised to “keep your eyes modest and serious and bent toward the earth, not looking at others because it is the eyes that carry the key to… honor.”

83 See my discussion on the poet & his beloved earlier in this chapter. Images of Venetian beauties by Titian and Palma il Vecchio often portray women gesticulating and sometimes featured with parted lips, as if to speak. For example, Palma il Vecchio’s Woman in Blue (c. 1520, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) turns her body and moves her graceful hands as if she is in conversation.

84 “Fa che tenghi gli ochi honesti e gravi, chinali a terra, altrui non mirando, perché son quelli che portan le chiavi del nostro honore.” See S. Morporgo, ed., El Costume de le donne (originally published in Brescia in 1536) (Florence: 1839), stanza 24. In Decur puellarum (Venice, c. 1471), Nicholas Jenson also advised on proper behavior of women and an insistence on keeping eyes lowered toward the earth… (bassi verso la terra cum la cera
amorous realm. However, they also often demonstrate a gendered balance of power in regard to the gaze, as the lovers both draw the viewer into their amorous conversation. The man shifts his gaze between the beholder and his female mate. The woman in this context elicits attention directly from the viewer, a reflection of her clout in courtly situations, while she also engages fully with her male companion. Gendered hierarchy in positioning thus transgresses conventional decorum in *amants portraits*, giving the woman a more versatile stance, and loosening male control in these arrangements. Symbols of socially constructed gendered behaviors, such as handkerchiefs and *flohpelze* in conjugal double portraits, are normally discarded in this type, unnecessary for this sort of romantic portrayal. The settings of *amants portraits*, like those of medieval lovers in Gardens of Love, also heighten their romantic involvement. They are placed in hazy atmospheric pastoral surroundings or ambiguous interiors conveying the erotic tone. Though the design format is decidedly similar, the sensual display of two individuals in an *amants portrait* differs from the static and formal double portrayals of marriage.  

A primary example of an *amants portrait* is the *Lovers* (c. 1515) by Altobello Melone, traditionally interpreted as an image of Giorgione and his lover (Fig. 3.34). In this case, the

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85 The same is true concerning *amants portraits* which are placed on maiolica plates, in which the expression of love is sensual. An image on one such plate shows a bust-length couple embracing with their faces pressed against each other and their glances interconnected. The woman’s dress is slipping off her shoulder, revealing bare skin. On a scroll in the background, it is inscribed “AMARE.” It should, perhaps, be added to this type. See Italian artist, *Dish with Busts of Two Lovers Embracing, called Dulce est Amare*, 1535-45, Victoria & Albert Museum, London.  

86 Altobello Melone, *Lovers*, c. 1515, oil on canvas transferred from wood, 53.5 x 73.5 cm (21 ½ x 29 ½”), Budapest Museum of Fine Arts [6386]. There is an inscription on the man’s hat jewel: AEIOV. The image on the hat jewel is of a bird, perhaps an eagle or a cock. Other extant versions exist indicating the popularity of the *amants portrait*, and this one in particular. The other versions include: Altobello Melone, *Lovers*, before 1520, poplar panel, later transferred to canvas, 52 x 71.5 cm, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemäldegalerie, Alte Meister, Dresden, accessioned c. 1781 [221]; Altobello Melone, *Lovers*, once Dalla Zonca Collection, Formerly in the Scarpa Collection at Motta di Livenza and auctioned in Milan on November 14, 1895. (It is a third, quite
young man wears a fur collar and a large feather hat with an attached heraldic pin illustrating a cock and the inscription “Fin.Che” (Until). With a gloved hand, he embraces the woman to his left, who with parted lips and her revealing dress tempts her lover and lures the viewer.  

They are nestled in a nondescript corner of a room with a window over the woman’s left shoulder revealing a romantic landscape. In conjugal double portraits, the man would typically be connected to the open window, a symbol of the public sphere, leaving the wife more enclosed and housebound. In amants portraits, this convention is dismissed, allowing the woman greater openness. The room and the sitters are left in a hazy intimate environment.

Melone assimilated these amorous characteristics from his influential predecessor, Giorgione, and The Lovers recalls a similar painting by Giorgione described by contemporary sources.

Giorgione was a pioneer in this type of portraiture, as he displayed human subjects in a poetic mode, using close-up formats and hazy sensual settings. This approach to single

badly deteriorated variant); Altobello Melone, Lovers, once Marchese della Rena collection, sale, Rome, April 29, 1905, lot 11 (as Battista Dossi); Altobello Melone, Lovers, drawing, once private collection, Edinburgh. A drawing for the composition is found in London, Christie’s, March 23, 1974, lot 190. The painting’s composition was originally attributed to Giorgione and subsequently Domenico Mancini, Rocca Marconi, Francesco Bembo, Callisto Piazza da Lodi, anonymous artist from Brescia, and Girolamo Romanino have been named. This painting could have influenced the maiolica plate mentioned in footnote 83. 

87 Lorne Campbell referred to this painting as a version of a lost Giorgione. He mentioned that the man’s finger protruding through a hole in his glove was intended to look phallic. See Lorne Campbell, Renaissance Portraits. European Portrait-Painting in the Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Sixteenth Century (London/New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 134.

88 Garas believed it to be a lost work by Giorgione. See Klára Garas, Paintings in the Budapest Museum of Fine Arts (London: Thames & Hudson, 1974). This was disputed by Mina Gregori (“Altobello e G. Francesco Bembo,” Paragone 93 [1957], 22-23) in which she thought the composition of respective pairs either of modern or all’antica lovers was an allure for collectors. For other discussions see Mina Gregori and Luisa Bandera Gregori, Pittura a Cremona dal Romanico al Settecento (Milan: Cassa di risparmio delle provincie Lombarde, 1990), 125, 254, fig. 55; Giuliano Briganti, “Melone, Altobello,” La Pittura in Italia - Il Cinquecento, II (Milan: 1988), 768, 769; Tokyo, Renaissance Painting from the Budapest Museum of Fine Arts, exh. cat. (1994); and Turin, Palazzo Bricherasio, Da Raffaello a Goya. Ritratti dal Museo di Belle Arti di Budapest, exh. cat. (2004-2005), Cat. 66. For stylistic comparison to other works by Altobello Melone, see Altobello Melone, Portrait of a Young Man, c. 1527-28, oil on panel, 53.98 cm x 39.37 cm, Bequest of Nettie G. Naumburg, Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University of Art Museums [1930.187].

89 Giorgione’s style has been linked to a “Leonardism” that occurred in the Veneto from Leonardo’s trip there around 1500, and also artists such as Giovanni Agostino da Lodi who perpetuated Leonardesque ideas in Venice around the same time. Interestingly, the use of half-length figures and the double-figure format were made by artists in Milan and Venice in the circles of both Leonardo and Giorgione.
portraits was adopted in the *amants* type, especially the use of ambiguous settings. Giorgione might have initiated this tradition, for it is known that he painted half-length double-figure compositions from contemporary inventories.\(^90\) Even if he did not, he was instrumental in the spread of the *amants portrait* type. Depictions of lovers by Giorgione are known through engraved and drawn versions of his compositions. An engraving by Domenico Cunego of 1774, thought to be after Giorgione, portrays a pair of embracing lovers (Fig. 3.35).\(^91\) The woman grips the man’s shoulder. Their intense eye contact shows them to be lost in their interaction with each other, disregarding the attention of the beholder.

In 1615, Vincenzo Scamozzi described the private museums and galleries of Venice, singling out the collection of Andrea Vendramin (c. 1565-1629), which was displayed in two rooms of his palace on the Grand Canal at San Gregorio. In 1627, Vendramin made an illustrated inventory of his paintings collection that included a drawing of *Two Lovers*, considered to be a copy after a Giorgione original (Fig. 3.36).\(^92\) An engraved version of *Two Lovers* was also made (Fig. 3.37).\(^93\) The existence of the print and the drawing suggests that Venetian artists were producing, with some variation, images after the same original by

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\(^90\) The Inventory of the Goods of Roberto Canonici’s will noted “due figure dal mezzo in sù di Giorgione da Castelfranco, cioè un huomo con un gran capello in testa, et una donna paiono Pastori.” It was first published together with Canonici’s will in *Testamento solemne e codici* (Ferrara, 1632). An inventory of the Ludovisi collection in Rome (1663) mentioned: “43. Un quadro di due ritratti mezze figure uno tiene la mano alla guancia, e nell’altra tiene un melangolo con cornice profilata a Rabescato d’oro, mano di Giorgione” (which is a double portrait of two men in Palazzo Venezia, Rome). See Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Archivio Boncampagni Ludovisi, Arm. IX, Proc. 325, no. 1 (1633).

\(^91\) It is called *Gli Amanti* and was in the property of the Borghese in Rome. The engraving was made for *La Schola Italica of Gavin Hamilton* in 1773. See P. Zampetti, *L’opera completa di Giorgione* (Milan: Rizzoli, 1968), 102, n. 138, repro. It has also been suggested by Michael Hirst that this is an engraving after Sebastiano del Piombo. Hirst believed that this romantic, intimately-scaled *amants* genre may have been produced by Sebastiano in significant number. See Michael Hirst, *Sebastiano del Piombo* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), fig. 26, came up with a possible candidate for this image. See also Richter (1937), 258 when he was looking at G. F. Waagen, *Art Treasures in Great Britain* (1854, ii, 100). A version of the composition is in a New York private collection, presumably a copy.

\(^92\) The ink sketch is from the catalogue of the Vendramin’s collection, *De Picturis* (1627). For the inventory, see Sloane Ms. 4004, British Library, London (reproduced in Tancred Borenius, *The Picture Gallery of Andrea Vendramin* [London: British Museum, 1923]). It is suggested that the painting attributed to Giorgione, which this drawing is after, is known by variants of this original composition done in the seventeenth century by the painter Pietro della Vecchia.

\(^93\) Italian school, Engraved after Giorgione, *Lovers*, engraving, Coesvelt Collection, London [1836].
Giorgione. The print shows a couple in bust-length conversing with one another, while the sketch from the 1627 inventory reveals a more risqué view of lovers. The man gazes up at the woman, embracing her with both hands. She turns around to engage the viewer over her shoulder, as her undergarment slips down to reveal her nude back. The compositional differences between the print and the drawing could be due to artistic license on the part of the copyists, or they might indicate that there was more than one image of lovers by Giorgione (or perhaps an artist in his style) in this prominent Venetian collection, which were replicated.

An early engraving by Zoa Andrea of c. 1475-1505 shows a tender portrayal of lovers, further indicating the theme’s popularity in reproduction (Fig. 3.38). The lovers seem to engage in an everyday action instead of one that reflects a moralizing, comical, or satirical intent. The hazy, obscure mood of the scene displays a Leonardesque sensibility, revealing one source of influence. The popularity of the amants portrait type is also demonstrated by Paris Bordone’s The Lovers, probably based on Zoa Andrea’s engraving (Fig. 3.39). The painting reveals, in reverse, a bust-length couple in an ambiguous interior space. The lovers are clothed in sumptuous attire. The man stares out at the viewer as the woman quite contently sleeps on his shoulder, her dress falling revealingly. He embraces her, placing his right hand on her left breast.

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94 Zoa Andrea’s is Mantegnesque in style and his work was once attributed to an anonymous “Master ZA.” The engraving called Two Lovers is from his late manner. He also did other work on the same theme called Passionate Embrace and Young Man and Woman Copulating. These three thematically similar engravings were influenced by Leonardo and his Milanese followers. See Mark J. Zucker, The Illustrated Bartsch: Early Italian Masters 25 (New York: Abaris Books, 1984), 155-303, Cat. 2509, specifically 276-284, nos. .022, .023, .025. A similar Northern European example of this image is by the Master B X G called Lovers. See William M. Ivins, Jr., “The Lovers by the Master B X G, An Undescribed Early German Engraving,” Metropolitan Museum Studies, V, 1934-36, 234, reprod.

Amants portraits are seen in sculptural and printed forms. An amants portrait is located on the frontispiece of the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili, showing two dead lovers, Sertullius and Rancilia, in a cemetery mentioned in the text (see Fig. 1.16). Its portrayal of two bust-length figures recalls ancient sepulchral double portraits. It is also reminiscent of ancient sepulchral reliefs in which a man and woman are presented half-length on a narrow base against a neutral background (Fig. 3.40). This composition has been connected to the sculpted amants portrait by Tullio Lombardo. In Tullio’s relief, both figures are bare-breasted. The woman leans on her left arm, her hair covered by a snood, popularly worn by Venetian women in the sixteenth century. The man is represented bare-breasted as he turns his head with shoulder-length wavy hair to his left. Their life-like features suggest that they could be a contemporary couple in the guise of a god and goddess. Another sculpted amants portrait by Tullio is a couple, possibly a self-portrait with his wife (see Fig. 1.9). In both of these double portraits, the lovers overlap at the shoulders, symbolically indicating intimacy. The sensual nature is further revealed through the dress of the lady, with the neckline falling to completely expose her breasts. The artist’s sensitivity to detail is shown in both portrayals by the embroidered hairnet, jeweled crown, meticulously sculpted, sinuous locks, and the

96 Altobello Melone’s Lovers could have been modeled after this image.
97 Hypnerotomachia Poliphili, detail of dead lovers on frontispiece, engraving in manuscript.
99 Tullio Lombardo, Young Couple, Possibly Self-Portrait with His Wife, c. 1490-1510, marble, 47.5 x 50.5 cm, Ca d’Or, Venice. Its original location unknown was possibly from the outside of a building all’antica similar to the representation of a building by Mantegna in his Martyrdom of Saint Christopher in the cappella degli Eremitani (Padua) or in a cortile within a domestic space.
101 This scoop-neck dress design allowing for the baring of the woman’s breasts was a revised version of Italian fifteenth-century dress. It can also be seen in Domenico Tintoretto’s Ritratto che Scopre il Seno, c. 1570, oil on canvas, 61 x 55 cm, Museo del Prado, Madrid [P00382]. Her hair is bound and adorned with pearls.
stylized flower at the bustline. The gaze of both couples seems fixed on something occurring outside their confined setting, giving the sense of gendered balance.

Offshoots of this type in sculpture were common among Tullio’s followers, who utilized such imagery for sculpted bust-length portrayals of contemporary couples, a Relief Profiled Busts of a Young Couple (Fig. 3.41) or of historical or mythological lovers as in a Relief Profiled Busts, possibly Faustina and Marcus Aurelius by Simone Bianco of c. 1535 (Fig. 3.42), or Portrait of a Couple, possibly Alexander the Great and Campaspe by an anonymous sculptor (Fig. 3.43). The latter identification reflects the erotic nature of the subject matter, since Campaspe was the mistress of Alexander the Great, a tale cited by Pliny the Elder and retold by Castiglione.

By the early part of the sixteenth century, the amants portrait tradition increased in Northern Italy and the Veneto due to a widespread interest stimulated by Giorgione and Leonardo. A painting also known generically as the Lovers, once attributed (but incorrectly) to Giovanni Girolamo Savoldo, reveals a man and woman embracing in an ambiguous setting (Fig. 3.44). The man’s direct gaze encourages the viewer to enter this amorous...
The arrangement of the figures, though in reverse, suggests a Giorgionesque model, as it appears similar to the engraved copy by Cunego after Giorgione (see Fig. 3.35). The *amants portrait* by Girolamo Romanino, also called *Lovers*, reveals a sumptuously-dressed couple flush against the picture plane in a bust-length format (Fig. 3.45). The positioning recalls Melone’s portrayal of an amorous couple (see Fig. 3.34). In Romanino’s portrayal, the woman in a frontal position reveals a low neck-line as she turns her head to look toward her male companion. He peers over her shoulder as they connect in an embrace and through eye contact.

Similar themes pervade three allegorical paintings by Dosso Dossi of presumably nine allegorical paintings, originally oval but now cut down to diamond shape, that were set into a gilt wooden ceiling of the ducal apartment, presumably in Duke Alfonso d’Este’s bedroom, on Via Coperta in Modena. They exhibit a full array of emotions associated with love, and are titled *Erotic Couple (Violence)*, *Love (The Embrace)*, and *Seduction*. The nine rhomboidal paintings vary in style and are often considered allegories for lack of a better term, due to their display of food, wine, music, and love. Another theory is that the figures personify contrasting emotions and humors. In any event, these images come from the genre-like scenes of Giorgione, as in the allegorical *Three Ages of Man*. Dosso’s genre-like

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106 Gilbert has commented that this image is closer in style to Dosso. Morassi first attributed it to Savoldo. Suida (1937) and an exhibition catalogue (1939) repeated this attribution. It has also been suggested that this image is closer to a romantic revival of Giorgione around c. 1600, which shifted the attribution to the artist Giorgio Calletti or someone in his circle. See Creighton E. Gilbert, *The Works of Girolamo Savoldo: the 1955 Dissertation with a Review of Research, 1955-1985* PhD Diss, New York University (UMI: 1986), 476, Cat. 53, Milan, Dott. Giovanni Rasini.


108 *Love*, c. 1525-28, oil on panel, 42 3/8 x 37 ¼ in (107.6 x 96 cm) each side 28 in (71 cm), Galleria Estense, Modena [175]; *Seduction*, c. 1525-28, oil on panel, 41 7/8 x 37 ¾ in (106.3 x 96 cm; each side, 28 in (71 cm), Galleria Estense, Modena [174]; *Violence*, c. 1526-28, oil on panel, 28 1/8 x 26 3/8 in (71.3 x 67 cm) Eger, Hungary [55.291].

109 See Felton Gibbons, *Dosso and Battista Dossi: Court Painters at Ferrara* (Princeton: 1968); Felton Gibbons, “Two Allegories by Dosso for the Court of Ferrara,” *Art Bulletin* 47 (December 1965), 493-99; and Paul
figures are in contemporary dress, pressed against the picture plane in a manner that increases the sense of immediacy. The images retain a genre-like quality also in the addition of still-life elements, such as fruit in the Love panel. It is possible that all the panels originally carried Latin tags explicating their meaning.

In the Erotic Couple (Violence), a near-nude couple embraces fiercely (Fig. 3.46). They both gaze upward, but the man, with his grip on the woman's left shoulder, presses his body against hers adding a violent undertone to the scene, suggested also by her reaction to his actions. On the parapet in front of them is a large flower, like a carnation, as well as a small flower, probably a pink. The overt subject of Erotic Couple (Violence), the sexual pursuit of a half-naked woman by a man, recalls an earlier Dosso image, Nymph and Satyr of about 1508-09, showing a bestial man in hot pursuit of a sprite (Fig. 3.47). In Erotic Couple (Violence), the sexual encounter is more intimate and sensual, as the man's arm presses down on his victim's breasts in a forceful manner. The figures are more convincingly life-like, straying from the half-beast male in the other composition.

Medieval and Renaissance courtly images of lover and beloved often depict a woman in a window as a man admires her from afar, or decorously admits his love for her from a nearby location (see Figs. 2.44, 2.45, and 3.1). The Declaration of Love theme is represented in

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110 Dosso Dossi, Erotic Couple (Violence) in a Rhomboid, c. 1530-40, oil on panel, 73.5 x 69 cm, Stephen Dobo Museum, Eger [55.291]. The painting has been cut down. This painting was in the Pánthy Endre collection in Vienna and subsequently bequeathed to the present owner. It is part of a series of rhomboidal paintings which probably initiated as decorative paintings in the Castle at Ferrara. Other paintings from this series are located in the Galleria d’Este in Modena and the Cini Collection, Venice. See Felton Gibbons, Dosso and Battista Dossi: Court Painters at Ferrara (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), 172-173, Cat. 14, fig. 94.

111 There is still controversy over whether Embrace (Violence) actually belongs to this set. In the painting, a pink is represented. Normally used in marriage portraits, the flower's use here also suggests a subversive role for the flower.

112 The Eger painting is described in the Inventory as no. 39 “un quadro in tavola un huomo, che abbraccia una donna mezza figura cornice dorata forma bisquadra, alto 3, Dossi.” See New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Dosso Dossi: Court Painter in Renaissance Ferrara, exh. cat. by Peter Humfrey and Mauro Lucco, 166-68.
a painting by an unknown Italian artist in a Trentian palazzo (Fig. 3.48). The man turns toward the woman, indicating his affection. However, the platonic nature of the scene is suggested by the fact that the couple does not touch. *Amants portraits* sometimes utilize the same arrangement of a man encroaching upon a woman's space, but by the sixteenth century, artists began to eroticize the type, drawing the figures closer together and heightening the seductive power. Images became more risqué, with the man teased within the scene and the viewer outside the image. This mode became prevalent in regions where amatory prose and romanticized images were popular.

Titian seems to have painted *amants portraits* of this nature. A seventeenth-century etching, the so-called *Self-Portrait of Titian with his Mistress* (Fig. 3.49), from the circle of Van Dyck, is based on the conceit of being a copy after but might still reflect a mode in which Titian worked. The image presents a couple in the act of seduction, and elements within the composition situate it within the *amants portrait* category. The older Titian is shown

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113 Italian artist, *Declaration of Love*, Palazzo, Trent.


116 Anthony van Dyck, after Titian, *Self Portrait of Titian with his Mistress*, etching (engraved version by Lucas Vorsterman, 30.6 x 23.3 cm.) A painting by Titian of this same subject is listed in a 1693 inventory of the Borghese Collection in Rome and may have been the source of Van Dyck’s drawing in the “Italian Sketchbook” (British Museum, London). Van Dyck’s drawing is in pen and ink and measures 20.5 x 16.5 cm. The location of Titian’s painting is unknown. Wetley believed that it may have been a “pastiche,” which Van Dyck mistook for an original by Titian. Van Dyck might have also made a painted copy after Titian’s original. A painting identical to this composition survives at Sudeley Castle, Gloucestershire with uncertain attribution. See *The New Hollstein Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700: Anthony van Dyck*, Part VIII,
encroaching upon the intimate space of a beautiful young woman in fine clothes. They occupy an ambiguous interior room separated from the viewer by a parapet.\(^{117}\) The man is beneath her addressing the woman, who stands above in a position of power. Her dress suggests an indecorous display of bare skin, while she invites the viewer into the scene with her gaze. The couple touches: Titian wraps his arms around her waist as he pulls her toward him, in an action that indicates the sexual relationship of the couple and suggests the consummation of the seduction. In another image, the *Portrait of Alphonse, Duke of Ferrara, with Laura dei Diante*, attributed to Giorgione (or perhaps Calisto Piazza da Lodi), the sexual element becomes more blatant, as the woman’s dress slips off her shoulders and down her body (Fig. 3.50).\(^{118}\)

A scene of *Lovers* attributed to Giovanni Cariani is reminiscent of the drawing after Giorgione’s painting in the Vendramin Collection (Fig. 3.51 and see Fig. 3.36).\(^{119}\) The woman teases the viewer as she tilts toward the picture plane and toward the onlooker, her dress slipping off her shoulder. She is approached by a man who gazes up at her as if in admiration from the lower right corner of the scene. The enclosed, ambiguous room in

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\(^{117}\) In the etched version, a skull has been inserted into the parapet, suggesting a *vanitas* theme, which was probably added by the Northern copier instead of an original element of the composition by Titian.

\(^{118}\) Giorgione (or perhaps Calisto Piazza da Lodi), *Portrait of Alphonse, Duke of Ferrara, with Laura dei Diante?*, oil on canvas, 34 x 28 in, London, Christie’s, sale, *Catalogue of Old Pictures from the Malmesbury Estate and Ancient and Modern Pictures and Drawings from Other Sources*, November 3, 1950, lot 17 (as attributed to Giorgione). It was once sent by Bonaparte in 1796 from Venice to his uncle, Cardinal Fesch, then in Florence. It was exhibited in London at the *Exhibition of Venetian Art* (1894-95).

which they are placed reveals a pastoral landscape through a draped window, accentuating the amorous content.

Scholars have attempted to determine whether some or all of these images of scantily dressed women in compromising situations reveal the life of courtesans, particularly in Venice. In the Portrait of a Courtesan by a Venetian artist, a woman faces left in profile, adorned with jewelry, her lowered bust-line exposing her bared breasts (Fig. 3.52). Images of beautiful women with flowing hair by artists such as Palma il Vecchio have often been thought of as courtesan portraits. Philip Rylands has suggested that such half-length portraits of beautiful women should be considered “objects of desire.” Venus, along with her sister Flora, was reputed to have taught courtesans their art. The courtesan enjoyed a unique status in Venetian society because of her beauty, charm, intellect, and talent, as well as her relationship to prominent men in society. Courtesans were considered “luxury items,” and men socialized in their homes. Viewing portraits of beautiful, scantily-clad women corresponds to beholding a courtesan. Tommaso Garzoni, in his La Piazza universale di tutte le professioni del mondo (Venice 1585), wrote that courtesans attracted the lascivious eye of their beholders, thus inciting them to libidinous acts.

Amants portraits were initially inspired by Petrarchismo, the circulation of texts by Pietro Bembo and others, and discourses of love that coincided with the dominant poetic fashion, particularly in Venice. Yet, they expanded beyond politeness. As we have seen, the portrayal of the couple in these images shifts from a straightforward, provocative projection to a more

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123 See Tommaso Garzoni, La Piazza universale di tutte le professioni del mondo (Venice: 1585/1666); 441 and Paul Barolsky, Infinite Jest, 168.
eroticized treatment in which the woman becomes the focal point, an object of desire.

Amants portraits, in their direct appeal to the viewer, recall portrait-like representations, yet their implied (sexual) narrative brings them closer to the camp of genre.

**Role-Playing Portraits**

Renaissance artists developed alternative modes for portraying contemporary sitters through the use of allegory. Alberti commented in *Momus* (c. 1450) that people could transform themselves by taking on a number of appearances, while earlier Leonardo Bruni in *De Militia* (1422) also wrote that the same person could perform many roles. Role-playing portraits conflate real individuals with mythological, historical, and religious characters, as well as personifications of abstract ideas. In this form, the persons and their actions created an underlying meaning with social, moral, religious, or even political significations. Because real identities were masked under an allegorical veil, these portraits were less constrained by the social codes of courtly society. Also, with the rise of portable, multiple printed and medallion portrait images in the Renaissance, individual likenesses were no longer confined to personal and local networks of viewers, but brought into complex international visual and social contexts marked by anonymity and the convoluted masking of identity. Allegorical and mythological figures are seen as individual portrayals of contemporary men and women. I will consider portraits in which individual sitters take the role of a fictive character as well as double portrayals in allegorical guise which were used to enhance relationships in the Renaissance. People commonly thought of themselves and of their own lives as dramas.

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124 In Alberti’s *Momus*, his characters played roles and concealed their agendas behind their facades. In Book IV, the ferryman Charon drew attention to the fact that many people wore masks to deceive and appeal to others. See Mark Jarzombek, *On Leon Battista Alberti: His Literary and Aesthetic Theories* (Cambridge, Mass.: 1989), from Alberti’s *Momus* (c. 1450), 159; and Leonardo Bruni, *De Militia* (1422), in Gordon Griffiths, James Hankins, and David Thompson, *The Humanism of Leonardo Bruni: Selected Texts* (Binghamton, NY, 1987), 132.

Individuals in the sixteenth century manipulated their projected identity in a sophisticated game of self-creation, expanding the ways in which they could be perceived.\textsuperscript{126} It is not surprising that portraits also became fictionalized since the upper and eventually the developing middle classes in Renaissance society concurrently obscured their own personalities by habitually self-fashioning themselves according to the socially acceptable standards of behavior and attire of the time.\textsuperscript{127} With books such as Baldassare Castiglione’s *The Book of the Courtier* used as a model or an instructional text, the noble class already had a standard of rules on how to speak, dress, and interact in social situations. This self-fashioning became a conscious effort by individuals to imitate a higher sphere in society, strongly inflecting their representations in portraits, including marriage double portraits which maintained their own set standard of ideals.

In Renaissance portraiture, artists also used allegory in portraits as a disguised method to expand the limited view of the genre and the sitters being portrayed. Armenini expressed the negative view that a portrait was a “mere” likeness when he claimed that “even an artist of mediocre talent can master this art of portraiture.”\textsuperscript{128} Portraiture, due to its lower rank in the hierarchy of subject matter relative to historical or religious compositions, permitted

\textsuperscript{127} For a full discussion on self-fashioning in the Renaissance, see Stephen Greenblatt’s seminal book *Renaissance Self-Fashioning* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980). He offers a view of the Renaissance self as a cultural artifact, an ideological and historical impression produced by the economic, social, religious, and political upheavals of the time. He stated that “in the early modern period, there was a change in the intellectual, social, psychological, and aesthetic structures that govern the generation of identities. This change is difficult to characterize in our usual ways because it is not only complex but resolutely dialectical…Perhaps the simplest observation we can make is that in the sixteenth century there appears to be an increased self-consciousness about the fashioning of human identity as a manipulable, artful process.” Bouwsma also discussed issues of the Renaissance self, at times in crisis: “Concern with the real self lying somewhere beneath the protective layers imposed by the expectations of others also pervades the general culture of the age.” See William J. Bouwsma, *The Waning of the Renaissance 1550-1640* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2001), 1-2. Berger shifted from this concept by believing that a “portrait’s primary ‘object of representation’ is not the ‘human subject’ but (his/her) act of posing.” See Harry Berger, *Fictions of the Pose: Rembrandt Against the Italian Renaissance* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 7.
liberties that would have not been allowed with other genres. The interest in theatrical productions in the sixteenth century also contributed to the use of allegory in portrait-making. Patricia Fortini-Brown has commented on the emerging Venetian impression of the past, which was shaped by classical artifacts and texts as well as modern revivals of antique genres of art and architecture. Theater was popular in Venice because it had the ability to mix the past and present, and there was an increase in profane theatrical entertainments in that city in the sixteenth century. “Temporal boundary was ruptured, and the Olympian gods were invited, as it were, into Venetian society.” The Renaissance interest in theater contributed to the multiple facets of self, recognizing and allowing for differences between the social role of an individual and the supposedly true self. Every theatrical performance raised the question of identity. Characters in a play gradually revealed themselves and their relationship with other characters until the audience understood who the players were and what they were all about. Renaissance theater opened up a range of choices regarding individual identity, conveying to the audience a sense of freedom which they were not able to enjoy within the constraints of their normal lives, and reflected in their formal portraits. The role-playing that was integral to theatrical productions, had its analogue in portraiture, when the individual sitters looked for a new mode to express themselves through mythology or allegory, as in dressing up like a god or goddess for their portraits.

129 See Joanna Marsden, Self-Portraiture, 9.
131 Theater, as a relatively new invention, helped its audience to understand the tensions between individual consciences and traditional values. It could reflect the slippage between social role and the “true self” implicit in daily life and role-playing also lubricated social relations. Bouwsma stated that “in a society fragmented by social change, theater dealing with common experiences and perceptions also united people.” See Bouwsma, The Waning of the Renaissance, 132-34.
132 See Bouwsma, The Waning of the Renaissance, 137.
133 In Felice Feliciano’s description of an excursion by Mantegna and his friends to Lake Garda in September 1464, the participants styled themselves as an emperor crowned with ivy and laurel with his consuls. See P. Kristeller, Andrea Mantegna (Berlin/Leipzig, 1902), 176, 472; R.W. Lightbown, Mantegna (Berkeley: University of
From theater, artists appropriated a new mode of visual discourse, the idea of making their subjects play roles, like actors on a stage. The portrait-making practice of rendering individuals in mythological or allegorical guise, widespread throughout the Renaissance, was less controversial than the portrayal of specific persons as religious figures. In most cases, the choice of character related to the sitter’s trade or personal history. An increasingly large body of rhetorical literature during this time also related to conjuring notions of the “self.” Like theater, this literature had the ability to instruct in the multiplication of selves, dependent on context and purpose. Renaissance courtesy manuals published during this time helped upwardly mobile individuals polish their behavior and widened the distance between public persona and authentic individual. Allegorical portraits performed a similar function when used to create public identity for an individual through reference to important historical, political, or mythological characters. But they could also operate in another mode, when used to “unmask” the sitter’s own personality, thus inviting a more private interpretation about the individual represented.

Women were often represented as nymphs or goddesses like Venus or Flora or even as saintly characters such as Saint Catherine, which promoted ideal female attributes of beauty, purity, and chastity. The portrayal of young virginal women as saints helped to demonstrate the respectability of their families. Diane Owen Hughes has pointed out that the phenomenon of daughters playing the role of Saint Catherine in images can be correlated to increased dowry sums, for such portrayal was a persuasion tactic by fathers to encourage some of their daughters to enter the nunnery, leaving others enough money for their

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California, 1986), 95-96. Mantegna’s Self-Portrait is reminiscent of an allegorical self-portrait in which he chose to portray himself as nude with a laurel crown.

134 See Bouwsma, The Waning of the Renaissance, 135.

135 Northern artists also utilized allegorical guises for their patrons such as Jan Gossaert’s depiction of the wife and one of the sons of his patron, the Marquis of Veere, as the Virgin and Child.
Women were also portrayed as other saints, as Vasari has mentioned a woman in the guise of St. Helen: Orlando Fiacco’s now lost Portrait of Madonna Isotta (the consort of Messer Vincenzo de’ Medici of Verona). Moretto da Brescia’s La Salome has often been considered a portrait of the courtesan Tullia d’Aragonia as the biblical femme fatale (Fig. 3.53). Tullia was conflated with Salome because both women had been corrupted by their mothers, Salome by Herodias and Tullia by her own mother, a Roman courtesan. That Tullia was the actress playing Salome is signaled by her contemporary dress with elaborate fabrics, velvets, and furs, suggesting a well-bred courtesan. Laurel leaves, a symbol of intelligence, are visible in the background, and she holds a golden scepter in her left hand, a reference to Tullia’s activity as a poet and writer.

136 “Many Catherines were actual portraits and Catherine was the most popular saint for aristocratic role-playing. The memorialization of daughters in the role of the virgin martyr may have been the final persuasion that fathers offered their daughters to submit to lineal needs….We should read the popularity of the Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine of Alexandria in light of the intensification of the century and the new subtleties employed by fathers to gain their consent [to enter the nunnery].” See Diane Owen Hughes, “Representing the Family: Portraits and Purposes in Early Modern Italy,” Journal of Interdisciplinary History, XVII: 1 (summer 1986), 28; and Diane Owen Hughes, “Dressing for Sainthood: Catherine of Alexandria and Italian Sumptuary Restriction,” forthcoming. Another example is Portrait of a Woman as Saint Catherine, c. 1560 by Pier Francesco Foschi (1502-1567) located in the Cleveland Museum of Art [1916.825].

137 Orlando Fiacco was the student of il Moro. See Giorgio Vasari, Le Opere di Giorgio Vasari, V, 299: “Ebbe il Moro un altro discepolo chiamato Orlando Fiacco, il quale è riuscito buon maestro e molto pratico in far ritratti, come si vede in molti che n'ha fatti bellissimi e molto simili al naturale…Ritrass Messer Adamo Fumani, canonico e gentiluomo literatissimo di Verona, Messer Vincenzo de’ Medici da Verona, e Madonna Isotta sua consorte in figura di Santa Elena e Messer Niccolò lor nipote.” Other examples include Piero di Cosimo, Portrait of a Woman as La Maddalena (1501, Galleria Nazionale d’arte antica, Palazzo Barberini, Rome); Vincenzo Catena, Young Woman in the Dress of Maddalena (Staatliche Museum, Berlin); Titian, Portrait of Caterina Cornaro as Saint Catherine of Alexandria (c. 1542, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence); and Moretto da Brescia, St. Justiniana with the Unicorn (c. 1530, oil on panel, 200 x 139 cm, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna).

138 Moretto da Brescia, La Salome, possibly a Portrait of Tullia d’Aragona (born c. 1510-1556), Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengo, Brescia. She leans against a marble slab with a chisled Latin inscription, “quae caput saltando obtinuit” (“She who obtained the head with her dancing”). In 1814 it was called Herodias with a Fur and a Scepter in her Hand, identified as a disguised portrait of Tullia d’Aragon. From an engraved copy made by Caterina Piaotti in 1823, Tullia’s name with a verse written by the courtesan “qual fu la culla mia/Mosta lo scettro d’oro/Tingegno mio qual sia/Mostra il crescente alloro” (“the scepter shows my birth, the growing laurel my talent, such as it is”) were written below the image.


Strong female heroines were also utilized in portraits as typical devices whereby they served to naturalize male authority.\textsuperscript{141} These allegorical portraits of women retain strength while exuding sensuality. Lorenzo Lotto’s \textit{Lucretia} (c. 1533) portrays a contemporary woman holding a drawing of the eponymous Roman heroine, subtly equating her own qualities with those of her chaste ancient prototype (Fig. 3.54).\textsuperscript{142} The artist’s \textit{Judith and her Maidervant} (1512) also contained a portrait “likeness,” suggesting that it too may be a disguised portrait.\textsuperscript{143}

Men were also portrayed in the guise of gods, historical figures, or saints who embodied Renaissance standards of masculinity such as authority, intelligence, dignity, and piety. Such portrayals could also present men as more sexualized characters. Allegorical role-playing meant that prominent figureheads were able to be represented for their power, skillfulness, and sensuality in a less restricted manner.\textsuperscript{144} Duke Cosimo I de’ Medici (1527-1574) had himself portrayed as both a mythological hero and a sexualized poet. A print by Niccolò della Casa after Baccio Bandinelli’s portrait of 1544 shows the Duke fitted in elaborately decorated armor with scenes of the Labors of Hercules (Fig. 3.55). In the background, a lion skin inscribed with Cosimo’s name and Herculanean trophies are

\textit{Cleopatra} (Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore). She sits on a throne holding an asp next to her bed, possibly awaiting a lover. Others by Bordone include \textit{Portrait of Ottavano Griselda} and \textit{Portrait of a Woman} (National Gallery, London).

\textsuperscript{141} See Marina Warner, \textit{Monuments and Maidens: The Allegory of the Female Form} (London, 1985), esp. 18-37, 124-6.

\textsuperscript{142} Lorenzo Lotto, \textit{Lucretia}, c. 1533, National Gallery of Art, London. Parmigianino also portrayed a young woman as Antea (Parmigianino, \textit{Portrait of a Young Woman as Antea}, c. 1520, oil on canvas, 135 x 88 cm [53 1/8 x 34 5/8 in.], Museo e Gallerie Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples).


\textsuperscript{144} Narrative cycles often included portraits of contemporary figures. In the \textit{Last Judgment} of the Sistine Chapel, Michelangelo shows Pietro Aretino as Saint Bartholomew and in the \textit{School of Athens} by Raphael, Bramante becomes Euclid, while Michelangelo is portrayed as Heraclitus. In the \textit{Fire of the Borgo}, Leo III and Leo IV have the countenance of the pope, Leo X.
displayed. Through allegorical means, the Duke referenced his power, as he often gave copies of his portrait as tokens of political alliance. Cosimo was also portrayed as Orpheus, the great musician and poet of Greek myth whose songs could charm wild beasts and coax even rocks and trees into movement. Bronzino’s *Portrait of Cosimo I de’ Medici as Orpheus* of c. 1538-40 portrays the young, powerful leader holding a lyre as he turns toward the beholder to expose his nude back (Fig. 3.56). Cosimo’s status as a patron of the arts could explain his portrayal as Orpheus. But his sensual and suggestive pose, quite atypical in Cosimo’s official court imagery, was probably an image directed toward his new bride, Eleonora of Toledo, for procreation purposes and thus to further cement an alliance of powerful families. Coinciding with the language of courtly love, his erotic nude pose from the back, his grasp of the musical instrument’s bow with its strange positioning, the sexually suggestive

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147 Cosimo founded the *Accademia Fiorentina* in 1541 with members, which included poets, sculptors, and painters such as Bronzino. See Philadelphia Museum of Art, *Pontormo, Bronzino, and the Medici: The Transformation of the Renaissance Portrait in Florence*, exh. cat. by Carl Brandon Strehlke (2004), 131, Cat. 38, repro.

148 The use of Orpheus as Medici symbolism for peace can be seen earlier in a commission of Pope Leo X after the Medici family was restored to power in Florence following their eighteen-year exile. It was the statue of Orpheus and the three-headed dog Cerberus by Baccio Bandinelli that stood in the front court of the Palazzo Medici in Florence since about 1519. However, this display of Cosimo by Bronzino is more erotic and suggestive than Bandinelli’s statue, thus hinting that the Medici ruler as peacemaker is not the intent. The wedding of Cosimo to Eleonora of Toledo occurred in July of 1539. It was not uncommon for representations of the bride or bridegroom to use mythological figures for sexual stimulation, for Venus was used in the bedroom. Mark Tucker believed that this was a second try at the composition. According to infrared reflectography, Orpheus was originally wearing a red cloak held by a strap covering more of his back and leg. See Mark S. Tucker, “Discoveries Made During the Treatment of Bronzino’s *Cosimo I de’ Medici as Orpheus*,” *Philadelphia Museum of Art Bulletin* 81, no. 348, 28-32, esp. see reproduction. With the removal of the garment, Cosimo becomes more sexualized, quite congruous to Renaissance images for stimulation. Cosimo and Eleonora had many children including eight sons. A cameo was made by Giovanni Antonio de’ Rossi of *Duke Cosimo de’ Medici, Eleonora of Toledo and their Children* (Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence). The ducal marriage, the fertility of Eleonora, and the continuity of the Medicean dynastic line were important themes even carried out in the decoration of Eleonora’s Chapel in the Palazzo Vecchio. See Janet Cox-Rearick, *Bronzino’s Chapel of Eleonora in the Palazzo Vecchio* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 33-34.
shapes of bow and peg box, and his gaze out of the composition all seem to hint that it was for a specific viewer, perhaps Eleonora as Eurydice. Cosimo is gazing over his shoulder, much as Orpheus looked over his shoulder at Eurydice as they left Hades. The allegorical portrait was probably displayed in a private chamber, for it was never included in inventories of the Medici collections, nor were any copies of it made, further suggesting its personal intent.

Role-playing was particularly important in imagery that carried a political message. Rulers used such representations to project images of their authority or virtue that helped to justify their power. Agnolo Bronzino is believed to have been commissioned to paint the famous Genoese admiral Andrea Doria I (c. 1466-1500) by the humanist Paolo Giovio, for his portrait gallery of great men at his villa in Como, around 1537 to 1543.

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150 Patricia Simons clumped this portrait into the more official portraits of Cosimo claiming that the portrait “here charms not only one heterosexualized woman, his wife…He also seduces the courtiers and Florence itself.” However, unlike the more official portraits of Cosimo with their various copies to be given to friends and political alliances, Simon pointed out that “this portrait is known only from this single version, unlike other portraits of Cosimo.” This image was not for the viewing of Florence and Florentine men at large, as Patricia Simons suggested, rather it was probably exhibited in an intimate space in Cosimo’s abode with his wife. See P. Simons, “Chapter 1: Homosociality and Erotics in Italian Renaissance Portraiture,” *Portraiture: Facing the Subject*, Joanna Woodall, ed. (Manchester University Press, 1997), 31; and Robert B. Simon, “Bronzino’s *Cosimo I de’ Medici as Orpheus*”, 17.
152 Agnolo Bronzino, *Andrea Doria as Neptune*, late 1530s-early 1540s, oil on canvas (transferred from panel), 45 1/4 x 20 7/8 in (115 x 53 cm), Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan [no. 565, inscribed on the upper left: A. DORIA. See Bernice Davidson, “Drawings by Perino del Vaga for the Palazzo Doria, Genoa,” *The Art Bulletin* 41 (December 1959), 316. Baccio Bandinelli also displayed Doria as Neptune for a marble fountain while Tobias Stimmer’s woodcut is of the same theme from 1575 (Baccio Bandinelli, *Andrea Doria*, 1528-36, Marble, Piazza del Duomo, Carrara; and Tobias Stimmer, *Andrea Doria as Neptune*, 1575, woodcut, 6 3/8 x 6 1/16 in [162 x 153 mm] from *Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium* [Tributes to the Military Virtues of Illustrious Men] [Basel: Petri Pernae typographi Basil, opera ac studio, February 1, 1575], 374, on vellum, copy in National Gallery of Art Library, Washington D.C.). A banner painted for the bow of a ship displaying Doria nude, holding an oar and standing before a ship’s mast, was constructed for him in the spring of 1535 for a naval expedition in Tunisia. This portrayal was also circulated on a medallion attributed to Alfonso Lombardi, called il Cittadella, only extant in print form today. See Paolo Boccardo, *Andrea Doria e le arti: committenza e mecenatismo a Genova nel Rinascimento* (Rome: Palombi, 1989), 107-109. Unlike the Cosimo as Orpheus painting, there are known copies made of this Bronzino painting by Bernardino Campi. Maurice Brock has discussed a variety of allegorical male double portraits. See Maurice Brock, *Bronzino*, trans. by David Poole Radzinowicz and Christine Schultz-Touge (Paris: Flammarion, 2002), 162-181.
shows the mighty admiral as Neptune with flowing gray beard, and muscular, classically idealized body exposed except for a cloth that barely covers his genitalia, consciously equating sexual and naval prowess (Fig. 3.57). Another example of a contemporary man in the guise of a sexualized mythological figure is a now-lost painting of Alfonso di Tommaso Cambi as Endymion, painted and mentioned by Giorgio Vasari. Patricia Simons has argued that “a sensual beautification of male bodies does not delete them from the category of portraiture.” The Endymion myth, in which the goddess Diana, bewitched by the beautiful male youth, stole a kiss while he eternally slept, challenges traditional conceptions of masculine identity in its focus on sexual passivity. Several Renaissance poets referred to this sleeper, such as Jacopo Sannazaro and Pietro Bembo, while Vasari portrayed him as a full-length nude. Another portrait that cannot be identified with a specific allegorical figure but still retains an allegorical cast is the Giorgionesque Boy with a Pipe (The Shepherd) (c. 1530).
Vasari also mentioned a formal portrait transformed into an allegorical image by Francesco Torbido, called “Il Moro,” that of the Portrait of a Gentleman as a Shepherd. The existence of these sensual portraits of men might well have been pendants to female portraits that emphasized the power of beauty to imply virtue and encourage love. After all, Alberti had suggested that to inspire the creation of attractive offspring, portraits of beautiful men should hang in bedrooms. The depiction of Renaissance men as saintly figures also seems to have been common practice, with one example being Ambrogio de Predis’ Portrait of a Youth as Saint Sebastian from the late 1480s (Fig. 3.58). The sitter’s depiction with the attribute of Saint Sebastian, an arrow, perhaps refers to his name, his patron saint, or possibly his virtuous character.

157 Giorgionesque (copy after Giorgione), Boy with a Pipe, c. 1500, Hampton Court, England; Giorgionesque (copy after Giorgione), Boy with an Arrow, c. 1500, poplar, 48 x 42 cm, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna and also Giorgione, Portrait of a Young Boy with an Arrow, c. 1500, oil on poplar, 48 x 42 cm, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna [323]. It was first recorded in the house of Giovanni Ram, a Spanish merchant in Venice, where it was described as a young man in the guise of St. Sebastian. This subject emerged in Leonardo’s workshop in Milan at the end of the Quattrocento, most notably in portraits of young men such as Boltraffio’s bejeweled Youth as St. Sebastian which gives the impression of being a real portrait of someone dressed up in a gorgeous costume for a theatrical event or religious play. See Giovanni Antonio Bottraffio, Portrait of a Young Man as St. Sebastian, oil on panel transferred to canvas, 48 x 36 cm, Pushkin Museum, Moscow. Some scholars, such as Malaguzzi Valeri, have tried to identify the sitter as Gerolamo Casio. This concept is discussed in V. Markova, “Il San Sebastiano’ by Giovanni Antonio Boltraffio e alcuni disegni dell’area leonardesca,” in I Leonardeschi a Milano: Fortuna e Collezionismo, ed. by M. T. Fiorio and P. Mariani (Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Milan, 25-26 September 1990), Milan: 1991, 100-07.

158 “in Vinezia, in casa Monsignor de’ Martini, il ritratto d’un gentiluomo da Cà Badovaro, figurato in un pastore…” See Giorgio Vasari, Le Opere di Giorgio Vasari, III, 654; and M. Repetto Contaldo, “Francesco Torbido detto il Moro,” Saggi e Memoria di Storia dell’Arte 14 (1984), 56, fig. 7. Bronzino also produced allegorical male portraits, as in Portrait of a Young Man as Saint Sebastian, c. 1533, oil on panel, 87 x 77 cm, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Madrid, Portrait of a Young Man in Antique Costume, c. 1545, oil on panel, 59 x 44 cm, Landesgalerie, Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum, Hanover, Portrait of Giovanni de’ Medici as St. John the Baptist, oil on wood, 120 x 92 cm, c. 1560-61, Galleria Borghese, Rome. See Maurice Brock, Bronzino, trans. By David Poole Radzinowicz and Christine Schultz-Touge (Paris: Flammarion, 2002), 166-76, repro.

159 In looking at the contemporary reception of portraits of men in comparison to female portraits, two distinct types exist. One type shows the male sitter as a lover and the second presents him all’antica or anonymous portraits of beautiful youths, as seen in Leonardo’s drawings or Giorgione’s androgynous portraits of men. See Allison Wright, Heroes and Lovers: Male Beauty in Fifteenth-Century Florentine Portraiture, University College, London (conference paper, 2001).

160 Ambrogio De Predis (c. 1455-c. 1508), Portrait of a Youth as Saint Sebastian, late 1480s, Cleveland Museum of Art [1986.9]. Bronzino also utilized this saint for an allegorical portrait. See Maurice Brock, Bronzino, trans. by David Poole Radzinowicz and Christine Schultz-Touge (Paris: Flammarion, 2002), 166-68.

161 Other examples are Lorenzo Lotto’s Friar as Saint Peter Martyr (1549, oil on canvas, 89.9 x 69.4 cm, gift of Edward W. Forbes in memory of Alice F. Cary, Fogg Art Museum, [1964.4]) and Jacopo Tintoretto’s Portrait of
Role-playing portraits were not only confined to individual portraits of men and women or to the insertion of contemporaries within larger historical or sacred narratives, but also extended to the pairing of individuals reconstructed in a double-portrait format, allowing for a more liberal, and therefore, freer portrayal, of sixteenth-century relationships. These “masked” compositions used allegory as a means to visually enrich the persona of contemporary persons through their relationships with others, which could be framed in terms that lay outside social norms with themes such as hidden love, seduction, and desire. Rose Wishnevsky has categorized this type of expression as *portrait historiés* when the narrative roles are appropriated from literature, history, and mythology, and suggested that the sitters’ specific roles within the portraits reflect aspects of their own life histories.

There exist a number of images of unidentified Renaissance couples that appear to be allegorical portraits of known individuals. A pendant pair by Palma il Vecchio, *A Youth in Armor* and *A Young Woman* from 1510-11, shows a couple frontally, with the male on the heraldic right staring dreamily out toward the viewer (Fig. 3.59). He has shoulder-length

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*a Man as Saint George* (1540-50, oil on canvas, 83.8 x 71.1 cm, Samuel H. Kress Collection National Gallery of Art, Washington DC [1939.1.98]). Tintoretto’s enigmatic *Saint George* is clearly a portrait with the attention to detail rendered on the sitter’s face and beard in comparison to the roughly sketched dragon behind him.

162 In the case of contemporary portraits inserted into historical or religious narratives, Pope-Hennessy has commented that some of them became “a civic portrait gallery” in which “status and portraiture became inextricably intertwined, and there was almost nothing patrons would not do to intrude themselves in paintings; they would stone the woman taken in adultery, they would clean up after martyrs, they would serve at the table of Emmaus or in the Pharisee’s house. The elders in the story of Susannah were some of the few figures whom respectable Venetians were unwilling to impersonate.” See John Pope-Hennessy, *Portrait in the Renaissance*, 18, 22-23.


164 Palma il Vecchio, *A Youth in Armor* and *A Young Woman*, pendants, 1510-11, oil on limewood panel, 38.7 x 29 cm and 38.8 x 28.5 cm, respectively, Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest [1460]. The male portrait has been cut down on the upper and right side borders. The paintings appear in David Teniers the Younger’s *The Picture Gallery of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm* (Schleissheim Galerie, Munich [1840]) to the right of the door in the image. Palma Vecchio placed other gendered portraits together: *Portrait of Francesco Querini* (oil on panel, 86 x 72 cm) with his *Portrait of Paola Querini Priuli* (Oil on panel, Foundation Querini Stampalia). They were found in Palma
dark hair and is dressed in armor with a cape slung across his shoulder. The long-haired lady in the pendant, on the heraldic left, places her graceful long fingers on her chest in a gesture of loyalty. She is dressed in classical garb, and is adorned with an ivy crown. Both panels are identical in the treatment of the background, as a flat dark wall opens up to a window revealing a pastoral landscape behind their heads. Traditional gender hierarchy prevails, as he turns toward the landscape while she turns her back to it. In the inventory of the della Nave collection in Venice of about 1637 these panels were described as a “Roman Consul and his Wife.” Helen Noë has traced their influence from ancient Roman double funerary portraits to Giorgione’s *Laura*, and Tullio Lombardo’s double portrait reliefs could have also been influential. She believed that the ivy on the woman’s head in this painting, like that adorning the female figure in Lombardo’s Viennese relief double portrait, symbolized betrothal (see Fig. 3.40). Thus, Palma’s paintings might be allegorical representations of a bride and bridegroom.

Another unidentifiable couple, shown not as pendants but in the double-portrait mode, is Dosso Dossi’s *Soldier and Girl with a Flute* of 1520 (Fig. 3.60). The armored man in shadow on the heraldic right gazes toward the more illuminated girl to his left. The subject is vague, perhaps an unknown narrative or allegory transposed to Renaissance individuals. The previously mentioned *Nymph and Satyr* by Dosso also suggests an allegorical guise (see Fig. 3.60).
The figures’ isolated, bust-length depiction blends mythological subject matter with a portrait-like format in a potentially violent, yet idyllic and enigmatic manner. Much like Giorgione, Dosso created *sfumato* around the edges to suggest a poetic mood. The nymph baring one breast, sensuously draped in a red, fur-lined robe, with laurel leaves encircling her head is reminiscent of Giorgione’s *Laura* of 1506. The shifting of the nymph’s eyes, not fully turning her face, and gripping her circular pendant that hangs around her neck suggests the nymph’s wariness of the encroaching male satyr. That she wears the pendant and two finger rings, definitely modern, stylish status symbols and also, perhaps, matrimonial signs, further indicates a blending of a contemporary woman and a mythological creature.

In a portrayal of the severed head of St. John and the seductive Salome by Titian from c. 1515, the artist inserted his own likeness for the severed head and that of an

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169 Dosso Dossi, *Nymph and Satyr*, c. 1520, oil on canvas, 58 x 83 cm, Pitti Palace, Florence [147]. It is in poor condition. It has been traced to the collection of Cardinal Leopold de’ Medici and listed in his inventory in 1675 as a Schiavone, subsequently followed by an attribution to Giorgione. There is a copy of this composition in the Galleria Corsini in Rome. It has also been connected to the more specific nymph, Lyda, and a satyr by the scholar Robert Eisler, but its ambiguous image cannot substantiate this identification. See Robert Eisler, “Luca Signorelli’s *School of Pan,*” Gazette des Beaux-Arts XXXIII (1948), 84. In 1906 Gardner has also suggested an Ariostan subject, Angelica and Medoro from *Orlando Furioso*, for the two creatures. Another *Nymph and Satyr* in the Museum Boymans collection (Rotterdam) is similar and oscillates in attribution between Dosso and Bordone. See Felton Gibbons, *Dosso and Battista Dossi: Court Painters at Ferrara*, 175-76, Cat. 19, fig. 21.

170 Other images of generic nymphs and satyrs show a satyr spying or disrobing a sleeping nymph. Engravings of these images are seen in the works of Girolam Mocetto (Bartsch 2505.016); Master I.B. with the Bird (Bartsch 2507.008); Benedetto Montagna (Bartsch 2512.029); and the Master of 1515 (Bartsch 2523.016). See Millard Meiss, “Sleep in Venice: Ancient Myths and Renaissance Proclivities,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, CX (1966) 348-82, reprinted in *The Painter’s Choice* (New York: 1976), 212-39; Mark J. Zucker, *The Illustrated Bartsch: Early Italian Masters* 25 (New York: Abaris Books, 1984), 276, Cat. 2509, fn. 3.


172 Simari interpreted the ring held by a chain around the woman’s neck to be the magic ring of Angelica, mentioned in Ariosto’s *Orlando Furioso*, and the pursuing male as Orlando himself, transformed into a beast. See Simari in Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, *Capolavori & Raritari*, exh. cat. (1986-87). However, Peter Humfrey questioned the fact that it would have been odd to portray the oriental princess half-naked as seen here and Angelica attempted to escape Orlando on horseback, which is not portrayed here in this scene. He did, however, agree that it could be from *Orlando Furioso*, begun in 1506 and published in 1516. It could be a poetic invention such as the *Nymph and Satyr*, congruous with the influential manner of Giorgione and not one particular episode of the Renaissance text. See New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Dosso Dossi: Court Painter in Renaissance Ferrara*, exh. cat. by Peter Humfrey and Mauro Lucco (1998), 84-86, Cat. 1, reprod.
unknown contemporary woman as Salome.\textsuperscript{173} This is reminiscent of Giorgione’s \textit{Self-Portrait as David} (c. 1510-11), when the artist depicted himself as the boy hero of the Old Testament: perhaps the first allegorical portrait by a Venetian artist.\textsuperscript{174} Giorgio Vasari also utilized role-playing portrayals. One image, in particular, is a double portrait of Vasari and his wife Cosina as life-size Saints, Lazarus and Mary Magdalene, on one side panel of the altarpiece, \textit{The Calling of Peter and Andrew} (c. 1570), commissioned by Pope Julius III originally for the Pieve and now located in the Badia of SS. Fiore e Lucilla in Arezzo (Fig. 3.61).\textsuperscript{175} The painter as St. Lazarus stares directly at the viewer, while his wife as Mary Magdalene turns at an angle to reveal her profile and appropriate attribute of the jar. The same kind of biblical pairing as Titian and Vasari was employed by Agostino Carracci in his \textit{Portrait of a Woman as Judith} from the 1590s (Fig. 3.62).\textsuperscript{176} This work can be read as a disguised double portrait based on the realistic “likenesses” of a couple. Agostino is also known for having painted a portrait of Olimpia Luna Zoppi for her husband, Melchiore, after her death in 1592, in which Olimpia becomes Judith and the decapitated head of Holofernes, Melchiore. This painting of the married couple in allegorical guise probably alludes to the suffering of the mourning

\textsuperscript{173} Titian, \textit{Salome with the Head of St. John the Baptist}, c. 1515, Galleria Doria Pamphilj, Rome. Paul Joannides argued that the woman may be another Judith (1992, 163-70). Panofsky interpreted it as a \textit{Salome} in 1969 (42-47).

\textsuperscript{174} There is a cut version of this image in Braunschweig. Giorgione reused an old canvas with an earlier image by his friend Catena. His \textit{Self-Portrait as David} (c. 1510-11) was extremely popular as seen through many variants and copies. See Jaynie Anderson, \textit{Giorgione, Painter of ‘Poetic Brevity’}, 20.

\textsuperscript{175} Giorgio Vasari, \textit{Saints Lazarus and Mary Magdalene}, side panel of Vasari and his wife as Sts. Lazarus and Magdalene, c. 1570, Badia of SS. Fiore e Lucilla, Arezzo. The altarpiece was painted by Vasari with assistance by Stradano. Raffaello Borghini commented on this collaborative effort. It became a family shrine with a large tabernacle containing relics, dedicated to Vasari’s patron Saint George and to a local saint, Mustiola of Chiusi. Smaller panels of the altarpiece held other portraits of Vasari’s family. The altarpiece was to be a part of a memorial family chapel. When the Pieve was restored in 1863, it was moved from its original location and sent to the Badia of SS. Fiore e Lucilla. See T.S.R. Boase, \textit{Giorgio Vasari: The Man and the Book} (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), 172-175, fig. 111; and Raffaello Borghini, \textit{Il Riposo}, ed. and trans. by Lloyd H. Ellis (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 256.

husband after the loss of his wife. Previously, Agostino had painted from memory a “portrait within a portrait” for Zoppi, showing Olimpia holding a small portrait of her husband.177

Images of Venus at her Toilet have often been noted for their portrait-like verisimilitude, bolstered by her direct self-presentation and gaze. Venus becomes a beautiful lover, possibly an allegorical portrait of a courtesan. In Allegory (Possibly Alfonso d’Este and Laura Dianti), an elegantly dressed man touches the nude woman’s shoulder (Fig. 3.63).178 The woman physically dominates the space, while the gentleman gently rests his hand on her shoulder as he emerges from the shadow. Rona Goffen has suggested that Titian’s woman in this composition subverts the expected balance of power, for she physically dominates the image and optically controls how she is viewed.179 It has been mentioned that a Renaissance man and woman, possibly Alfonso d’Este and Laura Dianti, appear in the guise of god and goddess. The painting’s emotional drama of sensual love echoes the amants portraits discussed earlier.

Conjugal double portraits could also contain sitters assuming the roles of mythological lovers much as Cosimo de’ Medici was portrayed as Orpheus. Under the guise of a different identity, conjugal sitters could be portrayed in a more subtle and eroticized manner as, for example, Mars and Venus, possibly to allude to the concept of a harmonious

178 Follower of Titian, Allegory, National Gallery of Art, Washington DC. John Shearman has suggested that if the viewer can see the face of Venus or the beloved as Venus, then she can see the beholder, making him a more involved party. “Whether the face that we see in the mirror is the same as that of the unreflected Venus, or whether it is less idealized and more portrait-like, this modifies the perceived relationship between spectator and subject. See John Shearman, Only Connect…., 227-28, 229 and Niccolo da Correggio, Sonnet xlv, in I Opere, ed. A. Tissoni Benvenuti (Bari 1969), 129 or Antonio Tebaldeo, Sonnet ecxxxix, in Opere d’Amore (Venice 1503): the image of the beloved is light and mirror in Petrarch, Sonnet cclxxi.
marital love, with their polar personalities united. Especially in Venice, where masquerading was an integral expression of the culture, role-playing in portraits reflected an impulse for the dramaturgical, and an enthusiasm for disguise. Portraying a newly wedded couple as Mars and Venus was not so far-fetched, for such an eroticized coupling refers to the promising offspring to come from marriage.

Visual imagery of these mythological lovers appears in paintings, sculpture, and an array of decorative objects in the Renaissance. *Mars and Venus* was a suitable subject for marriage *cassoni*, such as those executed by Botticelli and Piero di Cosimo. The Renaissance Neoplatonists saw the union of Mars and Venus, not as adulterous and therefore transgressive, but as legitimate and fruitful. Pico della Mirandola and Marsilio Ficino both wrote about the union of this mythological pair as proper, associated with their positive union in astrology and symbolic cosmology. Mythological figures were often utilized in

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180 The placement of this allegorical subject of Mars and Venus in bedrooms of *palazzi* could further increase the interest of displaying a married couple in this disguise. These images are seen in Rosso Fiorentino’s painting of the subject as well as Mantegna’s decoration for the Gonzaga family.


182 Erwin Panofsky has considered Titian the first to allegorically place newly married couples disguised as Mars and Venus, such as in his so-called painting, *Allegory of the Marchese del Vasto*. He connected the couple’s appropriateness of Mars and Venus as an ideal for married couples through the use of astrology and symbolic cosmology by Ancient poets. The power of Venus tempers the ferocity of Mars, in which their union produced a daughter called Harmonia. See Erwin Panofsky, *Problems in Titian: Mostly Iconographic* (New York University Press, 1969), 126-128. He also has mentioned that some of Titian’s followers attempted to vary the allegorical elements. Two of these variants, both located in the Hofmuseum in Vienna, are illustrated in O. Fischel, *Tizian* (Stuttgart: Klassiker der Kunst, 1911 [III, 4th edition], 212. It was even copied as seen in an image in the Palazzo Venezia, Rome, with the glass ball replaced by a watermelon. See Erwin Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1967), 162, fn. 115.

183 See Pico della Mirandola, *Opere di Giovanni Benivieni fiorentino…con una canzone dello amor celeste & divino, con commento dello Ill.S. conte Giovanni Pico Mirandolano* (Venice: 1522), II, 6, fol. 22; and Marsilio Ficino, *Opera et quae hactenus exteirum…et quae in lucem nunc primum profideb omnia…* (Basel: 1576), V, 8, 1339. Even in Francesco Colonna’s *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, the two young lovers are finally reunited in Venus’ temple. They partake in fruits which indicate their fruitful love and Venus officiates blessing their union. Some of these pagan rituals actually parallel Catholic mass rituals. See Fritz Saxl, “Pagan Sacrifices in the Italian Renaissance,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, II, 1938-39, 360-63. *Epithalamia*, marriage poems, often glorified love personified by Venus. A sleeping Venus is often described, followed by her awakening and subsequent journey to a wedding ceremony where she serves as patroness of marriage. Giorgione used this as his prototype for a marriage painting for his patron Girolamo Marcello to Morosinio Pisani in October 1507. Also in the
Renaissance triumphal processions related to marriage. In the Triumphal procession of Giovanna of Austria from Innsbruck to Tuscany and her Triumphal Entry of 1565 through the gates of Florence, a series of Triumphal arches was set in place, designed by Vincenzo Borghini. At the Ponte alla Carraia, a triumphal arch commemorated the marriage of Francesco and Giovanna, based on the model of the nuptials of Peleus and Thetis in the presence of the Olympian gods under the auspices of Hymen.184

Renaissance artists could have revived the ancient Roman tradition of portraying high-ranking married couples in the guise of Mars and Venus as an honorable deified couple in order to create a painted epithalamium.185 In one example, the reverse image on the Medal of Rodrigo de Bivar (1497-98) reveals him and his wife as Mars and Venus (Fig. 3.64).186 Paris Bordone was also a contributor to this type of allegorical portrait-making.187 In his Mars and Venus (c. 1550), the woman’s hair is entwined with pearls and a flower-like jewel is revealed decoration of a bedroom in the home of Francesco Petrucci in Siena in 1519, Domenico Beccafumi utilized Venus lying in a landscape (her role as a marriage broker) as one of the virtues necessary in matrimony. See Charles Dempsey, Portrayal of Love, 64.

184 See Randolph Starn and Loren Partridge, Arts of Power: Three Halls of State in Italy, 1300-1600 (Berkeley/Los Angeles/Oxford: University of California Press, 1992), 170-171. Also, in Anton Francesco Doni’s I Marmi (I: 20), he mentioned that in the intermezzo at the court of Duke Cosimo de’ Medici, was performed the story of Mars and Venus. In addition, other mythological figures were utilized in marriage festivities. In the frescoes by Primaticcio on the Porte Dorée at Fontainebleau, the marriage of Francis I and Eleanor of Austria was honored. The theme of Hercules and Omphale was used in a courtly setting to symbolize the conjugal faith of the rulers of the court. See Raymond Le Begue, “Un thème Ovidien traité par le Primatice et par Ronsard,” Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 6th ser., LV (1960), 301-306; and Felton Gibbons, “Two Allegories by Dosso for the Court of Ferrara,” Art Bulletin 47, no. 4 (December 1965), 494. The story of Cupid and Psyche was performed on the occasion of Francesco de’ Medici’s wedding to Joanna of Austria and the mythological couple signified the noble couple. See Giorgio Vasari, Le Opere di Giorgio Vasari, VIII, 572; and A.M. Nagler, Theater Festivals of the Medici, 1539-1637 (New Haven: 1964), 64.


186 Italian artist, Medal of Rodrigo de Bivar (recto) and Mars and Venus (verso), inscribed QUORUM OPUS ADEST.

187 One such visual example of Mars and Venus by Paris Bordone is Venus and Mars with Cupid, 1559-60, oil on canvas, 118 x 130.5 cm, Galleria Doria Pamphili, Rome. It has also been connected to lover images of courtesans. Another example by Paris Bordone would be Venus and Adonis, c. 1540, oil on canvas, 136 x 121 cm, Palazzo dei Rettori, Venice.
at her bosom as her dress slips down her body (Fig. 3.65). Both jewels are suggestive of items worn by a contemporary bride. The highly individualized facial features of the man suggest that he is a portrait and perhaps the patron of the painting. The couple gazes toward each other, exchanging roses in a pastoral landscape. Panofsky has interpreted the image as a Venetian married couple in the guise of ancient gods due to the presence of quince and myrtle, which are symbols of marriage. Bordone’s Mars and Venus Crowned by Cupid also shows an enamored couple in a tender embrace. The crowning of their heads by Cupid recalls the more formal Double Portrait of Messer Marsilio and His Bride, in which Cupid similarly places a crown over the couple, symbolically demonstrating their union (see Fig. 2.4). A more formal portrayal of a couple in the guise of Mars and Venus from the mid-to late sixteenth century is by an anonymous artist of the Venetian school (Fig. 3.66). The three-quarter length man and woman equally balance the composition as they appear in front of a tree-filled landscape. The woman sits upright, supporting her arm on the chair. Though her dress reveals her breasts, her hair is pulled back behind her head, suggesting married status. Her male companion to her right reaches over to touch her right shoulder. As she involves

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188 Paris Bordone, Mars and Venus Crowned by Victory in the Presence of Cupid. (Allegory with Cupids), c. 1550, oil on canvas, 111.5 x 174.5 cm, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna [s. 1781, inv. 120]. Cantelupe has suggested that respectable couples, lovers, and newlyweds were identified with Venus and Mars because the illicit romance, celebrated in Book VIII of the Odyssey, was allegorized into the union of cosmic forces, or into the marriage of beauty and bravery. A myth also persisted that Venus had been married to Mars before she was married by Jupiter to Vulcan. See Eugene B. Cantelupe, “The Anonymous Triumph of Venus in the Louvre: An Early Italian Renaissance Example of Mythological Disguise,” Art Bulletin 44, no. 3 (September 1962), 238-42.


190 Paris Bordone, Mars and Venus crowned by Cupid, oil on canvas, Gemaldegalerie, Vienna. For another image of a married couple dressed up in the guise of Mars and Venus is by the school of Paolo Veronese, Städelisches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt [893].

191 Venetian school, Double Portrait as Venus and Mars, location unknown. The image was found in the Getty photographic archives, Los Angeles.
the spectator through her gaze, the man in the painting looks to a pointing cupid as if to receive instructions.

Tullio Lombardo’s marble *Double Portrait* in Vienna (c. 1500-10) given the title *Bacchus and Ariadne* because the young man wears a crown made of vine leaves, also shows a couple in mythological guise (see Fig. 3.40). Sarah Wilk has identified that the couple as Bacchus and Ceres based on a passage from the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, while Leithe-Jasper has suggested that it was a contemporary Venetian couple portrayed in an archaic style. Wilk appropriately called it “sculptural poetry,” a quite apt description considering the Giorgionesque quality of art in Venice. The actual identity of the two sculpted heads is unknown. Perhaps Lombardo’s *Double Portrait* in Vienna is a conflation of the two ideas, fitting it appropriately within the context of a contemporary couple in the guise of a mythological pair. It has been further suggested that Tullio’s *Double Portrait* in Venice depicts the artist and his wife dressed in antique garb (see Fig. 1.9). Nudity in ancient double portrait reliefs referenced conjugal love, an association that could have been easily transferred to images in the Renaissance, if these objects were located, as has been suggested by Mancini and Alberti, in private quarters. It is already known that nude men and women were painted on the inside lids of pairs of *cassone*, and the boxes themselves also became sexual

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195 See Sarah Wilk, “Tullio Lombardo’s Ca’ d’Oro Relief: A Self-Portrait with the Artist’s Wife?,” *Art Bulletin* LXI, no. 2 (June 1989), 235.
metaphors through the process of opening and closing (Fig. 3.67). This type of allegorical display personalized reproductive encouragement.

The representation of a contemporary couple masked in myth can also be seen on a medal by Guillaume Dupré (Fig. 3.68). The jugated busts of Henry IV and Maria de’ Medici were designed for a medal’s obverse. The husband is in three-quarter stance, while his wife is in profile. On a similar medallion, the royal couple was portrayed in the guise of Mars and Minerva shown harmoniously with their young child between them. The king is dressed in armor with an antique sword, while his wife wears an ornamented breastplate and a plumed helmet. Unlike the more risqué treatment of couples in the guise of Mars and Venus for more discreet locations, the use of the more properly attired Mars and Minerva was appropriate for a reproducible medium meant for dissemination. By including these two war-like deities, the medal further signifies authority and dominance in the joining of two prominent families through the marital union.

The Bolognese artist, Bartolomeo Passerotti (1529-1592), worked in Bologna during the Counter-Reformation and was under the social and religious reform policy, which included artistic guidelines, imposed by Cardinal Gabrielle Paleotti. Inclined toward unusual

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196 Attributed to Lo Scheggia, *The Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines and The Entry of Romulus and Tatius into Rome, Reclining, nearly Nude Youth Holding a Posy* (inside lid), 1421-1486, Tempera on panel (cassone), 42 x 165 cm (87.3 x 207.7 x 77.5 cm) and *The Reconciliation of the Romans and Sabines, Hersilia Declares Peace, Reclining Nude Girl* (inside lid), 1421-1486, Tempera on panel (cassone), 41.5 x 165 cm (86.8 x 207.7 x 77.5 cm), Statens Museum fur Kunst, Denmark [KMS4786 & KMS4785]. These images have ancient prototypes as seen in such images as a reclining female on a sarcophagus in Palazzo Giustiniani. Pisanello did a drawing after one of these figures, very reminiscent of the female reclining nudes on the inside of cassoni. The *Endymion* and *Selene* sarcophagus in the Vatican also demonstrates this figure type. Baskins pointed out that the use of classical subjects for cassone imagery mingled with humanistic rhetoric, chivalric romance, Christian theology and hagiography. See Cristelle L. Baskins, *Cassone Painting, Humanism, and Gender in Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988). A contextual analysis of a documented pair of painted cassoni by Biagio d’Antonio and Jacopo del Sellaio commissioned by Lorenzo Morell in 1472 to commemorate the marriage to Vaggia dei Nerli is discussed by Rubin. See Patricia Rubin and Alison Wright, eds., *Renaissance Florence: The Art of the 1470s* (London: National Gallery, 1999), 316-317; and Ellen Callman, “William Blundel Spence and the Transformation of Renaissance cassoni,” *Burlington Magazine* 141 (1999), 338-48.

forms in his oeuvre, this artist experimented with the allegorical portrait. Though he utilized a more formal approach to religious subjects, his imagery normally bordered on the bizarre and grotesque, no doubt inspired by his own collection of art and *anticaglie*, oddities, and his scientific interests. He was an established painter in Bologna by 1560 and particularly successful as a portraitist. He often presented his sitters in three-quarter length, actively engaged with the viewer through lively gestures and expressions. His portraits often presented individuals referring to objects and standing in rooms strewn with an assortment of items. Passerotti also experimented with genre painting beginning in the 1570s, which grew from his interest in portraiture and his privately commissioned satirical allegories. He maintained stimulating friendships with a number of scholars, members of the aristocracy and bourgeoisie, from the university of Bologna who became some of his patrons.

Passerotti’s inventive allegorical portraits, made frequent reference to the classical world, of which he had personal knowledge by way of his large collection of Roman antiquities. He is known to have portrayed himself in a *Self-Portrait in the Guise of Homer* as well as a *Self-Portrait in the Guise of St. Bartholomew* in *The Assumption* in the Chiesa di Santa Angela Merici in Bologna. Perhaps one of the strangest sixteenth-century allegorical

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198 His genre scenes, along with Vincenzo Campi’s work, were highly influential on the young Annibale Carracci. They were viewed as moralistic satires on human vices conveyed through a didactic means of showing the everyday life of the lower classes, in accordance with post-Tridentine cultural prescriptions. See Angela Ghirardi, “Passarotti [Passerotti], Bartolomeo,” in *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. by Jane Turner, (London: Macmillan Publishers Limited/New York: Grove’s Dictionaries, Inc., 1996), 24, 233-234. Another take on genre scenes from this period with a less moralistic bent is seen by Shiela McTighe, “Foods and the Body in Italian Genre Paintings, about 1580: Campi, Passarotti, Carracci,” *Art Bulletin* LXXXVI, no. 2 (June 2004), 301-23.


200 Raffaello Borghini, the artist’s first biographer, in 1584 told of a painting in the Florentine collection of Giovanbattista Deti in which “Passerotti portrayed himself in the face of Homer.” See C.C. Malvasia, *Felina pittrice*, ed. by G.P. Zanotti (Bologna: 1678; Bologna: 1841), 187-193; and Raffaello Borghini, *Il Riposo*, ed. and trans. by Lloyd H. Ellis, 270. Two sketches of the now lost painting showing the artist’s appearance as the Roman poet exist in the British Museum, London, and the Louvre, Paris. The other representation of him is as St. Bartholomew in the *Assumption* in the Chiesa of S. Angela Merici, Brescia. In this self-portrait he is the person drawing the viewer's attention into the sacred image. He holds the Saint’s traditional knife, which could also symbolize his interest in engraving.
portraits found to date is Passerotti’s double portrait of a couple in the guise of Ulysses and Circe (Fig. 3.69). The story of Ulysses and Circe is in itself a metamorphic tale. When Ulysses landed on the Aeaean isle, some of his companions were greeted by Circe, the daughter of the Sun and a sorceress known for her magical tricks. The men subsequently banqueted with Circe, and as she touched her wand on their shoulders, they transformed into swine, in “head, body, voice and bristles, but with the same intellects as before.”

Passerotti shows an intermediary portion of the scene. The men have already been turned into swine, as Ulysses enters the scene to confront Circe and in turn, save his men.

Passerotti’s approach to this story is unique in that he converts a mythological subject not into a narrative, but rather into an allegorical double portrait. Within a vertical format, Passerotti has placed the enchantress, dressed in a toga revealing one breast, in the center of the composition, in the position of power and seduction. Yet, Passerotti’s enchantress Circe is quite different for he has interpreted her in a metamorphic state as an androgynous character, perhaps even a hermaphrodite, paralleling his approach to transformed men into swine. Circe’s short cropped hair, strong facial features, and masculine build, with muscular arms, removes her from the realm of the feminine entirely except for her exposed right breast and the ribbon placed in her hair. She holds elaborate banqueting vessels,

201 Bartolomeo Passerotti, Ulysses and Circe, c. 1575, oil on canvas, 125.5 x 96.3 cm, Hall & Knight Ltd, New York. The painting has been titled also Ritratto Allegorico and Doppio Ritratto Travestito con figure Animalesche. It was on exhibition at the Milan International Antiques Show in April 6-14 2002. The only known reference to this painting to date is an article by the Passerotti scholar, Angela Ghirardi, in 2004. See Angela Ghirardi, “Passerotti, Aldrovandi e un ritratto,” in Arti a confronto. Studi in onore di Anna Maria Matteucci, ed. by D. Lenzi (Bologna: 2004), 151-156.

202 After Ulysses heard of this, he went to dine with the magician as well, but only after encountering Mercury who gave him moly, a protection herb, to resist the transformation. When she placed her wand on him, he did not change, but drew his sword on Circe demanding for his companions to be turned back into men. See Homer, Odyssey, X, 305.

203 Hermaphrodites, stemming from the Greco-Roman myth of Hermaphroditus, generally have the head, breasts, and body of a female, but with the sexual parts of a man. Others mythological beings that turn to transvestism for a period include Achilles, Dionysus, Heracles, and Leucippus. Angela Ghirardi connected the muscularized portrayal of Circe by Passerotti to a Portrait of a Female Nude by Girolamo Siciolante, called Sermoneta. See Ghirardi, “Passerotti, Aldrovandi e un ritratto,” 151-156; and John Hunter, Girolamo Siciolante,
presumably objects from Passerotti’s private collection. To the right of Circe, a portrait of a man as Ulysses dressed in armor, grasps a staff, his gaze fixed on his female companion. Ulysses’ expression suggests he will not be able to resist the erotic gleam of Circe’s allure, for he encroaches upon her space much like the men in the seductive amants portraits (see Figs. 3.36, 3.44, 3.51). Over Circe’s right shoulder are two beast-like men wearing armor, already transformed into animals by the sorceress. Passerotti’s manneristic anthropomorphic style is exemplified by the man-beasts, which retain a bit of their human quality, particularly in their strong facial expressions and the armor they still wear. Passerotti’s concern for detail is seen in a preparatory drawing of one of the two creatures (Fig. 3.70). These two figures could have been also partly inspired by the patron’s scientific manuscript, the Monstrorum historia.

The Ulysses and Circe Double Portrait represents Ulisse Aldrovandi (1522-1605) and perhaps his second wife, dressed up in the guise of the Homeric characters. In quite typical, emblematic Renaissance fashion, the artist has elided the Bolognese Ulisse with the Homeric Ulysses. Ulysses’s facial features in the double portrait recall an earlier portrait of Ulisse by Passerotti, an engraved author portrait for the Ornithologia of 1599 as well as a painted

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204 Passerotti often painted portraits showing someone in the act of holding a work of art such as in the Family (Gemaldegalerie, Dresden) and the Portrait of Sertorio Sertori (Galleria Estense, Modena) in which he holds a metamorphic goblet, similar to the one in Ulysses and Circe.

205 Passerotti possessed also “dried and preserved monsters” in his collection. He used them for his drawing of zoomorphic and anthropomorphic ornaments. They could have also inspired these figures and the vessels within the painting. See Angela Ghirardi, Bartolomeo Passerotti Pittore (1529-1592), catalogue generale (Rimini: Luisè Editore, 1990), 36-37.

206 Bartolomeo Passerotti, Screaming Man-Beast, Graphische Sammlung, Staatsgalerie, Stockholm [6259]. It has also been attributed to his son, Tiburzio Passerotti. A copy after this drawing is located in the Cini Foundation, Venice [Z. 325]. Ghirardi suggested the influence of Michelangelo’s Damned Soul in the Last Judgment on grotesque heads by Passerotti. See Angela Ghirardi, Bartolomeo Passerotti (Rimini: 1990), 87. Another drawing associated with this painting is of the mask on the armor of the Screaming Man-Beast, located at the Teylers Museum in Haarlem [AX 14v]. See Corrina Höper, Bartolomeo Passarotti (1529-1592) (Worms: 1987), II, 139, Cat. Z118, fig. 35b.
version now in the Pinacoteca of the Università degli Studi di Bologna. Passerotti was also probably aware of contemporary painted scenes from this story by Jan van der Straet, called Stradano, in Florence and Pellegrino Tibaldi in his hometown of Bologna. Stradano painted the scene in a vertical oval format within the Studiolo of Francesco I in the Palazzo Vecchio, Florence, in 1570. Tibaldi painted his own version after he returned to Bologna from Rome in 1550, when he was commissioned to decorate the interior of Cardinal Poggio’s palace, now part of the university of Bologna, with scenes from the Odyssey. Clearly accessible to Passerotti, Tibaldi’s painting depicted the meeting of Ulysses and Circe in a horizontal format within the Homeric cycle. He showed the men, after being transformed into beasts by Circe, with amusing and fantastic animal heads grotesquely placed on human bodies (Fig. 3.71). Milton’s Comus (1634), which elaborated on the Homeric tale, aptly described, in a similar manner to Passerotti’s painted portrayal, the scene in the following manner:

Who knows not Circe, // the daughter of the Sun? Whose charmed cup // Whoever tasted lost his upright shape // And downward fell into a groveling swine.

An accessible literary model for Passerotti to draw from for his allegorical double portrait was possibly taken from Renaissance comedies, which were often influenced by ancient Roman theater. For example, Giovanni Battista Gelli penned a satirical interpretation of the Circe story in a 1540s theatrical rendition for Cosimo de Medici’s wedding, which he dedicated to the duke. Gelli’s dialogues on Circe were influenced by Lucian, whose work had

208 It is known that Bartolomeo Passerotti was in Florence with Michelangelo Bandinelli in 1574. In the collection of a Giovan Battista Deti, Borghini mentioned that he had an “enigma di Omero” and “disegni passerottiani”. See R. Borghini, Il Riposo (Florence, 1584), ed. by M. Rosci (Milan: 1967), 566-67; A. Ghirardi, Bartolomeo Passerotti, 153; and Raffaello Borghini, Il Riposo, ed. and trans. by Lloyd H. Ellis, 270.
209 See John Milton, Comus, Chapter XXIX, line 46.
been translated by Guicciardini and Machiavelli. Lucian wrote that “human beings turned into animals by Circe explain why they would prefer to remain animals rather than return to their dismal human form.”

Parigianino’s interpretation of Circe as enchantress in the late sixteenth century is more feminized than Passerotti’s version, for she appears as a woman with long hair drawn up and her dress clinging to her body with graceful drapery billowing around her. Dosso Dossi, too, portrayed *Circe and her Lovers* (1514-16) in a feminized manner in which she is exposed except for drapery covering one leg. She is surrounded by humans transformed into an array of animals within a pastoral setting. Passerotti’s treatment of the physiognomy of Circe is quite different for she becomes unfeminized. Circe’s portrayal is reminiscent of the sitters in two other feminine portraits by the artist. The artist’s handling of Circe has also been connected to Siciolante’s *Portrait of a Nude Female*, whose sitter has the same heavy, muscular build (Fig. 3.72). However, Passerotti steps beyond this body type to a more androgynous character.

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211 Parmigianino, *Circe*, late sixteenth century, drawing, Albertina, Vienna. The drawing was later developed for a chiaroscuro woodcut.
212 Dosso Dossi, *Circe and her Lovers*, 1514-16, oil on canvas, National Gallery of Art, Washington DC.
213 Bartolomeo Passerotti, *Female Portrait*, Galleria Atheneum, Montecarlo and *Female Portrait*, Campione d’Italia. See Angela Ghirardi, “Passerotti, Aldrovandi e un ritratto,” 155, fn. 12. They have been reproduced in Angela Ghirardi, *Bartolomeo Passerotti*, 199, fig. 40, pl. IX, 207-08, fig. 48; and Milan, L’anima e il volto. Ritratto e fisionomica da Leonardo a Bacon, exh. cat. by F. Caroli (Milan: 1998), 112.
215 The interest in utilizing the image of a hermaphrodite within the context of portraiture is not unique to Passerotti’s Circe. Androgynous figures appear to have one sex assuming the dress and attributes of the other (male or female). Retaining both sexes within one body becomes a source of threat while at the same time a basis for fearful desire. The Hermaphrodite could be considered the incarnation of ideal beauty by being the partial beauties of two sexes harmoniously blending.
Instances where the central figure is depicted as a masculine-feminine duality, as in Passerotti’s double portrait, shift notions of identity and sexual roles. Many artists other than Passerotti experimented with such representations. One example is Leonardo's *Drawing of an Androgynous Young Man* in the Uffizi. While conventional images of Francis I portray the French king bust-length, turned slightly to one side in order to show-off his distinctive and prominent nose, there also exists a miniature and an engraving based on it that portrays him as a hermaphrodite (Fig. 3.73). The king is presented in a self-conscious, mannered androgynous pose, standing in slight contrapposto, wearing a parade helmet and brown sandals (Fig. 3.74). A swirling red drapery around his torso falls in vertical pleats over his thighs, and a tall unstrung bow rests against his left hip, as he holds a gold caduceus entwined with snakes and grasps a thrusting sword. Several theories have been put forth to explain why the French Catholic King was portrayed as a hermaphrodite. The most

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218 In another portrayal of the French ruler he is allegorized as a Caesar. See Jean Rabel the Elder, *Profiled Portrait of Francis I as Caesar*, last quarter of sixteenth century, engraving, Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris. He was also allegorized as Charlemagne. Raphael utilized Francis I’s likeness in his image of the Franconian king in the fresco in the Stanza dell’Incendio in the Vatican. In addition, in a design for a bronze portrait statue of the early 1540s, Benvenuto Cellini portrayed Francis I in the guise of Mars.

219 Artist unknown, *Portrait of Francis I*, c. 1536, miniature on vellum affixed to a thin oak panel, 234 x 134 mm, Cabinet des Estampes, Reserve, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris. In its history, the miniature has been attributed to Nicolo dell’Abate, Nicolas da Modena, dating the work to 1545. The Parisian engraver Pierre Chenu, who frequently worked for Charles Nicolas Cochin the Younger, copied the miniature in 1768 attributing it to Nicolo dell’Abbate, who was in Fontainebleau in 1552, and he made an engraved version. Pierre Chenu, *Portrait of Francis I*, 1768, Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris. See Barbara Hochsteteter Meyer, “Marguerite de Navarre and the Androgynous Portrait of François I,” *Renaissance Quarterly* XLVIII, no. 2 (Summer 1995), 287-325.

220 Edward Wind has suggested that the *androgyne de Platon* became such an acceptable image of the universal man among the French humanists of the sixteenth century that it could be applied to an allegorical portrait of Francis I. Contrarily, Raymond B. Waddington has viewed it as bizarre and relegated it to a joke due to Francois I’s nature of condoning and commissioning mythological and erotic images from the School of Fontainebleau with “an expression of female sexual aggression” and a “preoccupation with lesbianism” serving as a commentary on the King’s character. He paralleled Francis I’s attitude on women with that of Castiglione in *The Courtier*, believing that the image of Francis I as a hermaphrodite became a means of mockery postmortem showing a physically strong man cowering to the domination of strong women in his lifetime. See Edgar Wind, *Pagan Mysteries of the Renaissance*, 213-214, fig. 80; and Raymond B. Waddington, “The Bisexual
convincing argument is that the representation of Francis I as an androgynous character with signifiers taken from a variety of male and female deities for his costume, projects the image of a strong and versatile ruler.\textsuperscript{221}

Visual representations of sexual ambiguity such as an androgynous individual in Passerotti’s 	extit{Circe} could stem from discussions of this phenomenon in Renaissance courts. Ancient texts mentioning hermaphrodites were widely read by Renaissance audiences. Pliny the Elder referred to a famous statue of a hermaphrodite by Polycles (c. 155 BCE).\textsuperscript{222} The term hermaphrodite comes from the Greek myth of Hermaphroditus, son of Hermes and Aphrodite, written about in Ovid’s 	extit{Metamorphosis} \textsuperscript{[4:285-388]} and Martial’s 	extit{Epigrams} \textsuperscript{[14: 174]}, in which the young man was bodily united with the nymph Salmacis after spurning her affections. In the Hellenistic era, Hermaphroditus’s iconography was adopted as a symbol of fertility and the protector of marriage. Renaissance adaptations of this symbolism, which connected Venus and fertility, have been discussed by Seymour Howard.\textsuperscript{223} Renaissance literary works focused on hermaphroditism include the lascivious homoerotic poem, \textit{L’ermafrodito}, written in c. 1419-25 by Antonio Beccadelli and dedicated to Cosimo de’ Medici.\textsuperscript{224} In 1462, Marsilio Ficino translated the corpus of Plato into Latin for Cosimo, including a section on androgyny from the \textit{Symposium}, which was eventually published as \textit{In Convivium Platonis Commentarium} in 1485. Another popular and humorous episode that

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\textsuperscript{221} Hochstettert Meyer has noted that this was a personal portrait for his sister Margherite de Navarre, which infused feminine with masculine traits. This representation of Francis I also has parallels to the representation of the goddess Minerva, who seems androgynous by her traits as a virgin goddess of warriors and poetry.

\textsuperscript{222} See Pliny, \textit{Historia Naturalis}, XXXIV, 80.

\textsuperscript{223} See Seymour Howard, “The Dresden \textit{Venus} and its Kin. Mutation and Retrieval of Types,” \textit{Art Quarterly} n.s. 2 (1979), 92.

provided much fodder for Renaissance writers was that of Pan attempting to seduce the sleeping figure of Hermaphroditus, only to discover that it was not the woman that he had thought.\textsuperscript{225} Pietro Aretino, in a letter commending Sebastiano del Piombo’s \textit{Venus} and its androgynous physicality, believed that this figure could incite lust in both genders. In a mock epitaph for Paolo Giovio, also attributed to Aretino, the author alludes to Giovio’s bisexuality, claiming that “here lies Paolo Giovio the hermaphrodite // Who knew how to act as wife and husband.”\textsuperscript{226} In Passerotti’s portrayal of Circe, he departs from the established social distinction between male and female behavior, for he shows her as erotically feminized but with masculine strength, alluding to the hermaphrodite theme. His depiction hints that the combination of male and female traits results in the optimum individual.

That Passerotti depicted an actual person as Circe seems likely due to her individualized features and the portrait-like format, though the model’s identity is still, at present, unknown. She could be the second wife of Aldrovandi, for a hermaphrodite sometimes was used to signify the protector of marriage.\textsuperscript{227} In that case, this painting would be comparable to depictions of married couples in the guise of Mars and Venus. On the other hand, in a manner akin to courtesan pictures, Circe could also bear the features of a lover outside the confines of matrimony, as suggested by Angela Ghirardi.\textsuperscript{228} Much like the central figure in Passerotti’s paintings, courtesans possessed male/female qualities, for they were known to be beautiful, yet also well educated.

\textsuperscript{225} See Paul Barolsky, \textit{Infinite Jest}, 194.
\textsuperscript{227} His legitimate son’s name was Achilles.
\textsuperscript{228} See Angela Ghirardi, “Passerotti, Aldrovandi e un Ritratto,” 154.
Passerotti was influenced by the naturalistic research in Bologna under his patron Aldrovandi, who was a university lecturer and researcher of *arcane naturae*, who also organized a fully illustrated archive of nature.\(^{229}\) Shortly after 1585, Aldrovandi commissioned his country house to be decorated as a new Odyssey, with a pictorial cycle of the stories of Ulysses.\(^{230}\) Aldrovandi’s quest for discovery is quite similar to the Homeric Ulysses’ exploration on his “world tour.” Passerotti’s allegorical double portrait could have fit quite easily into these surroundings and commissioned about the same time.\(^{231}\) According to Armenini, Aldrovandi had a portrait gallery in his suburban home, which included a portrait of him and his second wife Francesca Fontana, as well as portrayals of Francesco I and Ferdinand de’ Medici.\(^{232}\)

With the Bolognese combination of aristocratic taste for *naturalia*, natural history, and the restrictive Tridentine measures confining secular art intended for private patrons primarily to the subject of portraiture, pagan themes did not disappear altogether. Instead, they infused allegorical portraits in general and Passerotti’s double portrait of *Ulysses and Circe*

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\(^{231}\) The country villa was bought in the 1560s with the dowry from his second wife. It was located in the country, outside the S. Vitale porta, near the parrocchia of S. Antonio di Savena. His emblem also retained a Greek hero, found in Homer.

\(^{232}\) Interestingly, the connection between the placement of the theme within Francesco I’s studio and this allegorical double portrait on the same subject, corresponds well with the grandduke and the scientist’s interests. Francesco and Ferdinand I de’ Medici both contributed to his collection of world specimens and love for natural history. See G.B. Armenini, *Dei veri precetti della pittura* (Ravenna:1586), ed. by M. Gotteri, preface by E. Castelnuovo (Turin: 1988), 218. It is known through Malvasia that the contemporary to Passerotti, Prospero Fontana, “made without charge portraits and various drawings and gifts of paintings.” See Malvasia, *Felsina pittrice*, 1678; 1841 ed., I: 174.
specifically. Aldrovandi, dressed up as the Homeric Ulysses, seems quite normal in the theater of *naturalia* constructed by him in late sixteenth-century Bologna. Passerotti’s allegorical portraits probably influenced Agostino Carracci, who was a student in his workshop. The influence of Passerotti’s *Ulysses and Circe*, for example, is evident in Carracci’s triple portrait of the *Dwarf Amon, Mad Peter and Hairy Arrigo*, three clowns at the Roman court of Odoardo Farnese (Fig. 3.75). The sitters, like Circe, human oddities, are depicted in the company of exotic animals within a garden setting. The elements of the bizarre in this painting recall Passerotti’s exotic interests as well as the Bolognese *naturalia* movement promoted by Ulisses Aldrovandi.

The interest in *travestire*, taking another’s dress or disguise, was pervasive in sixteenth-century Italy. Other popular alter-egos were the pagan gods and heroes. Jean Seznec has pointed out that pagan gods and heroes not only survived Christianity’s rise, but in fact possessed an unrelenting hold on the imagination, and fulfilled an inherent need to express certain powers and actions in anthropocentric terms through the vehicle of a long-established symbolism. In the case of allegorical portraiture, costumed individuals were able to ennoble their character while maintaining their own countenance. By transforming

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233 In Bologna there seemed to be a tension between rationality and fantasy. With the same tenacity that he devoted to direct observation and anatomical dissection, Aldrovandi also devoted attention to the allegorical and moral significance of the “things of nature,” looking for reason in myths and literary works. See Giuseppe Olmi and Paolo Prodi, “Art, Science and Nature in Bologna Cira 1600,” 230. Interest in theories of *fantasia* during this time period could be another factor worth considering.


235 Barolsky has noted the term travesty and its placement within humoristic writings and art of Bibbiena, Benvenuto Cellini, and Dossi’s *Bambocciaia* in which Hercules is feminized. See Paul Barolsky, *Infinite Jest*, 7, 190.

themselves through visible signs into easily recognizable characters, they were, in a sense, able to become those characters and even god-like beings. Fictional characters were selected by contemporary sitters to express their own nature or reinforce their social position. In the same fashion, allegorical double portraits allowed the subjects to affirm their status or express other facets of their relationships. By assuming the guise of a god, it is also possible that they were able to free themselves to act out unregulated emotions. There remains uncertainty, however, about the number of allegorical images in the Renaissance that are actually portraits of known individuals in role-playing performances. It is obvious that the generic faces in some allegories should not be read in this way, but examples of this type need to be reexamined with an eye to the possibility that portraits of Renaissance individuals were hidden within them as allegorical figures.

**Folly: Images of Foolish Lovers**

The subject of this section is images of foolish lovers that make fun of love and marriage. Folly was linked to sexuality in terms of lewdness, and expressed visually in representations of ill-assorted couples and adulterous or spurned lovers. In some instances, the symbols of marriage and betrothal were twisted, such as when the garland, a sign of union, was used as a symbol of the deadening effects caused by marriage. Cuckoldry, a major interest in Renaissance literature, also had an impact on imagery of the time. A firm tradition of humorous anti-Neoplatonism existed in Venetian satires which

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237 A fool was always preoccupied with the satisfaction of his sexual desires, almost always as the servant of Venus. See Alison G. Stewart, *Unequal Lovers: A Study of Unequal Couples in Northern Art* (New York: Abaris Books, 1977), 56.

238 This usage is most often seen in portrayals of unequal couples. See Alison G. Stewart, *Unequal Lovers: A Study of Unequal Couples in Northern Art*, 94.

239 In a Florentine print from ca. 1470-1490, it shows a group of many horned men, referring to their cuckold state. See Florentine artist, *The King of the Goats: A Satire on Cuckolds*, c. 1470-90, engraving, reproduced in Alison G. Stewart, *Unequal Lovers: A Study of Unequal Couples in Northern Art* (New York: Abaris Books, 1977), 73, fig. 46.
poked fun at Neoplatonic ideals on amore. Jacopo Sansovino, for instance, echoed Ovid in stating that “woman was born solely for our pleasure,” focusing on erotic over pure or platonic love.\textsuperscript{240}

Mars and Venus symbolize a fruitful union in the Renaissance, but also in the service of a more mocking theme of cuckoldry. The allegorical union of the couple in painted form to promote ideals for newlyweds was inverted, transforming them into illicit lovers cuckolding Vulcan, as in Domenico Tintoretto’s \textit{Venus and Mars with Vulcan} (c. 1551).\textsuperscript{241} Vulcan in such cases became an old and decrepit fool. Weapons in this sort of scenario were not symbols of might but sexual metaphors. An anonymous author of \textit{The Whore’s Rhetoric} (1683) referred to the lasciviousness of Mars’ and Venus’ copulation when he wrote that “Aretino had an exquisite knowledge in the nature of Mars and Venus…and the varieties of their conjunction.”\textsuperscript{242} At the court of Lorenzo de’ Medici, Poliziano wrote a poem called \textit{Amori di Marte e Venere} (c. 1476) in which Venus lured Mars to bed after the departure of Vulcan. Apollo, the sun god, upon discovering them, called for all the gods to come and witness the adulterous act by Venus and her lover, again stressing their transgression.\textsuperscript{243}

\textsuperscript{240} The Neoplatonic stance would consider the “passions of lovers” as an image or copy of the celestial ecstasy and connected to the Catholic concept of the “sacrament of marriage,” as noted by Ficino and Plotinus. See Francesco Sansovino, \textit{Ragionamenti}, published in Venice in 1545; and, Giuseppe Zonta, Giuseppe Betussi, Francesco Sansovino, Tullia d’Aragona, and Bartolomeo Gottifredi, \textit{Trattati d’Amore del Cinquecento} (Bari: G. Laterza & figli, 1912), 160, 165. Most notably, Paul Barolsky discussed the joking and burlesque humor in the art and literature of the courts. Humorous tales were told by such writers as Castiglione and Poliziano. They were written as Bibbiena’s \textit{facezie} in the \textit{Book of the Courtier} and also collected in Poggio Bracciolini’s \textit{The facetiae of Poggio}. See also Paul Barolsky, \textit{Infinite Jest}, 18.

\textsuperscript{241} See Carla Lord, “Tintoretto and the \textit{Roman de la Rose},” 313-17. Another popular image of this scene is as an engraving of 1543 by Enea Vico after Parmigianino called \textit{Vulcan at His Forge with Mars and Venus}.


\textsuperscript{243} Poliziano also wrote a description of Mars and Venus in his \textit{Stanze per la giostra in Tutte le poesie Italiane}, 43; and Lorenzo de Medici, \textit{De Medici Opera}, 2:15-18. In \textit{Dialoghi d’Amore}, Leone Ebreo discussed the love and procreation of Mars and Venus, with the outcome of their daughter Harmonia. He explained that when this union of the two parents occurred regularly in nature it was called marriage by the poets, and the partners called husband and wife, but when the union was an extraordinary one, it was styled amorous or even adulterous and the parents were considered styled lovers. See Leone Ebreo, \textit{Dialoghi d’amore}, ed. by S. Caramella (1929), 108; and Edgar Wind, \textit{Pagan Mysteries}, 84-85. In Niccolo Franco’s \textit{Dialoghi Piacovoli}, he ridiculed Vulcan as the lame and crippled husband of Venus.
Another frequent theme was the copulation of the old with the young, which appealed to Renaissance audiences in a comedic mode. Also comedic was the motif of wives gaining power via clever manipulation of their spouses, overtly displaying their virtuous nature while covertly deceiving their husbands and making them appear ridiculous. Contemporary comedies were often performed on theatrical stages as part of the festivities in marriage ceremonies which focused on the older, foolish husband. In Alessandro Piccolomini’s *La Raffaella* published in Venice (first edition, 1539), the young Raffaella was given complete instructions from an older woman, Margherita, on how to acquire a lover when her husband was absent. In Machiavelli’s *La Mandragola* (the mandrake), written and performed several times around 1515, Lucrezia’s older husband, an honorable man in the storyline, was made to look stupid, impotent, and crude. His young beautiful wife cuckolded him by engaging in an amorous and sexual affair with a young merchant, Callimaco. Such themes were frequently represented in visual imagery. Giulio Campi’s *A Young Couple with an Old Man* (c. 1560-70), for example, shows a young couple as they are embracing interrupted by a lecherous old man (Fig. 3.76). This work is reminiscent of popular songs recited in Venice, such as Andrea Gabrieli’s three-part *Giustiniana* of 1570, in which old men would stammer passionate pleas to young lovers. Similar characters also appear in Cinquecento comedies such as Donato Giannotti’s *Vecchio Amoroso* (c. 1533) with the character Amerigo, Giovan Maria Cecchi’s Ambrogio in *L’Assinulo* (c. 1550), and Annibale Caro’s Marabeo in *Gli Straccioni* (1554).

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In contrast to marriage double portraits where the woman takes the role of bolstering the character of her husband, in this sort of portrayal the husband was disempowered and the woman held the reins. The woman becomes the dominant partner, gaining authority, in both satirical writings and imagery of couples.\textsuperscript{247} Aretino in his \textit{Ragionamenti} (1539) mockingly spurned adultery by satirizing the infidelities of wives. Yet, in his earlier \textit{I Suppositi} of 1509, based on Boccaccio’s \textit{Decameron}, he mocked wealthy, learned men who believed that these qualities would suffice to hold the attention of women. Francesco Berni even used Petrarchian poetic formulas, once the province of platonic poets and their beloveds to promote an unrestrained burlesque celebration of low and obscene subjects.\textsuperscript{248} In Piccolomini’s \textit{L’Amore Costante} (1536), Ligdonio, the foolish tutor, makes love to his student Margherita while comparing himself to Jupiter.\textsuperscript{249} The story of Aristotle and Phyllis and related imagery, in which the young woman rides on the back of the foolish old philosopher—parodying the ethos of courtly love and explicitly alluding to sexual acts—presented an allegorical, rather than explicit depiction of the act (see Fig. 3.25).\textsuperscript{250} Yet, the composition still reiterates the joining of old and young as ill-matched lovers.

Jacompo de’ Barbari’s \textit{Old Man Embracing a Young Woman} of 1503 portrays an old man approaching a young woman who has her right breast exposed (Fig. 3.77). She is in the central position, propping her head on her left hand as she looks out at the viewer, bored.\textsuperscript{251}

\textsuperscript{247} See Stewart’s thoughts on this subject, in Alison G. Stewart, \textit{Unequal Lovers: A Study of Unequal Couples in Northern Art}, 101-103.
\textsuperscript{249} The teacher confused his myth stating that he was descending on his lover Leda, instead of Danae, as a golden shower. See Alessandro Piccolomini, \textit{L’Amore Costante in Commedie del Cinquecento}, ed. by Nino Borsellino, I, 368.
\textsuperscript{250} See Michael Camille, \textit{The Medieval Art of Love}, 148.
\textsuperscript{251} Jacopo de’ Barbari, \textit{Old Man Embracing a Young Woman}, 1503, oil on panel, 15 7/8 x 12 ¼ in (40.3 x 32.4 cm), John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia Museum of Art [167]. It has also been considered the Nymph Agapes and her Old Husband. In Marcantoni Michel’s 1595 inventory, he listed probably this painting or one like it as “quadro d’una donna col petto scoperto et un vecchio.” See Correr MS PD C 1428 (7). A copy of this work sold in Berlin in 1920. The Philadelphia painting has an early German provenance. See B. Sweeny, \textit{John G.}
The composition might be based on a tale from Boccaccio’s *Ameto* (1341), in which Agape, a young nymph, recounts the story of her marriage to a rich older man, though she longed to be with a young, beautiful husband. She described her husband as a “withering stag” with loose and wrinkled skin, prickly beard, white hair, and bad teeth. His fruitless love-making and nocturnal snoring eventually pushed her to find a more appropriate, younger, handsome man.252 Images of love and lust developed into comic acts in the sixteenth century, as in Passerotti’s *Merry Company* of 1577, which Cesare Malvasia described as “a very ugly man who fondles the breasts of an even more monstrous and nauseating old woman.”253 Such

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253 Bartolomeo Passerotti, *Merry Company*, 1577, oil on canvas, 114 x 118 cm, Pierre Rosenberg Collection, Paris. Though the composition is low class humor, the artist felt the need to make several preparatory studies for the image: *Old Woman*, drawing, SMPK, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin [KdZ 18077] (perhaps a copy after an original drawing); *Man with Wide Open Mouth*, New York, Sotheby’s March 6, 1981, lot 31, and several head studies of the old woman and the black men in the background. It could relate to the sin of Lust, which the church during this time thought was the most serious of the sins. See Angela Ghirardi, “Bartolomeo Passerotti,” 177-84; Angela Ghirardi, “Bartolomeo Passerotti” in *Pittura Bolognese del’ 500*, ed. by V. Fortunati Pietrantonio (Bologna: 1986), II, 543-94; and C. Ginzburg, *Tiziano, Ovidio e I codici della figurazione erotica nel’ 500*, in *Tiziano e Venezia*, Convegno Internazionale di Studi (Venice: 1976), 134. Malvasia continued his comments by mentioning that Agostino Carracci wanted to make a copy of it. The painting was in Basenghi’s studio and Prospero Fontana had painted a similar one, already owned by Count Bero. See C. C. Malvasia, *Felsina pittrice* (Bologna: 1678). Lomazzo also referred to the painting. See G.P. Lomazzo *Trattato dell’arte della pittura, scultura et architettura* (Milan: 1584) in *Scritti sulle arti*, ed. by R.P. Ciardi, II (Florence, 1974), 132. Posner saw this painting as a link between the Northern European comic tradition and popular genre scenes of Northern Italy. He found that it was comparable to the works of Nicolò Frangipane, prints illustrating popular proverbs, and Giovan Paolo Lomazzo’s writings. See Donald Posner, *Annibale Carracci: A Study in the Reform of Italian Painting around 1590* (London: Phaidon Press Ltd, 1971), 12, 154, fn. 19, fig. 11. The painting is reminiscent of Dosso Dossi’s *Bamboccia* and Netherlandish images of human folly, such as Metsys’ *Ill-Assorted Lovers* (Nationalmuseum, Stockholm). The Milanese school utilized the grotesque as farce even in the early fifteenth-century such as the artist Michelino da Besozzo, described by Gian Paolo Lomazzo and emulated by later sixteenth-century Lombard painters including one image, with several versions, similar to Passerotti’s image in
images transformed the sensuality that characterized Amants portraits and seduction scenes by Titian and his circle into absurdity.254 The interest in contemporary comedies certainly influenced ribald paintings of this nature, and the coarse dialogue and unscrupulous antics of the actors in Commedia dell’arte were fixed in visual representations. In adults, laughter, which allowed for the showing of teeth, was always equated with fools, the dishonest, and peasants.255 Lomazzo stated that laughter was one of “those acts which finally lead [us] to satiate those dishonest desires that we have in common with animals.”256

The images of Passerotti, de’ Barbari, and others were not the first to evince an interest in the bizarre, grotesque, and ridiculous. These same themes had been of particular interest to Leonardo da Vinci and also appeared in Northern European visual models. Quentin Metsys’ Ill-Matched Lovers (c. 1522-23) shows a mismatched couple and embodies a moralizing intent.257 Italian images of the same theme lack the didactic, moralizing intentions


254 Donald Posner has argued that this sort of painting contained raw sensuality and lewd motives as “underlying bawdy jokes” which were travesty to the romantic and melancholic poetry of Giorgionesque forms and themes. See Donald Posner, Annibale Carracci, 11.

255 See Angela Ghirardi, Bartolomeo Passerotti: Pittore (1529-1592) (Rimini: Luisè Editore, 1990), 228, Cat. 59; and C. Ginzburg, Tiziano, Ovidio e i codici della figurazione erotica nel’ 500, in Tiziano e Venezia, Convegno Internazionale di Studi (Venice: 1976), 134. Posner has commented that the Merry Company is also reminiscent of Dosso Dossi’s Bambocciata. Passerotti’s painting also related to the Netherlandish images representing human folly, such as Metsys’ Ill-Assorted Lovers (Nationalmuseum, Stockholm). Yet Passerotti’s painting does not contain the didactic, moralistic intentions that are imbedded within the Northern paintings. See also Donald Posner, Annibale Carracci, I, 12, fig. 11.

256 See Lomazzo (1584), Bk. VI, Chap. LXIV and Chap. LXIV, 132.

257 Quinten Metsys, Old Man, Young Woman and Fool (Ill-Matched Lovers), c. 1522-23, oil on panel, National Gallery of Art, Washington DC. It was also described in Brentt’s Ship of Fools and Erasmus’s Allegory of Folly. Alison Stewart believed that the theme of unequal love was so popular in the visual arts around 1500 as simply an extension of the tendency in engraving to satirize the follies of love. She pointed out that the basic two-figured Unequal Couple expanded around 1511 into the design of a love triangle. See Alison G. Stewart, Unequal Lovers: A Study of Unequal Couples in Northern Art, 59, 116. There are many examples of this sort in Northern Europe and circulated in the print medium such as images by the Hausbuch Master, Young Man and Old Woman (Lehrs 73), Young Girl and Old Man (Lehrs 74), Old Woman and Fool at a Window (Lehrs 34). Northern Italian artists often copied Northern prints. See Max Lehrs, “Italienische Kopien nach deutschen Kupferstichen des XV. Jahrhunderts,” Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen XII (1891), 125. Such examples are prints made by Dürer and Schöngauer were copied Italian printmakers such as Zuan Andrea and
of Northern paintings. Leonardo, in his studies of physiognomy, explored diverse, often grotesquely exaggerated facial elements, as in his drawing of c. 1495, *An Old Man and a Young Man in Profile Facing Each Other*. The old man with a hooked nose, protruding chin, lack of teeth, and hollowed cheeks stems from Leonardo’s other drawn image of *Grotesque Heads* (c. 1480-90) in Windsor Castle. In *Old Man and a Young Man*, Leonardo placed the old with the young to suggest a counterbalance between the two types. Leonardo recommended that the painter place “the ugly next to the beautiful, the big to the small, the old to the young, and the strong to the weak.” In his drawings, he often compared the young and beautiful with the old, the ugly, and, therefore, the grotesque. Martin Clayton has pointed out that it was not until Leonardo moved to Milan did the comic-grotesque appear as a unified theme in Northern Italy. Leonardo’s overtly grotesque and comic heads date from the mid-1480s through the early 1490s. In these drawings, Leonardo mocked the vanity of the aged and provided entertainment for himself and, through reproduction in the print medium, his audience. Early Italian prints also contained this grotesque element and the fascination with deformed characters extends to German and Flemish prints, illustrating entertaining scenes from daily “low-life.” Giorgione and his followers also painted contrasting types on the same picture plane. In the *Nymph and Satyr* mentioned earlier, Dosso Dossi painted a beautiful young female alongside a grotesque animal-like male figure (see Fig. 3.47). The use of the grotesque alongside the beautiful is paralleled by the literature of the time.

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258 Leonardo da Vinci, *An Old Man and a Young Man in Profile Facing Each Other*, c. 1495, red chalk on white paper, 208 x 150 mm, inscription in pen on verso “del corezo”, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi [423E], Florence.

259 The most meaningful use of ugliness was as a sign of degeneracy and this could be evil or comic. See Martin Clayton, *Leonardo da Vinci: the Divine and the Grotesque* (London: The Royal Collection, 2002), 74.

Casa in his book *Galateo* (first published 1558) continuously contrasted between vulgar habits and refined behavior.\(^{261}\)

The theme of old lovers infiltrated discussions of love, romance, and ridicule, providing rich material for image production in the Renaissance. A few such examples include Boccaccio’s *Decameron*, Poggio Bracciolini’s *Facetie* (a copy of which Leonardo owned and emulated), the repertoire of *canti carnascialeschi* (carnival songs), and the satirical poems, which mocked the repetitive conventions of courtly love poetry.\(^{262}\) In Anton Francesco Doni’s *Pistolotti amorosi* (1554), the narrator commented to his lover that he and she were “two old foxes” not in need of theoretical treatises on love.\(^{263}\) Elderly lovers, considered wiser due to their age, qualified as foolish when they too became slaves to their passions.\(^{264}\) An image of two old people is included in Andrea Alciati’s *Emblemata* (c. 1531). The old man and woman were accidentally struck by the arrows of love, rather than the arrows of Death, and were ludicrously inflamed (Fig. 3.78).\(^{265}\) A seeming derivate of this emblem is Passerotti’s *Embracing Old Couple* of c. 1577 (Fig. 3.79), in which an old man and woman embrace lasciviously in a double-portrait format, an image probably developed from a similar one of a *Nymph and Satyr* (Fig. 3.80).\(^{266}\) Their faces are made grotesque, resembling caricature,\(^{266}\)
while their gestures and facial expressions are exaggerated to become ludicrous.267

Passerotti’s portrayal of this couple no doubt stems from his interest in the exotic and the grotesque, as well as his personal knowledge of physiognomic deformations from the naturalia world of Aldrovandi’s Bologna.268

The opinion that lust was unbecoming to the old, especially in light of the wisdom that was expected to accompany old age, probably dated back to antiquity. Examples of lustful old people also appear in Northern art before 1500, though their behavior is more symbolic than explicit.269 A Northern engraving from the fifteenth century of *A Beggar who Carries his Wife around in a Wheelbarrow* is one such genre-like example (Fig. 3.81). There were also fifteenth-century portrayals of the same subject in Italy, as in a Florentine engraving of 1465-80, *Portrait of an Old Couple with Banner, “Dammi Conforto,” Encircled in a Wreath with Music-making Cupids*, which situates an old couple together in the circular center of the composition (Fig. 3.82). Leonardo also represented gendered couples, and therefore, particularly the ill-matched and old. In a drawing made in Milan, *Satire on Aged Lovers*, of c. 1490, he presents an old, gap-tooth woman being given a flower, a sign of love, by a young, handsome, greedy man (Fig. 3.83).270 This image probably stems from an earlier sketch not of unequal lovers, but rather of an old couple in profile facing one another (Fig. 3.84).271 Leonardo’s *Satire on

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267 A caricature, un ritratto caricato, is a highly charged portrait in which there is an exaggeration of an individual’s features. See P. Barolsky, *Infinite Jest*, 8.

268 Gabrielle Paleotti in his *Discorso* promoted the visual display of the grotesque. He stated that the portrait-painter is the historian who must illustrate human variety with scrupulous truthfulness. He added that “one should also make sure that the face, or another part of the body, was not made more beautiful or more composed or very different from what nature has bestowed it in that age; rather, if there were even some defects, either natural or accidental which deformed it, they were not to be neglected.” See Gabriele Paleotti, *Discorsi intorno alle imagini...raccolte e poste insieme ad utile delle anime per commissione di monsignore illustissimo...cardinale Paleotti* (Bologna: 1582), 340-44.


270 Leonardo da Vinci, *A Satire on Aged Lovers*, c. 1490, black chalk underdrawing, pen and ink, 26.2 x 12.3 cm (10 ½ x 4 13/16”), top left corner cut. Royal Collection, England [RL 12449].

271 Leonardo da Vinci, *Two Grotesque Profiles Confronted*, c. 1485, pen and ink, 6.5 x 7.0 cm, numbered by Melzi 36, Royal Collection, England [12453].
Aged Lovers was frequently reproduced, as in a drawn copy by Jacob Hoefnagel (1575-c. 1630) (Fig. 3.85). Quinten Metsys also echoed Leonardo’s couple in his Grotesque Betrothal of 1520. Francesco Melzi, a follower of Leonardo, continued the tradition by making a detailed drawing of an old couple in profile (c. 1530-40), with the woman’s hair spiraled in the form of horns, a sign of cuckoldry (Fig. 3.86). Another humorous depiction of an old couple is a later version by Wencesles Hollar of 1645, King and Queen of Tunis (Fig. 3.87), but derived from Leonardo’s imagery. This straightforward image of a couple, quite similar to marriage double portraits, shows the man on the heraldic dexter in an authoritative, oratorial manner. Yet, the couple’s appearance is comically grotesque, and the woman’s breasts burst out of her dress. Passerotti took the double-portrait idiom even further into the grotesque in his Embracing Old Couple (see Fig. 3.84), for he did not just show the hideous pair together within the same space, but made them active, passionately kissing one another with their tongues. The woman has been placed in the formal position of power, on the heraldic dexter, as she grabs the man, who is equally eager to engage in the act, with both her hands. Her tongue lewdly sticks out of her mouth.

Images of comical couples in the double-portrait idiom extend also to the oeuvre of the Milanese artist, Giuseppe Arcimboldo (1527-1593). He is known for his commissions in the Viennese court of Emperor Ferdinand I and Maximilian II and under the reign of Rudolf II in Prague, creating a unique series of composite heads made up of various objects. Examples include the Four Seasons and the Four Elements, in which he assembled items relating to the chosen themes into the overall humanoid form. His witty plays of artifice in a

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272 Wenzel Hollar (1607-1677) also utilized Leonardo’s image for an etching of 1646. An engraving by Zuan Andrea called The Passionate Embrace is also reminiscent of this image and shows Leonardo’s influence. In this image a woman turns from the embrace of a caricature-like man with an expression that marks him as a fool and can be treated as an “ill-assorted lovers” composition. See Mark J. Zucker, The Illustrated Bartsch: Early Italian Masters 25 (New York: Abaris Books, 1984), 279, Cat. 2509.023.
portrait-like fashion inspired similar works by his school. In two such paintings, which were part of a *Four Seasons* cycle, a follower of Arcimboldo amusingly portrayed two couples in the double-portrait idiom, in which a woman on the heraldic sinister presents a composite of a man on the heraldic dexter (Figs. 3.88 & 3.89).273

The use of humor in the literature and art of the time was cultivated by a wealthy class-conscious society of patricians in which marriage, love, and cuckoldry were often mocked. Federico Zeri has commented that the grotesque and vulgar aspects of genre scenes were for the amusement of the aristocratic and bourgeois clientele.274 Even Marsilio Ficino in his letters often made fun of his own serious Neoplatonic thoughts on love. Much later, Pietro Aretino mocked the Neoplatonic “soul kiss” in his *Ragionamenti*.275 Comical painting was astonishingly successful, quite popularly reproduced, and intended for a market of private collectors. Bishop Paleotti even made mention of its popularity by dedicating a whole chapter to the treatment of the “ridiculous picture” in his *Discorso*. He stated that

> We cannot prescribe fixed rules for comic painting...since laughter is a mood of the soul. These paintings we call comic because they move those who look at them to laughter...the Christian will can use this sort of painting as a tool and an aid to a more virtuous behavior...their placement, neither in public halls, nor in meeting places, nor in council rooms, nor in court, nor in libraries, nor in any other important place, but in a secondary and private one.276


274 Donald Posner has suggested that the subject of Italian genre painting had its source from the works of Giorgione and his school which included pastoral idylls, manners of lovers, musical parties, and shepherds. It was subsequently passed to Lombardy and Emilia from Venice by way of such artists as Romanino, Savoldo, Dosso Dossi, and Niccolò dell'Abate evoking a sweet nostalgia for the past. Low-life genre painting also came from the Netherlands by way of artists such as Pieter Aertsen and Joachim Beuckelaer. See Donald Posner, *Annibale Carracci*, 9.


The development of humorous couples in the double-portrait idiom provides further evidence of double portraiture’s popularity. The image was an easy means to ridicule marriage, for it inverted the form and message of the formal conjugal double portrait of the sixteenth century.

**Conclusion**

Written documents from the sixteenth and seventeenth century suggest where amants portraits and allegorical and foolish portrayals of couples, categorized under romantic and lascivious images, were on display. The exhibition of such images is recorded by an English traveler, Thomas Coryat, who wrote an account of his five-month tour of Europe, published in 1611. He gave clues when he mentioned where such images were not placed. No paintings of the sort, for example, were in the monastery of the Church of St. Justinian in Padua, since he stated that

> they have a very fair quadrangular cloister; the walkes are very long and broad: there, a man that is a lover of pictures, may see a pretty microcosme of them, wherewith all the wals round about ac most excellently adorned, but no amorous conceits, no lascivious toyes of Dame Venus, or wanton Cupid, all tending to mortification, all to devotion.277

The hanging of secular images next to devotional ones in private homes is known by an account of the possessions of the eldest son of Taddeo Contarini (1466-1540), Dario, made in November 1556. It is mentioned that in the same domestic space, a reception room or bedroom, images of Christ and the Virgin are juxtaposed with profane paintings, such as Bellini’s Frick *St. Francis* in close proximity to the artist’s *Woman at her Toilet*.278 Also, images of this nature were removed from public viewing to more secluded back rooms of

277 See Thomas Coryat, *Coryat’s Crudities: Hastily gobled up in Five Moneth’s Travels* (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, MCMV) (London: W.S. Anno Domini, 1611), 385.
residences, previously mentioned in the chapter. Their intimate viewing audience in the Renaissance perhaps suggests less interest in secular topics of this sort in art historical scholarship.

Turning scholarly attention toward secular images of the Renaissance was mentioned by Ernst Gombrich, in his article *Icones Symbolicae* (1948), by his remark that “the search for recondite symbolism should not blind us to the more obvious qualities of “bedroom art.” Comical art and literature from this time was subsequently explored by Paul Barolsky in 1978, who agreed with Gombrich that this art exerted an influence beyond its erotic appeal.279 This chapter on double-figure compositions of love, allegory, and folly expands this discussion. Double portrayals of this subject matter are not double portraits in strict terms, but couples in the double-portrait idiom. They become foils to the more formal double portraits of marriage and their usage, for they shift from a public display of the institution of marriage to the private exhibit of love—be it in a sincere or mocking manner. Though more whimsical in nature than religious or historical paintings, such images recall a pervasive interest in the more playful, erotic, and sensual needs of Renaissance individuals, whether they presented themselves as *amants*, being disguised as mythological lovers, or poked fun at ill-suited coupling.

Chapter Four

*Bestowing Commemoration: Renaissance Use of the “Portrait within a Portrait”*

**Introduction**

A solemn young woman in half-length shown against a black background distantly stares to her right. She is adorned in a black dress drawn in at the waist by a belt while the lowered neckline has an ornate border of animals (two griffins and two lions), possibly heraldic. She wears a pearl necklace, symbolic of conjugal love, and her red hair is drawn up, fashionably for married women, in a halo-like cap. The woman’s right arm drapes over a smaller framed portrait of a frontal bust-length bearded young man turned toward his left shown against a celestial blue background. A distant pastoral landscape opens up behind the framed male portrait, to the woman’s right, creating spatial, and, possibly, spiritual depth due to the physical and metaphysical realms. The man and woman turn toward each other, but the disparity of their size and their disconnected glances situate them in two different realms while they are still linked by their placement within the larger framed portrait of the female figure. Made for private use, the painting of the young woman most likely introduces *in memoriam* the male portrait of her deceased husband.

In this *Portrait of a Woman with the Effigy of her Spouse*, Bernardino Licinio displays the theme of presence in absence within the image (Fig. 4.1). For the woman, his wife, as she actively shows his portrait, he returns from his absence, and is brought into memory; shown with his wife, he is immortalized as in his relationship to her. The viewer, like the

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1 Bernardino Licinio (1485-c.1550), *Ritratto di Donna che regge l’effigie del congiunto*, c. 1524-28, oil on canvas, 77.5 x 91.5 cm, Pinacoteca del Castello Sforzesco, Milan.
woman presenting her husband’s portrait, also responds to absence and presence within the painting. Licinio’s double portrait is a two-fold image—the portrait makes him present, yet his representation reminds the female presenter as well as the viewer that he is absent. Since both man and woman are portraits, the image of the deceased man is not only a referent but the female presenter is herself a representation. This double-portrait type, called a “portrait within a portrait,” complicates the gaze. Since the portrait of the presenter already replaces reality, the second framed portrait is further removed from reality, and the interaction of image and spectator is compromised by the confusion of the three persons involved: presenter, presented, and viewer. Here, the balancing act of power is further complicated. In one respect, the sitter within the larger framework gives honor and importance to the other figure who is on display within his/her own portrait and, thus, indicates to the onlooker that respect should also be given to the other sitter. However, the viewer is distanced optically, temporally, and psychologically due to the use of the second frame, and therefore further detached from the commemorated person. Only with the aid of the intermediary, who displays the second portrait, is the onlooker able to respond to the further removed image. In the case of Licinio’s painting, the wife, through the mediation of the artist, prescribes the manner in which her deceased husband, as well as herself, are to be portrayed and remembered (see Fig. 4.1).

Leon Battista Alberti stated that painting makes the absent present and brings the dead to life.² Portraiture, in general, was intended to honor or preserve the memory and appearance of the living and the dead, and the double portrait no less so. In this chapter, I examine, through all of its variations, the double portrait type called a “portrait within a portrait,” which contains one gender or both and confines one portrait within another.

The gender arrangement of the sitters within this category can be of various combinations such as a woman holding a portrait of a man, or a man holding a portrait of a woman, a man with a portrait of another male sitter, or a woman with a portrait of a female sitter. The internal portrait is placed on various presentation objects, such as coins, medals, paintings, sculpture, paper, portrait miniatures, and even on the cover of a book.

The “portrait within a portrait” genre does not contain traditionally straightforward double portraits, but rather these images are, in a way, pendant portraits within the same field. The represented figures are segregated from one another, perhaps even on different scales within the larger portrait. However, they are still defined in one larger space, united through the action that affects both parties who contribute to the overall meaning that the image is meant to convey. The act of commemoration, honor, or admiration is actively bestowed through the presentation of a portrait of one individual by another individual. The image and the identity of the sitters are manipulated through this action shifting the idea of portrait as “likeness.” Any portrait within a portrait contains social bonds—of family, lovers, admirers, and self. This genre not only displays the status of the represented sitters, but also promotes the longevity of the families to which they belong, and fosters the elevation of the status of the artist who portrays them. The inclination to produce the portrait within a portrait in the Renaissance expanded from a commemorative and communicative tradition with portrait-like objects, written and visual, originating from historical, religious, and cultural precedents. By the time the tradition emerged in the Renaissance, double images had a historical foundation that helped to bolster their popularity.

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3 I am concerned with “likeness” and portrayal in portraiture, and its contribution to commemoration, glorification, and honor, particularly the motives united by the desire to manipulate the image (and the identity) of the individual in ways impossible for the original itself in order to extend the potential for recognition.
Ancient Inspiration for the Renaissance “Portrait within a Portrait”

Ancient literary and visual material contains commemorative markers and qualities that would also be inherent in the Renaissance “portrait within a portrait.” Grief over missing loved ones has inflected expressions of commemoration in the funerary tradition since antiquity, as in the Sarcophagus of Mourning Women of c. 350 BCE (Fig. 4.2).4 All of its eighteen intercolumniations shelter individual female figures expressing grief in various manners, from profound sorrow to quiet meditation. These women bear similarities to the medieval pleureuses and the mythological and allegorical figures placed on tombs up to and through the nineteenth century.5 Commemorative or funerary objects in ancient tradition denote a presentation factor, similar to the portrait within a portrait construct. While the eidolon (shade of a living being) was understood as being the phantom of dead ancestors and sometimes their psyche, the Archaic Greek term kolossos referred to the physical embodiment of the eidolon of a dead person in the form of a stone or metal image. Both terms referred back to an actual human being.6 Images of individuals were treated with respect, for they were considered actual representatives of the persons depicted and perfected versions of reality. Written accounts describe the display of ancestor portraits, which represented immediate relations and friends, and the veneration of genii and imperial images, in the lararium, a shrine to the guardian spirits of

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5 Pleureuses were young girls dressed in black veils who played the wailing women mourning the death of Jesus. See Erwin Panofsky, Tomb Sculpture: Four Lectures on Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini, ed. by H.W. Janson (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1964), 26, fig. 61.
6 A person living in a body would experience the eidolon, a product of imagination, and was fabricated in the kolossos, an artifact of the pre-existing person. See Jean Pierre Vernant, Figures, idoles, masques, Conférences, essais et leçons du Collège de France (Paris: Julliard, 1990), 25-30.
the Roman household. These were relatively small images, whereas full-scale statues commemorating the dead had a smaller place in the private sphere. Pliny the Elder (23-79 CE) referred to death masks, the so-called *imagines*, which recorded the physical features of family members, with casts from *imagines* incorporated into clay or terra-cotta busts. Pliny the Younger (62-c. 115 CE) mentioned the use of funerary statues in a domestic context, commenting that Regulus had commissioned statues and *imagines* of his deceased son. A self-conscious representation of this kind of portrait display is the sculpted *Barberini Togata* (Fig. 4.3). A Roman in senatorial dress holds *imagines*, or wax masks of his ancestors—his grandfather in his right hand and his father in his left. The stylistic difference between him and the masks is meant to chronologically differentiate the persons represented. Here, one individual vividly displays others to the viewer.

Ancient literature often incorporated stories of love and loss. Admetus kept a statue of his dead wife Alcestis in his bed. Laodamia similarly united with the image of her dead husband Protesilaus by keeping a statue of him in their bed, not only demonstrating fidelity, but also using the portrait-like object as a consolation for her lost

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7 In the Casa del Menandro in Pompeii, busts of ancestors were found in an exedra.
8 See Peter Stewart, *Statues in Roman Society: Representation and Response* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 83. A discussion of this issue is also mentioned in Chapter One of my dissertation under Display and Audience & Reception.
11 From Euripides tragedy, *Alcestis*, the protagonist, the wife of Admetus, forfeited herself by going prematurely into the Underworld in exchange for her husband’s life. Her sacrifice precipitated Admetus’s decision to honor his wife by never taking another, and he ordered a craftsman to create a simulacrum of her which he embraced and took to his bed.
love. A visual expression of this same concept can be seen in a Roman Sarcophagus of an Aristocratic Woman of c. 80 CE (Fig. 4.4). Reclining on top of a bed-like sarcophagus, a woman in a flowing dress rests her left arm on a pillow, while she drapes her right arm over a male portrait bust, in a manner similar to the Renaissance double portrait by Licinio mentioned earlier (see Fig. 4.1).

Perhaps one of the most influential ancient art objects of commemoration is the imago clipeata (framed portrait), which impacted Renaissance funerary sculpture, the tondo, and the “portrait within a portrait” genre. The imago clipeata, which comprises a central portrait medallion flanked by winged figures, stems from the tradition of placing busts in separated niches or marble and bronze discs bearing portraits that were hung on graves. The clipei originated from wreaths of flowers placed round the heads of the dead or attached to their tombs. This custom gave an earthly mark of honor and acknowledged the existence of a spiritual realm. The relief portraits on discs developed into detached

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12 The tale of Laodamia from Ovid’s Heroides XIII, mentioned the woman’s inability to accept the loss of her husband, Protesilaus, the first Greek to lose his life in the Trojan War. She consoled herself with a wax model of him that she kept in their marriage chamber. See Maurizio Bettini, The Portrait of the Lover, trans. by Laura Gibbs (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1999), 5.

13 Roman, Sarcophagus of Aristocratic Woman, c. 80 CE, British Museum, London. Statues or sarcophagus fronts of Muses holding masks--such as the Roman Muse Melpomene Holding a Mask in her Right Hand in the Louvre--could have been sources for Renaissance artists.

14 A clipeus or shield can be connected to the disk of the sun as well as to a round form with a portrait of a god or person (hence the term imagos) or inscription. By its figural display against a round disk, it also references a cycle of creation, renewal, and apotheosis. See Johannes Bolken, Die Imago Clipeata: Ein Beitrag zur Portraitt- und Typengeschichte in Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums XXI, no. 1 (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1937); and Hans Belting, Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art, trans. by Edmund Jephcott (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), 109. Panofsky has suggested that the imago clipeata, particularly if combined with a zodiacal circle, symbolized an ascent to the heavens ad astra. See Erwin Panofsky, Tomb Sculpture: Four Lectures on Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1964), 36. Eros was the conductor of the souls to the other world, and he was often represented holding a medallion of the deceased. See H.P. L’Orange, “Eros Psychophoros et Sarcophages Romaines,” in Institutum Romanum Norvegiae. Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia, ed. by Hans Peter L’Orange and Hjalmar Torp (Rome: 1962) I, 41. Mercury could also be added to the list of conductors of souls. Imagines clipeatae replaced the round clipei with inscriptions and sometimes were surrounded by wreaths on the main side of sarcophagi. Depending on their context, they were flanked by amorini, Nereids, Victories, Dionysiac figures, or strigulated patterns. Roundels are considered circular compositions that are embedded within a larger decorative program. Medallions are round sculptural reliefs that are larger than medals but smaller than the average independent tondo. See also my discussion on the type in Chapter One, under “Ancient Precedents.”
busts inserted into circular cavities, with the framing element sometimes retaining the shape of a flower wreath, such as the marble *Funerary Relief of Lucius Antistius Sarculo and Antistica Plutia* (c. 10 BCE-30 CE) (see Fig. 1.18).\(^{15}\) By the early third century, the *imago clipeata* developed further as a portrait style, depicting the deceased on sarcophagi. In these images, the apotheosis of the dead was aided by figures such as genii, victories, and Nereids, as seen in the *Sarcophagus with Flying Amorini Holding a Portrait Medallion* (c. 211-217 CE) (Fig. 4.5).\(^{16}\) Even Nike appears on Roman sarcophagi, presenting a portrait of the deceased with a wreath, thus implying veneration for the newly departed.\(^{17}\) The Seasons were also traditionally utilized as bearers of a portrait *imago clipeata*, and sometimes shown with *clipei* containing double portraits of married couples, as in the late third-century *Season Sarcophagus* (see Fig. 1.31).\(^{18}\) Christian tradition adapted the pagan motifs of *imaginæ clipeatae* and their idea of apotheosis in later sarcophagi.\(^{19}\) Knowledge of

\(^{15}\) These roundels were used also as Roman architectural decoration.  
\(^{17}\) Even on Trajan’s column, Nike is represented inscribing a shield with Victories and Trophies of War (106-113 CE, marble, Rome). Another representation of shield-holding on architecture is the miniature frontispiece to the Life of Julius Caesar in Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars*, 1475-85, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris [Cod. Lat. 5814].  
\(^{19}\) The head of Christ, or his emblem, was substituted for the newly deceased. Christ was presented by angels instead of *genii*, seasons, or nymphs. The traditional version of placing the deceased within the circular form was also retained during the Early Christian period, and occasionally a double portrait was displayed in a circle as in a fourth-century sarcophagus front located in San Giovanni in Laterano. Here the front in two registers has densely carved Christian iconography with an *imago clipeata* of a couple in the top level while in the lower level it illustrates the Second person of the Trinity, the enthroned Christ, blessing a small upright Eve disengaged from the form of Adam. However, in this case, the profusion of figures seems to have eradicated the presentation figures, angels, suggesting variations in subject matter on sarcophagus fronts with *imaginæ clipeatae*. Sarcophagus fronts could also display on two registers densely carved Christian iconography (i.e. the Trinity). See Early Christian, *Sarcophagus Front with the Symbol of Christ held by Angels*, Archaeological Museum, Istanbul; and Early Christian, *Sarcophagus Front with the Trinity and an
these ancient and Early Christian forms in the Renaissance came from spolia or other monuments still standing, such as the Hadrianic roundels on the Arch of Constantine and extant reliefs such as a Hadrianic sacrificial example in which two nude youths hold up a clipeus surrounded by a wreath (Fig. 4.6).\textsuperscript{20}

Roberta Olson has argued that the classical imago clipeata was an influential prototype for the Renaissance tondo, or circular, format, in general.\textsuperscript{21} Tondi comprise portraits or devotional themes such as the Madonna and Child, as in Sandro Botticelli’s Madonna of the “Magnificat,” of c. 1481-82.\textsuperscript{22} Because the round clipei occupied the highest plane of relief on a sarcophagus, the motif probably impressed Quattrocento artists who were focused on representing three-dimensional physical reality.\textsuperscript{23} Olson has demonstrated how the imago clipeata design progressed through Early Christian art and also influenced thirteenth- and fourteenth-century representations of the mature Christ and of the Virgin and Child.\textsuperscript{24} Echoing the design format of an imago clipeata, for example, a Byzantine work of c. 1350 shows two archangels supporting an icon of the Virgin and

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\item[$\textsuperscript{20}$] Hadrianic Sacrificial Relief, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence. See Roberta Olson, The Florentine Tondo (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 10; and John Pope-Hennessy, Luca Della Robbia (Ithaca, New York: 1980), 249, fig. 7.
\item[$\textsuperscript{21}$] Olson has suggested that tondi were probably displayed within Florentine patrician residences, most frequently in the bedchamber or antechamber. Along with the imago clipeata’s influence, a variety of circular representations from classical antiquity up to the fifteenth century influenced the development of the tondi such as gems, mirrors, coins and medals, historiated stained glass ocular windows, sacred figures within roundels in mural decoration and deschi da parto (birth trays). However, she concluded that the dominant prototype was in fact the classical imago clipeata. See Roberta Olson, The Florentine Tondo and also for the tondi, Kim E. Butler, Full of Grace: Raphael’s ‘Madonnas’ and the Rhetoric of Devotion, PhD diss., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, MD, 2003.
\item[$\textsuperscript{22}$] Sandro Botticelli, Madonna of the ‘Magnificat’, c. 1481-82, tempera on panel, 118 cm diameter, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence. Not only is this Botticelli tondo interesting for its round form but also for the manner in which the two angels place a crown on Mary’s head. Another excellent example is Luca (or Andrea) della Robbia, Madonna and Child with Two Angels (Cappuccine Tondo), 1475-80, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence. A perfect example of the use of the tondo for portraiture would be the Portrait of a Lady, c. 1460-70 by Luca or Andrea della Robbia in the same museum in Florence.
\item[$\textsuperscript{23}$] See Roberta Olson, The Florentine Tondo, 10.
\item[$\textsuperscript{24}$] In catacomb paintings, circles frequently enclosed images of Christ and portraits of the deceased. See Roberta Olson, The Florentine Tondo, 13, fn. 26.
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Child in a circular form (Fig. 4.7). Also reminiscent of the type is *Christ as the Man of Sorrows* by Colyn de Coter of c. 1490, in which the artist depicted Christ, not in a roundel but behind a parapet, with two angels lifting his red cape on either side to show his wounds to the viewer (Fig. 4.8). Interest in the representational type is also apparent in various other Renaissance religious images, such as Luca della Robbia’s *Tabernacle* (1443) in Santa Maria at Perentola, in which two angels raise the dove of the Holy Spirit inside a circular wreath, linking it in the Trinity to God the Father above and the Risen Christ below (Fig. 4.9).

In Italy, the resurgence of this commemorative form is evident by the beginning of the Renaissance, in the first decades of the fourteenth century. Renaissance epitaphs *alla Romana*, as mentioned in Chapter One, clearly imitated classical prototypes (see Figs. 1.17 and 1.28). The *imago clipeata* appeared in tomb sculpture, pointed out by Panofsky, and particularly in marble funerary tombs in Quattrocento Florence, such as the *Tomb of Neri Capponi* at Santo Spirito in Florence, completed in 1457 by the workshop of Antonio Rossellino (Fig. 4.10). Here, two protruding amorini hold the profile portrait medallion of the deceased, which illusionistically overlaps the borders of the sarcophagus. It is paralleled by a wreathed Virgin and Child presented by angels on the top of the tomb.

Around 1461-66, Rossellino also produced the marble *Tomb of Cardinal Lusitania of Portugal*

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26 Colyn de Coter, *Christ as the Man of Sorrows*, c. 1490, oil on panel, 36 x 25 cm, Musée de Brou, Bourg-en-Bresse, France.
27 Luca della Robbia, *Tabernacle*, 1443, marble and enameled terracotta, Santa Maria, Peretola (near Florence).
28 It is seen also throughout the sixteenth century. In a design by Baccio Bandinelli for the Tomb of Clement VII (c. 1533, Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, Rhode Island), the artist used this motif with two figures holding up an oval-shaped shield of another figure. See Marcia Hall, ed., *Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 175, fig. 126.
for San Miniato, Florence.³⁰ Here, the effigy lies on top of his tomb and the Virgin and Child within a wreath are supported by two angels above.

The *Sarcophagus of Giovanni de' Medici and Piccarda de' Bueri* of c. 1421-23 by Il Buggiano incorporated the *imago clipeata* motif into its design to increase its symbolic power (Fig. 4.11).³¹ Two *amorini* support a wreath with Medici arms emblazoned with *palle*, implying the family’s apotheosis. Lower on the sarcophagus front, two putti also raise an inscription of the family. The space as a whole contributes to the symbolism of Christian apotheosis. A circular dome covers the square room, which houses the Medici tombs in the Old Sacristy at San Lorenzo. The round lantern crowning the major dome is poised directly over the sarcophagus of Giovanni di Bicci and his wife, alluding to the hope for resurrection of the deceased couple and also for their forthcoming familial dynasty. Around 1424-27, Ghiberti quoted this motif on the *Reliquary Chest of Sts. Protus, Hyacinthus, and Nemesis* showing two angels supporting a circular commemorative wreath with inscription.³² No doubt the connection between what was presented on a tomb and who was placed in it was an ongoing consideration in funerary practice. The connection of portrait and monument also appears in the Church of St. Stephen (Vienna) in the mid-fifteenth century where the portrait of Rudolph of Austria hangs over his tomb.³³ This

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³³ It was erected in Rudolph’s own lifetime (d. 1365). See J. Luckhardt, “Das Porträt Erzherzog Rudolfs IV von Österreich bei seinem Grabmal: Versuche zur Deutung eines dualistischen Grabbildes,” *Die Parler und der schöne Stil, 1350-1400: Resulthandel*, ed. A. Legner (Cologne 1980), 75-86. Martindale did not believe they were painted at the same time due to discrepancies such as the medium. However, it could have easily ended up in the church of St. Stephen hanging over the monument simply because it needed another place,
ensemble is an important example of a memorial with the familiar double image of the subject, shown simultaneously in effigy (on the tomb) and as alive (in the picture), a concept also apparent in the portrait within a portrait type.

Divorced from its funerary purpose, the *imago clipeata* motif extended its influence to self-portraiture by Renaissance artists. They utilized either the circular composition or the portrait within a wreath, as in Ghiberti’s bronze *Self-Portrait* (c. 1425-52) on the Baptistry doors in Florence, Mantegna’s *Self-Portrait* (pre-1506) (see Fig. 1.27), as well as the *Epitaph of Andrea Bregno* (1506) (see Fig. 1.28) and the *Double Monument of Antonio and Piero Pollaiuolo* (c. 1500), both by Luigi Capponi. Filarete was most faithful to the type in his own bronze self-portrait of 1445 in the framing of his door for St. Peter’s, Rome, in which he presented himself in profile on a roundel much like the obverse of a double-sided medal (Fig. 4.12). Two centaurs hold the medal in presentation. Antonio del Pollaiuolo even inserted his own self-portrait medallion into the tomb of Innocent VIII.

In Chapter One, I discussed the influence *imagines clipeatae* showing portraits of couples on sarcophagus fronts had for Renaissance double-portrait imagery in general. In this

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34 Lorenzo Ghiberti, *Self-Portrait*, c. 1425-52, Eastern bronze doors, Baptistry, Florence; Andrea Mantegna, *Self-Portrait*, pre-1506, Bronze, porphyry and Istrian stone, 47 cm, Sant’Andrea, Mantua (see Fig. 1.27); Luigi Capponi, *Epitaph of Andrea Bregno*, 1506, marble, Santa Maria Sopra Minerva, Rome (see Fig. 1.28); Luigi Capponi, *Monument of Antonio and Piero Pollaiuolo*, c. 1500, San Pietro in Vincoli, Rome.

35 Antonio Averlino, called Filarete (c. 1400-1469), *Self-Portrait in Framing*, c. 1445, bronze door, St. Peter, Vatican, Rome. It was once gilded against a cobalt blue enamel ground and an inscription, ANTNIVS [SIC] PETRI DE FLORENTIA FECIT MCCXXIV, surrounds the portrait medal. Perhaps, with the obverse part of the medal containing his portrait, the medal’s reverse was inscribed OPV/S ANTO/NII. The medal was placed centrally in the border of the scene of St. Peter’s Martyrdom. It is under debate as to whether the self-portrait of Filarete or the second portrait on the bronze doors of the Baptistry by Ghiberti, his teacher, came first. See J.R. Spencer, “Filarete’s Bronze Doors at St. Peter’s,” in *Collaborations in the Italian Renaissance*, ed. by J. Paololetti and W.S. Sheard (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1978), 42; and Joanna Woods-Marsden, *Renaissance Self Portraiture: The Visual Construction of Identity and the Social Status of the Artist* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 68-69, fig. 40.

36 It was used as a form of signature and subsequently removed and unfortunately, now lost. See Alison Wright, *The Pollaiuolo Brothers: The Arts of Florence and Rome* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2005), 116.
chapter, I examine the influence of the ubiquitous Roman *imago clipeata* on another Renaissance motif, that of the portrait within a portrait. The form of presentation, with one or more figures raising wreaths and sometimes displaying portraits, offered a model for the presentation aspect of the portrait within a portrait genre, imbued with commemorative meaning due to its association with the *imago clipeata*.

**Veronica’s Veil and Saint Luke Painting the Virgin: Religious Icons and their Impression on the “Portrait within a Portrait” Type**

While ancient tradition such as the *imago clipeata* clearly influenced the portrait within a portrait type, religious images also played a formative role. Two Christian legends tell of Saints Luke and Veronica, who were associated with the creation of images of the Virgin and Christ, respectively. The popularity of these stories in the Renaissance resulted in many paintings of the saints with the “portraits.” These religious images of Saint Luke and Saint Veronica were utilized and transformed for the secular purpose of portrait-making in Italy. The portrait within a portrait type parallels the conspicuous act of display in the religious icons of Saints Veronica and Luke.

Veronica’s veil is a kind of image known as an *acheiropoietos*, a term used to signify an image not made by human hands. In this case, the image was thought to record the actual face of Christ, in a fusion of religious icon with portraiture. The image was considered an actual imprint through physical contact, and recorded one person’s body, in this instance Christ’s, at a singular moment of time.37 Written accounts beginning in the sixth century recorded such miraculous images. Another famous *acheiropoieton* was the *mandylion*, brought from Edessa (Syria) to Constantinople, while another icon, the so-

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called *camulianium*, was the imprint of Christ’s face on a woman’s gown. The *mandylion* stems from a miracle that Jesus was said to have performed for King Abgar of Edessa, when he restored the king’s health by sending him an imprint of his face on a linen cloth. A painting on panel of around 944 illustrates the King’s acceptance of the cloth (Fig. 4.13).38 The full-length figure of the seated king presents the portrait-like representation of Christ to the viewer.

According to legend, Saint Veronica stood beside the road to Golgotha as Christ passed with his cross. As she wiped Christ’s sweat-soaked, bloody face with a cloth, his facial features miraculously appeared on the fabric. The origin of the saint’s name stems from the *vera icon* on the so-called sudarium (from Latin *suder* meaning sweat).39 Other representations of the *vera icon* of Christ on the sudarium held by Veronica proliferated, and over time images of Christ that conformed to the prototype were considered “true likenesses,” thus accurate portrayals of the individual represented, a particular concern in secular portrait production. The Master of the Playing Cards, for example, vividly portrayed the sudarium in an engraving of c. 1440, meant to be circulated in multiples.40 The effigy of Christ on Saint Veronica’s veil supposedly came to Rome in the Middle Ages. Its fame soared under the papacy of Innocent III (1198-1216), and it was publicly

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38 Medieval artist, *Receiving the Mandylion*, after 944, tempera on panel, St. Catherine’s Monastery, Sinai. An image of the mandylion is located in Genoa (Mandylion icon, tempera on panel, fourteenth century, St Bartholomew, Genoa). Another account of the *acheiropoietos* is from a sixth-century source in which a pagan woman called Hypatia swore she could not believe in Jesus unless she saw him herself. One day she discovered in a pond a canvas painted with Christ’s likeness. She removed it from the water and found that it was already dry. It spontaneously replicated itself on her garments, and she converted to Christianity. This portrait called the *camulianium* was believed to have been taken from the Cappadocian town of Camulia in 574 to Constantinople. See Ernst Kitzinger, “The Cult of Images in the Age before Iconoclasm,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 8 (1954), 83-149.
40 Master of the Playing Cards, *Vera Icon*, c. 1440, engraving. In the eleventh century, the sudarium was recorded in the upper story of a six-columned ciborium at St. Peter in the Oratory of John VII (Sta. Maria ad Praesepe).
displayed in the first Holy Year in 1300, becoming a part of the Passion narrative. The relic was supposedly lost in the sack of Rome in 1527 when, as contemporary sources recount, it was passed from hand to hand in all the taverns of Rome by Lutheran soldiers under the control of Charles V. Yet, another ancient image of Christ, also referred to as the “Veronica,” is stored in the Sancta Sanctorum in San Giovanni Laterano, attesting to the belief that the image of Christ has the power to miraculously reproduce itself when cloth or parchment touch it.41

Considered since the Middle Ages to be “true likenesses,” images of Christ and of the saints were categorized as portraiture. The *Icon with the Triumph of Orthodoxy*, an ornate Late Byzantine image of c. 1400, includes several examples of icons within the icon (Fig. 4.14).42 The panel shows the Feast of Orthodoxy, which affirms icons as integral to Orthodox Christian practice and celebrates the official end of Iconoclasm in 843. Most notably, the protector of Constantinople, the icon of the Virgin and Child known as the *Hodegetria*, is being presented in the upper level of the relic, with sainted empress Theodora and her entourage, above a row of saints that hold icons of Christ in the lower register.43 This arrangement demonstrates an early instance of a portrait-like icon of the Virgin and Christ along with images that were also believed to be portrait-like representations of well-known saints.

42 Late Byzantine artist, *Icon with the Triumph of Orthodoxy*, Constantinople?, c. 1400, tempera and gold on wood, printing on linen, 39 x 32 cm (15 1/8 x 12 ¼ in), British Museum, London [1988, 4-II.I]. The first register includes the *Hodegetria* flanked by Empress Theodora, her son Michael III, Saint Methodios, and confraternity members. The lower register presents a row of saints inclusive of Saints Theodosia, Theophanes of Mega Agros, Theodone of Stoudios, Theophylaktos, and brother poets. This icon is believed to be based on fourteenth-century conceptions and not on ninth-century ideas. Also the cult of the *Hodegetria*, protector of Constantinople, was not yet venerated when iconoclasm was defeated in 843. See New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261-1557)*, exh. cat. ed. by Helen C. Evans (2004), 154-55, Cat. 78.
43 Saint Theodosia, a nun who defended the icon of Christ over the entrance to an imperial palace from Iconoclast vandalism, carries a small panel of an icon of Christ with its little red picture hook, while in the center, Saint Theodore holds an icon of Christ that may have been of circular shape.
The sudarium became one of the most popular cult images and was frequently displayed to large crowds, including visiting pilgrims, in the Vatican. Renaissance portrayals of the true icon (as a cult image) include two woodcuts from the *Mirabilia Romae* produced for the Jubilee of 1475. Both have a presentation aspect: one illustrates the sudarium as a popular cult image held up to a large crowd of pilgrims (Fig. 4.15), the other shows the sudarium supported by two angels above the escutcheons of Rome and of Pope Sixtus IV (Fig. 4.16). The second print also signals a development from the pagan Roman object, the *imago clipeata*, for a Christian use—the sudarium raised by two angels. The *imago clipeata* is marked by a specific act and type of display that is clearly related to images of Saint Veronica, as exemplified by El Greco’s fusion of the two in a sculpted escutcheon with the veil of Saint Veronica supported by two small figures, like *amorini* or *spiritelli* (Fig. 4.17).

The image of Christ was turned into a type of sacrament in which believers responded to the image as if it embodied the real presence of the person represented. As an *acheiropoietos* of Christ, Veronica’s veil became the most sacred relic in Western

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44 *Sudarium Held up by Angels with the Symbol ‘SPQR’ of Rome* is illustrated in Gerhard Wolf, “La Veronica e la tradizione romana di icona,” *Il Ritratto e La Memoria*, materiale 2, eds. A. Gentili, P. Morel, and C. Ciemava (Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 1993), fig. 4; and Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Moment of Self-Portraiture in German Renaissance Art*, 86. For *L’Ostensione della Veronica*, see André Chastel, “Le Véronique,” and André Chastel, *Sack of Rome, 1527*, trans. by Beth Archer, in the A.W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts, 1977, Bollingen Series XXXV, no. 26 (Princeton/London: Princeton University Press, 1983), 49. Interestingly, a similar design to the engraving is seen in other media. A painted majolica dish which displays the arms of Julius II della Rovere (pope 1503-13) also displays a sudarium held by a single putto above. It was intended to be seen standing upright and could have been on a credenza in a papal villa. See Workshop of Giovanni Maria, Castel Durante, *Dish with Julius II Papal Arms and Sudarium*, 1508, maiolica, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York [1975.1.1013].

45 The extension of this format is seen in the oeuvre of Albrecht Dürer who produced an engraving of the *Sudarium* in 1513 similar to the woodcut illustration on the end page of the *Mirabilia Romae*, and an etching by Dürer in 1516, *Angel with the Sudarium*, in which a small angel in the clouds waves the cloth. See Albrecht Dürer, *Sudarium Held by Two Angels*, 1513, engraving and *Angel with the Sudarium*, 1516, etching. Dürer also produced a drawing of a *vera icon* on a decorated page of the *Prayer Book of Maximilian* (pen and olive green ink, parchment) in 1515 (L. impr. Membr. 64, fol. 56, Staatsbibliothek, Munich). Here, the sudarium is raised by two small pudgy putti.

Christendom and was the most important prototype for all so-called Holy Faces. 47 Eastern icons, such as the sudarium, were not merely copied, but the iconic object was juxtaposed or placed in a new context. Northern artists began to respond to Eastern icons in the early part of the fifteenth century, absorbing them into the Northern naturalistic tradition. As hybrids were created from religious and secular forms, the historically distanced icon was combined with contemporary portraits. 48 In François-Rogier de Gaigneres’ seventeenth-century copy of a painting from the twelfth century in Sainte Chapelle (Paris), Pope Clement VI offers a diptych of the Virgin Mary and Christ to the Duke of Normandy, also illustrating how iconic images became portable devotional objects in the North (Fig. 4.18). 49 In Simon Marmion’s The Mass of Saint Gregory of 1460-65, a portrait-like image of the pope kneels in front of an altar upon which the wounded Christ stands in almost life-like form and seemingly in realistic space (Fig. 4.19). 50 The holy figure is both a person and an icon of a “person”; devotion to the image refers back to its prototype. 51 The represented devotee is simultaneously an exemplar of a pious person and a portrait of a specific individual.

Images combining vera icon and secular portrait appear from altarpiece panels to tapestries, miniatures, and engravings. A miniature in a book of hours of 1455-60 displays full-length portrayals of both Charles the Bold and Isabella of Bourbon on their knees in


51 See Joseph Leo Koerner, The Moment of Self-Portraiture in German Renaissance Art, 108.
a landscape, as a double portrait, as they kneel before a looming shrine supporting the sudarium of Christ (Fig. 4.20). 52 A wall epitaph of about 1350 shows a deceased couple kneeling above their grave praying before a sudarium held by an angel (Fig. 4.21). 53 As suggested earlier, with the portrait of Rudolph of Austria suspended above his tomb, a connection is made between the couple’s double portrait and the monument—with the subject being represented as dead in the tomb and alive in the sculpture.

The combination of secular portrait with vera icon is also seen in the Portrait of a Man (1462) by Petrus Christus, which serves as a portrait and also functions as an andachtsbild, a private devotional image within a domestic setting (Figs. 4.22 and 4.23). 54 Joseph Leo Koerner has commented that pilgrims to Rome often left with souvenirs such as images of the vera icon to be kept on their person or hanging on the walls in their Northern homes. Images of the vera icon proliferated throughout Europe and were even mass-produced. In Christus’ image, the portrait-like printed image of Christ on the back wall is placed within a portrait of an unknown pious man with opened prayer book, conflating the secular and figural associations with the relic. 55

52 Willem Vrelant or Workshop, Charles the Bold and Isabella of Bourbon in Prayer, 1455-60, miniature in Book of Hours, Manuscript Department, Royal Library, Copenhagen.
53 German artist, Deceased Couple Praying to the Vera Icon called the Bronbach Stone, c. 1350, wall monument in gray sandstone, Liebieghaus, Frankfurt. Albrecht Dürer is believed to have produced an ornate painting of the vera icon around 1500. In a letter around 1600 to Archduke Maximilian of Austria, the painter Friedrich von Falkenburg described and illustrated the now lost Dürer Triptych of Vera Icon with Jacob Heller and Katharina von Mühlheim. In this context, the sudarium, placed in the middle panel of a triptych, is flanked by side panels of the patrons. See Friedrich von Falkenburg, after Albrecht Dürer, Letter to Archduke Friedrich of Austria with a sketch after a lost Dürer Triptych of the Vera Icon with Jacop Heller and Katharina von Mühlheim, c. 1600.
54 Petrus Christus, Portrait of a Young Man with the Vera Icon on the Wall, 1462, oil on panel, National Gallery of Art, London.
55 The printed image of the vera icon also was inscribed with a Latin hymn to Saint Veronica. In a painting by Quinten Massys of Saint Roch, he is pictured alongside the road returning home from his journey from Rome. A small patch of the vera icon and the emblem of the keys of Saint Peter are on his hat. See Quinten Massys, Saint Roch Resting on his Return from Rome, right wing of Rem Altarpiece, c. 1518-20, oil on panel, Alte Pinakothek, Munich. An Italian example would be the Pilgrim with a copy of Veronica on his hat, which is a detail of a fresco on the right wall of the Cappella degli Spagnoli (Santa Maria Novella, Florence) by Andrea da Firenze. It could possibly be a portrait of Dante. In an illustration from a French manuscript of Boccaccio’s De mulieribus claris of 1404, the celebrated Roman female painter, Irene, also connected herself
In *Saint Veronica with the Sudarium* by the Master of St. Veronica of c. 1415, the female saint raises the cloth in presentation of Christ’s portrait (Fig. 4.24). Christ’s face on the sudarium is disproportionately larger and covers three-quarters of the full image. The painting was executed in the courtly International Gothic style, with its focus on the flatness of the picture place, the retainment of flat areas of pure color, and the use of gold in the background of Saint Veronica and in the halo behind Christ’s head. The gilding combines the naturalism of their faces with the supernatural. The portrait-like rendering that the Saint presents is both the presentation of a portrait and a relic. Due to the size relationship between “likeness” of presenter and presented, a hierarchy of images is realized. The face of Christ on the sudarium, because of its larger scale, is more than just the attribute of Saint Veronica; rather, she becomes an element attached to Christ’s image. They are simultaneously in the same space and yet separated, and her earthly reality and the spiritual reality of Christ remain detached. In Robert Campin’s version of *St. Veronica* of c. 1432, an older Veronica holds up the imprint of Christ’s face on a sheer cloth, allowing her voluminous dress to be viewed through it (Fig. 4.25). Here, Christ’s

to the portrait-like icon of Christ. Seated at a table with her palette, she is in the act of painting a diptych, with the image of Christ in the left panel. See French artist, *Irene Painting a Diptych with the Holy Face*, 1404, miniature from *Des cleres et nobles femmes*, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, Fr. 598, fol. 92.

56 Master of St. Veronica, *St. Veronica with the Sudarium*, c. 1415, oil on panel, National Gallery of Art, London. Another version is the Master of St. Veronica, *St. Veronica with the Sudarium*, c. 1415, oil on panel, Alte Pinakothek, Munich in which Christ’s head is crowned with thorns. Similar in style to the Master of St. Veronica is the *St. Veronica with the Sudarium* by the Master of the Legend of St. Ursula (last quarter of fifteenth century, oak on panel, 31 x 25 cm, Private collection), This Saint Veronica is more elegant with her red garment covered in pearls and precious stones wrapped by a long dark blue mantel and turban on her head (perhaps influenced by Memling). The Ursula master painted an almost identical sudarium though now carried by angels, in a painting in the Pinacoteca Manfrediana, Venice. See Max J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting* [Aspen Publishers, 1971], *Hans Memling and Gerard David*, VI, no. 132. The Master E.S. presents St. Veronica holding up Christ’s image with two angels on either side of her in assistance. (c. 1467, engraving, Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin).

57 Robert Campin, *Saint Veronica with Sudarium*, c. 1432, oil on panel, Städelisches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt. Han’s Memling’s *Triptych of Jan Florins* of 1479 was commissioned as a small private altarpiece. The central panel is of the Adoration of the Kings flanked by the Nativity in the left wing and Saint Veronica in the right. When the wings are closed, Saint John the Baptist and Saint Veronica, on the left/right respectively, sit realistically in front of a continuous landscape of rocky mountains and river flowing from one panel to the next. See Hans Memling, *Triptych of Jan Florins, detail of closed wings of Saint John and Saint Veronica*, 1479,
face floats in front of the veil, unaffected by its creased folds, yet it also retains its presence behind the picture plane in the same realm of the female saint.

Such Northern images of Saint Veronica presenting her icon of Christ certainly influenced Italian artists, who were captured by Netherlandish images that assimilated spatial illusionism and a veristic quality. The impact was particularly felt in portraiture. Northern pictures infiltrated Italy in the Renaissance, entering private collections.\(^{58}\) Italian portraits were affected by the details of facial topography in Northern portraiture and the sitter’s reaction to the viewer’s presence, as witnessed by the observant works of Antonello da Messina. Another Northern device adopted by Italian artists, the utilization of the parapet in portraiture, made the painted space appear contiguous with that of the viewer, suggesting the subject’s proximity. In much the same way that the Veil of Saint Veronica moves in and out of her space in Robert Campin’s version (see Fig. 4.25), the parapet in portraiture enhances the spatial setting that leaves the sitter’s own world somewhat undefined, existing in and out of two spatial realms (nowhere and at the same time both places). These shifting states of presence in the images of St. Veronica also characterize the “portrait within a portrait” type, which employs features such as the parapet and portrait frame to evince different, yet united, realities.

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\(^{58}\) According to the inventories written by Michiel among others, some Memling portraits were in Italy.
In a similar fashion, images of Saint Luke unite sacred and secular. The legend of Saint Luke, which originated in Byzantium in the sixth century, relates that the holy figure, a Syrian practitioner of medicine and evangelist, became a painter after experiencing a vision of the Virgin Mary, in which he was inspired to produce a faithful portrait of her.59 The authenticity of paintings of the Virgin and Child by Saint Luke is linked to the Gospel of Luke, in which he gives specific details of Christ’s life and designates himself as the Virgin’s confidant, such as in his singular telling of the Annunciation.60 The influential *Golden Legend* by Jacobus da Voragine continued the fascination with Saint Luke’s portrayal of the Virgin by mentioning the icon’s place in a solemn procession by order of Pope Gregory the Great, and the miracle working image was credited with eliminating the plague in Rome.61

By the end of the eleventh century, the well-known *Hodegetria* icon in Constantinople was believed to be the relic painted by Saint Luke. Shortly after the end of

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59 By the eighth century the legend was securely established by the Greek theologians who referred the Iconoclasts to an image in Rome that was confirmed to be painted by Saint Luke. It was believed that these images had miraculous powers for healing the sick. See Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art* (Chicago: 1994), 57; and New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Byzantium: Faith and Power* (1261-1557), ed. by Helen C. Evans (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2004), 569-70, Cat. 340.


61 It stated that the image was still at that time located in the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome. See Jacobus da Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, trans. by William G. Ryan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), I, 174. Maryan Ainsworth has pointed out that with the importation of Byzantine icons to the West, particular types of the Virgin and Child were certified as having been painted by the Saint, stimulating the production of this iconographic scene in the Low Countries. Saint Luke also became the patron saint of craftsman and in Bruges specifically, painters and glass makers (including mirror makers) belonged to the Guild of Saint Luke. By the end of the thirteenth century, newly-established corporations of painters chose Saint Luke as their patron saint, as diid the physicians in Italy. In 1296, an organization of painters is mentioned in the archives in Perugia and later codified in 1366. The first written source that recorded the Patronage of Saint Luke for painters was the *Ordinamenti dell’arte dei Pittori*, in Florence starting in 1339 and in Siena the *Breve dell’arte dei Pittori* is documented in 1355. A common feature of all the sources of corporations, confraternities, and guilds was their religious activities, specifically the emphasis on the celebration of the feast of Saint Luke each year on October 18th. See New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Byzantium: Faith and Power* (1261-1557), ed. by Helen C. Evans, I, Cat. 215 (by Maryan W. Ainsworth), fig. 341; and Till H. Borchert, “Rogier’s *St. Luke*: The Case for Corporate Identification,” in Boston, The Museum of Fine Arts, *Rogier van der Weyden St. Luke Drawing the Virgin: Selected Essays in Context* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 1997), 65.
the Iconoclastic period, the patron saint of medicine and art was venerated and his legend widely diffused throughout Europe. There are many surviving examples of the portrait of the Virgin and Child painted by Saint Luke—all known to be miracle-working images.

Panofsky considered the Saint Luke as painter-evangelist theme to be a painting within a painting. In a twelfth-century lectionary, Saint Luke sits in an ornamental wooden throne in front of an easel, placing the last touches on his portrayal of the Virgin (Fig. 4.26). A Flemish miniaturist in a book of hours of c. 1500, portrayed the saint in a domestic setting, writing his gospel, having already completed his task of portraying the Virgin, whose image rests above his lectern (Fig. 4.27).

Most extant Italian examples of the iconography of Saint Luke as painter-evangelist were either connected to large fresco cycles, located in the pendentives of cupolas, or incorporated into large altarpieces. The first documented panel painting of the subject in Europe was not in the Low Countries but in Italy, an altarpiece of Saint Luke Painting the Virgin attributed to Jacopo di Casentino by Vasari. Representations of Saint Luke

62 Byzantine artist (Eastern Mediterranean), Saint Luke Painting the Virgin and Child, in Lectionary, fol. 87v, late fourteenth and early fifteenth century, tempera on vellum, 30.5 x 22.5 cm (12 x 8 7/8 in.), inscribed to the left of the Saint's halo, flanking the Virgin and above Christ's head. Other manuscript illuminations depicting this scene include one in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore [W 281, folio 17]; and another in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York [M. 453, folio 14v]. See New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261-1557), 344-345, Cat. 203.

63 Flemish miniaturist, Saint Luke Painting the Virgin and Child, Livre d'Heures, c. 1500. It has been pointed out that when the subject appeared in Books of Hours, it is placed preceding Luke's Gospel lesson of the Annunciation. This image replaced the traditional evangelist portrait, which functioned by showing authority and authenticating the text. See Andrea Kann, “Rogier's St. Luke: Portrait of the Artist or Portrait of the Historian?,” in Boston, The Museum of Fine Arts, Rogier van der Weyden St. Luke Drawing the Virgin: Selected Essays in Context (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 1997), 19. The Flemish illuminator, Simon Bening, created a miniature of St. Luke, dated 1521 (parchment, 21 x 41 cm, from a Book of Hours, Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California [HM 1173], f. 15v). The figure of the saint is not an accurate self-portrait of Bening, however there is an allusion to his trade because of a number of details. He is shown twice as a painter and as a scribe, wearing eyeglasses and holding a candle as he works calling attention to his activity as an artist. See James H. Marrow, “Simon Bening in 1521: A Group of Dated Miniatures,” Liber Amicorum Herman Liebaers, ed. by f. Vanwijngaarden et al. (Brussels, 1984), 537-59, fig. 4.

64 It has now been attributed to Niccolò di Pietro Gerini. The altarpiece, now lost, was painted for the Florentine Compagnia di San Luca for the church of Sant'Egidio within the hospital complex of Santa Maria Nuova in Florence in 1380. It is mentioned by Dorothee Klein in St. Lukas als Maler der Maria: Ikonographie
Luke often depicted his role as interchangeable as Gospel-writer, his identity as painter-evangelist or a conflation of both, as in the cupola of the Ovetari Chapel in the Chiesa degli Eremitani in Padua, designed by Antonio Vivarini and Giovanni d’Alemagna in c. 1448-1450 (Fig. 4.28).\(^6\) An early Northern Italian illumination of Luke holding his representation of the Virgin and Child exists in the so-called Visconti Hours (c. 1412).\(^6\) In addition, Antonio Vivarini’s altarpiece, the Coronation of the Virgin (1447) for San Pantaleone in Venice, shows Saint Luke displaying a Marian Icon in the lower right corner with his symbol, the ox, at his feet.\(^6\) About 1448, the Venetian artist Michele Giambono also painted a Coronation of the Virgin in which Saint Luke was shown with his ox and his icon that he presents to the viewer (Fig. 4.29).\(^6\)

Since it was a common belief that the Virgin actually sat for her portrait, a natural occurrence in conventional portrait-making, the story of Saint Luke took on a more secular feel. As the imagery evolved through the fifteenth century and into the sixteenth, the sacred figures were placed within a contemporary artist’s studio and the face of Saint

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\(^6\) Michele Giambono, *Coronation of the Virgin*, c. 1448, tempera on panel, 229 x 176 cm, Gallerie dell’Accademia, Venice. In fifteenth century examples, Saint Luke as painter-evangelist was more of an anecdotal allusion than a distinct pictorial subject.
Luke became interchangeable with the self-portrait of the artist depicting the scene.⁶⁹

Rogier van der Weyden’s image of Saint Luke was possibly the first to exploit the scene as an opportunity for self-portrayal in his own studio (Fig. 4.30).⁷⁰ Whereas devotional images concentrated on the relationship between the individual viewer and the sacred figures, the consciousness of the artist in the painter-evangelist scene on one level projected a self-image of the painter as creator while on another level, through his privileged access to the holy figures, he became an interlocutor between them and the contemporary spectator. Van der Weyden depicts the Virgin in the saint’s presence as if


⁷⁰ Rogier van der Weyden, Saint Luke Drawing the Virgin, c. 1435-1444, oil on oak panel, 137.7 x 110.8 cm, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. The Boston painting is rather damaged but is considered to be the original among several extant versions. In the painting, the carved arms of the Virgin’s throne depict representations of the Fall of Man. This painting is said to have come from Toledo, once in the collection of the Infante Sebastian of Spain probably before 1853. It was presented to the Museum of Fine Arts Boston in 1893 by Mr. and Mrs. H.L. Higginson. The Saint was previously rendered as a bearded older man, but in Rogier’s interpretation, he is a youthful figure suggesting an idealized self-portraity. The features of the saint are comparable to a self-portrait sketch in the Arras Codex. He was followed by other artists such as Hugo van der Goes [left wing of a diptych with the right presumably of the Virgin and Child] (Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon); Bouts, c. 1480, Penrhyn Castle, Bangor, Wales and c. 1450, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon; the Master of the Holy Blood (Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts); and Jan de Beer (c. 1510, Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan). Rogier is considered a true progenitor of these images since there are numerous reproductive copies and imaginative variants. Colin Eisler has suggested that the scarcity of earlier Northern examples prior to Rogier might be attached to iconoclasm, where this theme was probably repulsive to the Reformation. See Colin T. Eisler “Comments at CAA Panel devoted to Rogier’s St. Luke Drawing the Virgin: Artist, Devotional Image, Iconography, Technique,” in Boston, The Museum of Fine Arts, Rogier van der Weyden St. Luke Drawing the Virgin: Selected Essays in Context, 50. For a complete story of this painting in context, review Boston, The Museum of Fine Arts, Rogier van der Weyden St. Luke Drawing the Virgin: Selected Essays in Context. For the image in the Arras Codex, see Attributed to Jacques Le Boucq, Portrait of Rogier van der Weyden, c. 1567, drawing, from the Recueil d’Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, Arras, Ms. 266, fol. 276, mentioned in Erwin Panofsky, “Facies illa Rogeri Maximi pictoris,” in Late Classical Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr., ed. by Kurt Weitzmann (Princeton: 1955), 397.
she were sitting for the portrait. Rogier as Saint Luke is in the process of drawing a careful silverpoint representation of the Virgin’s head, evoking the conditions of contemporary portrait-making (Fig. 4.31). Sitters would pose for a short period of time to record their features in a sketch which would then be transferred in the execution of a final painted portrait. Paintings such as van der Weyden’s had a strong impact on southern artists. The network of communication created by political and commercial interests from north and south of the Alps was integral to the transference of artistic expression. Flemish pictures, for instance, were popular with Venetian connoisseurs and collectors and imported by merchants commuting regularly between Venice and Bruges. Northern artists, such as van der Weyden, Hugo van der Goes, and Hans Memling, provided an additional stimulus for Italian painters.

The number of self-representations of contemporary artists as Saint Luke in the act of painting the Virgin increased significantly during the course of the Renaissance,

71 The rendering of Rogier upholds the role of the saint as a physician and an artist, capable of healing both body and soul. The stylus in the artist’s right hand was also a traditional symbol of power and literacy and the paper in his left hand analogous to the act of writing as if he is in the act of beholding while drawing. Rogier draws the Galaktotrophousa Virgin, also known as the Virgo lactans, popularly portrayed in the West due to its miracle-working aspect. Legends of the Virgin were known of her miraculously appearing to the seriously ill and curing them with her milk. Rogier borrowed a Madonna motif that was popular in the circles of Campin with a landscape quotation from an Eyckian painting. Other artists portrayed Luke as painter-saint during this period, not often showing the Virgo lactans. However, the spread of this motif prevailed due to the extensive copying of Rogier’s image. See New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261-1557), 571, Cat. 340; and Diane Apostolos-Cappadona, “Picturing Devotion: Rogier’s Saint Luke Drawing the Virgin,” in Boston, The Museum of Fine Arts, Rogier Van der Weyden St. Luke Drawing the Virgin: Selected Essays in Context, 5-8. She has pointed out that the Maria lactans was regularly revived during periods of great famine and plagues, especially when the majority of victims were children. See also Diane Apostolos-Cappadona, “Picturing Devotion: Rogier’s Saint Luke Drawing the Virgin,” in Boston, The Museum of Fine Arts, Rogier Van der Weyden St. Luke Drawing the Virgin: Selected Essays in Context, 8. Erwin Panofsky has mentioned that the evangelist’s pose in this painting is that of genuflexion, referring back to the annunciate angel. See Erwin Panofsky, “Facies illa Rogeri Maximi pictoris,” in Late Classical Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr., ed. by Kurt Weitzmann (Princeton: 1955), 392-400.

72 Many paintings were small-scale private devotional works and while others were full-scale altarpieces. See Peter Humfrey, The Altarpiece in Renaissance Venice (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1993), 159. Memling’s portraits were influenced by Italian masters as well as reciprocally influential in Italy, especially on the portraits of Perugino. The popularity of Memling’s oeuvre in Italy is confirmed by the number of his works listed by Michel, among which are three portraits. See Bruges, Groeningemuseum, Hans Memling: Catalogue, cat. by Dirk de Vos (1994), 94-95.
perhaps reflecting the growing status of the artist in society.73 Whereas the fifteenth-century figure of the painter-saint was often presented as a pious artisan, by the mid-sixteenth century he appeared as a humanistically educated scholar or scientist, as in Giorgio Vasari’s version of c. 1567-73 in SS. Annunziata in Florence (Fig. 4.32).74

Suggesting a propagandistic function, Vasari, with his distinctive long beard, placed himself in the position of painter-evangelist. Italian artists welcomed this type of image

73 Jan Gossaert painted two known versions of Saint Luke, influenced by Rogier’s depiction: Saint Luke Drawing the Virgin, c. 1520, oil on panel, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; and Saint Luke Drawing the Virgin, c. 1513, oil on panel, Národní Gallerie, Prague [VO 1261]. The Prague version was originally commissioned for the Mechelen guild chapel in c. 1513. Clifton Olds has suggested that the Vienna painting was an early response to Protestant iconoclasts, when the livelihood of painters was threatened. See Clifton Olds, “Jan Gossaert’s St. Luke Painting the Virgin: A Renaissance Artist’s Cultural Literacy,” Journal of Esthetic Education, 24 (Spring 1990), 89-96. Maerten van Heemskerck (149-1574) painted a few versions of the theme. One example was for the Haarlem Guild in 1532. Another portrayal went to the Delft guild in 1551, when an additional one was for Rennes in 1550-53. See Maerten van Heemskerck, St. Luke Painting the Virgin and Child, 1532, Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem; and St. Luke Painting the Virgin, 1550-53, oil on canvas, 206 x 144 cm, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rennes. The 1532 version shows Heemskerck as the painter-evangelist in an artist studio. It was probably painted as a remembrance for his guild before his departure to Italy, which was to be hung on the northwest pillar of the crossing of St. Bavo in Haarlem until c. 1573. They are mentioned in Dorothee Klein, St. Lukas als Maler der Maria: Ikonographie der Lukas-Madonna (Berlin, 1933); E.K. J. Reznicek, “De reconstructie van ‘altaar van S. Lukas van Maerten van Heemskerck,’” Oud-Holland 70 (1955), 233-46; and R. Grosshans, Maerten van Heemskerck (Berlin: 1980), 197. Frans Floris (c. 1516-1570) also represented himself as the painter–evangelist in an image for the Antwerp guild and slated for display in St. Bavo’s. See Frans Floris, Saint Luke Painting the Virgin, 1556, Museum voor Schonen Kunsten, Antwerp, mentioned in C. Van de Velde, Frans Floris (1519/20-1570): Leven en Werken (Brussels: 1975), I, 237-238.

74 Giorgio Vasari, Saint Luke Painting the Virgin, c. 1567-73, fresco, Cappella di San Luca, SS. Annunziata, Florence. See Laura Corti, Vasari: Catalogo completa (Florenc: Cantini Editore, 1989), 121, Cat. 98, repro.; and Kliemann, in Mostra Arezzo (1981), 301. Two other contemporary portraits are noticed by the two figures to the far right of the sculptor Montorsoli with his student Martino. The Florentine artist Domenico Cresti, called “Il Passignano,” followed suit with his painting of the painter-evangelist in which the portrait-like representation of the Virgin on the easel is turned, hidden from the onlooker’s gaze. The artist, in the frontal part of the picture plane becomes the intercessor between religious image and the viewer’s secular world. See Domenico Cresti, called “Il Passignano,” Saint Luke Portrays the Virgin, c. 1560, oil on canvas, location unknown. Andrea Boscoli did his version of the subject in a drawing of c. 1590 located at the Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, Rome. See Zygmunt Waźbiński, L’Accademia Medica del Disegno a Firenze nel Cinquecento Idea e Istituzione (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1987), II, Fig. 40. In Federico Zuccari’s version of the painter-evangelist scene, he introduced a self-portrayal with a portrait of Raphael in the center of the composition. His act of painting the Virgin was the focal point, as his holy sitters are cut off to the left of the canvas. It was a gift by Zuccari for, quite appropriately, the Accademia di San Luca, where it is still located. See Federico Zuccari or Scipione Pulzone, Saint Luke Painting the Madonna and Child in the Presence of Raphael, c. 1593, oil on panel transferred to canvas, 220 x 160 cm, Accademia di San Luca, Rome, mentioned in Z. Waźbiński, “San Luca che dipinge la Madonna, all’Accademia di Roma: un <<pastiche>> zuccariano nella maniera di Raffaello?,” Artibus et historia 12 (1985), 27-37. The painting’s popularity is seen through the print after it by Cornelis Bloemaert after 1630 (Stataliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich). Johannes Riepenhausen in 1816 made Raphael into a St. Luke character in his Dream of Raphael, 1816, in 12 Umrisse zum Leben Raphaels von Urbino, Stuttgart, 1834, VIII.
into their artistic vocabulary. Sixteenth-century poets also found appeal in the theme of Saint Luke as painter-evangelist, as witnessed by a series of poems by Ridolfo Campeggi. As we shall see, the depictions of Saint Luke as painter-evangelist also inflected Italian imagery in a somewhat disguised manner, in a variation on the portrait within a portrait type.

Religious subjects provided accessible models for profane subjects in Renaissance Italy. The Roman imago clipeata motif, the presentation aspects of the vera icon, and the theme of painter-evangelist fused to create an artistic foundation for the portrait within a portrait genre. An early example is Benedetto da Maiano’s Monument of Giotto di Bondone of 1490, which is reminiscent of these visual precedents (Fig. 4.33). Giotto is depicted at work, placing tesserae into a small mosaic of a portrait of Christ within a sculpted tondo (Fig. 4.34). Here, the act of commemoration is three-fold, honoring not only the holy figure and the deceased–the artist–who piously represents him, but also, by implication, the artist who created the overall work.

Renaissance portrayals of contemporary artists as painter-saints became vehicles to legitimize their practice as well as statements of piety. Furthermore, Italian artists often replaced the sacred figures with contemporary sitters, commemorating the

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75 Demonstrable by this chosen subject, the changing status of the artist from medieval craftsman to creative genius was also influenced by Vasari’s writings. In The Lives, Vasari gave artists their own biography indicating their own individuality and talent. Andrea Kann pointed out that the Saint Luke as painter-evangelist was an early version of the artist in his studio and began a “teleologically-constructed tradition of self-conscious artist genius.” See Andrea Kann, “Rogier’s St. Luke: Portrait of the artist or portrait of the Historian?” in Boston, The Museum of Fine Arts, Rogier Van Der Weyden St. Luke Drawing the Virgin: Selected Essays in Context, 15.

76 See Ridolfo Campeggi, Delle Poesie (Venice: 1620), 253-63.

77 Benedetto da Maiano, Monument of Giotto di Bondone, 1490, Cathedral, Florence. It was perhaps commissioned by Lorenzo de’ Medici as part of a series of illustrious men. Linked to antiquity, it has a humanist epitaph below it which cites him as a successor of the famous Greek painter, Apelles. A similar arrangement of figure within a wreath-like roundel is the Monument of Antonio Squarcialupi (c. 1489-90) by the Workshop of Benedetto da Maiano in the Cathedral in Florence.

individuals represented and their own act of portraying them. In other cases, images used this familiar visual vocabulary, appropriating its positive associations, even though they lacked icons of holy figures. One such case is in a fifteenth-century manuscript of Pliny’s *Historia Naturalis* by the illuminator Gerardo di Giovanni di Miniato, who illustrated the painter at work on a secular portrait, in a composition that recalls the painter-evangelist theme, but celebrates artistic practice rather than piety (Fig. 4.35).  

The adoption of the Saint Luke-as-painter/evangelist format into the visual imagery of portraits appears frequently by the 1530s-40s in the works of such artists as Pontormo, Sofonisba Anguissola, and Luca Cambiaso, who assimilated it into the portrait within a portrait genre. In their paintings, the devotional subjects become accessible models for the profane, and the religious images are no longer confined to their iconic role, but invested in the reality of contemporary double portraits in Cinquecento Italy. Since Saint Luke testified to the reality of the Virgin’s presence by recreating her image, his role had a vivid appeal to portraitists who intended to take the same approach with their contemporary sitters.  

Pontormo placed his patron and the first duke of Florence, Alessandro de’ Medici, in a similar act and manner like Saint Luke in his *Portrait of Alessandro* (c. 1534/35) 

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79 Gherardo di Giovanni di Miniato (del Fora) (d. 1497), *Painter that Paints a Cavalletto* in Pliny, *Natural History*, 1420, libro XXXV, douce 310, Bodeleian Library, Oxford. It is located with the illustrations at the beginning of the book. See Annarosa Garzelli, *Miniature Fiorentina del Rinascimento 1440-1525, Un Primo Censimento* (1985), I, 295, Cat. 932, II, 571, Cat. 932, reprod. I also note that there is another portrait hanging on the back wall in the small room. The marble hexagons portraying the painter, sculptor, architect, and art of builder by Andrea Pisano in the 1330s on the Campanile in Florence also were influential precedents for the miniature’s image of the same subject. *La Pittura* could have still been influenced by the painter-evangelist theme. See Andrea Pisano, *La Pittura*, c. 1330, marble, Museo del Opera del Duomo (formerly Campanile), Florence.  

The duke, dressed in black and seated in a private wood-paneled room, perhaps his studiolo in Palazzo Pazzi, the Cibo-Malaspina residence, is quietly engaged in drawing a female head in silverpoint, in a manner that recalls van der Weyden’s portrayal of Saint Luke (see Fig. 4.30). Alessandro has just looked up from his sketch to study the unseen sitter/viewer. His direct gaze places the viewer in the position of the model. The head of a woman on the paper is not a religious matron, but rather the duke’s lover/mistress, Taddea Malaspina (Fig. 4.37). Her image was probably drawn from life in the privacy of the duke’s chambers, and the implication is that she is not only the sitter, but also the viewer of the painted portrait of the Duke. In this case, sitter as viewer is also equated with the object of the artist’s attention. The painting, of a highly intimate nature, was given to Taddea Malaspina after its completion.
The Cremonese Campi brothers (Giulio, Antonio, and Vicenzo) were known as innovators in style, presentation, and subject matter. They carried on a family tradition of painting, that began with their father Galeazzo. Giulio Campi (c. 1502-1572) probably studied with his father and, in turn, taught his two much younger brothers, Antonio (1524-1587) and Vincenzo (1536-1591). The three worked closely together in their family studio until 1560, when the estate was divided between Giulio, who received half, and Antonio and Vincenzo, who split the other half. Giulio Campi’s earliest known altarpiece from 1527 and his works spanned much of the sixteenth century. This artist had his own variation on the painter-evangelist subject (Fig. 4.38). Campi shows himself sitting in a chair in the lower left of the canvas, while behind him, on the left, stand two young men, probably his brothers, in similar dress. Much as Giulio plays the role of Saint Luke, the Virgin and Child have been replaced here with two contemporary figures of mother and child, possibly wife and son. Campi’s inspiration for the painter-evangelist theme probably came from north of the Alps. Since Cremona sits at the intersection of principal trade routes in Lombardy, there were commercial contacts with northern Europe, and the city’s merchants and bankers were especially active in Germany and Flanders.

portrayed by him in a large picture, Jacopo, for his convenience, first portrayed him in little, on the scale of a medium-sized paper, and with such study and diligence that the works of illuminators have nothing comparable to show; for apart from its excellent likeness, the head shows all one could desire in the rarest of paintings: from which small picture, now in the cabinet of Duke Cosimo, Jacopo proceeded to paint the Duke’s portrait in a large picture, with a stylus in his hand, drawing the head of a woman.”

87 Giulio Campi, Self-Portrait Painting his Family, c. 1540’s, oil on canvas, 100 x 109 cm. I have not found the location of this painting, but the image was found in the photographic collection of the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, California. It was in Venice, Helbing, Guggenheim sale, sales catalogue, September 30-October 4, 1913, Lot. 816.
Northern European artists also experimented with transforming the painter-evangelist theme to suit their own self-representation. The Flemish painter Katharina van Hemessen in her *Self-Portrait at the Easel* (1548) shows a double-image of herself as she is in the act of painting her self-portrait, visible on the canvas (Fig. 4.39). Dirck Cornelisz. van Oostsanen from Antwerp depicted his father, Jacob, also a painter, reminiscent of the painter-evangelist in the midst of creating a portrait of his mother (c. 1550) (Fig. 4.40). He based this work on an earlier self-portrait made by his father in c. 1533. While Van Oostsanen’s painting takes its cue from the painter-evangelist theme, it also becomes a double portrait of the artist’s parents. The couple directs their gaze toward Jacob, the artist-son who paints them, reflected in a mirror-image, and he is also the intended viewer outside the picture plane.

The Cremonese artist Sofonisba Anguissola (1532-1625) studied under Bernardino Campi and subsequently Bernardino Gatti in Cremona in the 1540s-50s, was influenced by Michelangelo in Rome around 1554, and in 1559 was invited to work at the court of King Philip II of Spain. There are many biographical references to her, including that of Giorgio Vasari who, in 1566, claimed that she and her five sisters in Cremona were “excellent in painting, music, and belle lettere.” The notations on her by historians Raffaello Soprani (1674), Filippo Baldinucci (1681), and Giambattista Zaist

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88 Katharina van Hemessen (1527-1587), *Self-Portrait at the Easel*, signed and dated 1548, oil on panel, 31 x 24.5 cm (32 x 25 cm) Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Basel [1361]. It was formerly in the collection of Prof. J.J. Bachofen-Burckhardt-Stiftung as of 1921. There is a similar image, which seems to be a copy, located at the Hermitage, St. Petersburg. See Katharina van Hemessen, *Self-Portrait*, 1548, oil on canvas pasted on plastic, 33 x 26.5 cm. It was bought by the Purchasing Commission of Experts of the State Hermitage Museum in 1969.

89 Dirck Cornelisz. van Oostsanen (c. 1472-1533), *Portrait of the Artist’s Father Painting a Portrait of the Artist’s Mother*, 1550s, Museum of Art, Toledo, Ohio.

90 Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen, *Self-Portrait*, signed and dated 1533, oil on panel, 38 cm x 30 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam [SK-A-1405].

91 She was introduced to the Spanish court through the offices of Ferdinand Alvarez de Toledo, the governor of Milan, and one of Bernardino Campi’s principal patrons.

all stem from the 1566 description.93 Primarily a painter of religious themes and portraits, she represented herself in the late 1550s in the act of painting an intimate scene of the embracing Virgin and Child which rests on an easel, no doubt an overt reference to Saint Luke as painter-evangelist (Fig. 4.41).94 Three extant paintings of Sofonisba’s *Self-Portrait as Saint Luke* attest to its popularity.95 What was originally considered a male role of Saint Luke was reinterpreted by this female artist to align herself with her male companions in a historical and artistic tradition.96

Sofonisba moved a step farther in her painting of *Bernardino Campi Painting Sofonisba Anguissola* of c. 1559–60 (Fig. 4.42).97 In this portrait within a portrait, Sofonisba

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94 Sophonisba Anguissola, *Self-Portrait Painting the Virgin and Child*, late 1550s, Muzeum Zamek, Lancut. The Virgin and Child on the easel are Correggesque and could indicate her second teacher in Cremona, Bernardino Gatti, who was highly influenced by the master’s work. The inscription recorded is SOPHONISBA ANGUSCIOLA VIRGO CREMONESIS SE IPSAM PINXIT (I, the maiden, Sofonisba, equaled the Muses and Apelles in performing my songs and handling my colours). She also made earlier occupational self-portraits. She worked in the court of Spain with Katharina van Hemessen and perhaps was influenced by the Northern artist’s self-portrayal from an early date. See Sofonisba Anguissola, *Self Portrait as Painter*, c. 1552, Uffizi, Florence. In the Boston *Self-Portrait and the Florence: Self-Portrait* she writes her name with “ph” instead of “f”. She holds the brushes in her left hand which might indicate left-handedness in the Florentine version. However, in subsequent portraits she is seen painting with her right hand, or it suggests that it was reversed in a mirror, and later corrected. Many male artists portrayed themselves in their occupation holding palette and brushes such as Leandro da Ponte Bassano, *Portrait of Jacopo Bassano*, 1590s, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. Katharina van Hemessen was invited by Charles V’s sister, Mary of Hungary, in 1556. See L. Guicciardini, *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi* (Antwerp, 1567), 100; and B. J. Meijer, “Cremona e I Paesi Bassi,” in *I Campi. Cultura artistica cremonese del cinquecento* (Milan: 1985), 25-32, fn. 44.

95 The highest quality painting is the image in the Lancut Castle Museum, Poland. A later print shows the same scene framed by a triumphal arch. See M. Gregori, *Sofonisba Anguissola e le sue sorelle* (Milan: 1994), Cats. 7 & 8. Steinberg has connected her image to other self-portraits, in which the artist is in the place of Saint Luke, such as Frans Floris. See Leo Steinberg, “Velázquez Las Meninas,” *October* 19 (Winter 1981), 47.

96 Other scholars have considered her role here more consistent with early interpretations of the female figura “La Pittura” placing her in a traditional female role with paintbrush. See Marsden Woods, *Renaissance Self-Portraiture: The Visual Construction of Identity and the Social Status of the Artist*, 206. However, I believe that her representation is as both “La Pittura” and as Saint Luke, surpassing her male comrades.

97 Sofonisba Anguissola, *Bernardino Campi Painting Sofonisba Anguissola*, c. 1550, oil on canvas, 111 x 110 cm (Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena). In a copy of this *Self-Portrait* by Anguissola, she paints herself with a brush in her right hand. See Sofonisba Anguissola, copy after, *Self-Portrait at an Easel*, oil on canvas, 25 x 23 ¼ in (66 x 59 cm), Zeri Collection, Mentana (Rome). The original in the Pinacoteca in Siena comes from the Spannocchi collection. In the 1852 *Catalogo della Galleria dell’Istituto di Belle Arti* of Siena, the painting is
paid homage to her teacher by showing him actively engaged in painting a portrait of his
student. Anguissola is pictured as Campi’s model but also his vision of her, and as he
pauses from painting to turn toward the viewer, he, in turn, acknowledges the presence of
the unseen artist painting him. Sofonisba extends honor to herself and her teacher in this
image. Apprentices often formed part of the extended family in their master’s home.
Sofonisba and her sister Elena were no exception, living with the Campi family, in which
Bernardino’s wife, Anna, acted as their chaperone. Campi left Cremona for Milan in
1549, where he painted an accomplished portrait of the daughter of Ferrante Gonzaga,
the governor of Milan. Sofonisba’s portrayal of her esteemed teacher illustrates the
teacher-student relationship of artists and could have been presented as a keepsake gift
when her teacher and mentor departed for Milan in 1549, or when she passed through
Milan on her way to the Spanish court.

Bernardino Campi Painting Sofonisba Anguissola is the only known painting of her
teacher. He wears a large black artist’s smock with full sleeves and sits to the left of the
scene, leaving ample space for the portrait he is painting to be viewed. In his right hand
he holds a paint brush, steadied by a mahlstick. Sofonisba is seen with the same
accoutrements in her self-portrait with the Virgin and Child in Lancut (see Fig. 4.41). She
attributed to the Venetian school. It is subsequently attributed to Jacopo Tintoretto in later editions. The
attribution was finally given to Sofonisba by Morelli in 1890-93.

98 Amilcare Anguissola had sent two of his daughters, Sofonisba and Elena, to study with Bernardino
Campi (c. 1525-1590/95). Though Bernardino was also Cremonese, he was no relation to the Campi family
mentioned earlier. He was, however, apprenticed in the workshop of Giulio Campi and left his studio to
study under Ippolito Costa, a student of Giulio Romano, in Mantua until 1541. Sofonisba often copied
works of Bernardino, such as his Pietà (c. 1550), for practice and emulation. Giorgio Vasari wrote that
“…but above all others, Sofonisba Anguissola honored him [her teacher Campi] by the excellence of her
paintings.” See Giorgio Vasari, Le Opere di Giorgio Vasari, VI, 498, fn. 2.
99 A discussion of teacher-pupil double portraits is in Chapter Five, since most of these relationships are all
male.
100 The image of Campi is similar to a medal and print of him. Bernardo’s image as a painter in action was
engraved for the frontispiece of the first volume of Zaist’s Notizie istoriche de’ pittori, scultori, ed architettori
(1774); Frederika H. Jacobs, “Woman’s Capacity to Create: the Unusual Case of Sofonisba Anguissola,”
Artists and the Language of Art History and Criticism (Cambridge University Press, 1999), 156.
also dresses in similar dark garb. The portrait Campi paints is reminiscent of her self-portrait (c. 1554) at around the age of 20, located in the Uffizi. However, in *Bernardino Campi Painting Sofonisba*, she exchanges her artist’s instruments for a pair of gloves, indicating her aristocratic background. A faint signature is evident with the word “VIRGO” and in pale yellow, “…SSOLA” written in the lower right corner of the canvas.  

Campi becomes the active male character and Sofonisba the passive female one within this double portrait image. Yet, the roles of power are reversed if one considers that Sofonisba is the actual creator of the image. Sofonisba used a Mannerist device of teasing the viewer: she shows a painter (Bernardino) painting a portrait (of Sofonisba), an artist (Sofonisba) painting a self-portrait (Sofonisba) and an artist (Sofonisba) painting another artist (Bernardino) in the act of painting a work which, in fact, is her self-portrait. The clever trickery is in who is picturing whom. Campi is painting Anguissola, yet the viewing agent who is creating the painting on an unseen easel outside the picture plane is the actual agent, and is also in the position of viewer. In this manner Sofonisba conducted a visual dialogue with her contemporaries. A similar game is played in a small oil on copper painting (n.d.) by Sofonisba, which also suggests a double portrait, again utilizing the device of a portrait on an easel within a larger portrait (Fig. 4.43).  

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101 Perlingieri has dated the painting to the early 1550s due to the full face and dress similar to the Uffizi Self-Portrait and the awkwardness of the hands, which she corrects by the mid-late 1550s. See Ilya Sandra Perlingieri, *Sofonisba Anguissola: The First Great Woman Artist of the Renaissance* (New York: Rizzoli, 1992), 49. Harris believed that it was a work that she did after leaving Milan and in the following years while she was at the Spanish court. See Ann Sutherland Harris and Linda Nochlin, *Le grandi pittori, 1550-1950*, trans. by Margherita Leardi (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1979), 106, fn. 22. For the painting, see also Pietro Torriti, *La Pinacoteca nazionale di Siena: I dipinti dal XV al XVIII secolo* (Genoa: Sagep, 1978), 247; and Hanna Gagel, “Subjektivität, Intersubjektivität und Hierarchie im Werk von Sofonisba Anguissola,” *Albrecht Dürer: über den sichtbaren Beginn der Neuzeit* (Rehburg-Loccum, Evangelische Akademie Loccum, 1986), 8.  

*Portrait of a Painter* depicts an unknown artist close to the picture plane, staring out at the viewer, while in the background to the left, another indistinct portrait rests on an easel.

Luca Cambiaso’s *Double Portrait of the Artist Painting a Portrait of His Father* of c. 1575-80 alludes to a family tradition of painting and recalls the painter-evangelist theme (Fig. 4.44). Like Sofonisba, Luca Cambiaso was also called to Spain, working at the Escorial. This self-portrait, similar in style to Sofonisba’s *Bernardino Campi Painting Sofonisba Anguissola*, is the only known painted portrait of Cambiaso. The male artist depicts himself standing in front of an easel in the act of portrait-making in a studio setting. His back is to the viewer, but he turns his head in profile to study the model, his father. It was probably done in 1579, at the time of Giovanni Cambiaso’s death, in an act of remembrance. This work illustrates a dual relationship of parent-son and teacher-student, for Cambiaso trained in the painting workshop of his father. The popular appeal of this portrait within a portrait is indicated by three known painted versions (Fig. 4.45) and its reproduction in the print medium (Fig. 4.46).

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103 Luca Cambiaso, *Portrait of the Artist Painting a Portrait of his Father*, c. 1575-80, whereabouts unknown. This painting was located in the Casa Spinola in Genoa (See Foto Brogi, n. 11468, image found in the Photographic Collection, Getty Research Institute). In the Genoese exhibition catalogue of 1956, it stated that it was moved to Galleria di Palazzo Bianco and then returned to Palazzo Spinola, but at Nervi. As of 1956 it was located in the Casa Guala at Genoa. It is known in two versions. The version in the Uffizi seems to have been cut down. It is oil on canvas, measuring 86 x 71 cm. It was once in the collection of Cardinal Leopoldo de’ Medici as of 1675. See Genoa, Palazzo dell’Accademia, *Luca Cambiaso e la sua fortuna*, exh. cat. by Giuliano Frabetti and Anna Maria Gabbielli (Genoa: June-October 1956), Cat. 58, reprod.. Cardinal Leopoldo de’ Medici (1617-1675) is known to have created the most historical and artistic collection of self portraits. Though he had many collections such as majolica, ivory, drawings, and arms, his self-portrait collection seemed to be his favorite. He instigated the decorative program of artist’s portraits in the west corridor of the Uffizi Gallery. A second version of this image has doubted attribution. See B. Suida Manning and W. Suida, *Luca Cambiaso* (Milan: 1958), 101, 136, 157. It is possibly the one located in the Inventory of Paintings at the Accademia di S. Luca, Roma VII, no. 614 where it is described as “a portrait of Luca Cambiaso” by an unknown artist of the seventeenth century, measured 61 x 47 cm.

104 It has been called “dal ritratto, che dalla sua effigie fe Luca suo figlio da me piu volte veduto, chiaramente si conosce esser egli vissuto fin’ all’ultima vecchiaia…” See Raffaello Soprani, *Vite*, 20.

105 The double portrait of two men as adult father-son duo and teacher-pupil formats are mentioned in Chapter six.

106 The engraving was drawn after Cambiaso by Giovanni Domenico Campiglia and engraved by Antonio Pazzi. A photograph of it was found at the Courtauld Institute photographic study collection, negative no. 981/35 (24a) and the print is also located in the Witt Print collection, Courtauld, London.
Agostino Ardenti, an Emilian medalist, also contributed to the portrait within a portrait theme, depicting another father and son duo in the painting profession: Titian and his son Orazio. The image was executed in two media: colored wax and copper medal (Fig. 4.47). The representation does not show the father or son in the act of painting the portrait, but rather the older Titian, clad in his characteristic skull cap, heavy coat, and long white beard, grasping an elaborate rectangular-framed profile portrait of his son. The action is thereby shifted from the physical act of painting to Titian’s presentation of his son’s image. This medal has often been compared to Titian’s _Allegory of Prudence_ (c. 1565-70), in which he juxtaposed his profile with that of his son. In Ardenti’s medal, Titian was appropriately placed alongside Orazio, his favorite son, who died in the same year as he, 1576, for dual commemoration.

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107 Attributed to Agostino Ardenti, _Portrait Medal of Titian and his Son Orazio_, c. 1560, copper alloy and lead, 10.3 cm diam., Gift of Amanda Marchesa Molinari, Bowdoin College Museum of Art, Brunswick, Maine; and Italian artist, _Portrait Medallion of Titian and his Son Orazio_, c. 1560-70, colored wax enriched with gold, seed pearls, and diamond or topaz (pendant) and chalcedony (?) (finger ring), mounted on glass, in a glazed frame of turned, ebonized and gilded wood, 13 x 12.9 x 2.3 cm, National Museums of Scotland, Edinburgh [K.2004.38]. It is inscribed around the top “TITIANI PICT. ET FILII EFIGIES” and on the scroll beneath Titian’s hand in red wax, “HORA. ES. FILI.” See P. Meller, “Il lessico ritrattistico di Tiziano,” in Venice, Università di Venezia, _Tiziano e Venezia: convegno internazionale di studi_ (1976) (Vicenza: N. Pozzo, 1980); Lorne Campbell, _Renaissance Portraits: European Portrait-Painting in the Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Sixteenth Centuries_ (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1990), 217, 272, fn. 118. Both medals lack reverses. Rosand referred to his _imprese_, a bear licking her still unfomed cubs into shape, with motto NATVRA POTENTIOR ARS [art is more powerful than nature] and inspired by the Ancient writer Virgil. Titian’s _imprese_ were published in Battista Pittoni’s engraved anthology of _Imprese di diversi precisi…e d’altri personaggi et buoni letterati et illustri_ in 1562. See David Rosand, ed., _Titian: his World and his Legacy_ (New York: 1982), 16, pl. 1.18. Another version of this medal that is now lost was a self-portrait to the future Philip II in 1552/3 in which he held a small image of the Spanish monarch, which the king displayed in his royal room of portraits. The painting was recorded in the inventory of September 30, 1564 and destroyed in a fire in 1604. See Charles Hope, “Titian, Philip II and Mary Tudor,” in _England and the Continental Renaissance: Essays in Honour of J.B. Trapp_, ed. by E. Cheney and P. Mack (London: The Boydell Press, 1990), 60, fn. 29. Meller has suggested that the medal was reproduced as a copy by Orazio after the lost image that was sent to Spain, recorded not only in medallic, but colored wax form. See G.F. Hill, “Some Italian Medals of the Sixteenth Century,” _Georg Habich zum 60. Geburstag_ (Munich 1928), 11 for the medal. For the wax which was probably based on the medal, see London, Colnaghi & Co., Ltd, _Objects for a Wunderkammer,_ exh. cat. ed. by a. González-Palacios (London 1981), 138-9, Cat. 73; and Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Academy, _The Age of Titian: Venetian Renaissance Art from Scottish Collections_ (2004), exh. cat. by Peter Humfrey and ed. by Aidan Weston-Lewis, 468-369, Cat. 202, repro. It has been attributed to Giovanni Antonio de’ Rossi (1517-after 1571) and Antonio Abondio (1538-1591), both Milanese medalists and gem engravers.

108 See Jennifer Fletcher, “Titian as a Painter of Portraits,” in London, National Gallery of Art, _Titian_, exh. cat. (2003), 39. Titian and his son are also seen together in a narrative painting, his _Pietà_ dated c. 1576, in the
Toward the end of the sixteenth century, artists continued to modify the painter-evangelist convention for their own creative purposes. There is a subtler connection to the saintly theme and a deviation from the use of double portrayals unlike the more clearly associated works by the earlier artists, Pontormo, Campi, and Anguissola. In his *Self-Portrait* (1604), Annibale Carracci eliminated the active painter to show an abandoned self-portrait on a stretched but unframed canvas propped on an easel in his studio, while an indistinguishable figure looms near a window in the background (Fig. 4.48).¹⁰⁹ Jacopo Palma il Giovane retained the motif of active painter, but he replaced the secular genre of portrait-making with religious subject matter in his *Self-Portrait Painting the Resurrection of Christ* (c. 1590).¹¹⁰ He is represented larger in size than the sacred figure, becoming the lead player with the sweeping action of his arm inviting the viewer into the narrative.¹¹¹

The convention of the painter-evangelist theme became increasingly popular and even more varied in later centuries. Often, it was used as a counter-point in the display of another contemporary portrait. A work that is similar to Cambiaso’s self-portrait is

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¹¹¹ Following the influence of the Church after the Council of Trent, this self-image projects the artist’s own piety juxtaposed with the Resurrection. The image is comparable to the painter-evangelist theme since the painter still is an eyewitness to a miracle.
Nicolas Régnier’s *Self-Portrait* (1610), which shows the artist in the act of painting a portrait (Fig. 4.49). The Dutch artist Judith Leyster later painted her own version of a *Self-Portrait in the Process of Painting* (c. 1630). She shows herself in the role of painter-evangelist, creating a standard subject in her oeuvre, that of a musician. Since she painted a signature subject, considered reflective of the artist, it could suggest a double persona. Unlike the unique case of Sofonisba Anguissola in the sixteenth century, by the seventeenth century and through the eighteenth century, female artists, such as Faustina Bracci Armellini, a Roman miniaturist of the Accademia di San Luca, were increasingly painting themselves in the painter-evangelist theme. In Faustina’s image, she turns toward the viewer as she pauses from working on a male portrait on an easel (Fig. 4.50). Similarly, the Venetian woman artist Rosalba Carriera (1675-1757) painted her own self-portrayal as she holds a completed portrait of her sister Giovanna from 1709. Male artists also continued to frequently paint themselves in the painter-evangelist mode in later centuries. Giuseppe Ghislandi, called “Fra Galgario,” painted a version in his *Self-Portrait with Portrait on an Easel* of 1732 (Fig. 4.51). Ghislandi shows himself frontally, dressed in black with a palette, and over his shoulder rests a portrait of a young man on

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112 Nicolas Régnier (c. 1590-1667), *Self-Portrait*, 1610, oil on canvas, 111 x 138, location unknown. It was on the art market in New York in 1942. See Benedict Nicolson, *The International Caravaggesque Movement* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1979), 80, fig. 57. Nicolas Régnier, who trained in the Antwerp studio of Abraham Janssens, a Northern painter in Rome during Caravaggio’s lifetime, also traveled to Italy. He is documented there as early as 1610 and remained in Italy for the rest of his life.


115 Rosalba Carriera, *Self-Portrait Holding a Portrait of her Sister*, 1709, pastel on paper, 71 x 57 cm, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence [1890, n. 1786]. She began probably as a miniaturist and presented to l’Accademia di San Luca in Rome as a young woman with a dove: “presentando come morceau de reception per l’accademia di san luca a rome una figura di fanciulla con colomba.” Her fame rose thereafter and was renowned for painting hands and flowers for all the European courts. Being in contact with many German princes, she produced ideal and allegorical portraits in miniature or in pastel. Also known for her many self-portraits, her last one was a *Self-Portrait as Allegory of Winter*. See Bernardina Sani, *Rosalba Carriera* (Turin, Umberto Allemandi & C.: 1988), 281-282.

an easel. Another eighteenth-century artist, Luis Melendez, painted a *Self-Portrait Holding an Academic Study* in 1746, equating artistic invention with his self-portrait, echoing the sixteenth-century *Self-Portrait* attributed to Baccio Bandinelli (Fig. 4.52).117

Recent studies on portraiture have claimed that portraits came to be fully divorced from clear religious references, thus enabling the representation of an individual’s identity to emerge as the primary goal of the image.118 Yet, religious and pagan objects imbued with meaning enhanced the secular portrait within a portrait genre. While portraits of Renaissance contemporaries should not be equated with the likenesses of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and saints, the concept of iconic images as true likenesses influenced Renaissance portrait-making and served as models for the portrait within a portrait. Saints, such as Luke and Veronica, were portrayed to engage the worshippers, becoming conduits to the holy figures. The viewer not only witnessed Luke witnessing the Virgin but also beheld the Virgin, while the spectator not only viewed Veronica touching Christ’s image on her veil, but also saw his face. The result is a multi-layered relationship between the viewed and the viewer. Similarly, the presenter in the portrait within a portrait became the intercessor to aid in viewing an honored individual, while at the same time he or she was there to be viewed. This interactive relationship characterizes

117 Luis Melendez, *Self-Portrait Holding An Academic Study*, 1746, Louvre, Paris. In a self-portrayal by Baccio Bandinelli, he points to a drawing in red chalk of Hercules and Cacus, a signature subject for the artist. It has been considered that every picture becomes a self-portrait of the artist to the extent that we experience it as the unique product of a particular person. Alberti also suggested that the artist was a learned person capable of self-invention and his works of art were distinctive expressions of an individual. Therefore, by looking at a self-portrait of an artist and an image that he created on the same visual field, an obscure double portrait is essentially created. See Attributed to Baccio Bandinelli, *Self-Portrait Holding Drawing of Hercules and Cacus*, early 1530s, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston. See L.B. Alberti, *Della Pittura*, 63; and J.L. Koerner, *The Moment of Self-Portraiture in German Renaissance Art*, 33.

the sacred images and the secular Renaissance portraits, with both geared toward remembrance and response.

The presence of the “imagined” (the portrait of the missing or deceased) clearly directs the viewer to the absence of the referent much like Saints Luke and Veronica reference their iconic, yet portrait-like, imagines of Christ and the Virgin. The presented portrait is not only representative of the person displayed, but becomes a part of that person’s identity and the identity of the presenter.119 Thereby, a likeness did not only look like, but was also product and property of its prototype—Christ-the vera icon, the Virgin-her painted image or contemporary sitter-represented portrait.

The Renaissance was already inclined to commemoration through the Italian practice of setting-up sepulchral portrait-busts, and the use of the motif of the imago clipeata for the service of glorification of the deceased. Even the use of the parapetasma, the cloth attached in various fashions behind the head of the defunct, may have signified the person’s supernatural state and a presentation of the deceased.120 The keen interest for commemoration with the use of these objects joined with the presentation aspects of the “vera icon” and the painter-evangelist theme as part of the foundation for the creation and popularity of the “portrait within a portrait” genre and its presentational aspect.

**Seeing Double: The Reflective Power of the Mirror**

The mirror is one of the most defining objects to affect portraiture, particularly noted for its use in self-portraiture. Parallels can be drawn between the mirror and the portrait. In some regions, painters and mirror-makers belonged to the same guild. Mirrors

119 See Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Moment of Self-Portraiture in German Renaissance Art*, 84.
moved from a novelty luxury item to a standard feature in homes by the latter part of the
fifteenth century, similar to the increased interest in portraiture decorating homes by the
Cinquecento. Portraits and mirrors alike were hand-held or hung on walls, and both
were sometimes provided with a curtain or wooden cover for protection. These
coverings could be pulled over the mirror or portrait-object when the room was not in
use, to protect the plate or image. Both objects were utilized in the enhancement of
interior decoration leading probably to the making of elaborate frames for them. Both
mirrors and portraits attempt to capture a sense of naturalism. In holding up a mirror to
reveal reality, reality is not displayed, but the illusion of it as reflected in a two-
dimensional surface, quite similar to the two-dimensional surface of a painted panel or

121 Numerous references are made to mirrors in Renaissance inventories. See Kent Lydecker, The Domestic
Setting of the Arts in Renaissance Florence, PhD diss, Johns Hopkins University, 1987, 117-119, 130-32, 169. For
other discussions on mirrors see Heinrich Schwartz, The Mirror of the Artist and the Mirror of the Devout in
90-105 [also called “The Mirror in Art”, Art Quarterly 15 (1952), 96-118]; and Jan Bialostocki, “Man and
Mirror in painting: Reality and Transience,” Studies in Late Medieval and Renaissance Painting in Honor of Millard
Meiss, ed. by Irving Lavin and John Plummer (New York: New York University Press, 1977), 61-72,
122 The mirror’s reflective powers were considered magical. Some tales reported the covering of mirrors or
turning them to the wall during sleep, illness, or after a death in the family. It was believed that a living
person’s soul in the form of a reflection in a mirror could be carried off by the ghost of the deceased who
was said to hover during the time before burial. They were also covered due to a belief that after death, if
mirrors were left for viewing, the soul of the newly departed could become caught in the mirror, delaying
its journey to the afterlife and during sleep or illness so that the soul in its wanderings, would not become
trapped, making it unable to return to the body. Thus, the popular custom of covering mirrors and portraits
were probably inextricably linked to these beliefs.
123 A Venetian *spera* with its *fajzol da specchio* from the 1490s is on a page from the Apocalypse, published by
Ferdinando Ongania in Venice in 1515. The scene shows a writer presenting his new work to his female
patron. On the left wall, a mirror is covered by a *fajzol*, a cloth made of expensive or colorful material to
enhance a room. See Peter Thornton, The Italian Renaissance Interior 1400-1600 (London/New York: Harry
N. Abrams, 1991), 234, fig. 267. Ludwig has listed a number of references to the scarves or protective
cloths associated with mirrors. See Gustav Ludwig, “Restello, Spiegle und Toiletten Utensilien in Venedig
zur Zeit der Renaissance,” Italienische Forschungen (Berlin: 1906), 182-352, especially 271. One mentioning of
the covering of a portrait is from the fifteenth-century Sforza court in Milan, in which the young Galeazzo
Sforza in 1471 was taken to his father’s *camera* to see a portrait of his father. It seemed to be a panel
painting, perhaps by Zanetto Bugatto, which required uncovering. See E.S. Welch, “The Image of a
Fifteenth-Century Court Secular Frescoes for the Castello di Porta Giovia,” Journal of the Warburg and
Courtauld Institutes LIII (1990), 166; and Luke Syson, “Zanetto Bugatto as Court Portraitist in Milan,”
124 Mirrors, in particular, had frames in a variety of shapes and were made out of wood, *pastiglia*, terracotta,
cartapesta, stucco, and metal. In Il Sodoma’s fresco, Alexander Visiting Roxana, a round mirror, or *sfera*, was
placed on the back wall, actually inside the bed in the main bedchamber, which was located within an actual
canvas. The mirror claims to reflect reality, much as a portrait indicates “likeness.” Yet, the Renaissance mirror reversed, distorted, flattered, obscured, and exaggerated its replicated image, similar to a portrait which depicts an individual without revealing his/her inner nature.125 Both are surface phenomena, although the painted portrait is more enduring and less fleeting than the mirror’s image.

The portrait-image produced by a mirror tricks the artist and the viewer. Paul Eduard has commented that “when they did their portrait, they did it looking at each other in a mirror, without realizing that they themselves were a mirror.”126 Transitory portraits can also be created instantaneously merely by subjecting the subject to his own mirror reflection. The referent faced in the mirror is confused with what is also received as the same person in the reflection. The ancient tale of the beautiful youth named Narcissus demonstrates this concept as he lay beside a pool gazing in adoration at his own reflection, ignoring the attention of the nymph Echo.127 Caravaggio’s Narcissus illustrates the youth immersed in his resemblance in the pond as mirror (Fig. 4.53).128

Narcissus is shown twice to the viewer—doubling the person being portrayed with his...

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125 Many mirrors before 1550 were circular in shape with a convex plate mirror made of steel in imitation of glass. The anamorphic reflection seen in such a plate caused enlargement, distortion, and enablement to visualize all of the room in which it hung. The Medici inventory of 1553 listed a mirror with an oval plate, "spera aovata," which was probably convex as well because it claimed that it "shows each side (mostra ogni lato)" and had a wide reflection. Mirrors also showed a rather murky or dark reflection, obscuring the person imaged. See Peter Thornton, *The Italian Renaissance Interior 1400-1600* (London/New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1991), especially 226 and 236. Jan Bialostocki reasoned that the Italian interest in idealization probably considered the reflections in convex mirrors disturbing. See Jan Bialostocki, "Man and Mirror in painting: Reality and Transience," 61-72, reprinted in J. Bialostocki, *The Message of Images*, 93-107.


127 Subsequently, he wasted away, died, and was metamorphosed into a flower bearing his name. For the myth, see L. Vinge, *The Narcissus Theme in Western European Literature up to the Early 19th Century* (Lund, 1967).

128 For Caravaggio’s and Poussin’s renditions of the original myth in their art (in the Galleria Nazionale, Rome, and the Louvre, respectively), where the former shows the youth immersed in the resemblance of the mirror, whereas the latter depicts floral metamorphosis and the genesis of representation through signs, see Hubert Damisch, "D’un Narcisse a l’autre," *Nouvelle Revue de Psychanalyse* 12 (1976): 113-46; and Stephen Bann, *The True Vine: On Visual Representation and the Western Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 138-56.
mirror image.\textsuperscript{129} By the action of the onlooker viewing the scene, a double portrayal is detected. The mirror's use generates a doubled reality that I believe was influential on the “portrait within a portrait” genre, illustrating varied meanings—self-portraiture, artistic skill, \textit{paragone}, reversal, beauty, \textit{vanitas}, and the lover's gaze.

The allure of the mirror was depicted by Pontormo in his drawing, \textit{Two Male Figures Looking into a Mirror} (Fig. 4.54).\textsuperscript{130} Entwined and huddled next to each other, the two companions completely absorb themselves in the mirror-object, which reveals their visages as a short-lived double portrait. Renaissance artists’ fascination also includes Michelangelo’s insertion of the mirror into three of his Ancestor lunettes in the Sistine Chapel (see Fig. 2.31).\textsuperscript{131} Literary tradition commented on the didactic nature of mirrors


\textsuperscript{130} Jacopo Pontormo, \textit{Two Male Figures Looking into a Mirror}, c. 1515-20. drawing, Frankfurt.

\textsuperscript{131} The mirror causes confrontation with the physical but perhaps also the spiritual self. Michelangelo made reference in the ancestor series: the lunette of Amminadab, the lunette of Nahshon, and the lunette of Jacob-Joseph. In the \textit{Lunette of Amminadab} (from Matthew 1:2-4: “Abraham begat Isaac. Isaac begat Jacob. Jacob begat Judah and his brothers. Judah begat Phares and Serah by Thamar. Phares begat Esron. Esron begat Aram. Aram begat Amminadab. Amminadab begat Nahshon”), on the left side of the lunette, Amminadab, prince of the Levites, is frontally positioned sitting upright with intertwined hands, forearm resting on his legs and feet set together. Perhaps drawn from life, the woman on the right is depicted seated, yet turned at an angle with crossed limbs as she combs her long blond hair and grips a small hand mirror with her left hand. In the \textit{Lunette of Nahshon} (from Matthew 1:4: “Amminadab begat Nahshon, Nahshon begat Salmon”), at the end of the right side wall near the altar (opposite the Amminadab lunette), it contains, leaning back on the edge of his inscribed tablet, Nahshon reading from an open book in front of him, while the woman, placed to his right, stands with one foot resting on the stone seat, looking at herself in an oval mirror that she holds in her hand. In the \textit{Jacob-Joseph Lunette} (from Matthew 1:15-16: “Matthan begat Jacob. Jacob begat Joseph, the husband of Mary, of whom was born Jesus, who is called
having the ability to divulge abstract spiritual truths. St. Gregory of Nyssa (c. 335-after 394), a prolific writer on the mirror, believed it revealed “what we are and encourages us to become what we ought to be.”

By the end of the thirteenth century, the mirror had a dual personality. It was a paradox: the material nature of the mirror (as a window into human frailties) contradicted what came to be seen as its spiritual nature or ideal reality (the mirror looked at with the soul). Positive and negative associations of the mirror stem from the motivation for being at the mirror, and also the actual length of time an individual passed in front of the mirror studying his/her appearance. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Italian artists and humanists produced images and texts referring to the mirror.

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Footnotes:

132 Saint Gregory utilized the mirror as a window of the soul that could be turned toward either the sensible or the spiritual world. He stated that “when a soul after the manner of a mirror has turned towards good, it will see in its own soul the form and shape of beauty.” See *De Beatitude Oratio* 6 [PG 44, 1270 C]; *De Vita Moysis* [PG 44, 339 A]; *Commentarius in Canticum Canticorum* [PG 44, 867 CD]. Pomponius Gauricus also considered a mirror a window into the psyche or soul. See Pomponius Gaurico, *De Sculptura* (Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1886), 166-69. For the symbolic value of the mirror come conoscenza, see J. Chevalier-A. Gheerbrant, *Dictionnaire des symbols* (Paris, 1974), IV, 225; and M. Gabriele, *Speculum institutio, speculum sapientiae*, in Turin, Mole Antonelliana, *Lo specchio e il doppio*, 36-40. With the same significance, a mirror is attributed to Apollo in an illuminated miniature of the *Codex Urb. Lat. 716* of the Biblioteca Vaticana, which contains the work of Ludovico Lazzarelli, *De Gentilium imaginibus Deorum*, relating the image to the text: “seu quia tu sapiens specularis mente futura et tanquam in speculo tempora cuncta vides” (or/whether because you in your wisdom descry the future with your mind, and you see all the times as if in a mirror). The mirror was also explicitly attributed to the personification of wisdom found in an engraving of *Liber de sapiente* by Carolus Bovillus (published in Paris in 1510).

133 Dante suggested an inferior mirror that obeyed the natural law of reflection and a superior mirror that received the direct illumination of God. The mirror also became a sign of purity, symbolizing the Virgin Mary as the *speculum sine macula* (the untarnished mirror). Dante contemplated with Saint Bernard in heaven a *semblanza* in canto XXXI of *Il Paradiso* in his *Divine Comedy* (c. 1307-1321). During this time, an Order of the Mirror of the Blessed Virgin was also in existence. The meaning of the mirror, however, was interchangeable. For in canto XXVII of *Il Purgatorio* of the *Divine Comedy*, virginity was exchanged for truthfulness. Leah became the symbol of active life, as she gazed into the mirror adorning herself with flowers, while Rachael represented the contemplative life as she faced the mirror continuously in recognition of truth. See E.C. Richardson, *Materials for a Life of Jacopo de Voragine* (New York: H.W. Wilson, 1935), II, 64.
to the mirror’s implications: truth or falsehood, vanity or beauty, virginity and prudence.

**Doubling the Same Individual**

The doubling of the same person concerned the Greek writer Aristophanes in the platonic dilemma of a comic fable in the *Symposium* which told of the splitting of one person into two separated beings.

Before our inferior souls fall into this earthly body, it is for them as if they were cut in half, and of the two faces there remains only one, whence every time that they turn the one face that is left to them toward sensible beauty, they remain deprived of the vision of the other.

A medal of the Paduan philosopher, Marcantonio Passeri, portrays the comic double-face of Aristophanes on its verso like a pair of Siamese twins with heads joined in Janus-fashion (Fig. 4.55). By the very nature of looking into a mirror, as Narcissus did, another person is seen, yet at the same time, a realization occurs to the viewer of the mirror that the person in the mirror’s image is one and the same, creating this same

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134 One such text promoting the mirror’s *veritas* is a tale in *Le piacevoli nocei (The Facetious [Pleasant] Nights)* of 1550-54 by Giovan Francesco Straparola. He insisted that the mirror loves truth in stating that “it never claims black is white, and has never learned to flatter. If someone is happy, then I am happy too, it says: if they are sad, so am I. If an old woman looks at me, wrinkled, bleary-eyed, toothless, and badly made up, tell everyone that I lie.” See Giovanni Francesco Straparola, *The Facetious Nights*, trans. by W.G. Waters (London: Member of the Society of Bibliophiles, 1901).

135 The mirror was associated equally with the cardinal virtues and the seven deadly sins. Alberti advised artists to use the mirror as a checking system for the accuracy of the drawings from nature, thus an instrument of truth. See L.B. Alberti, *Della Pittura*, trans. by J.R. Spencer (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966), 83.

136 See Pico della Mirandola, *Commento*, ed. by Eugenio Garin (Florence: 1942), II, viii, 529; Edgar Wind, *Pagan Mysteries of the Renaissance* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1968), 20. It should be noted that the god Janus is also imaged as a head with two faces.

137 It is in Aristophanes’s Speech from Plato’s *Symposium*. In his memorable account of the race of original round creatures of three types—double men, double women, and the man-woman, androgyne—Zeus decided to slice in half when they threatened to occupy the domain of the gods. Toward the end of the fifteenth century, the Florentine scholar Marsilio Ficino translated the *Symposium* first into Latin and later into Italian. Giovanni Cavino, *Portrait of Marcantonio Passeri*, c. 1560, bronze medal, 36.57 mm, recto and verso, inscribed PHILOSOPHIA DUCE REGREDIMUR [With philosophy leading, we retrace our steps]. On the verso of the coin, these creatures are imaged. See also the woodcut of the reverse side of Giovanni Cavino’s portrait medallion of Marcantonio Passeri, c. 1560, as printed in I.P. Thomasius, *Illustrorum virorum elogia* (Padua, 1630).
doubling effect. The mirror’s known association with artists and the artistic method is claimed by Leonardo, in which the mirror was the artist’s teacher becoming an essential instrument in the Renaissance workshop.\textsuperscript{138} Self-portraits by artists, likenesses created in which artist and sitter are known to be identical through the use of the mirror, became increasingly popular in the Renaissance as seen in Parmigianino’s \textit{Self-Portrait in a Convex Mirror} of 1524.\textsuperscript{139} Allegorical figures of Disegno and Pittura, indicating the artistic process, link the mirror to a portrait. Ripa’s \textit{Iconologia} of 1593, which was compiled from earlier visual and textual sources, shows the embodiment of Disegno carrying a compass in his right hand and a mirror in the left, clearly associating artist with specula (Fig. 4.56).\textsuperscript{140}

When \textit{La Pittura} is portrayed, she is not in the process of painting historical or religious narratives, considered the highest artistic subjects, but she paints a portrait of herself. Fictive double portraits are created in portrayals of \textit{La Pittura} such as Paolo Veronese’s

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\textsuperscript{139} The mirror’s illusion shows Parmigianino’s right hand which in reality would be his left, if not reversed. The background of a room with window, door, and coffered ceiling seems spherical in this illusion. He brought this painting to Rome and upon his arrival gave it as a gift to Clement VII to display his talent as an artist. The mirror greatly encouraged this self-awareness. For a good overview of self-portraiture, see Woods Marsden, \textit{Renaissance Self-Portraiture: The Visual Construction of Identity and the Social Status of the Artist} and for the development of self-awareness, see P.O. Kristeller, “The Modern System of the Arts,” in \textit{Renaissance Thought II} (London, 1965), 176; and Leonardo da Vinci, \textit{Leonardo da Vinci: Treatise on Painting (Codex Urbinas Lattinus 1270)}, I, 12. It is known that the sculptor, Alessandro Vittoria, who acquired Parmigianino’s illustrious \textit{Self-Portrait} had a small portrait of a woman by Titian which was part of a looking glass. It is believed that it may have been designed to hang as a pendant to Parmigianino’s \textit{Self-Portrait}. Though this is in a diptych fashion, it unites two portraits which illustrate the mirror’s potential. See V. Avery, “The House of Alessandro Vittoria Reconstructed,” \textit{The Sculpture Journal} V (2001), 26, fn. 71, cited in Jennifer Fletcher, “Titian as a Painter of Portraits,” in London, National Gallery of Art, \textit{Titian}, exh. cat. (2003), 33. It is also recorded that Lorenzo Lotto united an actual mirror with painted portrait when he used a mirror as a cover for a small portrait in 1552. See P. Zampetti, ed. \textit{Lorenzo Lotto: Il ‘Libro di spese diverse’ con aggiunto di lettere e d’altri documenti}, in \textit{ Civiltà veneziana, Fonti e testi}, serie prima 6 (Venice/Rome: Istituto per la collaborazione culturale: 1969), 45.

\textsuperscript{140} Ripa compiled this tome from a variety of mythological manuals, \textit{emblemata} (emblem books), archaeological summaries, and numismatics discussions. He also consulted a large array of media, from sculpture, medals, and coins to waxes and engravings. Ripa also endowed his personification of perspective with a mirror, positioning her next to perfection, who is depicted drawing a circle with a compass and is surrounded by the zodiacal band. The tomb of Michelangelo, designed by Vasari in the 1570s, has three female allegorical figures (Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture) resting on the tomb. Painting holds a mirror.
Muse of Painting (Fig. 4.57).\textsuperscript{141} She holds a brush in her right hand and a palette and canvas in her left. The image she displays is a reflective self-portrait, created through the use of the mirror. In Giorgio Vasari’s residence in Arezzo, the personification of Painting in a lunette similarly shows a fictive double portrayal with the canvas image mirroring her (Fig. 4.58).\textsuperscript{142}

Often when the Renaissance artist portrayed herself/himself in the act of painting her/his own portrait, the two viewed together within the same image enters the category of a “portrait within a portrait.” Early representations of this type showing artists’ portrayals, though fictive, are manuscript illuminations, as in a fifteenth-century French version of Boccaccio’s *Noble and Famous Women* (Fig. 4.59).\textsuperscript{143} Timarete, the ancient Greek woman vase painter, draws her self-portrait on a wall in a studio filled with painter’s

\textsuperscript{141} Paolo Caliari, called il Veronese, *The Muse of Painting*, oil on canvas, 11 x 7 ¼ in. (27.9 x 18.4 cm), Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, Michigan [36.30].

\textsuperscript{142} Decorating a room called *La Camera della Fama e delle Arte*, he placed Fame sounding her horn in the center of the vault. In the spandrels, Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, and Poetry are each shown absorbed in their work. Vasari left eight roundels empty that he later filled with portraits of artists. In the same room above the fireplace on the eastern wall, where the *Origins of Painting* is represented, Poetry is each shown absorbed in their work. Vasari left eight roundels empty that he later filled with portraits of artists. In the same room above the fireplace on the eastern wall, where the *Origins of Painting* is represented, Vasari decorated it with a self-portrait bust. See Patricia Rubin, *Giorgio Vasari: Art and History* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1995), 137, figs. 58-59. The ovals were completed probably after 1568 and represent the artists Bartolomeo della Gatta, Michelangelo, Andrea del Sarto, Lazzaro Vasari, Giorgio himself, Luca Signorelli, and Spinello Aretino. See Cecchi, in *Mostra Arezzo* (1981), 24. Giorgio Vasari also utilized the image of *La Pittura* in *The Lives* by placing her on a short flat pedestal above the oval portrait of the artist. Retaining her voluminous garb, she holds palette and instruments in her left hand and with her right hand, she touches up a portrait. For an example, see Giorgio Vasari’s *Portrait of Giovanni Cimabue*, from the 1568 edition of *The Lives*. A further note needs to be added on how Vasari connected himself with the great ancient painter, Apelles. In his *sala delle arti e degli artisti* (Casa Vasari, Florence), Vasari painted frescoes depicting the stories of Apelles in c. 1573. The scenes are as follows: the discovery of *Pittura* and of *Disegno*, the artist’s studio, Zeuxis painting the five fanciulle of Agrigento, and in the trim, thirteen portraits of artists. Adhering to Pliny’s description of the Origin of Painting (XXXV, 15-16), in which he pictured a man seated on a low bench, carefully tracing the outline of his shadow cast upon the wall by the light emanating from a large porch, Vasari followed suit in his fresco cycle, except he separated the origins of *Disegno* from *Pittura*. In the fresco cycle, *Disegno* is represented by this image, while on the other side of the wall *Pittura* is visualized. See Frederika H. Jacobs, “Vasari’s Vision of the History of Painting: Frescoes in the Casa Vasari, Florence,” *Art Bulletin* LXVI, no. 3 (1984), 399-416; and Laura Corti, *Vasari: Catalogo completo dei dipinti* (Florence: Cantini Editore, 1989), 133-34, Cat. 111, repro.

\textsuperscript{143} In many of the biographies on women artists, the female artists are seen painting their self-portraits. The biography of the Ancient Greek vase painter, Thamar (or Thmyris) is depicted painting a self-portrait or an image of the Virgin and Child in fifteenth-century manuscript illuminations of Boccaccio’s tome.
paraphernalia. As she completes the last details of her self-portrait, the female artist has abandoned the mirror, which hangs on the wall next to her painting. Boccaccio utilized Pliny as a source when writing his *tome*. In a manuscript translation from Italian to French of Boccaccio’s *Noble and Famous Women* of about 1402, the illuminator decided to portray Iaia of Kyzikos painting a self-portrait of herself visible to the viewer (Fig. 4.60), and Marcia, a vestal virgin and female painter, is also seen painting her likeness with the aid of a mirror (Fig. 4.61). She holds a circular mirror in her left hand and paints her portrait with her right. In both of these miniatures, the images of the artists with their self-portraits are fictive “portraits within portraits.” Another fictive example is seen in a miniature of a painter in a fifteenth-century tome of Pliny’s *Historia Naturalis* by Gherardo di Giovanni di Miniato (del Fora) mentioned earlier (see Fig. 4.35). It presents an artist painting a *cavalletto*, nobleman/knight, which is perhaps a true portrait of an actual man.

Jan van Eyck in the *Arnolfini Wedding Portrait* presented a double portrait of a man and a woman holding hands in a richly decorated domestic chamber (see Fig. 1.54). In the

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144 French artist, *Timarete Painting her Self-Portrait on a Wall*, manuscript illumination in Boccaccio’s *Noble and Famous Women*, c. 1401-2, Bibliotheque nationale, Paris [MS Fr 599], fol. 53v.
145 Pliny mentioned that Iaia of Kyzikos portrayed herself with the aid of a mirror. He also referred to Marcia as chiefly painting portraits of women. “I think that her chaste modesty was the cause of this for in antiquity figures were for the greater part represented nude or partially nude and it seemed to her necessary either to make the men imperfect or by making them perfect, forget maidenly modesty.” These observations are repeated by Boccaccio. See Pliny the Elder (CE 23/24-79), *Natural History*, bk XXXV, 147-148.
146 French artist, *Miniature Showing Marcia Painting Self-Portrait*, in French translation of Boccaccio’s *Concerning Famous Women*, c. 1401-02, Bibliotheque nationale, Paris [MS Fr. 12420], fol. 101v. In a similar portrayal of Marcia in Boccaccio’s manuscript of 1404, which was presented to the Duke of Berry, she sits in a barrel-shaped chair, painting her reflection. She is also painting her portrait from her reflection in a round convex mirror placed next to the panel on which she works. The medieval writer and rhetorician Christiane de Pizan wrote *City of Women* in 1405 (p. 85: bk. I.41.3) in which she created an allegorical city, in which independent women lived free from men. She included ancient and contemporary women artists, including Marcia. Since Marcia created her self-portrait by using a mirror, her memory survives her. See Hope B. Werness, *The Symbolism of Mirrors in Art from Ancient Times to the Present* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1999), 80. Note that Boccaccio’s text was translated into French in 1401 as *Des femmes nobles et renommées*. Two esteemed codices are recorded as being made for Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy in 1402 and another entering the library of Jean de Berry in 1403 as mentioned above. Both manuscripts were illuminated by the workshop of the *Cité des Dames* Masters. Interestingly, the Pagan imagery of the ancient women artists was replaced with Christian subjects, such as the *Vera Icon* or Virgin and Child.
mirror’s reflection on the back wall, van Eyck expanded the internal space to include his own image and that of another individual as possibly official witnesses to the ceremony (Fig. 4.62).¹⁴⁷ Hans Memling also used the mirror as reflective device in his Diptych of Maarten van Nieuwenhove of 1487, which reveals a double portrayal (Fig. 4.63).¹⁴⁸ In the left panel of the diptych, the Virgin and Child are frontally placed in the plane, filling the space, while in the right panel the patron, Maarten, is turned to his right, facing the Virgin.¹⁴⁹ Toward the back of the room of the Virgin in the left panel, a mirror reflects both the Virgin and donor not in separate panels, but together in one visual field divided only by the framing of two windows (Fig. 4.64). Thus, in the mirror’s reflection, the figures are united in one interior space, similar to a double portrait.¹⁵⁰

A Portrait of a Doctor of c. 1520-25 by an unknown Ferrarese artist also displays a double portrayal by way of a mirror, this time of the same person in two manners (Fig. 4.65). The sitter sits close to the picture plane, creating intimacy with the viewer. The placement of a mirror in the back of the room doubles the represented person, presenting him in a different light—as a doctor at work (Fig. 4.66).¹⁵¹ Giovanni Battista Paggi played with the mirror’s illusion in his Self-Portrait with a Friend, possibly Architect dated 1580 (Fig. 147 The mirror presented in the painting is similar to a late fifteenth-century glass convex mirror located in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich.

¹⁴⁷ Hans Memling, Diptych of Maarten van Nieuwenhove, 1487, oil on oak panel, each 44.7 x 33.5 cm (inside the frame), Memlingmuseum, Sint-Janshospitaal, Bruges [O.S].I78.I DDV 78. The reflection in the mirror shows the patron facing directly towards the Virgin, who sits squarely before the window. It is clear from the mirror image that the man kneels, wearing a long cloak, and that the Virgin sits on a bench in front of two little openwork arches. See Bruges, Groeningemuseum, Hans Memling Catalogue, exh. cat. by Dirk de Vos (1994), 130-131, Cat. 33. Jean Fouquet had a similar perspective in his Melun Diptych (Berlin-Antwerp). See L. Collobi, “Il Dittico di Melun di Jean Fouquet,” Critica d’Arte, 51 (1986), 93-96, fig. 8.

¹⁴⁸ Maarten’s patron saint, St. Martin, is disclosed behind him in the form of a stained glass window along with a view through a window of the Minnewater Bridge. See Bruges, Groeningemuseum, Hans Memling Catalogue, cat. by Dirk de Vos (1994), 112-115, Cat. 26, repro.

¹⁴⁹ If both the figures in the image were secular instead of religious, it would constitute an image as a double portrait.

4.67). In this friendship painting the artist focused on the phenomenon of showing one body with two faces, both reflected. The architect is seen from the back, outside the mirror; his face and the face of the artist appear as reflections, like a double portrait, in the mirror’s frame. The viewer, put in the position of the architect, represents the viewer’s reflection, peering into but yet outside the picture plane. The architect’s prominent index finger points into the picture’s space, touching the interior mirror, while he also points to the same smaller rectangular framed glass that projects their joined reflection. It becomes a painting within a painting, or rather a double portrait reflected in the mirror within another portrait.

Two Northern paintings should also be mentioned in this context. The German painter Hans van Aachen, who initially studied under a Flemish master, took an Italian sojourn from 1574-1588. Upon his return to Germany he became renowned for his portrait paintings of nobles. In c. 1575, during his Italian stint, he produced a witty Double Self-Portrait (Fig. 4.68). At first glance it appears to be a painting of two figures laughing. However, it is in fact a double self-portrait, with one image in the mirror, creating a portrait within a portrait. In another example, Johannes Gumpp united the concept of Disegno and La Pittura, mentioned earlier, into one astounding Self-Portrait of 1646 (Fig. 4.69). Through the use of the mirror, he is in the act of painting his self-portrait, while

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152 Giovanni Battista Paggi, Self-Portrait with a Friend, possibly an Architect, dated 1580, oil on canvas, 81 x 62 cm, Martin von Wagner Museum, Würzburg.
153 Joanna Woods Marsden has suggested that Giovanni Battista Paggi may have been encouraged by his Genoese compatriot, Luca Cambiaso, and his own Self-Portrait mentioned earlier in this chapter. Woods Marsden also has mentioned that in Paggi’s Self-Portrait, the pointing index finger ensured that the mirror reflection was the center of attention. Autonomous self-portrayals with the use of the mirror were central and popularly shown to the papal court, including self-portraits by Parmigianino and Raphael. See Woods Marsden, Self-Portraiture, 130-131, fig. 90; Kristina Herrmann-Fiore, “Due artisti allo specchio: Un doppio ritratto del Museo di Würzburg attribuito a Giovanni Battista Paggi,” Storia dell’Arte (1983), 35.
154 Hans von Aachen (1552-1615), Double Self-Portrait (Doppio Autoritratto), c. 1575, oil on panel, 47 x 38 cm, Arcibiskupsky Zamek, Kromeriz [O 288.KE 3177].
155 Johannes Gumpp, Self-Portrait, 1646, oil on canvas, 885 x 890 mm, Galleria degli Uffizi, collezione degli autoritratti, Florence [1890, n. 1901]. See Rivosecchi, Lo specchio e il doppio (1987), 204, Cat. 11.
at the same time the virtually completed portrayal appears on canvas. The artist is seen from a variety of perspectives. Johannes Gumpp’s serious face looks forward in his reflection in the octagonal mirror; seen from the back, he is shown full-length as the black-cloaked figure of the artist at work; and in the painted self-image, the artist as portrait peers obliquely back at the viewer. It presents to the viewer, not what the artist sees, but what the spectator witnesses, in a manner reminiscent of the painter-evangelist theme. The constructed scene gives the illusion that the viewer can stand back and see the artist at work, with his image reflected in the mirror to the left, and a self-portrait in progress on the easel to the right. The mirror’s symbolic and practical role is observed in the creation of this self-portrait. It further demonstrates how artists toyed with the mirror, often creating double portrayals.

**Duplicity from the *Paragone* Debate**

The theoretical debate over the merits of painting and sculpture, the *Paragone*, was a heated topic among Renaissance artists, sometimes resulting in a doubling effect in their imagery on the subject. Stimulated perhaps by the making of Andrea Verrocchio’s equestrian monument to Bartolomeo Colleoni, some sculptors in the *Paragone* debate claimed that sculpture was superior because it showed one figure from different sides, thus surpassing painting, which could only be one-sided. According to Vasari, Giorgione countered in the 1490s arguing that a viewer could see a figure of a man from

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156 Andrea Verrocchio, *Equestrian Monument to Bartolomeo Colleoni*, 1496, bronze, originally partly gilt on a marble base, Campo Santi Giovanni e Paolo, Venice. The debate probably did not take place during the dates of Verrocchio’s sojourn in Venice from 1486-1488. More likely, the debate occurred when the monument was cast in 1490 by Alessandro Leopardi or at the unveiling in March 1496, since Vasari referred to it as a bronze horse instead of a clay model which is how Verrocchio left it. See Jaynie Anderson, *Giorgione: The Painter of ‘Poetic Brevity’,* (Paris/New York: Flammarion, 1997), 66.
all sides without having to walk around it by means of reflected surfaces.\textsuperscript{157} Paolo Pino described an armed Saint George by Giorgione as one such example, in which the subject was shown leaning on the shaft of his lance with his whole foreshortened body reflected in the water at his feet, his other side reflected in a mirror behind him.\textsuperscript{158} In Pino’s view, this work embodied painting’s aptitude to show the entire figure at one time, and was thus better than sculpture, which caused the spectator to physically walk around the object. Saint George and his reflected armor in the right panel of the \textit{Diptych with Virgin and Child with Saint George and Donor} (c. 1485-90) by Memling is perhaps reminiscent of Giorgione’s version (Figs. 4.70 and 4.71).\textsuperscript{159}

The \textit{Portrait of a Young Boy with a Helmet} (c. 1510), attributed to Giorgione, can be seen in light of the \textit{Paragone} debate and the portrait within a portrait genre (Fig. 4.72).\textsuperscript{160} A boy with straight shoulder-length hair, portrayed half-length, faces to the right in three-quarter profile. He has a serious gaze and his tight grasp with both hands of an oversized ceremonial Della Rovere helmet accentuates his familial connection.\textsuperscript{161} The illumination from the left of the painting creates strong reflections on the helmet, including the red cloak lined with fur, the boy’s fingers, and most importantly, the portrait head of an unknown older man (possibly the artist, the spectator, the patron, or the boy’s father)

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\textsuperscript{159} Hans Memling, \textit{Diptych with Virgin and Child with Angels, St. George, and Donor}, c. 1485-90, Alte Pinakothek, Munich. In a similar manner, a soldier’s frontal view is reflected in his helmet lying on the ground in Sodoma’s \textit{Crucifixion} (Pinacoteca, Siena).

\textsuperscript{160} Attributed to Giorgione, \textit{Portrait of a Young Boy with a Helmet, said to be Francesco Maria I della Rovere, Duke of Urbino}, c. 1510, wood transferred to canvas, 73 x 64 cm, Gemaldegalerie, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. See Jaynie Anderson, \textit{Giorgione}, figs. 20-21.

\textsuperscript{161} The helmet is adorned with a golden wreath of oak leaves.
Because the young boy poses next to the helmet with a reflection of another portrait, the image becomes a portrait within a portrait.

In a similar fashion, the act of presenting a reflected portrait characterizes Giovanni Bellini’s painted restello or vanity cabinet, clearly for secular use, from around 1490 (Fig. 4.74). One of the four painted panels that represent allegories displays a personification of Prudence. A nude woman supports a large circular convex mirror as she stands on a pedestal with downcast eyes and two putti resting at her feet (Fig. 4.75). Unlike mirrors, which signify beauty or vanitas by turning the mirror toward the subject, this panel shows the allegorical figure turning the mirror outward to replicate the viewer’s face. The mirrored reflection reveals a portrait of a bust-length man in red, possibly the patron or original owner of the dressing table. The mirror in this case creates an

162 See Jaynie Anderson, *Giorgione*, 48-49. If the father is reflected, it displays family lineage within the boy’s portrait. This scholar refers to the boy as a page, which I find unlikely.

163 Giovanni Bellini, *The Four Allegories: Perseverence, Fortune, Prudence (or Self-Knowledge), and Falsehood*, detail of *Prudence*, c. 1490, oil on panel, 34 x 21 and 34 x 22 cm, respectively, Gallerie dell’Accademia, Venice. It possibly belonged to the painter Vincenzo Catena who left it in his will in 1530 to Antonio Marsili. This type of furniture was so popularized that the Venetian senate placed strict restrictions on its production in the sumptuary laws. Goffen believed that they signified Melancholy, Self-Knowledge, Perseverance, and Envy. The direction of light and movement confirms their grouping. The two compositions with male protagonists were originally pendants, while the two panels with female protagonists were also a pairing and suggested a virtue and vice for each grouping. See Rona Goffen, *Giovanni Bellini* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1989), 228-237, fig. 170.

164 Other examples of Prudence as a female holding a mirror include Giotto, *La Prudenzia*, Cappella Scrovegni, Padua; Mantegna, *Prudence or Self-Wisdom*, c. 1465, Tarocchi, E series B, no. 35 (mentioned in Arthur Hind, “Mantegna Tarocchi,” *Early Italian Engraving* [1938], I, 221); Luca della Robbia, *La Prudentia*; Piero del Pollaiuolo, *Prudence*, c. 1470, tempera and oil on cypress wood, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence. In an early sixteenth-century medal of Scaramucci by Trivulzio, Prudence also holds a mirror. See Gianfermo Trivulzio, *Scaramucci*, c. 1518-25, medal, National Gallery of Art, Washington DC, mentioned in *Hill, Renaissance Medals*, 1967, 39, cat. 198. Prudence was originally symbolized as a snake indicating wisdom in the Bible (Matthew 10:16). In the *Sala di Constantino* in the Vatican, Prudence is dressed as Minerva, goddess of wisdom and prudence, holding a mirror and a serpent.

165 Although restelli were normally used by women, men tended to have this type of furniture among their possessions as estate furniture and bridal gifts. One of Bellini’s restelli, possibly this one, was documented by its owner, Catena. Upon Catena’s death, his friend who inherited the object recorded it. Restelli were not prized for their function, but for their painted surfaces. See Rona Goffen, *Giovanni Bellini*, 322, fn. 22; and Giles Robertson, *Vincenzo Catena* (Edinburgh: 1954), 6-8. The restello owned by Catena appeared in his will of November 25, 1525, fol. 21, ASV, Testamenti, Zaccaria di Priuli, Busta 777, lot. 455.
emblem for the patron and becomes an early version of a portrait within a portrait. It should also be noted that Bellini’s Prudentia and Giorgione’s Portrait of a Young Boy with a Helmet have figures holding portraits that are reminiscent of the presentation aspect of the imago clipeata and Saint Veronica’s veil.167

In Giovanni Girolamo Savoldo’s so-called Gaston de Foix Portrait, the mirror is once again integral to the design (Fig. 4.76).168 This portrait can be linked to the influence of Leonardo, Giorgione, and Lotto in its demonstration of the painter’s counter-argument in the Paragone debate. With reflective surfaces in both the armor and the mirror, the sitter is seen from two sides, back and front. At a glance, the image enters the realm of a portrait within a portrait, with the man represented as portrait and reflected image. His left arm becomes a right arm in the reflection as Parmigianino would later duplicate. The influence of the Paragone debate in the use of the mirror is additionally apparent in Girolamo Mazzola Bedoli’s Portrait of Anna Eleonora Sanvitale of 1562 (Fig.

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166 This painted image has been considered both Prudentia and Vanity. Erwin Panofsky has thought of Bellini’s image as “Vana Gloria” with a mirror that “transforms the beholder’s reflection into a mask of horror.” See Erwin Panofsky, Problems in Titian, Mostly Iconographic (New York: New York University Press, 1969), 94. The distortion of the portrait in the mirror could be due to optics. Not until the middle of the sixteenth century did a clearer reflection appear in mirror form. Before that time, only an imperfect, slightly distorted image reflected a person’s face. Hartlaub has suggested that this painting led the way toward the popularity of painting a lady at her toilette. See G. Hartlaub, Zauber des Spiegels (Munich: Piper, 1951), 82-83.

167 In Bernardino Licinio’s Courtesan with Mirror, the blond-haired sitter reveals her left breast due to the loosening of her large white shirt as she stares out at the viewer and rests her right arm on a mirror which sets on a parapet-like table. Her image reveals her beauty, while the mirror reflects objects such as candles, hairbrushes, ointment jars, and the rest of the room in dim light with a window in the back corner. Interestingly, two other figures are witnessed in the background—an old man in gesticulation and an older woman. Earlier in date, Titian presented his version in Allegory of Vanity (c. 1515). A young woman with loosened hair wears an informal green dress. Her white camicia falls off her shoulder. Gazing out at the viewer with a sidelong glance, she turns to her right and supports an octagonal mirror revealing earthly vanities of jewels and coins and that of a second person, an old woman holding a distaff. In both cases, the mirror is turned away from the sitter and toward the beholder in similar design to a Roman imago clipeata, Veronica’s veil, as well as in Bellini’s Prudentia, which reveals other individuals.

168 Giovanni Girolamo Savoldo, Gaston de Foix with Reflection, c. 1525-30, oil on canvas, 123 x 91 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
The four-year old girl, standing next to a large bronze figure on a side table supported by winged sphinxes, appears in front of a large, flat mirror, which reflects her image such that she is seen from the front and the back.\textsuperscript{170}

Titian also captured the concept of Paragone in his La Schiavona (c. 1511), in which the three-quarter length portrait of a frontally positioned woman in contemporary dress is juxtaposed with a feigned marble relief of her in left profile and classically draped (Fig. 4.78).\textsuperscript{171} The marble parapet was added after the painting of the woman in the red dress, suggesting that she died during the painting’s progress, and the profile portrait perhaps indicates a posthumous representation. In any event, this image portrays the woman twice, creating a portrait within a portrait of one and the same, in two views, frontal and profile, the parapet demarcating space and time.

Joseph Koerner has aptly described the “mirror and its signs of authorship that propose themselves as an image of the image, as a metapicture.”\textsuperscript{172} With the use of the mirror, a picture can refer to other objects and places within the pictured scene and in

\textsuperscript{169} Girolamo Mazzola Bedoli (c. 1500-1569), Portrait of Anna Eleonora Sanvitale, 1562, oil on canvas, 121.5x 92.2 cm, Galleria Nazionale, Parma. See Katherine T. Brown, The Painter’s Reflection: Self-Portraiture in Renaissance Venice 1458-1625 (Leo S. Olschki Editore, 2000), fig. 7. He was a student of Parmigianino.

\textsuperscript{170} Thornton has mentioned that this painting refers to the achievement of this size of a mirror plate by the 1560s. Also, in the Medici Inventory of 1589, it listed a closet of Catherine de’ Medic, Queen of France, but an Italian by birth. The closet was described in the inventory, which was taken after her death in 1589; having no less than one hundred and ten undecorated Venetian mirrors set into the paneling. In addition, a portrait of her husband, Henry II, was actually painted on a mirror which was set into the chimneypiece. See Medici inventory, Florence, 1589; cited in Thornton, The Italian Renaissance Interior 1400-1600, 237-38.

\textsuperscript{171} Tiziano Vecellio, called Titian, La Schiavona, c. 1511, oil on canvas, 117 x 97 cm, National Gallery of Art, London [NG 5385]. Unlike Giorgione’s portraits, in which the faces are not clearly legible, but hazy, Titian’s figure shows the structure of the person represented. Jennifer Fletcher has pointed out that the fictive relief in this painting is a later addition indicated by her dress which now shows through the parapet. She believed that the change may have been prompted by the contemporary Paragone debate or a witty pun on the sitter named after a Roman empress. See Jennifer Fletcher, “Titian as a Painter of Portraits,” in London, National Gallery of Art, Titian, exh. cat. (2003), 34, Cat. 4, repro. A similar profiled female head in marble from the Venetian school is extant today. See Venetian School, Profile of a Woman, marble, location unknown. For further discussions on the painting see P. Joannides, Titian to 1518: The Assumption of Genius (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2002), 212-14, fig. 190. In the seventeenth century, Alessandro Martinengo Colleoni acquired La Schiavona. See London, National Gallery of Art, National Gallery Catalogues: The Sixteenth Century Italian Paintings: Paintings from Bergamo, Brescia and Cremona, I, Cat. by Nicholas Penny (2004), 178.

\textsuperscript{172} See Joseph Leo Koerner, The Moment of Self-Portraiture in German Renaissance Art, 56.
these cases, it refers to the person being represented. Double images, and thus portrayals, are formed within one image. In *La Schiavona*, the aspect selected in the image is the portrait, which is thereby doubled (as a double portrait) through the mirror’s intervention, appearing to the viewer as a portrait within a portrait, what Koerner termed a metapicture.  

**Mirroring Beautiful or Vain**

The mirror often combined beauty and vanity, and by illustrating these concepts, double portrayals were created. In Renaissance thought, beauty, often displayed in a mirror, was connected to goodness, while excessive mirror-gazing stood for vanitas, which was connected to the deadly sin of pride (superbia), leading to downfall. A gift of a mirror in which a woman could view herself suggested the recipient’s ideal beauty and virtue, as illustrated in an engraving from an allegorical poem of chivalric love, the *Roman* 

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173 An unusual use of a mirror to create a unique double portrait is by Ludovico Buti from c. 1590. He displays Charles II, Duke of Lorraine, and his daughter Christina, Grand Duchess of Tuscany. Hinged to a wooden frame is a panel constructed of 37 horizontally-laid wooden boards, each cut triangular in sections. Both portraits are painted on these planks: Charles on one set and Christina on the other. A small mirror is secured to the panel. The portrait of Christina was reflected when the panel of Charles laid flat. It is located in the Museo di Storia della Scienza, Florence. This display became more common by the Seicento. See Lorne Campbell, *Renaissance Portraits: European Portrait Painting in the 14th, 15th, and 16th Centuries*, 206.

174 The Neoplatonic philosopher Marsilio Ficino stated that “the internal perfection produces the external. The former we can call goodness, the latter beauty. For this reason, we say that beauty is a certain blossom of goodness by the charms of which blossom, as by a kind of bait, the hidden internal goodness attracts beholders.” See Marsilio Ficino, *Commentarium in Convivium Platonis: De Amore*, ed. by R. Marcel (Paris: 1956), 178-9. This idea is illustrated in the tapestry related to sight of the *The Lady and the Unicorn* cycle, showing a lady with a unicorn (a symbol of purity). As the lady holds a mirror, it reflects the unicorn’s visage suggesting her own goodness. See *The Lady and the Unicorn, ‘Sight’*, Paris (design), Flanders (weaving), c. 1490, wool and silk tapestry, Musée national du Moyen Age, Paris, France [Cl. 10831-10834], mentioned in Carl Nordenfalk, *Book Illumination: Early Middle Ages* (Bookking International, 1995), 2, 7, 12, fn. 9. Ripa also commented that “the mirror shows that female beauty is […] in itself a mirror in which everyone, seeing himself in a more perfect way, for love of his image, is stimulated to love those aspects of himself where he has perceived the greatest perfection, and then is initiated to love himself.” See C. Ripa, *Iconologia*, Piero Buscaroli, ed. (Torino: Fògola, 1988), 145; and Mary Rogers, “An Ideal Wife at the Villa Maser: Veronese, the Barbaros, and Renaissance Theorists of Marriage,” *Renaissance Studies*, VII, no. 4 (December 1993), 77-90. For the mirror as vanity, see Ambrogio Lorenzetti, *Vainglory, in Allegory of Bad Government*, c. 1290-1348, Palazzo Pubblico, Siena; Hans Memling, *Triptych of Earthly Vanity and Divine Salvation*, central panel *Vanity*, c. 1485, oil on panel, 22 x 15 cm (each wing), Musée des Beaux-Arts, Strasbourg [DDV 64]; and, Jacopo de’ Barbari, *Nude Woman Holding a Mirror (Allegory of Vanitas)*, c. 1503/04, engraving, 8.5 x 6 cm (3 5/16 x 2 5/16 in.), Rosenwald Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington DC [1948.11.18]. See Washington, National Gallery of Art, *Early Italian Engravings from the National Gallery of Art*, exh. cat. by Jay A. Levenson, Konrad Oberhuber and Jacquelyn L. Sheehan (1973), 371, no. 142.
de la Rose, in which a fair lady with maidservant gazes into a convex mirror on the wall (Fig. 4.79). Contrarily, the mirror’s danger was often personified by the devil, as seen in an illustration for Marquart von Stein’s *Ritter vom Turnby* printed in Basel in 1493/8, in which a young woman adorns herself as she gazes into a convex mirror while a devil skulks around the same room (Fig. 4.80). The author of the *Elegies de la belle fille lamentant sa virginité perdue* (1557), Ferry Juliot furthered this theme by making his heroine reproach her parents for allowing her to spend so much time gazing at herself in the mirror, for such indulgence could only lead to disaster.

The ephemeral mirror image, linked to human transience, also functioned as a *memento mori*: a reminder of the inevitability of death and a warning against indulgence in sin, thus a stimulus for self-examination. Double portrayals of couples were often utilized to visualize this meaning. In *Bridal Couple* of c. 1470 by a southern German artist, a young couple embraces in a tender gesture of love, as they exchange rings in a

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178 In Hans Baldung Grien’s *Death and the Maiden* of c. 1518-20 (oil on panel, 31 x 19 cm, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Basel), a young voluptuous maiden turns to receive a kiss from her lover only to realize that she is kissing the skeletal figure of Death. In the artist’s early *Death of the Maiden* of 1510 (oil on panel, 15.75 x 12.75”, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna), Death pulls off the robe of a beautiful nude woman. Death holds an hour glass above her head as she vainly gazes into a circular convex mirror. In Petrus Christus’ *Saint Handing the Wedding Couple a Ring* of 1469 (oil on panel, Metropolitan Museum of Art), a couple stands behind the saint at his table, and a convex mirror is placed on the table in his workshop. The mirror reflects the couple in the outside world. It becomes a transitory image of delusionary treasures of also the husband, who is a goldsmith. The earthly activities of a money changer contrast with his wife’s spiritual activities, who sits reading from an open book of hours that presents the Virgin and Child in Quentin Massys painting of 1514 (*The Moneychanger*). The wife’s reflection in a small circular mirror on the table is as an older woman.
flowering landscape (Fig. 4.81). On the back of the painting, two corpses appear being devoured by snakes. The Master of the Aachen Life of the Virgin also painted a *Macabre Wedding Double Portrait* (see Fig. 2.66). On the front, the joyful couple stands full-length in a domestic interior with a mirror on the back wall reflecting the back of their heads (producing a doubling effect). On the verso of the panel, they become skeletal corpses. Overtly explicit is Laux Furtenagel’s *Double Portrait of Hans Bergkmair and his Wife* (1529), in which the mirror represents *veritas* or truth, *vanitas*, and prudence (Fig. 4.82). The couple, set at an angle, makes eye contact with the viewer. The man, as interlocutor, projects his left hand into the viewer’s space while the woman holds up a large hand mirror, in which the couple’s reflected simulacrum menacingly transforms into two skulls.

Though both genders were thought to fall prey to excessive mirror-gazing and the resulting downfall as seen in the Narcissus myth mentioned earlier (see Fig. 4.53), it was more commonly associated with women. Renaissance artists, especially in Venice, popularized the visually seductive theme of women at their toilette, often shown admiring their visages in mirrors. The mirror’s connection to the Virgin Mary was replaced by Venus, associated with love and feminine beauty. In Serafino dall’Aquila’s (1466-1500) *strambotti, Felice specchio* and *Maraniglione assai, specchio*, the writer described the “fortunate mirror that enjoys his lady’s face, but was amazed that it did not break upon receiving her splendid image.”

180 Master of the Aachen Life of the Virgin, *Macabre Wedding Portrait, front and back*, c. 1480-85, oil on panel, College of Aloisius, Bad Godesberg.  
181 Lucas Furtenagel, *Double Portrait of Hans Bergkmair and his Wife Anna*, 1529, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. The painting is inscribed “This is what we looked like—in the mirror, however, nothing appeared but that [skulls].” The frame supplements by the inscription “Know thyself,” indicating awareness of human nature as finite and contingent.  
In images of beautiful women, the subjects’ gaze into a mirror results in double portrayals, much as in the self-portraiture by Renaissance artists mentioned earlier. The Renaissance humanist and chronicler on artists Bartolomeo Facio commented on van Eyck’s depiction of the mirror in his now lost *Woman in a Bath*, then in the collection of Ottaviano Ubaldini della Carda. Facio stated, “almost nothing is more wonderful in this work than the mirror painted in the picture in which you see whatever is represented as in the real mirror.” He added that in looking at one of Jan’s barely dressed women “of uncommon beauty (*eximia forma feminae*)” the subject is only partly shown, while it was possible to uncover the hidden parts of her body in the painted mirror.183 Similarly, Titian’s *Venus* (c. 1555-60) in Washington, wrapped in a fur and velvet mantle, turns toward a mirror which reveals her own reflection and completes the portrait by revealing the part of her face turned away from the viewer (Fig. 4.83).184 It would qualify as a portrait within a portrait of the same person if it did not present a fictive character. Venus is attended by two putti; one crowns her with a floral wreath while the other holds the mirror up for her display. In this image, the classical prototype of Venus has been given a modern guise and a sixteenth-century setting. Concentrating on her own reflected visage, she appears indifferent to the viewer’s presence. The spectator, however, still might be noticed by Venus through the mirror’s reflection, and a hint of a second presence is

183 See Michael Baxandall, “Bartolomeaeus Facius on Painting: A Fifteenth-Century Manuscript of the De Viris Illustribus,” in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 27 (1964), 103. Linda Seidel has mentioned that this is an early painting in which a wife or mistress is portrayed nude and was provided with attributes of a goddess. See Linda Seidel, “The Value of Verismilitude in the Art of Jan van Eyck,” *Yale French Studies*, no. 80, *Contexts: Style and Values in Medieval Art and Literature* [1991], 25-43; and *Jan van Eyck’s Arnolfini Portrait: Stories of an Icon* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993], 207-9).

184 Titian, *Venus*, c. 1555, National Gallery of Art, Washington DC. According to Carlo Ridolfi, this painting remained in Titian’s possession in his home until he died in 1576. See J.S. Held, “Rubens and Titian,” in *Titian: His World and His Legacy*, ed. D. Rosand (NY, 1982), 291. In Titian’s *Vanitas* of c. 1515 (Munich), it also shows a large mirror of the same type. His subject’s self-preoccupation could also suggest the moralizing theme of women’s vanity. Images of women gazing into mirrors became objects of the male spectator’s pleasure. Male artists also enjoyed painting a naked woman, while gazing upon their subject.
provided by the garment that covers her, which Rona Goffen has suggested would have been recognizable as a man's coat.185

Whereas in many portrayals the mirror reflections are hidden from the viewer, the cases in which a countenance is revealed exhibit a doubling effect much like Titian's Washington Venus. In Nicolas Régnier's Vaniété of 1626, a woman in sumptuous clothing stares into a large flat mirror as she sits at her dressing table (Fig. 4.84).186 At first glance, one might see here the illusion of two persons: one seen from the back and the other from the front. However, upon further inspection, the viewer realizes they are one and the same. This trompe l'oeil creates a double persona. In a fictive portrait sometimes identified as a Portrait of Diane de Poitiers (c. 1650) by an artist of the school of Fontainebleau, a dual persona is also represented (Fig. 4.85).187 Diane de Poitiers, the king's mistress, is here celebrated as an earthly Venus adorned with roses and pearls at her toilette. Her reflection, tilted toward the viewer, recreates her visage while doubling her beauty within the painting. Such a projection of two sides of the same person also responds to the paragone debate and reiterates an interest in Renaissance pairing.

The Lover's Gaze upon his Beloved as a “Look-Alike” Portrait

The portrait can be used to engage and attract the lover. It is a replacement and perhaps an ideal version of the beloved. The portrait functions as a substitute in his/her

186 This same trickery is seen by other examples: Paolo Caliari, called il Veronese, Venus at her Toilette, c. 1580, oil on canvas, 65 x 49 in, Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Nebraska [1942]; and, Paolo Caliari, called il Veronese, Toilet of Venus, c. 1580, Accademia di San Luca, Rome [279]. See Terisio Pignatti, “Paolo Veronese e I ritratti degli anni Ottanta,” in Scritti di storia dell’arte in onore di Roberto Salvadori (Florence, 1984), 445-46.
187 School of Fontainebleau, Portrait of Diane de Poitiers, possibly, c. 1650, tempera on panel, 115 x 98.5 cm, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Kunstmuseum, Basel. A similar version is in the Worcester Art Museum (School of Fontainbleau, Woman at her Toilette, c. 1550-70, oil on panel, Worcester Art Museum [1932.23]). Due to many versions of this image, there was probably an earlier original. Edgar Wind has mentioned that the decorations in the fountain room in the Chateau d’Anet, a French château near Dreux built by Philibert de l’Orme as a gift by Henry II of France for Diane de Poitiers, shows the “mythological bath of Diana” that is seemingly transformed into a toilette of Venus with a background scene quoted from Titian’s Venus of Urbino. See Edgar Wind, Pagan Mysteries, 77.
absence for the beloved, so that the lover is not made to feel alone even while aware that
s/he is. The portrait simulates life and thus the presence of the beloved. As an object, it
provides consolation for the lover, but it is also a physical affirmation of the beloved’s
absence and therefore, a source of anguish. \(^{188}\) The tradition of using a simulacrum of a
beloved, most often absent and even dead, appears in tales from ancient times that
influenced medieval and Renaissance stories and imagery. As mentioned by Pliny the
Elder, the first such portrait was created by the daughter of Butades in Corinth to replace
her absent lover by tracing his shadow on the wall, connecting the image of the lover with
shades of the dead. \(^{189}\) In the story of the maid of Corinth, she wished to capture a bit of
her lover’s likeness as a keepsake before he departed on a long journey. By using the
shadow cast by a lantern on the wall of a cave, she outlined his profile, creating a drawing
that Butades used to make a clay model to ease his daughter’s suffering. The tale of
Laodamia from Ovid’s *Heroides* XIII and the story of Alcestis, the wife of Admetus, from
Euripides tragedy, *Alcestis*, also tell of simulacra of loved ones as signs of comfort and
distress. \(^{190}\)

\(^{188}\) Love and anguish were often expressed in Renaissance and Baroque songs. In *Uscite à mille*, the lover
sings “Fearful doubts go out of my heart // When I put things into music, and then I explain to the winds,
how my beloved torments me. And so I fall again in love…” See Domenico Mazzocchi (Roman
composer), *Uscite à mille*, in *Sacrae concertationes*, published in 1664. Presence and absence was also reiterated
in vocal music as evidenced by a song, *Abi non torna*, written a century later by Giacomo Carissimi (1605-
1674), a master of the oratorio. The song eloquently speaks of love lost and returned: “Ah, he returns not,
and I am dying, that treasure for whom I’m tired of sighing. When will I see you again, my relief that
escapes me?...At last I will see you again. Have mercy, beloved. Forget the time we have been separated,
because, through constancy, happiness is made eternal.” These two references were brought to my
attention by Matthe Dirst and Richard Robbins, “When in Rome” Art Lyrica (Music of the Baroque)
concert, March 2008, Houston.

\(^{189}\) See Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, XV, Book XXXV, 270-71. Quintilian refers to the story in his
Mass/London: 1979), 78-9. Leon Battista Alberti also mentioned the story in his *De Pittura*, II, 26, cited in
triangulation between lover, beloved and viewer and the many ancient tales, see Maurizio Bettini, *The
Portrait of the Lover*, trans. by Laura Gibbs (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press,
1999).

\(^{190}\) See footnotes 13 and 14 in this chapter for further information about the stories.
Pliny the Elder, in Book XXI of his *Historia Naturalis*, related the story of a Greek
painter named Pausias who fell in love with a chaplet maker called Glycera and painted a
well-known portrait of her. Illustrated copies of Pliny’s text from the Middle Ages and
Renaissance transmitted the story to early modern readers. One such example is the
illuminated version by Fra Pietro da Pavia in 1389 for Pasquino Capelli, secretary to the
Duke of Milan, Giangaleazzo Visconti, now located in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana.\(^{191}\) The
concept of the presented image of a beloved echoed through countless written accounts
by Renaissance authors. The best known example of the portrait being used to recall the
subject posthumously was formulated by Petrarch in his sonnets on the portrait of Laura,
which are constructed around the notion of their giving form, but not life, to the dead
loved one.\(^{192}\) The efficacy of the image related to the sense of sight, thought to be the
most spiritual of the senses as an entry between the physical and spiritual realms. Vision
was of integral importance in matters of medieval and Renaissance love.\(^{193}\) In Book Two
of Andreas Capellanus’ *Art of Courtly Love* (c. 1174-1186), *On the Rules of Love*, the writer
connected sight with lovers, stating that “when a lover suddenly catches sight of his
beloved his heart palpitates.”\(^{194}\) Portraits of a lover reflected the perceived relationship
between the eyes’ and the heart’s image of a beloved. In his *Livre du Voir-Dit* of 1370–77,
Guillaume de Machaut told the story of the love between an aging poet and a young lady,
recounting their amorous relation through an exchange of missives. At one stage, the

\(^{191}\) See Pliny, *Historia naturalis*, XXI, iii, 4–5, fol. 214 (recto). For a discussion of these miniatures see Lilian
Armstrong, “The Illustrations of Pliny’s *Historia Naturalis* Manuscripts before 1430,” *Journal of the Warburg

\(^{192}\) See Francesco Petrarca, “*per mirare Policleto*” and “*quando giunse a Simon,*” *Rime Sparse*, Ixxvii and Ixxviii; and
A. Bevilacqua, “Simone Martini, Petrarca e I ritratti di Laura e del poeta,” *Bollettino del Museo Civico di Padova*
68 (1979), 107-.

\(^{193}\) I discuss this issue in Chapters Two & Three and see also Figs. 2.41, 2.42, 3.1, and 3.3.

\(^{194}\) See M. Camille, *Medieval Art of Love*, 27.
poet received an image of the lady, presented by a messenger, prior to their meeting, union, and parting.

In a manuscript of the tale now at the Bibliothèque nationale, one folio shows The Lover’s Gaze Fixed on his Lady’s Portrait, the presentational manner much like a portrait within a portrait (Fig. 4.86). A messenger moves into the picture to hold up a full-length portrait of the lady in a rectangular frame with arched top. The poet recoils with emotion as he touches his beloved’s image in admiration of her beauty. A quality that was considered synonymous with feminine virtue and compelled love in men was beauty. It spurred a man to respond to her portrait and to praise both the subject and the manner in which her virtue was made visible. Correspondingly, Dante expressed courtly love for Beatrice in his writings. He adored Beatrice, a lady he only encountered twice before her early death, who became his ideal of moral perfection inspiring his La Commedia. The Florentine poet connected the creation of visual images with its expressive power by artists to the poet’s ability to reflect, in this case, Beatrice’s image.

The poet and humanist, Pietro Bembo, described a wedding feast at Asolo in his dialogue Gli Asolani (published 1505), during which a discussion ensued concerning whether love was good or troubling. In his Book of the Courtier, Castiglione also discussed the nature of love. Both works address one-sided flirtations and men’s erotic notions of uncompromised ladies, such as those who were betrothed and married. In these masculine longings, the women are never at risk or implicated, but simply the objects of

male infatuation.¹⁹⁷ The sensual images of women by artists such as Titian and his followers that were mentioned previously, stirred the lover through sight, while the tactility of the paintings promise intimacy, yet withhold it (see Figs. 3.68 and 4.83). Likewise, in courtship imagery, the lover’s platonic admiration is clear when he is in the act of holding up a mirror or presents a mirror to his beloved, subsequently drawing attention to her beauty.¹⁹⁸ These scenarios suggest the involvement of two individuals.

The performed actions by men and women in the above mentioned vignettes can also be expressed through the Renaissance use of mirror/portrait-objects in their fusion of lover with beloved, as if a double portrait. Mirror-medals combine the use of a mirror with portraiture. A single-sided medal (c. 1471-84) thought to be a self-portrait of the artist known as Lysippus the Younger was polished to function as a looking glass, and suggestively inscribed “to admire on one side your beautiful face, and on the other that of your servant.”¹⁹⁹ Intended for personal use, this bronze medal was cast with a portrait image in relief on its obverse, while the reverse remained plain but polished for reflective use as a mirror.²⁰⁰ In such instances, the metalsmith of the relief self-portrait, usually male, could send the medal to his beloved for the viewing of her own image as well as his,

¹⁹⁷ The wearing of a gold paternoster, which was a type of chain belt frequently worn by betrothed or married women, indicates her virtue as well as her marital status.
¹⁹⁸ In a copper engraving of c. 1690, a lover presents a mirror to his beloved in the third stage of courtship. See Christof Sartorius, Man Presenting a Mirror to his Lady, from Eduard Fuchs, Illustrierte Sittengeschichte, II, die galante Zeit, part 1, 216-217. See also Guillaume de Giry and Pierre Firens, La Veuve, I, Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris for a similar image. Both are reproduced in Elise Goodman-Soellner, “Poetic Interpretations of the ‘Lady at Her Toilette’ Theme in Sixteenth-Century Painting,” Sixteenth Century Journal, 14, no. 4 (Winter 1983), 438-439, figs. 5, 6.
²⁰⁰ See Washington D.C., National Gallery of Art, The Currency of Fame, 120-121, Cat. 36.
thus connecting the two lovers through handling the object.\footnote{An earlier precedent could be Trecento ivory mirror cases that then used to be round and frequented amorous scenes of courtly love. See Robert G. Calkins, Monuments of Medieval Art (New York/London: E.P. Dutton, 1979), fig. 206; and Roche et al, Mirror, pls. 35-40.}

Similarly, sixteenth-century narratives by Pierre de Brantôme recount mirrors being used by princes as cases for portraits of themselves, imbued with allegorical meaning, that they gave to their mistresses.\footnote{“Un fort beau et riche mirouer où estoit sa peinture.” When the lady was asked to return the gift of the prince, it stated “prit une plume et de l’ancre, et luy ficha dedans de grandes cornes au beau mitan du front…” See P. de Bourdeille Brantôme, Oeuvres completes (1539-1614), L. Lalanne, ed. (Paris: Société de l’histoire de la France 1864-82), 510.}

The mirror covers would act as veils to the portraits, revealing the painted visages underneath and offering a face-to-face directness between the represented and the beholder. Real examples of this type also existed, and Jodi Cranston has suggested that the action of raising the cover invoked an interactive process akin to that of reading poetry.\footnote{See Jodi Cranston, The Poetics of Portraiture in the Italian Renaissance (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 28.}

\footnote{Florentine painter, Portrait Cover of a Mask, 1510, oil on panel, 75 x 50.5 cm, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence. It is inscribed “to every man his mask.”}

A Portrait Cover of a Mask of c. 1510 by a Florentine painter is one example.\footnote{Florentine painter, Portrait Cover of a Mask, 1510, oil on panel, 75 x 50.5 cm, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence. It is inscribed “to every man his mask.”}

On the panel, a mask appears in the center flanked by two griffon-like creatures, and elaborately decorated with twisting vines around the edges. It is inscribed “to every man his mask,” making the mask a referent for the portrait underneath. Much like a mask as object, the mask as cover lifts to reveal a person as portrait underneath. The painted portrait, in turn, suggests another façade for the internal character of the represented sitter. By physically handling the two layers of portrait with the cover, a viewer is drawn into a communicative relationship with the image and therefore, the person represented.

Small glass or metal mirrors were highly valued household objects, often wedding gifts like restelli as part of a bride’s estate furniture. Elaborately framed mirrors were
appropriate as a dowry gift or part of a newly appointed marital bedchamber. Secular mirror frames were often ornamented in a symbolic or allegorical nature. The roundness of the mirror, which was, moreover, called a *spera* or *sféra*, signifying the celestial sphere, connected the object to Neoplatonic notions of love. One image that echoes the shape of a mirror (and is similar in shape to an *imago clipeata*), is an engraving of a young couple, thought to be Lorenzo de’ Medici and Lucrezia Donato, who hold up an armillary sphere (see Fig. 3.15). Such an object is wedded to cosmic elements of love and poetry popularized by the Medici family, reflecting a union of love imagery and beauty. The print contains a multilayered allusion to love, poetry, the two lovers, and the sphere, which reflects the beloved in a mirror. Many mirrors, since they were, after all, household items, had coats of arms supported by small angelic figures, sometimes *amorini*, a motif clearly derived from the Roman *imago clipeata*. In such instances, a person would behold his/her visage in the reflection, connecting him/herself to the escutcheon, and thus, of the family represented by it.

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205 See Kent Lydecker, “Il Patriziato Fiorentino e La Committenza Artistica per La Casa,” in *I ceti dirigenti nella Toscana del Quattrocento* (Impruneta: 1987), 216. He mentioned a mirror acquired for a marital bedchamber in 1472.

206 Florentine artist, *Youth and a Young Woman, called ‘Lorenzo de’ Medici and Lucrezia Donati*,’ c. 1469, engraving, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris [144D]. See A.M. Hind, Early Italian Engraving: A Critical Catalogue with Complete Reproduction of All the Prints Described (London: 1938, A.IV.11). Charles Dempsey has suggested that this portrayal of the armillary sphere is connected to Lucrezia Donati’s motto, “spero” It is a play on words for “hope” and “sphere” with a mirror called *sféra*. See Charles Dempsey, Portrayals of Love, 111-12.


208 Other elaborate mirror frames allied their reflective surfaces with amatory or marital subjects. In the Victoria and Albert Museum (London), a mirror is framed with an erotic allegory of love conquering strife or rather a reconciliation of opposites, in a postcoital scene of Mars and Venus and amorini. Its circular framing as a diamond ring also refers to the Medici *impressa* and to eternal constancy, quite appropriate for nuptial symbolism. This household object was presumably ordered in preparation for marriage.
Symmetry existed between mirrors and portraits, as most vividly expressed through the act of covering or uncovering them. The action invited by the combination of portrait and mirror enticed the viewer closer to these objects, compelling a response, much as with the *Portrait with a Mask*. Mirrors that contain portraits on their elaborate frames partake of the portrait within a portrait genre. The responsive gaze by the viewer, reflecting his/her visage, is required to complete the picture. In light of the Neoplatonic concept of beauty as an external manifestation of virtue, a particularly interesting type of object is that which combined a sculpted female portrait and a mirror frame, containing a *sfera* or convex looking glass. This type was apparently popular in the Renaissance, for extant examples are known in a variety of media. Mino da Fiesole produced a version in marble relief (c. 1470-80) (Fig. 4.87). The bust-length lady adorned with necklaces faces forward with downcast eyes and flowing hair against a blue background. In an almond-shaped framework, the lady rests in the upper half of the object, while in the lower section, wings attach to a circular aperture for the *sfera*. Its placement suggests that the *sfera* would adhere to the above lady’s necklace as a medallion. A similar example of c. 1475-1500 is attributed to the Sienese artist Neroccio de’ Landi. This *cartapesta* (papier-mâché type) mirror frame, reveals the head and shoulders of a girl facing forward against

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209 An art object of similar concept is a small portrait with a mirror as a cover. Lorenzo Lotto appears to have made one in 1552. “In Ancona, adì junio 1552, die haver maestro Domenico Salimbene maestro de lignami per un quadretino con l’ornamenti de noce et suo coperto a uso de specchio, quale fu fato per lo inanti per miser Donato de Nobili, mercante fiorentino, quale fu per farli un retratino che non passò efetto et il quadretto mi rimase…” See Pietro Zampetti, *Il Libro di Spese Diverse: con aggiunta di lettere e d’altri documenti* in the series *Civilta Veneziana. Fonti e testi, 9. Serie 1: Fonti e documenti per la storia dell’arte veneta*, 6 (Venice-Rome: Istituto per la collaborazione culturale, 1969), 45.


211 It was typical in Renaissance dress at this time to wear a medal hanging from a chain or worn on the shoulder.
a blue background (Fig. 4.88). A brown brooch decorates her ornately styled hair, and she is also adorned with a coral necklace, an apotropaic symbol, along with a reddish-pink pendant. Below her, two gilded amorini support a roundel designed for a mirror, in a scheme reminiscent of an imago clipeata. That motif, which completes the lower edge of the object, is significantly placed over the area of the woman’s heart. Such objects were possibly commissioned to commemorate betrothals, as suggested by the elaborate attention to jewelry and demure gestures of the women portrayed.

Earlier prototypes of mirror frame with sculpted female bust done in marble, cartapesta, or wood were often translated into maiolica ware beginning around 1500. Maiolica objects of this type also derive from the congruous tradition of representing painted female heads with or without gendered inscriptions on maiolica plates called belle donne piatti, originating in the Trecento, discussed in Chapter Two. These contemporary domestic objects for wall and shelf display also featured female visages in a circular format, relating to concepts of ideal love and beauty, and functioned as personalized gifts (see Fig. 1.65). Maiolica mirror frames and belle donne plates both reached popularity at the end of the 1400s. The Portrait of Isoretta Galante with Mirror of about 1500 from the Florentine school exemplifies this type (Fig. 4.89). It is an almond-shaped, low relief,

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212 Neroccio de’ Landi (1447-1500), Portrait of a Lady with Mirror, c. 1485-1500, painted cartapesta mirror frame, 45.7 x 40.6 cm, Victoria and Albert Museum, London [850-1884]. It is quite similar to Landi’s painted Portrait of a Lady. See Neroccio de’ Landi, Portrait of a Lady, c. 1485, tempera on panel, painted surface: 47 x 30.5 cm (18 ½ x 12 in), Widener Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington DC [1942.9.47]. Another mirror frame with bust relief, of perhaps Venetian or Ferrarese origin, was located in the Lanz Collection (Amsterdam), measuring 53.3 x 41 cm. See A. Pit, “Quattrocento-Plastik der Sammlung Lanz-Amsterdam,” Munchner Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst, vii (Georg D. W. Callwey, 1912), 57. For a discussion of the mirror frame by de’ Landi, see John Pope Hennessy, “A Cartapesta Mirror Frame,” The Burlington Magazine 92 (October 1950), 288-291; and John Pope Hennessy, Catalogue of Italian Sculpture in the Victoria and Albert Museum (London: 1964), I, 270-2, Cat. 284.

213 Florentine School, Portrait of Isoretta Galante with Mirror, c. 1500, maiolica, 29.0 cm (14 5/8 c 11 3/8 in), Victoria and Albert Museum, London [C. 2111-1910]. It was bequeathed by Mr. George Salting to the museum. See London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Catalogue of Italian maiolica, cat. by Bernard Rackham and J.V.G. Mallet (London: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1977), I and II, 122, Cat. 351. It is believed that this mirrorframe along with another in the Musée nationale de la Renaissance (Écouen) came from the...
painted with blue, red, purple, orange, and green. The half-length portrait of a lady with long hair adorned by blue ribbon ringlets and a diadem wears period garb of dark blue dress with red velvet sleeves and green chemise. Set in a three-quarter pose as she turns slightly to her right, she gazes chastely downward and holds her arms crossed in front of her. A long chain hangs from her neck, to which is attached a large medallion, intended to hold a mirror, along the lower edge of the object. Her name, Isoreta Galante, is inscribed in the background behind her, suggesting that the object is a portrait of a known individual, probably a young woman in her wedding finery. Her gesture of linking her hands at her ribcage is a sign of feminine acquiescence. Two less refined objects, now in the collection of the Musée nationale de la Renaissance at the Château d’Écouen, can also be added to this category (Figs. 4.90 and 4.91). The first (c. 1500-10) is similar in style to the Portrait of Isoreta Galante with Mirror, with the female figure retaining a slender three-quarter length pose, with tilted head, long hair, downward gaze, her hands crossed below her small breasts and above the circular aperture. The second (c. 1500-10) in Écouen resembles the marble mirror frame by Mino da Fiesole (see Fig. 4.87), with two wings, instead of hands, attached to the sides of the circular opening. Here, the three-dimensional woman with shoulder-length blond hair appears frontally in bust-length and adorned with necklaces. Because they are not inscribed with names, these two objects


214 See the Virgin’s pose in images of the Annunciation.

215 Italian artist, Mirror Frame Decorated with Bas Relief of a Female Bust and a Medallion for Mirror, c. 1500-10, maiolica, 0.395 x 0.285 m, Musée nationale de la Renaissance, château d’Écouen [ECL2320]. It was bought in 1852. Florentine artist, Mirror Frame Decorated with Bas-Relief and Female Bust Portrait with Medallion, c. 1500-10, maiolica, Musée nationale de la Renaissance, Écouen [ECL2445]. See Paris, Musée du Louvre, Musée de Cluny, Musée National de Céramique à Sèvres, Musée Adrien Dubouché à Limoges, Catalogue des majoliques des Musées Nationaux, cat. by J. Giacomotti, (1974), 75.
were also probably produced for domestic use, but as production objects without particular commissions, indicating an increasing popular appeal.

Two theories for the utilization of this type of mirror frame have been postulated. Women are more often represented gazing into mirrors. Yet, images of the mythical Narcissus and the self-portraits of male artists mentioned earlier indicate male accessibility and use of these objects. It is possible, then, that the sculpted portrait of a woman was intended as a companion to the reflected image of her male lover, thus integrating the (male) gaze into the function of the object.\textsuperscript{216} Such a notion is reminiscent of cases where a male viewer is implied for images of women, in which he became involved in the scene by equating himself with a male figure in the image, such as in Titian’s \textit{Allegory} (see Fig. 3.60) or \textit{Venus} (see Fig. 4.83). With the mirror frame, the reflection of the (male) lover links his own fleeting portrait to the sculpted portrait of his beloved. Also suggestive of a male viewer is a more eroticized Flemish version of this type from c. 1500 (Fig. 4.92).\textsuperscript{217} In this instance, the frontally placed lady still tilts her head to her right with downcast eyes, but she is nude to her waist and emphasis is given to her gesture of gripping her breasts above the enlarged aperture. The viewer, therefore, appears in the image, uniting reflected lover with portrayed beloved: a transitory double portrait generated through the object’s active use.

But this type of mirror frame could also be associated with a female beholder. As the female viewer gazes into the mirror, contemporary ideals of feminine beauty embodied in the sculpted bust become a model for emulation, suggesting a comparison


\textsuperscript{217} Flemish artist, \textit{Mirror Frame with Female Bust and Medallion}, c. 1500, panel carved in oak, Victoria and Albert Museum, London [W68-1920].
between the actual woman gazing at her own image and the ideal.\textsuperscript{218} The female viewer is thus akin to Venus in Titian’s paintings—she is simultaneously a reflected individual and a sculpted portrait (See Figs. 3.68 and 4.83). Since such domestic objects were used as matrimonial gifts, the sculpted, idealized bride could provide a model for the betrothed lady glimpsing her reflected portrait.\textsuperscript{219} In any case, both theories of gendered viewing involve the act of looking to complete the meaning, and whether the viewer is male or female, a double portrait emerges from the round mirror.\textsuperscript{220}

\textbf{The “Portrait within a Portrait” Genre and its Variations}

\textbf{The Holding of Circular Portraits}

Similar in rounded form to Renaissance mirrors were portraits placed on medals or medallions and there was in general a revival in the fifteenth century for circular-format portraits. Such images had ancient prototypes such as the Roman \textit{imagines clipeatae}, cameos, glass portrait medallions, and ancient coins, which were avidly collected by Renaissance humanists. Smaller circular portraits were also woven into manuscript illuminations beginning in the Middle Ages (see Fig. 2.15). By the mid-Quattrocento, the craft of medal making was on the rise, spurred by such artists as Alberti and Pisanello. A portrait placed in a circle, with its innate symbolic value, focuses on the individual and reinforces the exalted status of the person depicted.


\textsuperscript{219} This suggestion could be similar to ideals on contemporary panel portraits of women in which the individual face on the front is linked to moral maxims and claims to high social status indicated on the reverses. See Luke Syson and Dora Thornton, \textit{Objects of Virtue: Art in Renaissance Italy}, 52.

\textsuperscript{220} Mirrors were cherished household objects in the Renaissance and extremely popular in artist’s self-portraits such as Parmigianino’s painting.
Circular portraits are the fixed equivalents of faces reflected in a mirror. By securing a reflection in paint, Julien Eymard has written, “the portraits are connected to memory, obsession, and fidelity.” Occasionally the portrait medallion was incorporated into a portrait within a portrait, becoming a double portrait. Another depicted person of larger size grips or displays to the viewer a portrait medallion in his/her personal portrait space. The person in the smaller, circular format is linked visually to the other person to conserve the memory of both. The subject of the painted medallion suggests a number of identities for the other subject: an artist who produces medals; a collector of ancient coins and medallions; or a more powerful or famous person with whom the larger subject wishes to be aligned. The portrait medal was often used to make accessible the faces of famous individuals of the past or present, but it could also represent a deceased loved one in a small intimate resemblance. In this type of portrait, miniatures and cameos in circular format function much like medals.

Thus, in the same manner that an artist of medals might be represented with his own medium of choice, a miniature could be placed within the portrait of a skilled miniaturist. Giulio Clovio (1498-1578), originally from Macedonia, was a skilled illuminator, miniaturist, and painter who worked in the Roman Farnese library. In the same year as his death, Sofonisba Anguissola painted the Portrait of Giulio Clovio Holding an Oval Feminine Portrait (c. 1556), in which he is represented half-length seated in a chair.

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222 El Greco, a friend of Clovio, made a portrait of him holding with one hand and pointing with the other to two pages in his famed illuminated manuscript, the Farnese Hours, or the Libro della Vergine, that he illuminated. See El Greco, Portrait of Giulio Clovio, 1571-72, oil on canvas, 58 x 86 cm, Museo nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples. In the seventeenth century, the painting was in the possession of Fulvio Orsini, the librarian to Cardinal Farnese. The Farnese Hours shown in the portrait was originally located in the Farnese Library, and now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.
He holds a diminutive female portrait which rests on a green cloth-covered table, the image probably representing his student Lavinia Teerlinc (1510/20-76). The Portrait of Giulio Clovio was painted after Sofonisba’s wedding in 1578, on a stop in Rome, as she traveled to Palermo with her new husband, Don Fabrizio de Moncada, son of the prince of Palermo. In this painting, Sofonisba represented him much as she had portrayed her own teacher, Bernardino Campi, next to a painted representation of the artist herself, his female apprentice (see Fig. 4.42). In both portraits of artist-teachers, the two male masters are linked to their famed female students. A comparable portrait from the Florentine school at the end of the sixteenth century also depicts an artist with a smaller portrait of a woman in his favored medium (Fig. 4.94). The man, in three-quarter length, sits at a table in similar fashion to Sofonisba’s portrayal of Clovio. The artist of small models, possibly Pietro Francavilla, turns to the viewer, holding a tool in

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223 Sofonisba Anguissola, *Giulio Clovio Holding an Oval Feminine Portrait*, c. 1556, oil on canvas, 100 x 79.5 cm, Federico Zeri collection, Mentana.
224 Teerlinc was appointed court painter, after the death of Hans Holbein, by Henry VIII in 1546.
225 Clovio may have already known Anguissola and her skill as a portraitist from his years spent working for Pope Julius III. At the same time as Michelangelo, whom she had briefly studied under in 1554.
226 Florentine School, *Portrait of an Artist Holding a Miniature Portrait of a Woman*, c. 1600, oil on canvas, 107 x 81 cm, Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti, Florence [1912, n. 447]. It was acquired in 1685 as part of the collection of Cosimo III. It was exhibited in the Uffizi in 1704 and transferred to the Galleria Palatina as early as 1828, inventoried as by an anonymous artist and suggested to be the portrait of Vincenzo Danti. See Florence, Galleria Palatina, *Catalogue of the Collection*, cat. by Inghirami (1828), 57 and (1834), 61. In 1839 it was suggested by Maselli to be a portrait of Giambologna due to the sculptural grouping, a wax bozzetto of his *Florence Triumphant over Pisa* (1564), in the background. See Florence, Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti, *Catalogue of the Collection* (1859), 77. However, this identification should be denied. The facial features are quite dissimilar compared to the *Portrait of Giambologna in his Studio*, attributed to Bartolomeo Passerotti (or Flemish School) of c. 1580 (Private collection, on loan to National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh). The portrait has also been identified as of Pietro Francavilla (1548-1615), who became a collaborator to Giambologna in his studio. He worked on the execution of the sculptural group of *Florence Triumphant* in marble. The wax model in the background is stylistically similar to a wax bozzetto located in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. See Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, *Giambologna: gli dei, gli eroi*, exh. cat. by Beatrice Paolozzi Strozzi and Dimitrios Zikos (2006), 50-55, figs. 8, 11. For further discussion on the sculptural unit in the background and the portrait in the Palazzo Pitti, see London/Vienna/Edinburgh, *The Arts Council of Great Britain, Giambologna, 1529-1608: Sculptor to the Medici*, exh. cat. by Charles Avery (1978), Cat. 218; Florence, *Gli Uffizì*, entry by Silvia Meloni Trkulja (Florence: Centro Di: 1980), 1001; and Charles Avery, *Studies in European Sculpture* (London: 1988), II, 32.
his right hand and a small circular female portrait, perhaps a wax medallion, in his left. The identity of the female sitter is unknown, perhaps it is of his wife or lover.

The humanists’ appreciation of Roman culture encouraged a flourishing market of antiquities, including coins, medals, cameos, and sculpture.\(^{227}\) Collections of such items allowed for contemplation through physical examination, ideally leading toward the next step, the attainment of higher knowledge and, ultimately, truth. Medals fused labor, simulacrum, and allegory. But to collect and display medals was also to use commodities to fashion one’s image and status.\(^{228}\) Portraits of collectors often link these individuals with notable people of the past by including medals. Alessandro Allori, for example, commonly used this portrait format, as in his *Portrait of Francesco de'Medici Holding a Medallion of Justitia and Pax* of c. 1560 or his *Portrait of a Man with a Coin* (c. 1560) in which two sitters raise a medal for presentation.\(^{229}\) Soon after his return to Florence from Rome where he studied antiquities, Allori made a *Portrait of a Young Man as Collector* around 1560

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\(^{227}\) See Richard A. Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy 1300-1600* (Baltimore/London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 247. All of these objects filled the cabinet of curiosities in the sixteenth century. It really became less about the particular objects and more about the display in a showcase of a series or a complete collection of similar objects.


\(^{229}\) Attributed to Alessandro Allori (1535-1607), *Francesco Holding a Medal of Justitia and Pax*, c. 1560, oil on panel, 60 x 45 cm, Poggio Imperiale, Florence [1203]. On the medallion, it is also inscribed OSCVLATAE SVNT [kiss]. This could be taken from Psalm 85 [8-12], whereupon it states that “Mercy and truth are met together; righteousness and peace have kissed each other.” This portrait could be the image of similar description that entered the Guardaroba as a work of Bronzino in 1562 as lot 21. See Luciano Berti, *Il Principe dello Studiolo* (Florence: 1967), pl. 19 (as Florentine School); and, K. Langedijk, *The Portraits of the Medici 15th-18th Centuries* (1985), III, 855-86, no. 12, pl. 42, 12 (as Alessandro Allori). A copy exists of this work: Alessandro Allori, copy after, *Portrait of Francesco I de’ Medici*, sixteenth century, oil on panel, 23 ¾ x 18 ¾ (60.3 x 47.6 cm), Bequest of Olga Sutro Manson, California Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco [1967.1]. Alessandro Allori, *Portrait of Young Man with a Coin*, c. 1560, oil on canvas transferred from wood, 117 x 87.5 cm, The Hermitage, St. Petersburg. It was once attributed to Agnolo Bronzino and the sitter has been identified as Grand Duke Cosimo Medici II (1590-1621) and Grand Duke Ferdinando Medici (1551-1609). The table covered by a green cloth could signal a connection to the Mercanza guild, which conducted business on a green-cloth covered table. Note that Anguissola’s *Portrait of Giulio Clovio* also has a table covered with the same kind of material.
The sitter, shown in three-quarter length, faces the viewer with his left arm resting on an ornately inlaid and carved chair. On the table behind him is a replica of the antique statue of Apollo with a lyre, known as *Apollo Citharœdus*. The young aristocratic collector holds a glove in his right hand, materializing his status, and possesses a medal revealing a profile head of a woman in classical costume in his left hand. In the background, the window opens onto a fanciful landscape with a classically-garbed figure leaning on a mannerist balcony.

Other images show portraits of men with portrait-like medals used as pins for the plumes of their hats or strewn across their desks (Figs. 4.95 and 4.96). In a work attributed to Antonio Campi or his circle, *Portrait of Bartolomeo Arese* (c. 1530), a half-length bearded older gentleman turns toward a table covered with an olive green cloth (Fig. 4.96). His hands rest near several antique gold and silver coins revealing past visages, identifying him as a collector, and three bound books in the background further suggest his learning. This type of image was increasingly popular, as was this specific example, for a contemporary replica exists that is now located in Dresden. Renaissance individuals looking to fashion themselves with lasting markers of identity, objects used

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231 The original was located in the della Valle collection in Rome in 1561.

232 The young man has been identified as various persons including Paolo Capranica, related to the Della Valle family or a member of the Palma di Cesnola family due to the scroll with their motto *Oppressa Resurgam* across a palm tree in the table inlay. It has been considered also a companion piece to Allori’s *Portrait of a Lady Holding a Cameo* in the Uffizi (Florence).

233 Jacopo da Ponte, called Bassano, attributed, *Un Cavaliere di Malta*, c. 1550, oil on canvas?, location unknown. A photograph in the Witt Library is noted with “Ed. Croce.”

such as medals showing the wealthy or famous.\textsuperscript{235} These images connect contemporary sitters with fictive or ideal portraits from the past, and equate possession with power. Their popularity perhaps further stimulated the portrait within a portrait type, in which a sitter holds a contemporary portrait in round format, much like the collectors displaying antique portrait-like visages on coins.

A medallic profile portrait of Cosimo de’ Medici \textit{Pater Patriae} is a featured attribute in Botticelli’s \textit{Portrait of a Man with a Medallion} of the 1470s (see Fig. 1.70).\textsuperscript{236} The face of the thin elderly man with cap on the medal is intended to recall the portrait on an antique coin (Fig. 4.97).\textsuperscript{237} The profiled Cosimo was also used for later images of him, such as Francesco Rosselli’s coin-like images in illuminated pages of Aristotelian and Ficinian codices of c. 1475-80 and Pontormo’s \textit{Portrait of Cosimo} from 1518.\textsuperscript{238} In Botticelli’s painting, the bust-length young man in a red \textit{biretta} turns slightly to the left in
front of an open river landscape. With both hands, he ostentatiously presents a stucco version of the Cosimo medallion to the viewer (Fig. 4.98).

His clean-shaven face and thick, shoulder-length reddish-brown hair has produced several identifications by scholars, none of them with certainty. The painting has been catalogued as a portrait of Piero di Lorenzo de’ Medici, called the Unfortunate (1471-1503), and was also formerly considered to be of Pico della Mirandola.239 An early attempt at identification by H.P. Horne suggested Giovanni de’ Medici, son of Cosimo de’ Medici and Fra Filippo Lippi’s patron.240 The sculptor Bertoldo di Giovanni (c. 1420-1491), Donatello’s pupil and first teacher of Michelangelo, has also been put forward as a subject of the image.241 Bertoldo has been thought of as an irreplaceable domestic intimate or familiare of Lorenzo de’Medici and some speculate him to be an illegitimate cousin.

Though the sitter’s identity is still uncertain, his conspicuous act of displaying the medal allies him to the Medici family and brands him a clear Medici supporter. His self-fashioning depends on the identity of another individual, Cosimo. Botticelli used painterly means to underscore the centrality of the medal, first signaled by its composition and prominence. The image in not merely oil on panel, but the artist also allowed for the

239 Langedijk had rejected the man in the portrait as Piero di Lorenzo il Magnifico.
medallion to attain a three-dimensional quality by constructing it of gilt pastiglia (stucco relief) on a ground of carved and gilt wood, reinforcing the presentation aspect of the work. The medal, illusionistically inserted at the picture plane, overlaps this barrier and projects into the viewer’s space, as if oscillating in both realms much like the veil in images of Saint Veronica (See Figs. 4.24 and 4.25). The unity of the two figures represented inside the frame is enhanced by the viewer’s presence and separation from them.

Another work by Botticelli or his circle is of similar configuration. In the Portrait of a Young Man Holding a Medallion of a Saint of c. 1478, the represented individual is placed behind a parapet, in front of a window frame against a blue sky (Fig. 4.99). A young man, with shoulder-length blonde hair, portrayed half-length dressed in a simple tunic, looks out at the beholder intently. With both hands he thrusts into the viewer’s space a medallion, which depicts an old bearded saint in the act of blessing against a gold ground. Two fingers of the young man’s left hand, while supporting the frame of the medallion, partially overlap the parapet in front of him, increasing the sense of illusionism (Fig.

242 Roberto Longhi has considered it to be, at least by the style of the hands, of a work by Botticelli, while Edward Fahy has believed that the painting was by Bartolomeo Botticini and similar in style to his Portrait of a Man Holding a Ring (once in the Galleria Corsini, Rome and on the London art market in 1967, see Alinari photo no. 4218) or Portrait of a Young Man, tondo, Royal Palace, Stockholm. Ronald Lightbown in his seminal monograph on the artist placed it with workshop and shop pictures. See Roberto Longhi, “Uno sguardo alle fotografie della Mostra ‘Italian Art and Britain’ alla Royal Academy di Londra,” Paragone II (May 1960), 61; E. Fahy, “Some Early Italian Pictures in the Gambier-Parry Collection,” The Burlington Magazine 109 (March 1967), 137 (claimed it as a work by Botticini instead); and R. Lightbown, Sandro Botticelli (London: 1978), II, 160, Cats. 33-5, repro.

243 Sandro Botticelli, Young Man Holding a Medallion of a Saint, c. 1485, tempera on panel, 58.4 x 39.4 cm (23 x 15 ½ in), Private Collection, Sheldon H. Solow and the Solow Art and Architecture Foundation. The inserted medallion is 10.6 cm in diameter, retaining rectangular punchwork. It was previously in the private collection of Sir Thomas Merton, Stubbings House, Maidenhead, England. See Alfred Scharf, A Catalogue of Pictures and Drawings from the Collection of Sir Thomas Merton (London: 1950), 14, Cat. 11. Susan Legouix believed it to be by Botticelli. See S. Legouix, Botticelli (London: 1977), 52. It was sold in 1982. See London, Christie’s, Important Old Master Pictures, December 10, 1982, 180-81, lot 92. The portrait has been speculated to be of Giovanni di Pierfrancesco de’ Medici, detto ‘Il Popolano’ (1467-1498). See Scharf, ibid, Cat. 11. For other possible portrayals of Giovanni de’ Medici, see Filippino Lippi, Adoration of the Magi, 1496, oil on panel, 258 x 243 cm, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence [1890 n. 1566], as a young magi; and Giorgio Vasari, Portrait of Giovanni di Pierfrancesco de’ Medici, sala di Giovanni delle Bande Nere, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence. See Karla Langedijk, Portraits of the Medici, II, 1045, Cat. 9 (under “Monumental Paintings”).
4.100). The medallion is not painted, but rather is a separate roundel carefully inserted into a cavity hollowed out of the panel. The image of the saint is not original, but was once part of a Trecento altarpiece, perhaps by the Sienese painter Bartolomeo Bulgarini (1337-1338). In the context of the portrait, the roundel probably replaced a damaged stucco relief, similar in appearance to the medallion of Cosimo in Botticelli’s Young Man in the Uffizi (see Fig. 1.70). Although this uncertain history complicates interpretation, it is safe to assume that this male sitter similarly presented a portrait of a person he supported or admired.

That this type of portrait was widespread is signaled by a Northern European example by Hans Memling (Fig. 4.101). His Portrait of a Man with a Roman Coin (c. 1480)

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244 Roberto Longhi called the insertion of the roundel an “antistorico” nonsense. See R. Longhi, Paragone, 61. Richard Stapleford has argued that the medallion originally belonged to the composition, inset by Botticelli. The roundel was attributed to Bartolomeo Botticini. See Richard Stapleford, “Botticelli’s Portrait of a Young Man Holding a Trecento Medallion,” The Burlington Magazine 129 (July 1987), 428-436. Keith Christiansen has rejected Stapleford’s claim. He concluded that the fourteenth-century medallion was a modern addition, perhaps replacing another damaged stucco relief. See Keith Christiansen, “Botticelli’s Portrait of a Young Man with a Trecento Medallion,” The Burlington Magazine 129 (November 1987), 744.

245 Another theory which does not reject the notion of presentation of one person by the other is by Roberto Longhi. He believed that instead of a stuccoed portrait medallion, it would have had a circular mirror, combining this youthful male lover with the mirrored reflection of his female beloved. Thus, it would have been quite similar in notion to the female bust-length mirror frames mentioned by me earlier. See Longhi, Paragone, 61 and Washington, National Gallery of Art, Virtue and Beauty, exh. cat. (2002), 176-77, Cat. 26.

246 In the seventeenth century, Fede Galizia presented the artist Federico Zuccari in bust-length fashion, elegantly garbed with medals hanging around his neck. She presumably painted the portrait when Zuccari was on sojourn in Lombardy and employed by Cardinal Borromeo in Pavia. He is represented with multiple affiliations. While one medal shows the symbolic lion of the Venetian Republic, the other two are portrait medals- an effigy of Saint Carlo Borromeo (d. 1584) next to a portrait of Philip II, emblematic of the patrons of the acclaimed artist-sitter who is also visibly aligning himself with prominence in his portrait. See Fede Galizia (1578-1630), Portrait of Federico Zuccari, 1604, oil on canvas, 21 7/8 x 16 7/8 in. (55.5 x 43 cm), Uffizi, Florence [1690]. It is inscribed at the top: FEDERICVS ZVCCHARVS. AE; on reverse, FEDE FILIA NUNTIO GALITIO F. 1604. It has long believed to actually be a self-portrait by Federico Zuccari. Silvia Meloni Trkulja attributed it to Fede Galizia in the 1970s. See Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, Catalogue of the Collection, cat. by Silvia Meloni Trkulja (1979), 878, no. A380; and, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Painters of Reality: The Legacy of Leonardo and Caravaggio in Lombardy, ed. by Andrea Bayer (2004), 183-84, Cat. 76, reprod.

247 Hans Memling, Portrait of a Man with a Roman Coin, c. 1480, oil on oak panel, 31 x 23.2 cm (Koninklijk museum voor schone kunsten, Antwerp). The coin is inscribed as follows: “NERO CLAVD CAESAR AVG GEMP TR P IMEP = NERO CLAUDIUS CAESAR AUGUSTUS GERMANICUS TRIBUCINIA POTESTATE IMPERATOR.” Friedlander dates the painting to c. 1478. Scholarly controversy exists as to
represents the subject against a receding landscape, yet close up to the picture plane in bust-length, with a buttoned-up black tunic and a short black cap upon his curly hair. In his left hand, which almost protrudes into the viewer’s space over the painted frame’s edge, the young man holds a coin of the Emperor Nero, which can be identified as a sestertius struck in Lyons in the time of that reign (Fig. 4.102).248

The dating of Memling’s work and the exchange of influence between north and south are controversial matters. Panofsky has suggested Italian influences on the portraits of Memling.249 The landscape aspect of Memling’s works clearly reference Leonardo and Botticelli.250 His portraits were also known to have been in Italian collections. The identity of the sitter is unknown. Because he holds a coin in his left hand, he has often been identified as a medalist or a collector.251 The palm tree over his left shoulder and the coin of Nero in his hand could be further clues to his identity.252 Additionally, a swig of laurel (or bay) leaves appears in the portrait’s lower section just above the edge. The subject might be holding it in his hidden right hand, and it might hold some allusion to his name whether the portrait was done before or after Botticelli’s portrait of a man in the Uffizi. See Bruges, Groeningemuseum, Hans Memling: Catalogue, cat. by Dirk de Vos (1994), 94-95, Cat. 19, repro.

248 A similar coin is in the Cabinet des Monnaies et Médailles, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er, Brussels. It is considered a possible fifteenth-century imitation of a Sesterce of Emperor Nero, AD 65, coined at Lyons. See McFarlane 1971.

249 See Erwin Panofsky, Early Netherlandish Painting (Cambridge: 1954), I, 349. However, there was a reciprocal influence with Memling as mentioned earlier in fn. 246.

250 It has been suggested that the landscape background in Leonardo’s Portrait of Ginevra de’ Benci was influenced by Memling’s use of slender trees, hills, and pools of water. See Lorne Campbell, “Notes on Netherlandish Pictures in the Veneto in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries,” The Burlington Magazine, CXXXIII (1981), 471.

251 In 1893 Wauters considered the sitter Niccolò di Forzore Spinelli who died in Lyons. Von Bode (1924) and Hulin de Loo (1927) have suggested that it was Giovanni de Candida. Friedlander in 1928 mentions that a contemporary medalist would not be interested in using an antique coin as his attribute and is perhaps a collector.

252 Due to his appearance and the palm tree in the landscape, it is commonly agreed that he is in fact Italian.
or character. In Memling’s portrait, as in the two by Botticelli and his circle, the sitter is linked to the ruler portrait of Nero on the medal, innately connecting him to his power.

The three portraits of young men holding smaller, circular images all introduce the presentation of a second portrait, whether imperial or contemporary. The viewer is clearly supposed to respond to a relationship between the medallion and the primary subject. While Botticelli’s *Portrait of a Man* in the Uffizi encroaches on the onlooker’s space by the subject’s action of thrusting forth the medallion, the others utilize the device of the parapet and, in both cases, a ledge at the bottom creates a barrier that coincides with the picture plane and establishes the position of forms behind it. The forms overlap the barrier, and thus, project illusionistically into the viewer’s space. In Botticelli’s *Portrait of a Young Man* in New York, the sitter’s left hand overlaps this plane, creating an illusionistic shadow of his second finger over the ledge. Memling’s *Portrait of a Man*...

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253 Based on such evidence, scholars have recently suggested the Venetian poet and humanist, Bernardo Bembo, was the sitter in question, for Bembo was Venetian ambassador to the Burgundian court from 1471-74. Paula Nuttall believed that about twenty percent of Memling’s clients in Bruges, particularly for his portraits, were Italian. His impact on landscapes in Italian portrait-making has also been noted by Nuttall. See Paula Nuttall, “Memling and the European Renaissance Portrait,” in Till Holger Borchert, ed., *Memling and the Art of Portraiture* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2005). Scholarly controversy exists as to whether the portrait was done before or after Botticelli’s *Portrait of a Man* in the Uffizi and thereby calling into question the direction of influence. Friedländer dated Memling’s portrait to c. 1478, while Lorne Campbell has suggested a date of c. 1473. Dirck de Vos gave an estimated date of c. 1480 for the Memling portrait. See *Bruges, Groeningemuseum, Hans Memling: Catalogue*, cat. by Dirk de Vos (1994), 94-95, Cat. 19, repro. Nuttall gave the Botticelli and Memling portraits both a date of c. 1480. If the sitter is in fact Bembo, the represented individual in the Memling portrait would have at least sat for his portrait during his Burgundian envoy and before his departure for Florence in 1475. Thus, both portraits maintain a date in the 1470s. Bembo was also known as an avid collector of Memling’s works. He possessed a portrait diptych, now located in Munich and Washington, and commissioned a private devotional work, a now dispersed diptych with representations of Saint John the Baptist and Saint Veronica. The swag of laurel leaves and the palm tree might correlate with Bembo’s personal device of decorative bay and palm wreath, as depicted on the verso of Leonardo’s *Portrait of Ginevra de’ Benci*. See Leonardo, *Portrait of Ginevra de’ Benci*, dated 1474, National Gallery, Washington DC. See Jennifer Fletcher, “Bernardo Bembo and Leonardo’s *Portrait of Ginevra de’ Benci*,” *The Burlington Magazine* 131, no. 1041 (December 1989), 811.

254 The Renaissance parapet can be linked to rectangular Roman sepulchral portraits. Parapets do not appear in use in the middle of the fourteenth century. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, the interest in this device is seen in the work of Jan van Eyck, such as his *Portrait of Tymotheos Leal* or 1432, and around the 1450s by Venetian artists, such as Jacopo and Giovanni Bellini. A comparable device to the parapet used in the fifteenth century would be the placement of figures in illusionistic shell niches by such Tuscan artists as Fra Filippo Lippi, Masolino, Piero Pollaiuolo, and Verocchio. See Rona Goffen’s excellent discussion of the parapet device in her article “Icon and Vision: Giovanni Bellini’s Half-Length Madonna,” *Art Bulletin*, LVIII, no. 4 (1975), 499-500.
similarly pushes the sitter’s left hand against the picture plane, causing a slight shadow to fall from the right and bottom ledges onto the sitter’s hand, while the laurel leaves oscillate as if in both realms, like Veronica’s veil. These illusionistic devices, heighten the sense of immediacy as each young man impresses on the viewer the connection between himself and the other figure represented inside the frame.255

The Portrait within a Portrait in Sculptural Form

Some examples of early Italian Renaissance sculpture play with the idea of portrait as metapicture, thus falling into the realm of the portrait within a portrait. One Italian version of a man with a representation of Nero is in a terracotta by Antonio del Pollaiuolo (Fig. 4.103).256 His sculpted Portrait of a Young Man in Pageant Armour (c. 1460-70s) is thought to have been partially made from a mold adapted from a life mask, perhaps used as a wax votive portrait.257 The contemporary individual is represented here as an all’antica warrior. His barrel chest is covered by an elegant cuirass with a decorated breastplate of a relief portrait of Nero between two warriors battling a dragon near a vase of flames. Alison Wright identified the sculpted portrait head as the third son of merchant and banker Gino di Neri Capponi, Neri di Gino Capponi (1452-1519).258 The young man, represented in the round, contrasts with the profiled, older Nero, in the numismatic relief on his chest, in a similar fashion to Botticelli’s Portrait of a Young Man.


256 Antonio del Pollaiuolo (c. 1431/32-1498), Young Man in Pageant Armour with the Head of Nero, c. 1460-70s, terracotta with ochre pigment, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence.

257 The bust of the man was left incomplete, indicated by the unfinished hair. The portrayed male youth has his head turned to one side, is if in an equestrian posture, with almond-shaped eyes gazing above the onlooker’s visions. He also retains a dragon-like helmet resting on the top of his fashionably long hair.

258 His father was an early humanist agent for English merchants, who operated a banking branch in Lyon, and was a major business rival to the Medici bankers.
with a Medallion or Memling’s Young Man with a Roman Coin (see Figs. 1.70 and 4.101).\textsuperscript{259} By using Nero’s image, the young man associated himself with the emperor’s fame, and the device is also emblematic of his own name (Fig. 4.104).\textsuperscript{260} Other Italian Renaissance sculptors attached portrait-like representations to their sculpted figural groups. Two Venetian versions originate from the Lombardo family of sculptors. On the Tomb of Bishop Giovanni Zanetto da Udine in the Cappella Maggiore of the cathedral in Treviso, three almost free-standing statues, slightly under life-size, are placed on a pedestal atop the sarcophagus (Fig. 4.105).\textsuperscript{261} In the portrait statue of the deceased, the bishop is dressed in a Franciscan habit under a heavy cope with a decorative floral border.\textsuperscript{262} The cope attaches at the chest to a circular relief bearing a portrait-like representation of a bust-length youth in classical robes (Fig. 4.106). Similarly, Tullio Lombardo’s Tomb of Doge Andrea Vendramin (c. 1490-94), mentioned earlier, contains a helmeted warrior which displays antique Roman heads on the detailing trim of his cuirass (See Figs. 1.29 and 4.107).\textsuperscript{263} These examples further demonstrate that this image type was not confined to a specific locale or medium.

\textsuperscript{259} This self-conscious emulation of the antique in the Renaissance is strengthened by much documentation such as a 1472 ledger book of Lorenzo di Matteo Morrelli which recorded the order to paint an ancient head for a tondo in the courtyard of his Palazzo. See Roberta Olson, \textit{The Florentine Tondo}, 106:

\textsuperscript{260} Wright has pointed out that the politically influential Neroni family used Nero’s numismatic profile on their seal, especially Diotisalvi Neroni (1401-1482) or one of his brothers. She also suggested that the same Neri could be depicted in Memling’s Portrait of a Man in Antwerp. See Allison Wright, \textit{The Pollaiuolo Brothers} (2005), 144-46, figs. 107-108.

\textsuperscript{261} God the Father in the center is flanked by a kneeling acolyte holding a crosier on the right, while on the left, an effigy of the Bishop kneels with his hands lifted in prayer. For further information on the tomb, see Robert Munman, “The Lombardo Family and the Tomb of Giovanni Zanetti,” \textit{The Art Bulletin} 59, no. 1 (March 1977), 28-38.

\textsuperscript{262} Due to the detailed face and the conscious approach to the the elegance of his garments, this figure was probably carried out by one of Pietro’s sons, Antonio or Tullio.

\textsuperscript{263} Portrait heads placed within other contexts are seen in manuscripts such as the Renaissance edition of \textit{Epistolae Familiaris} by Cicerone of 1494 and Simone da Milano’s \textit{Operetta} of c. 1510 which shows profiled heads on the desks of scribes. See Giuseppina Zappella, \textit{Il Ritratto nel libro italiano del Cinquecento} (Milan: Editrice Bibliografica, 1988), I-II, esp. II, pl. 114a and 114b.
Presentation as a Means of Emulation, Love, and Consolation

Emulation of an illustrious individual could also motivate the production of such images, which visualized political and social links and aspirations. In the fifteenth century, the merchant Giovanni Morelli suggested behavioral adaptations for men aspiring to high status, instructing them to model their comportment upon that of a respected elder by watching his modes in words, counsel, the ordering of his family and possessions.264 Girolamo Mazzola Bedoli’s unusual Portrait of a Nobleman, identified as Virginio Ariosto of c. 1540 also belongs within the category of the portrait within a portrait illustrating personal alignment (Fig. 4.108).265 A rare number of portraits exist in the oeuvre of Bedoli, though he was a highly accomplished portraitist. In this portrayal, the sitter, dressed in a black doublet, is shown three-quarter length standing next to a table covered by a lavishly colored oriental carpet. His right hand holds upright a small portrait of a man against the cover of a manuscript (Fig. 4.109). The man projects his noble status through his assured stance, with crooked arm, left hand on his hip, along with his prominently displayed sword. The smaller portrait within the portrait reveals an older gentleman in similar dress to the man holding his image. His half-length, almost profile portrayal shows a bearded man with deep-set eyes, large, bent aquiline nose, broad forehead, and black unruly hair. The painting is seemingly oil painted on copper and a reduced replica of Titian’s famed

264 He told them to follow his stile so that they will be comforted by his immagine. See Giovanni di Pagolo Morelli, Ricordi, ed. Vittore Branca (Florence, 1969), 283; Patricia Simons, “Portraiture, Portrayal, and Idealization: Ambiguous Individualism in Representations of Renaissance Women,” in Language and Images of Renaissance Italy, ed. by Alison Brown (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 271.

265 Girolamo Mazzola Bedoli, Portrait of a Nobleman, Identified as Virginio Ariosto, c. 1540, oil on canvas, 42 ¼ x 36 in (108 x 90.7 cm), Private Collection, United Kingdom. An inscription on a label affixed to the back of the stretcher lists it as “Portrait by Titian / holding Titian / Adderly” while printed on a label, a coat of arms shows a standing crow facing left, surmounted by a crest of an elephant bearing a crenellated tower on its back with the words “Sigillam Henrici Reginaldi Corbet” around the circumference of the coat of arms. It was owned by Henry Reginald Corbet Esq. (Adderly Hall, Shropshire) and sold at his sale, Sotheby’s, May 15, 1923, lot 51 (as Titian). See London, Royal Academy, Winter Exhibition (1895), Cat. 118 (as Titian).
portrait of Ariosto (1474-1533) (Fig. 4.110). In this instance, the smaller portrait resting against the book becomes the primary attribute of the sitter within the larger image, thus indicating close association between the sitter and the represented poet. P.C. Brand has noted the family resemblance between Ariosto’s features and his beloved second son, Virginio. Also, Virginio inherited Ariosto’s manuscript *Cinque Canti*, which is perhaps the book seen in this painting.

The representation of a father with his adult son is not uncommon, as witnessed by Agostino Ardenti’s medal of Titian holding a painted portrait of his son, Orazio (c. 1563) (see Fig. 4.47). Bedoli’s portrait, by contrast, depicts the son holding a portrait of his father. The *Portrait of Virginio* suggests events that occurred upon the death of the famed poet. In Bedoli’s portrait of the son, Virginio, asserts legitimate right to his father’s name and nobility through the act of display. He is shown in admiration of his loved one, while at the same time the portrait becomes a statement of alignment similar to that made in the portraits mentioned by Botticelli, Memling, and Anguissola (see Figs. 4.42, 4.93, 4.101).

266 It is a reduced version of the now lost *Portrait of Ariosto*. It was known in the sixteenth century and a version, if not the original, exists in the collection of Oriani in Ferrara (oil on canvas, 60 x 40 cm). Several copies after the original portrait of Ariosto exist such as one in the Public Library in Ferrara (oil on canvas, 1.07 x 0.87 m), in the Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence (C. Altissimo, possibly, 70 x 60 cm). A similar profiled portrait of Ariosto, in full profile turned toward the right, was designed by Titian for woodcuts of Ariosto’s *Orlando Furioso* of 1532. The Ferrarese artist Dosso Dossi is also believed to have painted a portrait of Ariosto. See George Gronau, “Titian’s Ariosto,” *The Burlington Magazine* (1933), 194; and Reggio Emilia, *Antico Foro Boario, Signore cortese e umanissimo, viaggio intorno a Ludovico Ariosto*, exh. cat. by J. Bentini (1994), 34.

267 Virginio, born out of wedlock, was legitimized by his father around 1520-22 and declared Ariosto’s sole heir. The fact that the poet died in Bedoli’s native Ferrara in 1533, and that Titian’s portrait of his father was arranged to be sent from Ferrara to Virginio in Padua at a later date in 1554, is perhaps no coincidence, but instead reinforces this family connection. See P.C. Brand, *Ludovico Ariosto* (Edinburgh: 1974).

268 As seen in illuminated manuscripts, there is a long tradition of the “presentation of a book” by the writer/artist/illuminator to someone famous, perhaps the patron. One example is in *Un Virgilio del 1453 per Giovanni Medici*, pl. 39.8, folio 1, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence. See Garzelli, *Miniature Fiorentina del Rinascimento 1440-1525, Un Primo Censimento* (1985), Cat. 60.

269 See Chapter Five for a larger discussion of this type.
The original intent of the portrait as a private record was largely lost over time, but survived in objects such as miniatures, which suggest intimate use through their very scale. In the sixteenth century, the miniature portrait was in vogue, as witnessed by Bronzino’s series of small paintings of the Medici, executed for a room in the Palazzo Vecchio (see Fig. 1.63). In the portrait within a portrait genre, miniature portraits of individuals were commonly depicted in their function as keepsake objects, the sitter in the larger portrait tenderly holding the diminutive simulacrum. Women grieve over their distant or deceased husband, while men attach themselves to portrait miniatures of their now-married sisters or their beloveds.

Miniatures were most frequently used in this genre to express mourning of a lost loved one. Jacopo Pontormo’s *Portrait of Maria Salviati with a Little Girl (probably Giulia de’ Medici)*, portrays the wife of the famous military leader Giovanni delle Bande Nere de’ Medici (d. 1526) and mother of Cosimo I, grand duke of Tuscany (1519-74), holding the hand of a little girl, probably Giulia, left in her care after the death of her father (Fig. 4.111). Maria wears a dark garb with covered head, typical of mourning attire, and projects aristocratic grace, as signalled by her pale coloring and long fingers. In her right hand she holds a portrait medallion, no doubt of her lost husband. Similar expressions of mourning from virtuous women can be found in extant works by Argenta, Campi, Allori, and Santi di Tito. In Giacomo Argenta’s *Portrait of a Lady* (1566), a woman with

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270 There were two sets of portraits. One series started with Giovanni di Bicci de’ Medici, who founded the family fortunes in the 1400s, and ending with Catherine de’ Medici, wife of Henry II of France. The other series started with Lorenzo de’ Medici, brother of Cosimo il Vecchio, and finished with the children of Cosimo I, his descendants. See John Pope-Hennessy, *Portrait in the Renaissance*, 185. Pope-Hennessy also has pointed out that a trait of royalty was the liking of miniscule objects, and miniature paintings satisfied this taste. A vogue for small oil portraits also sprang up in France, introduced by a Dutch painter attached to the entourage of Henry II as Dauphin, Corneille de Lyon, naturalized in 1544.

271 Giulia’s father, Duke Alessandro de’ Medici (1511-37) was murdered.

272 The portrait of the child was rediscovered during a 1937 cleaning when overpaint from the nineteenth century was removed.
dark clothing and covered head stands next to a table where with her right hand she rests and displays to the viewer a male portrait miniature (Fig. 4.112). Similarly, an aristocratic woman sits reading at a desk with a distant landscape behind her in Campi’s Portrait of a Lady in Budapest (Fig. 4.113). Resting on the table, which is covered in an ornate cloth, are a number of items, including books, letters, an hourglass, and a miniature portrait of a profiled man along with its separate cover. The hourglass suggests the demise of the man in the smaller portrait, either the woman’s husband or, perhaps, brother (as indicated by an inscription on the table), and serves as a reminder of her own mortality.

The circular format and the diminutive, hand-held size of cameos are comparable to the characteristics of medallions and miniature portraits in the portrait within a portrait genre. One example is Alessandro Allori’s Portrait of a Lady Holding a Cameo of 1559 in which the table becomes a focal point for display as in Campi’s Portrait of a Lady with a Miniature mentioned above (Fig. 4.114). It is also compositionally identical to a Portrait of a Collector Holding a Medal by Allori and perhaps its lost pendant (see Fig. 1.32). The

273 Giacomo (Jacopo) Filippo d’Argenta, Portrait of a Lady Holding a Cameo, c. 1566, oil on canvas. What seems to be the first version is located in the Galeria Reale, Turin, while a second version which is signed with measurements 47.2 x 37 in (120 x 94) was in a Venetian sale in 1992. See Venice, Franco Semenzato sale, Venice, April 26, 1992, lot 67.
274 Romagna artist (once attributed to Giulio Campi), Portrait of Orsina de’ Grassi Reading with Profile Image on the Table, c. 1540, oil on canvas, 101.5 x 85 cm, Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest [69.21]. It is inscribed on the letters laid on the table in lower left “al mon to Rdo Mon is Corrado de / Grassi Abate del Spirito sto fratello carissimo / R nna” and “alla sua carissima sorela la sia Orsin.” Aldreas Pigler has suggested that the sitter was Orsina, natural daughter of Cardinal Achille de’ Grassi, while the wax medallion represents her brother Corrado, who held the abbotsip of Santo Spirito in Ravenna from 1539. Pigler further believed that due to the recession of the lower jaw, her portrait seems to be based on a recumbent dead model, suggesting her demise at the time of this portrait. See Andreas Pigler, “Zur Bildniskunst von Luca Longhi,” Pantheon 15 (1935), 120-24; and “Portraying the Dead. Painting-Graphic Art,” Acta Historiae Artium Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 4 (1957), 4-5. Klára Garas has argued that the painting was completed in 1539 at the time of Corrado de Grassi’s appointment at abbot. See Klára Garas, Italian Renaissance Portraits, 2nd, rev. ed. (Budapest: 1974), no. 48.
*Portrait of a Lady* is possibly of a member of the Montauti or Manelli families, Allori’s patrons in Rome.276 Dressed in black, indicating a state of bereavement, a statuette of Michelangelo’s *Rachel* sits on the table to her right, a symbol of the passive life, an inclusion suggesting contemplation, perhaps of wifely devotion or even death.277 The somber mood is further emphasized by the fictive intarsia frieze of the table itself, which includes the two figures of *Giorno* and *Notte* after Michelangelo’s Medici tombs.278 Moreover, the carved imagery on the side of the chair in the portrait shows a sleeping figure supported by two putti on a vase, similar in design to the *imago clipeata*, and thus again alluding to the passing of a loved one. A medal that the lady refers to on the table shows a young nude Bacchus, referring to Neoplatonic notions of salvation through grace, while the cameo that the lady holds in her right hand depicts the god Mercury, often represented as the guider of souls from one world to the next in imagery on sarcophagi. Both gods, therefore, might refer to a deceased companion (Fig. 4.115).279 While this image does not include an actual portrait medallion of her deceased loved one, it refers to his passing and creates an implied doubling of absence and presence through her recognition of the loss of another.280

278 Allori reinforced an emphasis on the loss of a loved one by death through his incorporation of Michelangelo’s late tomb sculptures.
279 It could also relate to the sitter as deceased.
280 In a similar manner, Santi di Tito (or another Bronzino follower) showed a presumed beloved wife in his *Portrait of a Lady in Guise of Portia Catonis*. According to Valerius Maximus [IV, 6] and Boccaccio, this Roman heroine swallowed coals after hearing about the death of her husband. This painting, though not a “portrait within a portrait,” still references the two persons involved, that of devoted wife and deceased husband. Follower of Bronzino (Santi di Tito, once considered), *Portrait of a Lady in the Guise of Portia Catonis*, c. 1560-70, oil on panel, 100 x 77, Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen [3623].
The figural arrangement of women holding or touching circular diminutive portraits of their male companions was sometimes subjected to a reversal of gender roles, as in Bronzino’s *Portrait of Lodovico Capponi* of c. 1550-55 (Fig. 4.116). This confident young man, costumed in his family’s armorial colors of black and white, stands three-quarter length against a brilliant green backdrop. In his left hand, he holds a small, folded leather book, lowering it to below his waist, while he reveals a portrait medallion in his right hand, partially concealed by his index finger and a black silk drape. The viewer is only able to detect the inscription, *sorte* (fate or fortune), but not the person whom the portrait medal depicts, suggesting a private secret to be shared with *familiari* and teasingly shielded from the eyes of the observer.

It is possible to speculate about the identity of the hidden subject. Lodovico Capponi, a page at the Medici court, fell in love with Maddalena Vettori, who was already betrothed to a cousin of Cosimo de’ Medici. After three years, Cosimo finally relented to allow their nuptials. The portrait medallion in Lodovico’s hand, most likely of his beloved Maddalena, indicates their fate by the inscription of *sorte*. Mirabello Cavalori’s *Portrait of a Man Holding a Miniature Female Portrait* (c. 1560) also represents an elegant young man dressed in black holding in his left hand a miniature female portrait, probably depicting the woman he loves, that he displays to the viewer (Fig. 4.117). Mirabello Cavalori’s *Portrait of a Man Holding a Miniature Female Portrait* (c. 1560) also represents an elegant young man dressed in black holding in his left hand a miniature female portrait, probably depicting the woman he loves, that he displays to the viewer (Fig. 4.117).

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282 Mirabello Cavalori, *Portrait of a Man Holding a Miniature Female Portrait*, c. 1560, oil on panel, 85 x 70 cm, Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti, Florence [1212 n. 238]. It has an unknown provenance but entered as a part of the Grand Duke collection at least by the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries. The coat of arms on in the central oval section of the sitter’s belt could indicate the Scarlatti family. It has also been suggested that this
Francesco Holding a Portrait of his Sister Lucrezia (c. 1560) also signals affection, yet loss (Fig. 4.118). Seated three-quarter length facing the viewer’s left, Duke Francesco de’ Medici, dressed in an embroidered, slashed doublet, rests both hands on a table. While his left hand touches a book, his right hand holds a miniature representing his sister Lucrezia, suggesting her absence due to marriage. In 1560, Francesco had accompanied his sister to join her husband, Alfonso d’Este, in Ferrara. This portrait within a portrait indicates a sibling bond and seems to be a keepsake object upon the lady’s departure from the Medici court. The influence of this is evident in contemporary versions, such as one in the Chicago Art Institute, in which the miniature portrait of Lucrezia was replaced with an anonymous woman’s head.

The Drawn Image in a Portrait within a Portrait

The portrait within a portrait genre also extended to portrait drawings as the support medium of an internal portrait within a larger painted portrait. The presentation of a portrait drawing to a sitter is exemplified by Federico Zuccari’s sketch (c. 1580), in which the artist himself holds a portrait drawing of a sitter behind a desk (Fig. 4.119).

Pontormo’s Portrait of Alessandro de’ Medici, mentioned earlier, is another example of this man is an artist or collector. See Collection Catalogue (2003), 117, Cat. 170. By the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the portrait within the portrait genre is more readily visible. One such example is the Portrait of Giovanni Beltrami Holding a Female Portrait Miniature by Giovanni Carnovali, called “Il Piccio” (oil on canvas, Pinacoteca, Cremona [360]).

283 Alessandro Allori, Portrait of Francesco Holding Portrait of his Sister Lucrezia, 1560, oil on panel, 82.7 x 65 cm, private collection, United States. The artist probably utilized his earlier portrait of the Duke holding a medal of Justitia and Pax as a model. A portrait drawing of the duke could have aided him in the realistic portrayal of his sitter. It is a charcoal drawing on yellowish paper, once blue, measuring 44.8 x 26.6 cm located in Rotterdam.

284 Attributed to Alessandro Allori, Portrait of Francesco Holding Portrait of a Lady, c. 1560, oil on canvas, 96.5 x 73.6 cm, Gift of Edgar Kaufmann, Jr., Art Institute of Chicago [1965.1179]. It was once in the Prince Anatole Demidoff collection in Florence. Another known version with unknown provenance is located in Państwowe Zbiory Sztuki na Wawelu, Cracow [2.175 [1.462]. It is oil on canvas measuring 98 x 79 cm. See K. Langedijk, The Portraits of the Medici 15th-18th centuries (1985), III, 855-86, Cats. 13b; and 13e and Chicago, Art Institute of Chicago, Italian Paintings before 1600 in The Art Institute of Chicago: A Catalogue of the the Collection, cat. by Christopher Lloyd (1993), 2-5

type, in which the sitter is shown in the act of drawing the profiled head of his lover Malaspina (see Fig. 4.36). These images depict an active process, as one figure draws the portrait of another, while in other examples portrait drawings were held up for display. An unusual portrait within a portrait is by the Venetian painter Giovanni Francesco Caroto which depicts a half-length smiling boy with brilliant shoulder-length red hair who proudly shows his child-like portrait as a full-length stick figure to the spectator (Fig. 4.120). Mirabello Cavalori’s Portrait of a Youth (1560-70) portrays a young boy in a similar manner, holding up a piece of paper with a well-executed portrait sketch to demonstrate his artistic skill (Fig. 4.121).

The tradition was continued into the seventeenth century as witnessed by Carlo Dolci’s double portrayal that represented himself two-fold—his more intellectual self in life-like painted form and holding a two-dimensional self-portrait drawing (Figs. 4.122 and 4.123). The portrait alludes to the dual nature of the artist as intellectual and artisan, by showing his craft as well as displaying his creation. In an emblematic fashion, Lorenzo Lotto’s Lady Holding up a Drawing of Lucrezia (c. 1533), also displays a sitter, Lucretia Valadier (the wife of Benedetto Pesaro), in two guises, as actual sitter and ideal

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286 The observation and process of sketching someone else is given considerable attention in the Renaissance. Written accounts of the act of drawing the beloved in the Renaissance exist as in an example by the Venetian patrician Leonardo Giustiniani. In his poem from the fifteenth century, the lover (Leonardo) tells his beloved that “Io t’ho dipinta in su una carticella // come se fussi una santa di Dio.” (I have painted your image on a piece of paper as if you were one of God’s saints.). See Peter Burke, “The Presentation of Self in the Renaissance Portrait,” The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy: Essays on Perception and Communication (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 164.

287 Giovanni Francesco Caroto, Boy with a Drawing, c. 1508-20, oil on panel, 37 x 29 cm, Museo di Castelvecchio, Verona. See Ulrich Pfisterer and Max Seidel, Visuelle Topoi: Erfindung und tradetes Wissen in den Kunsten der italienischen Renaissance (Berlin/Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2003), 277, fig. 2.

288 Mirabello Cavalori, Portrait of a Youth, c. 1560-70, tempera on panel, 92 x 82 cm, Museo Bardini, Florence [n. 748, inv. 784]

289 Carlo Dolci (1616-1687), Self-Portrait with the Artist holding a Self-Portrait Drawing, 1674, oil on canvas, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence. The artist looks melancholic under the sharp directed light upon his visage. Wearing work clothes and glasses, he has temporarily halted from the act of drawing. His self-portrait drawing, signed and dated 1674, seems to have been done in red and black chalk. It was made for the cardinal Leopoldo de’ Medici in 1674. There are several copies of this Self-Portrait in private collections. See Florence/Rome, Galleria degli Uffizi, Autoritratti degli Uffizi da Andrea del Sarto a Marc Chagall, cat. ed. by C. Caneva, cat. by A. Natali (1990), Cat. 14; and E. Baldassari, Carlo Dolci (Torino: 1995), 167-58, Cat. 141.
heroine, via the drawing medium (see Fig. 3.59). A fashionably-dressed woman stands between the back of an armchair and a table, where she holds in her left hand a drawing of the Roman heroine Lucretia, known as the quintessential virtuous wife because she committed suicide to save her family’s honor after being raped by the prince (Fig. 4.124). A contemporary individual, she wears a gold band on her finger and a ribboned cap called a scufia, indicating her analogous marital status to the Roman heroine. Around her neck, a jeweled pendant on a heavy chain stuffed into her corsage is similar in form to Renaissance marriage pendants, and this image was probably intended to mark the subject’s betrothal or marriage.

Lotto’s Portrait of a Lady as Lucretia resembles portraits of grieving widows with implications of their unwavering chastity to their husbands (see Figs. 4.112 and 4.113). Yet, the presentation aspect in doubling the same person in two different media is closer to Titian’s La Schiavone (see Fig. 4.78). Lotto’s implied meaning is further signaled by a yellow wildflower on the table, symbolic of lovers, as well as the suggestive empty chair as the marker for her absent partner, presumably her husband. Lotto’s allegorical doubling of the same person connects the Renaissance lady to the Roman heroine, perhaps her name-sake, and refers to her own respectable virtues. It also makes an invisible, yet apparent, place for her husband next to her, becoming a kind of aniconic impoverished double portrait.

290 Lorenzo Lotto, Portrait of a Lady as Lucretia, c. 1533, National Gallery, London.
291 She also points with her right hand to a table where rests another sheet of paper revealing a Latin text of Lucretia’s last words.
293 With similar treatment to the subject is Lavinia Fontana’s Portrait of a Man and Boy Holding a Drawing. Analogous connections can be drawn between what the artist displays two-dimensionally in the sketch with the sitter in the painted portrait. The seated man with a young boy, perhaps his son by his side, holds a drawing in his right hand of Hercules struggling with the hydra, probably alluding to his own heroic
The Sculpted Image in a Portrait within a Portrait

The portrait within a portrait genre also encompasses paintings that incorporate representations of three-dimensional portrait-objects. Such images sometimes include sculpted portraits, surely reflecting the *paragone* discussion of painting versus sculpture. This variety, however, can also be linked to popular images of biblical characters with severed heads, such as Saint John the Baptist’s head on a platter, David with the head of Goliath, and Judith offering the head of Holofernes. Hans Memling’s version of the Beheading of St. John the Baptist in the left wing of his Bruges altarpiece (1479) shows an executioner reaching over to Salome and her platter as he lifts the Saint’s head up in the air for display. Artists utilized these religious figures for contemporary portraits, as discussed in Chapter Three. The biblical David with the head of his foe was used for self-portrayal, as in Caravaggio’s version with his own head as Goliath raised for presentation (Fig. 4.125). Giorgione’s presumptive *Self-Portrait* (c. 1510) in Brunswick portrays the artist in the guise of David. The painter conflated himself with the biblical

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294 Hans Memling, *Bruges Altarpiece*, Sint-Janshospitaal, Memlingmuseum, Bruges [inv. O.SJI75.1].
295 Artists commonly used themselves as models for religious subjects. The church protested the use of recognizable models for saints, and the Counter-Reformation officially reprimanded this practice. Savonarola in Florence criticized the use in 1496. In 1582, Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti’s treatise repeated the Council of Trent’s objections to anything “profane or immodest” and believed that saints should never be represented with the faces of worldly persons recognizable to others. See G. Savonarola, *Prediche sopra Amos e Zacarìa*, P Ghiglieri, ed. (Rome: A. Belardetti, 1971-72); and P. Barocchi, ed., *Scritti d’Arte del Cinquecento*, III, (Milan. R. Riccardi, 1971-77), 2735. John Clouet portrayed Francois I as Saint John the Baptist holding a lamb and reed cross in front of a tree. See Jean Clouet, *Portrait of Francis I as Saint John the Baptist*, 1518, gift of Alec and Guy Wildstein, Louvre, Paris. An inscription at the bottom of the painting records the date. Clouet’s portrayal was probably influenced by Leonardo’s *Saint John the Baptist*, which was purchased by Francois I the same year.
296 Caravaggio, *David with the Head of Goliath*, Galleria Borghese, Rome.
297 Giorgione, *Self-Portrait*, late 1400s, oil on canvas, 52 x 43 cm, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Brunswick [454]. The painting was listed in an inventory of the Grimani Collection in 1528 as a portrait of Zorzon painting by his own hand through [the theme of] David and Goliath. The picture then passed into the Van Verle Collection in Antwerp. The attribution of this painting has been a matter of debate. The *Self-Portrait* was painted in oil on top of an earlier subject, a Madonna and Child in a landscape as seen with an x-radiograph. Vasari mentioned the portrait in Giovanni Grimani’s cabinet in Venice. In his account, he stated that “one represents David—and it is reported to be his own portrait—with locks reaching to the
character without Goliath’s head, gazing contemplatively out toward the viewer, as was
typical of Giorgione. The portrait has been linked to engraved and painted copies which
inserted the severed head into the image, as in Wenzel Hollar’s engraving of 1650
portraying Giorgione as David (Fig. 4.126).\(^{298}\) Several extant painted copies, such as a
seventeenth-century version at Hampton court and a version by David Teniers the
Younger, show similar compositions.\(^{299}\) Giorgione also painted a lost Judith with the Head of
Holofernes that is known from a painted version by Vincenzo Catena (c. 1520-30) and an
engraving by Lucas Vostermann.\(^{300}\) Like Giorgione, Titian cast himself in a biblical role in
his Salome with the Severed Head of Saint John the Baptist of c. 1515.\(^{301}\)

Portraits of sculptors or collectors often made use of sculpture as an attribute of
the sitter, and a similar presentational use of these objects emerges in the portrait within a
portrait genre.\(^{302}\) In Titian’s Portrait of La Schiavona, the relief portrait on the parapet is a

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\(^{298}\) The inscription reads “Vero Ritratto de Giorgione de Castel Franco da luy fatto come lo celebre il libro
del Vasari – W. Hollar fecit ex collectione Johannis et Jacobi ban Verle, 1650. f. van Wyngarde excudit.” [A
true portrait of Giorgione del Castelfranco, painted by himself as Vasari’s book describes-drawn by W.
Hollar from the painting] in the collection of Johann and Jacob van Verle, 1650, engraved by F. van de
Wyngarde).

\(^{299}\) Copy by David Teniers the Younger, c. 1659, oil on paper on panel, once in the collection of
Bartolomeo della Nave, Venice, 1626, now in the Budapest Museum of Fine Arts.

\(^{300}\) Vincenzo Catena, after Giorgione, Judith with the Head of Holofernes, C. 1520-30, Pinacoteca Querini-
Stampalia, Venice.

\(^{301}\) Titian, Salome with the Head of St. John the Baptist, c. 1515, oil on canvas
Galleria Doria Pamphilj, Rome.

\(^{302}\) Sculpture was utilized in portraits of sculptors or collectors in the Renaissance, as in a self-portrait by
Albrecht Dürer the Elder holding a silver statuette in his hand, the product of his profession as a goldsmith
(See Albrecht Dürer the Elder, Self-Portrait, 1484, silverpoint on prepared paper, Graphische Sammlung,
Albertina, Vienna). See Joseph Leo Koerner, The Moment of Self-Portraiture in German Renaissance Art, 44, fig.
22. Gianbattista Moroni in his Portrait of the Sculptor Alessandro Vittoria portrayed an artist with a sculpted
torso and Lorenzo Lotto’s Portrait of the Collector Andrea Odoni shows the collector in the midst of fragments
of ancient statues and clay copies, after inheriting an important collection of such objects. See GianBattista
Moroni, Portrait of the Sculptor Alessandro Vittoria, 1560-65, oil on canvas, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna;
and Lorenzo Lotto, Portrait of Collector Andrea Odoni, 1527, oil on canvas, 104 x 116.6 cm, Royal Collection,
Windsor [RCIN: 405776]). The Portrait of Raffaele Grassi attributed to Sebastiano Florgerio and the Portrait of
a Gentleman by Bassano both exhibit well-respected gentlemen in three-quarter view facing the onlooker and
recognizable person: the same woman in a red dress confronts the viewer in painted form on the canvas (see Fig. 4.78). Giovanni Cariani’s Portrait of a Young Man of 1510-15 also utilizes a fictive sculpted portrait within a painted portrait (Fig. 4.127). The young aristocratic man turns his head slightly, fixing his gaze on the viewer. In his left hand, resting on a parapet before him, he holds a rolled parchment, while he places his right hand above a frontal relief of a bearded elderly man, perhaps an ancestor or ancient namesake. The image recalls Botticelli’s versions of the portrait within a portrait in which parapets and three-dimensional medallions obscure the divisions between the realms of sitter and viewer, as in the historical tradition of Veronica’s veil.

**The Painted Image in a Portrait within a Portrait**

Large-format painted portraits, in comparison to miniatures, also appear in fictive representation within portraits, reflecting the Renaissance notion of the absent made present. Bernardino Licinio’s Portrait of a Woman with the Effigy of her Spouse, for example, illustrates the stereotype that it was the role of Renaissance women to grieve their deceased companions (See Figs. 4.1 and 4.112). However, examples of men holding painted portraits of their lost female companions also exist in the portrait within a portrait genre. One example is The Portrait of Paolo Pagliaroli Contemplating the Image of a Deceased of c. 1590 by the Bolognese painter Bartolomeo Passerotti (Fig. 4.128). In the image, a bearded man dressed in black rests his right hand on the table in front of him, resting one hand on the top of a portrait bust. See attributed to Sebastiano Floringerio, Portrait of Raffaele Grassi, late 1530s, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence and Jacopo da Ponte, called Bassano, Portrait of a Gentleman, c. 1550, Sadelmeyer Collection, Paris).

303 Giovanni Busi, called Cariani, Portrait of a Man with a Sculpted Portrait Bust, oil on canvas, 59 x 51 cm, Gemaldegalerie, Berlin-Dahlem.
304 Bartolomeo Passerotti, Portrait of Paolo Pagliaroli Contemplating the Image of a Deceased, 1590, oil on canvas, 1.00 x 0.79 m, Galleria Estense, Modena [8019]. It is inscribed at top right: “PAOLVS PAGLIAROLVS APOS-/TOLICA SEDIS ET SACRAE MAIES-/TATIS EQVES: CONFRATER AC/BENEFACTOR OBIT ANO 1590/DIE TERCIA MAII.” There is a similar painting in the Museo Bardini in Florence of 1579.
while with his left hand he props up on the same table a smaller bust-length painted portrait of a lady. The inscription on the dark wall behind him indicates the sitter’s name and the date of the commission. With saddened features, the mourner, Pagliaroli, directs his fixed gaze to his probably deceased consort, while the lady casts her eyes out toward the viewer. This image almost seems to revive the woman by the activity of her loved one. Cariani, in his *Portrait of a Gentleman with a Female Profile Portrait* of 1510-14, shows a similar configuration (Fig. 4.129)\(^{305}\). A man looks out at the viewer while positioning in front of him, on a parapet-like structure that is one with the frame of the painting, a smaller painted female likeness in profile, perhaps of his deceased wife. The image becomes a double portrait through the use of an effigy. The representation comforts the remaining loved one, yet at the same time is a source of sadness as a memento of loss.

### Conclusion

The “keepsake portrait” was a kind of image frequently described in ancient literature in a convention that was revived a century before Petrarch. Ancient rings and cameos which contained portraits perhaps functioned in the same way as the written example. In the Greek romance by Achilles Tatius, *The Adventures of Leucippe and Clitophon* (written in the 2\(^{nd}\) century), for example, the girl, taken by pirates, gazed upon the image of her beloved and there found solace. Ancient stories recount the recreation of “likenesses” in physical form upon the death or the abandonment by a loved one, as in the tales of Laodamia, the Maid of Corinth, and Admetus. One Renaissance example that

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\(^{305}\) Giovanni Busi, called Cariani, *Portrait of a Gentleman with a Female Profile Portrait*, 1510-14, oil on canvas, 70 x 59 cm (17 ½ x 23 ¼ in), private collection, formerly Spencer Churchill Collection, Northwick Park. It was at a sale at Sotheby’s, London, 9 April 1986, lot. 84. It has been suggested that it could have been influenced by a painting already in existence by the artist Bissolo, but I have not found as of yet a painting similar.
falls into the category of the keepsake portrait is Domenico Ghirlandaio’s Portrait of the Old Man and the Child (Fig. 4.130). The gnarled elderly man tenderly converses with the precious child. In the Renaissance, ugliness was sometimes equated with evil or ill-fortune (the converse of the Neoplatonic thought that beauty signaled virtue), but the unattractive man, appearing in an affectionate relationship with his grandson, is shown in a more positive light. By the time of this painting, the old man was deceased and the image was based on a study of his death mask. Yet, in this picture, the two individuals interact in a lively manner within the same space, in a communicative spirit that approximates the portrait within a portrait genre.

A Renaissance literary form, the written letter, further demonstrates the interest in remembrance and in creating an interactive relationship with physical likenesses, such as painted portraits. A letter to Galeazzo Maria Sforza of 17 February 1471 from his wife gives an account of their child Gian Galeazzo Sforza, who supposedly recognized and attempted to embrace the portrait of his father. Baldassare Castiglione’s elegy of 1519 mentioned how his wife, in his absence, communicated lovingly with his portrait by Raphael, which his young son greeted in loco parentis. The triple Portrait of Leo X by Raphael assumed a similar substitutional function when it was placed at the table of Lorenzo de’ Medici’s wedding banquet in Florence. Additionally, Isabella d’Este,

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306 Domenico Ghirlandaio, Old Man and His Grandson, tempera on panel, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
307 Domenico Ghirlandaio, Head of an Old Man, red chalk, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm [NMH 1/1863].
310 Lorenzo’s mother wrote to Rome on September 8, 1518, in which she told of one meal where the Duke had the portrait of the Pope, Cardinal de’ Medici and Cardinal de’ Rossi placed above the table where the Duchess and the other gentlemen were eating, in the middle. It shows a temporary display of the absent guest at a banquet table suggesting his presence by a tangible physical object of similarity. See Roger Jones and Nicholas Penny, Raphael, 164 and A. Parronehi, “La prima rappresentazione della Mandragola,” La Bibliofilia LXIV (1962), 52.
marchionesse of Mantua, wrote to her husband about their young son in 1502, commenting that

yesterday I was saying my prayers when he came in and said he wanted to look for il papa, and he went through the prayer-book himself and found a bearded face, which delighted him, and kissing it more than six times he said papa bello, with the greatest joy in the world.\footnote{See A. Luzio, Il precettori d’Isabella d’Este (Ancona, 1887), 37, also cited in Peter Burke, The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy: Essays on Perception and Communication (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 117.}

Though the child confused an image of a bearded saint with his father’s portrait, he still equated a visual likeness, through memory, with his father, reacting to it as if real.\footnote{Matthews Grieco who reported the event also seems to believe that it merged religious and conjugal devotions. See Sara F. Matthews Grieco, “Persuasive Pictures: didactic prints and the construction of the social identity of women in sixteenth-century Italy,” in Women in Italian Renaissance Culture and Society, ed. by Letizia Panizza (Oxford: University of Oxford, 2000), 285.}

Contemporary reactions to secular images appear to have been just as engaged as responses to sacred images in the Renaissance. Portraits were particularly resonant due to the intimacy between the viewer and the viewed.\footnote{Other examples exist in promoting communication through a portrait. Gabriele Paleotti suggested that people could ask for a portrait of a relative or friend from whom they were separated in order to be able “by this means of keeping a picture, to alleviate the hurt brought about by his absence.” See Lorne Campbell, Renaissance Portraits, 193. In 1574, Hortensia Borromeo, Countess of Hohenems, wrote to her husband, who was campaigning in the Low Countries, to thank him for a portrait which she had just received. “For me, the time of your absence now passes with far less pain than at first, for I will now delight in this image until your homecoming.” “And if someone loves very faithfully and chastely, he is worthy to have the portrait of the face that he loves, as well for its absence in life, as for its commemoration after death. See Lorne Campbell, Renaissance Portraits, 195, fn. 18.}

Portraits became interactive remembrance objects of persons who were absent. For instance, Petrarch owned a portrait of his beloved Laura, commissioned from the artist Simone Martini, through which he spoke to her lovingly. The portrait within a portrait genre concretely visualizes this communication, so eloquently written about by Petrarch and the authors of the many contemporary letters on the subject. Individuals could respond to a portrait-object with desire or longing. Three components comprise
the portrait within the portrait: the *imagines* or portraits, the two referents (one of whom may be the patron), and the possessor of the image, who is emotionally linked to that displayed representation. The motivation for this portrait genre is to fill the void left from the actual absence of a beloved or admired person. The portrait within a portrait type renews the memory of the absent person, whether dead or distant, indexically displaying a physical connection with the object of reference, and markedly demonstrating to the viewer an emotional interconnectedness between the two individuals on display (see Fig. 4.1).

Since the genre is of a performative nature, it visually complicates the static idea of a portrait, for it demands a psychological confrontation that obfuscates the gaze. This type of portrayal visually, temporally, and psychologically distances the viewer from the actual person commemorated in the portrait-object. Yet, the presence of the intended viewer, probably the patron, clarifies the relationship among the parties involved and fulfills the purpose of the image by completing the circle of engagement.314 This communicative person is necessary to fulfill the basic aim of the portrait; to preserve a vivid living image for family members, loved ones, and subsequent generations. Bernardino Licinio inscribed on a family portrait that the painter "prolongs life for them with their image, and his own with his art," echoing Alberti.

Direct eye contact between viewer and a subject also enhances the intimacy of the image. In Quattrocento imagery, painted saints were already engaging the congregation as intercessors or interlocutors in sacred compositions, such as altarpieces. Alberti also

314 John Shearman discussed the presence of the viewer to complete the picture. “The invention of the work of art may sometimes be predicated upon the full engagement of the spectator in front of it, and upon his willingness to read it realistically in behavioural or narrative terms.” See John Shearman, *Only Connect... Art and the Spectator in the Italian Renaissance* (Washington D.C.: The National Gallery of Art/Princeton University Press, Bollingen Series XXXV-37, 1988), 27.
promoted the use of the gesturing admonitory figure in narrative paintings. In a well-known passage of De Pictura of 1435, he stated:

I like there to be someone in the “istoria” who tells the spectators what is going on, and either beckons them with his hand to look or with ferocious expression and forbidding glance challenges them not to come near, as if he wished their business to be secret or he points to some danger or remarkable thing in the picture.

Alberti also noted the power of contemporary figures to draw the viewer’s attention to the main action. He stated that

where the face of some well-known and worthy man is put in the istoria—even though there are other figures of a much more perfect art and more pleasing than this one—that well-known face will draw to itself first of all the eyes of the one who looks at the istoria…

These two visual devices in secular and religious paintings were influential components of engagement that informed the portrait within a portrait scenario. The painted person who displays the portrait of another individual appropriates the role of interlocutor, as s/he draws attention to the other. Much as the Virgin receives attention from St. Luke in painter-evangelist imagery, or Christ’s visage is referenced by Saint Veronica, the internal portraits are granted special attention by and through their contemporary presenter.

The relative placement, scale, gesture, attitude, and costume all call into question which character is being honored in the portrait within a portrait genre. In the more straightforward examples in this genre, such as Licinio’s Portrait of a Woman with the Effigy of her Spouse (see Fig. 4.1), Bedoli’s Portrait of a Nobleman, identified as Virginio Ariosto (see Fig. 4.108), or Cariani’s Portrait of a Gentleman with a Female Profile Portrait (see Fig. 4.127), the traditional positioning of the place of honor to the proper right seems to be upheld. However, due to the many variations of this type, it is doubtful that the place of honor was of prime consideration for the artist, sitter, and patron. The dominance of one sitter

over the other could perhaps reflect the wish of the subaltern to express gratitude to the other. Yet, the mere act of displaying someone else within one’s own portrait lends itself to the general notion of honor, of commemorating the other one on display, which empowers the primary subject by association. The relationship that is pictured also demonstrates a formative personal bond between the two sitters raising the status of both.

Social circumstances probably compelled interest in the portrait within a portrait genre. The plague first broke out in 1348 in Italy, and then revisited more than a dozen times in the subsequent two centuries. This situation focused on regeneration of the family and revitalization of the civic population. It is also well known that the plague era had profound implications for artistic production. Sharon T. Strocchia, for example, has described the proliferation of items that developed around funerary rites at this time as “ceremonial buffers” that offered stability and protection during this stricken era. The posthumous portrait already existed as an affirmation of dynastic lineage, and the loss of so many lives during this period probably stimulated the development of the portrait within a portrait type, for it promoted a commemorative communication between the living and the dead. This genre could also respond to the need to maintain family history, to continue the family line, maintaining its power as well as its links with famous and powerful persons.

The type also became a cultural symbol of fidelity, affirming preservation of memory. The portrait within a portrait displays allegiance to another person, as physical contact with the inner simulacrum intensifies the bond between the absent imagine and the other person within the picture. The genre could indicate a woman’s chastity after the

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316 See Sharon T. Strocchia, Death and Ritual (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 64.
loss of her husband, a vow to maintain one’s love for another, or an oath to uphold the virtues of another. A coordination of thematically charged relationships between its figures must be decoded by the viewer. Portraits have a plethora of functions—visual autographs, eyewitnesses to miracles, methods of conducting visual dialogues, commissioned mementos, tests of aptitude in rendering a likeness, vehicles for personalizing allegorical subjects, casual sketches, exercises in artistic skill, and tributes to fame. The portrait within a portrait genre also fills all of these roles.

The type also corresponds to what André Gide termed the *mise en abyme*: as an aspect enclosed within a work that shows similarity with the work that contains it. In this type, since both individuals are portraits, the image of the missing or deceased sitter is one referent, the presenter is another. The Paduan humanist Pomponius Gauricus, in his 1504 treatise, *De Sculptura*, wrote that a portrait must depict its subject *ex se*, out of itself, suggesting that portraiture must take care not to turn the sitter into a mere representation of something general instead of showing the original. The Renaissance portrait within a portrait genre fully illustrates this point for it does not disown the referential, but the visual connection to the referent is blatantly placed on display.

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317 André Gide has used the example of mirrors in Netherlandish painting, such as Jan van Eyck’s *Arnolfini Wedding Portrait*. He termed the *mise en abyme* around 1893 as an aspect enclosed within a work that shows a similarity with the work that contains it. He later rejects the Eyckian mirror because it represents a distorted view of what one sees in the actual panel painting. The term derived from heraldry. *Abîme* (abyss) means the heart of the shield, thereby *mise en abyme* means the representation of the shield containing a miniature replica of itself. His discussion is contained in his *Journals, 1889-1949*, trans. by J.O’Brien (London, 1984), 30-31. For the definition, see also Lucien Dallenbach, *The Mirror in the Text* (1977), trans. by Jeremy Whiteley and Emma Hughes (Chicago: 1989), 8. The term itself derives from heraldry. *Abîme* (abyss) means the heart of the shield, and where *mise en abyme* would have meant, to Gide, the image of a shield containing, at its center, a miniature replica of itself. A convex mirror in a painting constitutes an interpretation of the work from within, the works own model of itself. See Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Moment of Self-Portraiture in German Renaissance Art*, 56.

Chapter Five

Friendship and Kinship: Single Gender Double Portraits

Introduction

This chapter unifies my study by comparing double portraits of two genders and those of one gender, in order to determine if the two sitters of the same sex are given equal importance within a single image. While female double portraits most often memorialized a familial tie, male doubles were not always based on kinship, but instead they most often reflected friendship bonds indicating similar professions or interests that had social, political, artistic, and scholarly implications.\(^1\) In the absence of hierarchical gender issues, these portraits focused on age and experience to develop a power struggle within the frame.

Double portraits of the same gender most likely stemmed from the *Uomini famosi* tradition of the Middle Ages and early Renaissance, which was particularly popular in Northern Italy. *Uomini famosi* cycles, as mentioned in the Introduction, often portray full-length military heroes, emperors, philosophers, scholars, scientists, and other illustrious men from classical antiquity and the Middle Ages.\(^2\) The figures, in most cases, were accompanied by Latin verses to introduce them to the viewer.\(^3\) One example from c. 1420-40 is the *Uomini famosi* and *Donne illustre* cycle for the hall in the Castello della Manta, near Mantua, portraying a row of nine heroes complemented by a row of nine heroines.

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1. Alois Riegl believed that friendship portraits bound two or more persons solely by personal implication. See Alois Riegl, *Group Portraiture in Holland*, intro. by Wolfgang Kemp and trans. by Evelyn M. Kain and David Britt (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 1999), 62.
2. The personalities in *Uomini famosi* series made in painting and sculpture represent different virtues, according to their actions, becoming ideals for the Renaissance humanist. Medieval series often portray the heroes in their known characteristic act. During the Renaissance, the figures within the series were placed in more static poses within a confined space or painted niches on one wall or several walls within a room.
3. The figures could also be linked to allegorical personifications and serve only as examples of a particular virtue. In this case, the frescoes are divided into at least two levels with the upper level containing the allegorical personifications and the lower holding the famous men that represent them.
(Fig. 5.1).\textsuperscript{4} Cycles of contemporary men were rarer, but do exist. Vasari told of the artist Lorenzo di Bicci, who was commissioned by Giovanni de’ Medici (father of Cosimo, 1498-1526), to paint in the hall of the old house of the Medici famous men who may still be seen.\textsuperscript{5} Arround 1444, Andrea del Castagno painted effigies which included contemporary or recently deceased great men in the Palazzo del Proconsole in Florence.\textsuperscript{6} Such cycles began to be replaced in the Cinquecento with narrative cycles that included famous figures collectively engaged in an activity or in a united scene, as in \textit{The School of Athens} by Raphael in the Vatican.\textsuperscript{7}

In large palaces, there were additional transformations in traditional \textit{Uomini famosi} cycles. The decoration within patrician palaces of all sizes responded to the increased desire to accumulate objects for domestic decor in the sixteenth century, leaving less wall space for such series. As a result, the collective representation of important figures seems to have shifted from a focus on famous ancient personages to contemporary sitters “of like minds” on a smaller scale, as in a double portrait.

\textsuperscript{4} French artist (Jacques Iverny from Avignon) or Piedmontese artist, \textit{Uomini Famosi Cycle with Titles in Latin, Row of Heroes, Row of Heroines}, c. 1420-30, Fresco, Hall, Castello della Manta, commissioned by Marquis Alerano, Sala Baronale, Castello della Manta, Saluzzo (Near Mantua). The women portrayed within the \textit{Uomini famosi} cycles were not always singled out for their deeds but because they were married or in some other way connected to famous men. The women are characteristically found in the Bible or Ancient history. See my discussion of \textit{Uomini Famosi} cycles in the Introduction.

\textsuperscript{5} “Giovanni di Bicci de’ Medici, veduta la buona maniera sua, gli fece dipigner nella sala della casa vecchia de’ Medici (che poi restò a Lorenzo fratel carnale di Cosimo Vecchio, murato che fu il palazzo grande) tutti vi si veggiono.” See Giorgio Vasari, \textit{Le Opere di Giorgio Vasari}, annotated by Gaetano Milanesi [Reprint of \textit{Le vite de’ più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori}] (Florence: Sansoni, 1981), II, 50. A series of miniature portraits of men in the Uffizi might have been taken from this larger series.


\textsuperscript{7} Medieval and Renaissance literature also demonstrated an interest in this theme and was perhaps inspiration for the visual form, such as Petrarch’s \textit{De Viris Illustribus} which inspired a series in Palazzo del Capitano in Padua and the chivalric epic, Chevalier \textit{Errant}, by Tommaso III, which inspired the cycle in the Castello della Mantua. For a detailed discussion of this theme, see Christina Jägerbäck, “‘Uomini Famosi’ in Renaissance Art,” \textit{Kunstgeschichtliche Studien Zur Florentiner Renaissance} I (Stockholm: 1980), 307-, especially 308.
Same-gender double portraits also probably had roots in medieval and early Renaissance tomb sculpture. Tombs of scholars deriving from classical prototypes were made as early as the thirteenth century in the contexts of university settings such as Bologna or Padua. Professors were memorialized in their academic function, lecturing to their students as if to obtain admission to Paradise. One fourteenth-century example is the tomb of Rolandino dei Passageri in the Piazza San Domenico, Bologna, in which one side of the sarcophagus front contains an image of the teacher and students in profile in a classroom setting. In 1318, Master Rosa Da Parma depicted a similar scene on the double tomb of the famous anatomist Mondino dei Liuzzi and his brother Luccio. The artist Andrea Riccio in the early sixteenth century represented two famous physicians and teachers of Medicine, Marcantonio della Torre and his father Girolamo, in a double tomb in San Fermo in Verona (Fig. 5.2). The tomb is decorated with scenes from their lives, including an image of the teacher and students in a lecture scene all’antica. By the sixteenth century, more examples of double male tombs appeared, as in the depiction of the prominent visages of two men emerging from a marble slab of a funerary monument in Santa Maria dell’Anima in Rome (Fig. 5.3).

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9 Tomb of Rolandino dei Passageri, fourteenth century, Piazza S. Domenico, Bologna.
11 Andrea Riccio, *Double Tomb of Girolamo and Marcantonio della Torre*, early sixteenth century, San Fermo, Verona.
women in similar modes, as in the *uomini famosi* or *donne illustre* series and tomb sculpture, informed the double-portrait idiom.

Double portraits of the same gender not only commemorate the represented individuals, but also unite them in one scene, indicating, perhaps, a particular occasion for their portrayal, reminiscent of marriage double portraits. Same gender relationships presented in this single context demonstrate societal roles for a like-gendered pair. As we shall see, double portrayals for men are much more expansive in nature and quantity than their female counterparts. Male double portraits demonstrate a wider extent of connectivity, encompassing family, patrons, friends, and professional colleagues, while double portraits of women are primarily related by blood, marriage, or intended for erotic viewing by men.

**The Portrayals of Two Women**

As noted, images of two women portrayed together within one frame were less popular in comparison to double-figure compositions of two men, and usually recorded a family tie. Patricia Simons has noted that “women without male company were hardly
ever shown together in a single frame simply as friends rather than as sisters or conspiratorial seducers.”14 Vittore Carpaccio’s Two Venetian Ladies of c. 1510 is the most well-known and often reproduced image of two women (Fig. 5.4).15 Previously considered a double portrait of two courtesans, it actually represents two Venetian noblewomen resting on a terrace surrounded by a marble balustrade. Their dress and coiffure suggest attention to Venetian fashions. A strand of pearls adorns the lady who leans her arm against the balustrade and holds a kerchief in her right hand. A peacock, emblem of conjugal concord, and a parrot, sign of love, perch in front of her. A dove and a pomegranate, symbols of love and fertility, rest on the balustrade. Close to the viewer, another woman plays with a small white dog, a sign of fidelity. A Venetian coat of arms conspicuously placed on a vase in the picture is that of the Torella family, signaling that the two women are members. Patricia Fortini Brown has suggested that the painting represents a young bride, indicated by her pearl necklace, and an older woman, perhaps her mother or elder sister, surrounded by symbols of chastity, nobility, wealth, and marriage.16 Though so often considered a double portrait of two women, it was originally part of a larger painting that included a male hunting scene in a lagoon on the other side of the balustrade (Fig. 5.5).17 The composition does separate the genders and places the

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15 Vittore Carpaccio, Two Venetian Ladies, c. 1510, tempera and oil on panel, 94 x 64 cm, Museo Correr, Venice. Ruskin in the nineteenth century termed it The Courtesans.
16 Pearls were a well known symbol of purity, associated with the Virgin, and the most expensive of gens in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Also, see Patricia Fortini Brown, Private Lives in Renaissance Venice: Art, Architecture, and the Family (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2004), 91.
17 Vittore Carpaccio, Hunting on the Lagoon, c. 1490, oil and tempera on panel, 75.2 x 63.6 x 1.8 cm., J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles. The reverse of the Getty panel shows a trompe l’oeil image of letters and notes stuck behind a fictive ribbon tacked onto a board. Both panels show the marks of hinges which could suggest that they were originally a part of a door to a piece of furniture or even a shutter, meant to be viewed on both sides. See Yvonne Szafran, “Carpaccio’s Hunting on the Lagoon: A New Perspective,” The
two recognizable women of the Torella family close to the picture like a portrait (Fig. 5.6). While the men are shown actively engaged in the distance, the two women are sequestered on a terrace and unified by their familial connection.

Even though collective portraits of women were rare, images of more generalized women were common during the Renaissance, as in Paolo Fiammingo’s *Five Venetian Ladies* from c. 1590 (Fig. 5.7). An earlier example of a pair of women is Dürer’s drawing of two women from Venice and from Nuremberg (1496-97) meant to compare female physiognomy and fashion (Fig. 5.8). Genre scenes often focused on women, as in a pen drawing by the School of Arcimboldo from the late Cinquecento showing the two women carrying baskets (Fig. 5.9). Large-scale painted scenes show women together, often in pairs, in appropriate settings which were domesticated or garden-like, as in Benedetto Caliari’s *Giardino di Villa Veneta* of 1570-80 (Fig. 5.10). Likewise, Floriano Ferramola portrayed two young women, one nursing an infant in a giardino in a painting in the Casa della Corte Borgondio in Brescia (Fig. 5.11). Matteo Pagan’s large woodcut print of the *Procession of the Doge in Piazza San Marco* (c. 1555-60) also isolated women in

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18 Pauwels Franck, called Paolo Fiammingo, *Five Venetian Ladies*, c. 1590, oil on canvas, 164 x 261 cm, Private collection. It was first recorded in the Fugger Castle as *Venetianische Tracht* (Venetian costume) in 1598.  
19 Albrecht Dürer, *A Hausfrau from Nuremberg and a Gentildonna from Venice*, 1496-97, pen and dark brown ink, 24.7 x 16 cm, Städelisches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt.  
20 School of Giuseppe Arcimboldo, *Two Women with Baskets*, late sixteenth century, pen on prepared paper, 20.5 x 13.1 cm, Accademia, Bergamo [438].  
22 Floriano Ferramola, *Two Women in a Garden*, detail, Casa della Corte Borgondio, Brescia; Floriano Ferramola, *The Birth of Adonis*, c. 1512, Pinacoteca Tosio e Martinengo, Brescia. This was part of a painted mural in a pictorial cycle which decorated the Casa Borgondio della Corte in Brescia. Most of the stories were taken from Ovid’s *Metamorphosis*. See *Guida della Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengo di Brescia*, ed. by B. Passamani (Brescia: Grafo editore, 1988), 33.
pairs (Fig. 5.12). \(^{23}\) In a detail of a palace front, two women can be seen enclosed within a window casement, restricted to a domestic interior.

Though some pairs of women promote a balanced portrayal, visual hierarchy was sometimes created based on age or experience. In about 1502, Il Garofalo painted a series of frescoes for the Palazzo Costabili detto di Ludovico il Moro. \(^{24}\) In a ceiling mural of the sala del Tesoro, two women, perhaps Isabella and Beatrice d’Este, are arranged as a double-portrait sequence, tenderly nuzzling each other and peering over an Islamic carpet toward the viewer (Fig. 5.13). \(^{25}\) One woman retains a stronger presence, for she is set in front of the other with more costume revealed, suggesting her place as the elder.

Similarly, Federico Zuccari, who portrayed his family on the walls within his Florentine and Roman palazzi, drew a casual sketch of *Two Young Women*, probably his daughters, in about 1580 (Fig. 5.14). \(^{26}\) The two ladies glance toward each other in a seemingly balanced visual construction. Yet, the lady on the heraldic right eclipses the other by the projection of her left arm in front of the girl to her left.

Assemblages of elegant women as heroines in *Donne Illustre* cycles, probably influenced Renaissance portrayals of women as did allegorical representations. \(^{27}\) In Federico Zuccari’s *Two Virtues* from c. 1540 (Fig. 5.15), the female personifications are separated by a column, much like the heroines in Saluzzo, who are divided by trees with

\(^{23}\) Matteo Pagan, *Procession of the Doge in Piazza San Marco*, detail *Showing a Window Revealing Two Women*, c. 1555-60, woodcut from eight blocks, 39 x 417 cm (full image), Museo Correr, Venice.


\(^{25}\) Garofalo, *Two Women on a Balcony, possibly Portraits of Isabella and Beatrice d’Este*, detail, 1506, fresco, Palazzo Costabili, called Ludovico il Moro, Ferrara.


\(^{27}\) Federico Zuccari and workshop, *Two Female Virtues*, 1540, fresco, vault of the Loggia, Castelnuovo di Porto, Rocca Colonna.
Representations of heroines from previous centuries gradually shifted to more contemporary women of noble birth. A female kinship painting of 1595 by an unknown Italian artist, now in the Prado depicts Cristina of Lorena in full-length next to her mother and her grandmother (Fig. 5.17).

This sort of display was also reproduced in printed form, as in the *Imagines Domus Austriacae* (c. 1558-73) by Giovan Francesco Terzio (c. 1523-1591). Drawn by Terzio and subsequently engraved by Gasparo Uccello, the series of seventy-four historical and contemporary portraits illustrates the dynastic history of the Hapsburg line, making it accessible to a wider viewing audience. While depictions of two women in proper double-portrait format were still relatively rare, Terzio’s familial series includes images of full-length Hapsburg women in pairs (Fig. 5.18). In a similar vein, Sofonisba Anguissola’s *Double Portrait of the Two Infantas* of c. 1569-70 portrays two young girls of royal lineage within one format; one holds a parrot and the other rests her hand on a table where a small dog, a spaniel, is curled up on a red velvet chest (Fig. 5.19). The two girls both stare at the viewer in an attempt to capture his/her attention, instead of gazing toward each other. They resemble children, but have a formal bearing that makes them

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29 Italian artist, *Cristina of Lorena in a Row with Mother and Grandmother*, 1595, oil on panel, Prado Museum, Madrid.
31 Another such arrangement was placing Bianca Maria Sforza next to Maria von Burgund in Francesco Terzio’s *Austriae Gentis imaginem* ( Pars Prima-Par Quinta, 2nd edition), copper engraving by Gaspare Oselli after a drawing by Francesco Terzio, 510 x 355 mm, Innsbruck, 1558-1573, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna [+46.A.24]. See Milan Pelc, *Illustrium Imagines das Porträtbuch der Renaissance* (Leiden/Boston/Cologne: Brill, 2002), fig. 153.
32 Sofonisba Anguissola, *Portrait of the Infantas Isabella Clara Eugenia and Catalina Micaela*, c. 1569-70, oil on canvas, 52 9.16 x 57 1/16 in (133.5 x 145 cm), Royal Collection, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Buckingham Palace London. This double portrait is outside the confines of my study since it is of two children, but is a useful painted example of imbalance.
appear more like miniature adults. The image demonstrates a visual hierarchy, based on age. The older girl, placed on the heraldic dexter, is presented in a more active pose in her mastery over the bird she holds, while the younger sister, located near a small dog (a symbol of domesticity), is more passive.

Compositions of women assisted by maidservants were popular, as in renditions of the Biblical Judith or the historical Cleopatra (Fig. 5.20). Contemporary women with their maidservants were also painted, as in Lavinia Fontana’s *Self-Portrait at the Clavicord with a Servant* of 1577 (Fig. 5.21). Lavinia stares out at the viewer as she plays a musical instrument, while her maid dutifully brings her pages of music. In a similar fashion, two women illusionistically peer over a marble balustrade in Veronese’s *Portrait of Giustiniana Giustiniani with her Nurse* (c. 1560-61) in the Villa Maser (Fig. 5.22). They present a unified image by their stance in front of a doorway flanked by two twisting columns. Yet, Giustiniana’s direct engagement with the viewer differs from the nurse’s attentive gaze on Giustiniana, increasing her prominence. The nurse and maid are chaperones and become accoutrements to the main characters, also indicating class distinctions in the compositions.

By contrast, other images of noble women with their nurses are double portraits that present a more balanced relationship. Sofonisba Anguissola’s *Self-Portrait with Nurse at...*

33 Sanchez Coello also made his version of the *Double Portrait of the Infantas*, dated 1569-70. He portrayed the sisters younger and in a more stiff and formal Spanish fashion with an iconic-like quality. Neither look at the viewer.
a Clavichord of c. 1577 influenced Lavinia’s version, yet differs significantly (Fig. 5.22).37 Sofonisba’s nurse, who was considered a part of the Anguissola family, presumably had a strong bond with her young charge. The nurse was previously painted with warmth and sensitivity in the Chess Game (1555), in which Sofonisba shows a portrait of the older woman along with the Anguissola sisters at play.38 In the later double portrayal, Sofonisba assumes the prominent position at the spinet, but her nurse is not a mere accessory. Although she is indeed in shadow, the nurse is to the heraldic right and gains prominence by staring out toward the viewer. The double portrait contrasts with another image of Sofonisba with a presumed servant in a sketch from the 1540s, drawn in black chalk on bluish white paper.39 In this representation, the status of the characters is more clearly differentiated, as the young Sofonisba smiles at the viewer in the company of a diminished, older woman wearing a simple gown and shawl who assists the young girl. In the case of the Self-Portrait with Nurse at the Spinet, the nurse is not present merely to increase the status of Sofonisba, but is an engaged sitter. This image might have served to commemorate the artist’s nurse at the time of her death, which would explain the hazy dark quality around her face. Sofonisba, at the clavichord, could thus be honoring her beloved maid with a melody.

Perhaps one of the grandest displays of women, reminiscent of Donne Illustré cycles, is Moretto da Brescia’s saletta delle nobili dame or la saletta del Moretto (1545-46) of the then called Palazzo Salvadego (now Martinengo) in Brescia. Here, eight women rest in

38 Sofonisba Anguissola, The Chess Game, 1555, Museum Narodwe, Poznan, Poland.
39 Sofonisba Anguissola, Self-Portrait with Old Woman, c. 1545, black chalk on white/blue paper, 118 7/8 x 158 ¼ in. (302 x 402 cm), Gabinetto dei Disegni, Galleria degli Ufizi, Florence. Jacob Bos made a print after the drawing. See Jacob Bos after Sofonisba Anguissola, The Old Nurse Moving Toward a Smile at the Young Girl, 336 x 428 cm., Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
front of an expansive, scenic landscape of gardens and palaces, probably an idealized version of the family’s estate. The noble women were arranged in pairs as double portraits on each of the four walls (Figs. 5.24 and 5.25). The stemma of the Martinengo family, a crowned red eagle on gold ground, is located throughout the room. The women are sumptuously dressed, their expressions serene as they hold appropriately aristocratic attributes of fans, gloves, jeweled flohpelz, or small dogs (Figs. 5.26 and 5.27). They are shown half-length, resting on ledges that are covered by oriental carpets. Decorative arches adorned with festoons and garlands separate each pair. If each wall in the small room is considered a single unit, this display of illustrious women of the Casato-Martinengo family is perhaps the grandest cycle of large-scale female double portraits of the Renaissance. Their balanced placement as pendants strengthens their familial connection. Christiane Klapisch-Zuber has shown that gatherings of women, theoretically the most disenfranchised members of the population, were encouraged by men to foster

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40 Moretto da Brescia, Painted Room with Eight Female Figures in Front of a Grand Panorama, 1545-46, mixed media (fresco, oil, and tempera), Palazzo Martinengo, then Salvadego, Brescia. The repainting of the interior of the palazzo was initiated by Gerolamo Martinengo di Padernello on the occasion of his marriage to Eleonora Gonzaga, of the duchy of Sabboineta in 1543. A letter conserved in a manuscript in the Biblioteca civica of Treviso (Cod. 530. I, cc. 136 B-140A) described the room as “li aparati, feste et trionphi” organized on the occasion of the wedding and described the bride as “Bianca, belle et gratiata coi capelli bellissimi che paiono filo d’oro.” In one of the letters written by a Contarini to the count Martinengo, he described the room as “de le quai camere, una ve ne è, cioè quella di megio, che è picola, ma belissima per le piture varie belissime che vi sono; e tra le alter vi sono retrate dal naturale 6 gentildone bresane belle […]” After 1543, the fourth pair was added to the room of six women, as mentioned in a letter by Gerolamo Contarini. Stylistically, the two women on the south wall are portrayed with less richness in front of a landscape of farmhouses. It has been noted that the room was painted by more than one hand. See Fausto Lechi, Le dimore bresciane in cinque secoli di storia (Brescia: Edizioni di storia bresciana, c. 1974), IV, 244-45 and Pier Virgilio Begni Redona, Alessandro Bonvicino il Moretto da Brescia (Brescia: Editrice La Scuola, 1988), 450-456, Cat. 117.

41 The portraits on the walls in the room probably represent the women of the Casato-Martinengo family: Ludovica Torelli di Guastalla, second wife of Antonio Martinengo, three sisters of Girolamo Martinengo (Pellegrina, Zemira and Rizzarda), Elenora Gonzaga, wife of Girolamo Martinengo, the sister of the Giulia, countess of Fondi, and Giulia Ganassoni that married Antonio III Martinengo in 1537.
lineal and political ties. In the *Saletta di Moretto*, no woman is made more prominent than another, for the greater goal was to project family unity.

The balanced portrayal of pairs of women from the Casato-Martinengo household can be compared to a similar, yet more exacting and strange double portrait, the *Cholmondeley Sisters* (1600-10) by an unknown British artist (Fig. 5.28). The image, which retains an almost abstract appearance due to its linearity, shows two English women attired in elaborate formal dresses with identical coiffures, postures, and fixed stares. The two women rest in bed next to each other, their indistinguishability heightened by the identical babies they hold, each swaddled in a red blanket. In such cases, the women are not presented as individuals so much as emblems of their family.

Another category of images showing women in pairs was not aristocratic but rather of an erotic nature. Variations on a sensual image of two women, specifically two sisters, are known from several versions from the Fontainebleau school. In each, Gabrielle d'Estrees (1571-1599), the French mistress of King Henry IV of France, sits nude in her bath with a woman presumed to be her sister (c. 1594) (Fig. 5.29). A red curtain has been drawn back as if to reveal the two nude women intimately. The sisters are seemingly balanced, for they show the same amount of bare skin and are both frontally placed, exposing three-quarters of their body with the remainder behind a partition on which each rests her outside arm. However, the sister on the proper right takes on a more active role by pinching the right nipple of Gabrielle, who supposedly

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43 British artist, *The Cholmondeley Sisters*, 1600-10, oil on panel, 35 x 67 in. It was owned by the Cholmondeley family of Cheshire.
45 School of Fontainebleau, *Double Portrait of Gabrielle d'Estrees and Her Sister*, c. 1594, Louvre, Paris.
holds out Henry’s coronation ring. In another version now at the Uffizi in Florence, a red
curtain is once again drawn back to reveal the intimate scene, but the positioning of the
two women is slightly different (Fig. 5.30). They still fix their gaze on the viewer, but,
one turns her back to the onlooker and reveals more of her nude body. They both reach
out to grasp the other’s hand, and Gabrielle places a ring on her sister’s finger. A later
copy of this type seems to be a variant of the picture in Florence (Fig. 5.31). The woman
on the proper right has her back to the viewer, but looks over her shoulder to attract
attention. Now, however, both sisters are shown clothed, and a nursemaid in the
background looks after a child. In all versions, sensuality is a key element, as the women
become accessible to the onlooker, who is as an acknowledged and perhaps welcomed
voyeur.

The eroticism that characterizes the images from the School of Fontainebleau
extends to allegorical female portraits in a small painting on copper by Jacopo Zucchi
(1540-1596), two contemporary women in the guise of two of the three graces are
portrayed in a distinctly sensual manner (Fig. 5.32). The Three Graces was most likely part
of a decoration produced by Jacopo Zucchi when he became the resident artist to the
Medici court in Rome in the 1570s, under the direction of Cardinal (later Duke)
Ferdinando de’Medici (1549-1609). Around 1576 it is known that Zucchi decorated the

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46 School of Fontainebleau, Two Woman Bathing, late sixteenth century, oil on panel, 129 x 97 cm, Uffizi, Florence.
47 School of Fontainebleau, Two Woman Bathing, variant, late sixteenth century, oil on panel, 101 cm x 131
cm, location unknown, once Paul Wunderlich collection. See London, Sotheby’s, February 7, 2005, lot 380. See also Style of Francois Clouet, Portrait of a Woman, G. D’Estre, 1600, oil on panel, 25.40 x 17.78 cm, in
48 Jacopo Zucchi, The Three Graces (Portraits of Roman Beauties—Chelia Farnese and Bianca Capello), c. 1576, oil on
copper, 26 x 19.5 cm (10.25 x 7.75 in), inscribed Naturae Bona and Cvnota vides on the vases (lower left and
lower right), Private Collection, Germany. It was in the possession of Galerie Lingenauber (Düsseldorf) as
of 2003. I thank Eckhard Lingenauber for showing me this painting. Though the inscription suggests
allegories, the women are identifiable.
49 Jacopo Zucchi assisted in Vasari’s studio and is known for his hand in the decoration of the Palazzo
Vecchio in Florence. He traveled with Vasari to Rome in 1567 and worked in the Vatican for a number of
rooms in the Medici villa, such as one vault illustrating *Eight Winds*.\(^{50}\) The artist also painted the walls and ceiling in another room, the studio of Ferdinando de'Medici, where he inserted portraits into the allegorical imagery (Fig. 5.33), in an approach similar to the *Three Graces*.\(^{51}\)

Jacopo Zucchi’s *Three Graces* is small in size, suggesting a private viewing audience. It was originally inset into a desk, called the *studiolo di noce*, belonging to Ferdinand de’ Medici and placed in his allegorically-filled studio within his Roman palazzo.\(^{52}\) Giovanni Baglione, Zucchi’s seventeenth-century biographer, mentioned a copper *quadretto* of the years, eventually making Rome his permanent home in 1572. For a monograph on the artist, see Edmund Pillsbury, *Jacopo Zucchi: His Life and Works*, PhD diss., University of London, 1973.

\(^{50}\) Ferdinand acquired land and a small villa from Cardinal Ricci in Rome, which became the Palazzo Firenze. Jacopo Zucchi decorated rooms in both the Villa Medici and the Palazzo di Firenze, the two principal residences of the cardinal in Rome.

\(^{51}\) Jacopo Zucchi, *Allegorical Scene*, 1574, Palazzo di Firenze, Rome. The *studiolo di noce* was first intended to be placed in one of the remodeled rooms of the Palazzo di Firenze, but its earliest recorded existence is in the Cardinal’s bedroom in his villa on the Pincian Hill where it is described in the inventories of both 1598 and 1680. Pillsbury believed that the *studiolo di noce* might have been transferred to the Villa Medici in the late seventies when the construction of Ferdinand’s bedroom was near completion. See Edmund Pillsbury, “The Cabinet Paintings of Jacopo Zucchi: Their Meanings and Functions,” *Monuments et Mémoires* (Fondation Eugène Piot), tome 63 (1980), doc. 8, 190, fn. 8.

\(^{52}\) It was commissioned by Ferdinand in 1575. The desk is noted in one of the account books of the Guradaroba Medicea. Zucchi received nine copper panels for the decoration of a *studiolo* around February 6, 1575. It described the desk’s iconographical scheme at some length: it contained thirty-three drawers and twenty-four gilt bronze statuettes, as well as nine painted doors, or *sportelli*. (Docs. 5-12). The central panel represented a gathering of gods of Olympus, actually the *Collegi dei dei*, the smaller panels to either side depicted the *Three Graces* and *Apollo* and *Mercury*. (Doc. 8) The statuettes placed over the frontispiece crowning the chest showed Jupiter, with his eagle and thunderbolts, flanked by reclining figures of Day and Night and putti with garlands. Niches round the chest displayed nineteen small bronzes, identified by painted cartouches, of the Nine Muses, Apollo, Mercury, Helen, Minerva, Neptune, Bacchus, Pluto, Perseus, Prosperpina, and Hercules. Other parts of the secretary received brass and gilt bronze garlands and masks, rosettes, herms, capitals, harpies, and scrolls. Partially painted to imitate ebony wood and partially gilt with arabesques, the structure rested on a carved wooden base which was gilt and possessed three drawers and a *mensola* with a double balustrade. From the top of the *studiolo* rose an iron rod supporting a large curtain. In addition, the upper part of the desk possessed a carrying case sheathed in red leather, its dimensions 43 in. across by 26 in. high and 20 in. deep (105 x 63 x 49 cm) (Docs. 9-10), establish the relative scale of the cabinet.” The term *studiolo* does not refer to a small study but rather a chest, writing table, or other piece of furniture. The term *scrittoio* was used to indicate a small chamber. See Raffaello Borghini, *Il Riposo* (Florence: 1584), 610-611, 635-36; E. Pillsbury, “The Cabinet Paintings of Jacopo Zucchi: Their Meanings and Functions,” *Monuments et Mémoires* (Fondation Eugène Piot), tome 63 (1980), Doc. 8, 188-190 and 223-24; and Raffaello Borghini, *Il Riposo*, ed. and trans. by Sandy Ellis (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 366, fn. 95.
Three Graces which decorated a studiolo in the Villa Medici. The subject of the three graces typically portrays the beautiful handmaidens of Aphrodite: Aglaia (“Shining”), Euphorosyne (“Happiness”), and Thaleia (“Blossom”). In Zucchi’s painting, they are depicted in the traditional fashion: two facing the viewer, nude, with their limbs entwined and bodies overlapping. Two women on the outer rim of the triad face the spectator, while the central figure turns her back with her head in profile. They are flanked by a flowering pot, representing beauty, on the left, and a flaming one, indicating love, on the right. The two other women hold an apple and grapes, both symbols of desire. Edgar Wind in his discussion of ancient myths believed that the triad of Graces (Pulchritudo, Amor, and Voluptas [Chastity, Love, and Beauty]) as a single entity, is in a threefold act of giving, receiving, and returning, for as love is aroused by beauty, it ignites desire.

Zucchi’s depiction similarly portrays the threesome for the central Grace, Amor, who is represented from the back, looks toward Voluptas on her right, who stretches out her arm in Amor’s direction. Voluptas’ left hand rests, as if for support, on the shoulder of Pulchritudo, from whom she turns away.

In the Renaissance, the subject of the Three Graces was popular for paintings, as in the compositions by Botticelli and Raphael. The subject was also widely diffused in print and medallion media. Marcantonio Raimondi, in a well-known example, made an engraving (c. 1517) after Raphael’s painted version of the Three Graces (Fig. 5.34). Several Renaissance medals included the Three Graces on their versos, such as the Medal of Pico

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55 See Sandro Botticelli, Primavera, c. 1482, tempera on panel, 203 x 314 cm, Uffizi, Florence, detail of Three Graces and Raphael, Three Graces, c. 1503-04, oil on panel, Condé Museum, Chantilly, France.
56 Marcantonio Raimondi, after Raphael, Three Graces, c. 1517, engraving.
della Mirandola of c. 1486 and Niccoló Fiorentino’s Medal of Giovanni degli Albizzi of c. 1486-90 (Fig. 5.35). Contemporary images of three women in the sixteenth century recall the theme of the Three Graces, as in Allegorical Portrait of a Woman Choosing Between Virtue and Vice (c. 1520-25) attributed to Giovanni Cariani and The Three Sisters attributed to Palma il Vecchio (Figs. 5.36 and 5.37).

Jacopo Zucchi also produced another version of the Three Graces in which their faces are generalized, their bodies sinuous, and seemingly less posed, as if in the act of dancing in a circle (Fig. 5.38). However, the three women in Jacopo Zucchi’s Three Graces for Ferdinand’s studiolo di noce appear less as personifications of the handmaidens to Venus and more staged, as if posing for their portraits. The two outer graces do not avert their eyes, but focus their gaze on the viewer. Appropriately, in this intimate painting for the eyes of Ferdinand alone, these two graces are portraits of his lovers, Clelia Farnese, daughter of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, and Bianca Capello (Fig. 5.39). The facial features of the woman on the right are quite close to those of a Portrait of Clelia Farnese of c. 1570 by Zucchi’s contemporary, Scipione Pulzone, while the visage of the Grace on the left is similar to Bianca Capello’s portrayal by the same artist of around the

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57 In Marsilio Ficino’s De Amore, he traced the circle of divine love through three phases. The image of the Three Graces on Pico’s medal corresponds to Ficino’s concept that “god governs things by threes” introduced with the triad of Pulchritudo-Amor-Voluptas. The image on the medal is exactly how Zucchi later would depict them. See G. Hill, A Corpus of Italian Medals, Cat. 998; and E. Wind, Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance, 43.

58 Attributed to Giovanni Cariani, Woman Choosing between Vice and Virtue, c. 1520-25, oil on canvas, 88 x 123 cm, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemaldegalerie, Dresden; and Attributed to Palma il Vecchio, The Three Sisters, sixteenth century, location unknown.

59 This version of the Three Graces in the ex-Czernin collection was ruled out by Pillsbury as a panel for the studiolo based on iconographic reasons, but most notable for the fact that the image was painted on wood and not copper, datable to the end of the following decade. See Edmund Pillsbury, “The Cabinet Pictures of Jacopo Zucchi: Their Meanings and Functions,” Monuments et Mémoires, tome 63 (1980), 190. Zucchi also embedded the Three Graces with Venus and Bacchus in the left foreground of the composition, Hercules Musagie and Olympian Gods, 1577, oil on copper, 50 x 39 cm, Uffizi, Florence.

60 It is known from the 1582 Ricordi of Allessandro Allori that the painter made mention of a portrait of Bianca destined for Cardinal Ferdinando. See K. Langedijk, Portraits of the Medici I, 314, Cat. 12, no. 4. Both of his mistresses were subsequently married before Ferdinando succeeded to the throne as Grand Duke Ferdinand I of Tuscany and his matrimonies to Christine of Lorraine in 1589. Clelia and Bianca both mysteriously died on the same day.
same time (Figs. 5.40 and 5.41). Clelia’s somewhat scandalous relationship to Ferdinand was publicly acknowledged in 1585. Even some of the female figures imbedded within Zucchi’s allegorical scenes of Ferdinand’s studio can be identified as portraits of his mistresses (see Fig. 5.33). Jacopo Zucchi clearly admired the beauty of Clelia Farnese, for her visage was inserted into a number of religious and mythological works by him during this period: St. Helen in The Exaltation of the Cross (c. 1570) and Venus in the small cabinet picture of the Death of Adonis (c. 1577) (see Figs. 5.42 and 5.43).

The studiolo di noce contained many small oil on copper plates painted with allegorical or mythological subjects. Edmund Pillsbury has suggested that one such copper panel displaying the Assembly of Gods (1575-76) was the central sportello of the dismembered desk. Another oil on copper painting by Zucchi, possibly associated with the same studiolo di noce, is the Coral Fishers, known in three versions dating from the 1570s (Fig. 5.44). Baglione mentioned that this composition was originally made to ornament a piece of furniture. In the foreground of the painting rests a group of lightly clad women in a semicircle. Baglione also wrote that it contained portraits of members of

63 Pillsbury has also mentioned the portraits within the profane images in Ferdinand’s studio. See E. Pillsbury, “The Cabinet Pictures of Jacopo Zucchi: Their Meanings and Functions,” Monuments et Memoires, tome 63 (1980), 204.
64 Jacopo Zucchi, The Exaltation of the Cross, oil on canvas, 297 x 131 cm, Sacristy, Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome and Jacopo Zucchi, Death of Adonis, c. 1577, oil on copper, 50 x 39 cm, Casa Vasari, Arezzo, on loan from the Uffizi, Florence. See E. Pillsbury, “Jacopo Zucchi in S. Spirito in Sassia,” Burlington Magazine CXVI (August 1974), 434-44.
65 Jacopo Zucchi, Assembly of the Gods, 1575-6, oil on copper, 31 x 22 cm, formerly Pr.-Dr. Hans Lorenz Collection, Vienna. In the sales catalogue, Vienna, Dorotheum, June 3-5, 1935, Cat. 177, pl. 12. It is known that it was in the Medici collection and hung in the Uffizi from 1782-96. See E. Pillsbury, “The Cabinet Pictures of Jacopo Zucchi: Their Meanings and Functions,” Monuments et Memoires, tome 63 (1980), 192-193.
66 They are all identical in size, support, and signed: oil on copper, 55 x 45 cm, Galleria Borghese, Rome [292]; oil on copper, 52 x 43 cm, State Picture Gallery, Lwow, Russia; oil on copper, 52 x 43 cm, former collection of Romualdo Borrietti, Milan.
contemporary Roman society, and discussed the forefront group, in particular, as ritratti di varie Dame Romane di quei tempi assai belle e degne. The women reside over a grand display of pearls and coral, accompanied by a sea-god with coral issuing from his head. The versions in Milan and Rome both show a Moorish man seated centrally in the composition next to the group of women (Fig. 5.45). The version in Russia, however, has a slightly different cast of characters, perhaps indicating that it was the first of the three variants to be painted, and made expressly for Ferdinando’s studiolo (Fig. 5.46). In place of the black moor is a fair-skinned, middle-aged man bearing a bow and arrow while holding a stick of coral and some pearls, and staring directly at the viewer. It has been suggested that the physiognomy of this character could be that of Ferdinando de’ Medici himself (Fig. 5.47). The woman to his left also appears to be a portrait of Clelia Farnese placed frontally in the central position of the image. The inclusion of Ferdinando’s image along with portraits of his mistresses would seem perfectly appropriate within this private context of a composite desk of painted copper panels for his own use.

Zucchi’s contemporary Scipione Pulzone subsequently executed a version of Zucchi’s Three Graces dated 1580 (Fig. 5.48). The Graces’ poses in the painting are quite similar to those in the original, but the faces have become more generalized, thus deviating from the initial intent of Zucchi’s painting, that of displaying the mistresses of Ferdinand for his own enjoyment. Thus Jacopo Zucchi’s Three Graces can be added to the brief list of double portraits of two women. Though it includes three women, the two graces facing forward together constitute a double portrait in allegorical guise. Their

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68 An elaborate ebony studiolo done by Buontalenti for Francesco de’ Medici in the 1560s is also mentioned by Baglione as having contained “…assai ritratti della più belle gentildonne fiorentine,” See R. Borghini, Il Riposo (Florence: 1584), 611; and Edmund Pillsbury, “The Cabinet Pictures of Jacopo Zucchi: Their Meanings and Functions,” 213-14.
69 Scipione Pulzone, Three Graces, after Zucchi’s version, c. 1580, oil on canvas, Private Collection, Milan.
connection is not one of lineage, but instead one that was forged by their common link to a third party, that of their male lover, Ferdinando de’ Medici.

Hierarchical importance of the women portrayed within double portraits is dependent on the motivation for their representation. If their display geared toward the larger purpose of fostering familial ties, as in the examples by Terzio or Moretto, the construction of balanced representations was more beneficial. Nonetheless, signs, such as figural placement or objects embedded within the image, could denote personalities, age differences, or relative prestige. It is difficult to determine these issues with such a small quorum of female double portraits. Regardless, it is clear from extant double portraits that there was a range of representational possibilities, for they ranged in size from small-to full-scale portraits, and from more formal treatments to informal ones, and from sensual to allegorical depictions. Such exclusively female works could fit within the category of art objects oriented toward female companionship in regard to space and function, much like deschi di parto, which addressed and were made exclusively for women.

An analogous, textual expression of female identity is provided by Boccaccio’s Lady Fiammetta (c. 1330), in which the lady speaks in the first person as narrator and protagonist for an audience of women alone and, particularly, a female patron. However, male participation is still apparent, for the author of Lady Fiammetta, and the artists of deschi di parto and the double portraits mentioned above, were men.

**The Doubling of Men**

**Establishing Connections**

Double portraits of men, unlike those of women, do more than connect the sitters primarily by means of a familial tie. The social relationships sanctioned for men
within Italian society were multifaceted, containing a vast network of interests, kinship
ties, and reciprocal obligations. Unlike the conventions imposed on formal marriage
portraits, double portrayals of two men were less constrained and perhaps more personal,
establishing relations based not only on bloodline, but also on mutual interests and
differences in patronage. The friendship portrait was a growing genre in the Renaissance,
connected to the humanistic concept of amicizia. Friendship in these circles was
considered the “highest form of human relationships, one in which the friends became
one another’s ‘other selves.’” Much has been written about the use of the double
portrait to encapsulate the notion of friendship between two men, but no previous
examination has adequately addressed the variety of these images. In the following
discussion, I assess the themes and conventions of the double portrait of two men and
especially its representation of friendship, which during the Renaissance was a cult of
particular appeal.

**Renaissance Writings on Amicizia**

The Renaissance witnessed the production of a vast amount of textual
information on friendship. Marsilio Ficino, in his *Epistolarium* (1491), discussed an
amiable God who sustained bonds among men by entering into and endowing them with
an ideal perfection. Ficino also believed in the cult of synastry, according to which the

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70 See Antonio Anzilotti, *La crisi costituzionale della Repubblica fiorentina* (Florence: 1912), 3; and Ronald

71 Lankheit and Keller both agreed that the birth of this portrait genre, the *Freundschaftsbild*, was connected
to that of literary friendship and Humanism. Friendship portraits display two persons with similar attributes
and common interests. Keller further tied it to the profane climate at the beginning of the first humanism.
See K. Lankheit, “Chapter Two: Das humanistische Freundschaftsbild,” *Das Freundschaftsbild der Romanik*
(Heidelberg: 1952), esp. 30; and Harald Keller, “Entstehung und Blütezeit des Freundschaftsbildes” in
*Essays in the History of Art presented to Rudolf Wittkower on his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (London: Phaidon Press Ltd,
1967), II, 161-174. See also B. Aikema, “Il Quadro Umanistico di Amicizia nel Veneto (1460-1520).”

72 See David R. Smith, “Review of Joanna Woods-Marsden, Renaissance Self-Portraiture,” *Art Bulletin* 83, no. 2
(June 2001), 356. This concept is taken from Cicero’s *Epistolae familiares* (c. 1325-1366). He wrote a second
collection of letters in 1361, called *Sentiles.*
concord between two friends was ascribed to a particular star. His concept was made official with his establishment of an Academy in Florence. Baldassare Castiglione, in his Book of the Courtier (1528), discussed the exclusiveness of friendship. Petrarch’s writings, which were widely read in the sixteenth century, probably helped to spur the production of the friendship portrait. In discussing the nature of friendship in a Senile, Petrarch discussed it as a deep and true bond, writing: “il poeta aveva aggiunto poi di cercare nell’amicizia solo fede sincera.”

Among the many writings on friendship, Cicero’s De Amicitia was particularly popular in the Renaissance. Another work, the Epistolae familiares, was printed in 1494 in

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73 Marsilio Ficino also believed that divine love could be pictured as the supreme expression of friendship, through which all human friendships were divinely secured. He stated that “there are not only two friends, but necessary always three, two of them men and one God.” See Marsilio Ficino, Opera Omnia (Florence: 1491; Venice 1516; Basel 1576; Reprint Turin: 1959), 634. See also Edgar Wind, Pagan Mysteries, 64-66; F. Boll, “Synastria,” in Socrates V (1917), 458; and F. Boll and C. Bezold, Sternglaube und Sterndeutung (1926), 113. The German term is Sternenfreundschaft. Ficino’s student, Pico della Mirandola, did not believe in the “ultimate peace in God” and the “all-embracing friendship” (unanimis amicitia) as stated in his De hominis dignitate, ed. by E. Garin (Pordenone: Edizione Studio Tesi Collezione Filo di Perle, 1994), 118. In St. Augustine’s Confessiones (Book IV, 8, 9.14), he discussed the nature of friendship and the dangers in false friendships. In 1 Samuel 20 of the Bible, it promoted the male friendship between David and Jonathan (son of Saul). Jonathan said to David, “Whatever you want me to do, I’ll do for you.” [1 Samuel 20:4] Jonathan subsequently made a covenant with the house of David and David reaffirmed his oath “out of love for him, because he loved him as he loved himself.” [1 Samuel 20:16] This statement is a common belief by the Renaissance in which two friends are thought to be one in the same. The passage ends with them declaring unending friendship as they part ways, Jonathan said to David, “Go in peace, for we have sworn friendship with each other in the name of the LORD, saying ‘the LORD is witness between you and me, and between your descendents and my descendents forever.’” [1 Samuel 20:42]

74 He wrote: “…without this perfect friendship men would be the unhappiest of all creatures; and because some profane persons sully the sacred name of friendship, this does not mean that we should uproot it from our souls and because of the faults of the wicked deprive the good of so much happiness.” A successful friend would be “courteous, compassionate, generous, and affable as a companion, lively and diligent in serving and forwarding the advantage and honour of his friends.” See Baldassare Castiglione, The Book of the Courtier, bk. 2, trans. by George Bull (Baltimore: Penguin, 1967), 137-139. On this subject, see also Ronald F.E. Weissman, “The Importance of Being Ambiguous: Social Relations, Individualism and Identity in Renaissance Florence,” in Urban Life in the Renaissance, ed. by Susan Zimmerman and Ronald F.E. Weissman (Newark, Del: University of Delaware Press, 1989), 271-75, 279.

75 Carlo del Bravo has suggested an association between his written works and portraiture, believing that some painted portraits of the Cinquecento presented the identity of the painter’s receiver in subtle means as in the use of gloves, kerchiefs, armor, an empty seat (empty room), the gesture or turned look to outside the picture plane, or a letter sent/received, an open book, or taking a courageous pose. All of these themes were considered for portraits derived from Petrarch. See Carlo del Bravo, “Ritratti petrarcheschi,” in Pontormo e Rosso: atti del Convegno di Empoli a Volterra: progetto Appiani di Piombino, Roberto P. Ciardi and Antonio Natali, eds. (Venice: Marsilio, 1996), 113-115.

76 See Petrarch Familiares, I, vi, 10, 5 [2, p. 135]. He even commented that he “rifuggiva la folla ma non gli amici” See Petrarch, De vita solitaria, ed. by M. Noce (Milan: 1992), 104-105.
Venice and included a woodcut illustration of Cicero enthroned at center, dictating to scribes who write at desks near him. This illustration shows a link between his writings and portraiture, for on the scribes’ tables, profiled portrait-like heads face one another as decorative insertions within frames (Fig. 5.49).77 De Amicitia can also be linked to Renaissance portraiture, specifically male double portraits. In Jacopo Pontormo’s Portrait of Two Men with a Letter (c. 1522-24), two Venetian gentlemen are united in a single frame, as one holds up a letter (Fig. 5.50).78 Though the identification of the two men is still uncertain, some clue is provided by Vasari who, in his Life of Pontormo, wrote, “ritrasse in uno stesso quadro due suoi amicissimi: l’uno fu il genero di Becuccio Bicchieraio, ed un altro, del quale parimente non so il nome.”79 Luciano Berti has suggested that this double portrait was made when Becuccio Bicchieraio entered L’Arte dei Medici e Speziali, the painter’s guild, while Philippe Costamagna argued that it represented two young friends of Pontormo and was painted at the time of their retreat to Galuzzo when the plague had invaded Florence.80

This double portrait commemorates friendship as well as demonstrates an epistolary exchange, for the letter on the table is a fragment taken from De Amicitia by Cicero. The two subjects, both dressed in dark somber garb, are interrupted by the

77 Cicerone e Simone da Milano, printed in Cicerone, Epistolae familiares, Venice, 1494, woodcut.
78 Jacopo Pontormo, Portrait of Two Men with a Letter, c. 1522-24, oil on panel, 88.2 x 68 cm, Conte Vittorio Cini Collection, Venice [V.C. 6733]. The origin of this double portrait is unknown. It is listed as lot 68 in the inventory of Marchese Giovan Luca Orazio Pucci at the time of his death. It was called “un quadro rappresentante Calvino e Lutero del Pontormo, discepolo d’Andrea del Sarto con ornamento alla salvadoro dorato.” See Corti, “Two Picture Collections in 18th century Florence,” Burlington Magazine CXXIV (1982), 504. It was also once in the collection of Paolo Guicciardini in Florence until 1960. There is a preparatory red chalk drawing (recto and verso), measuring 247 x 148 cm, for this painting in the Uffizi [449F]. See Janet Cox-Rearick, The Drawings of Pontormo: A Catalogue Raisonné with Notes on the Paintings (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1981), I, 208, Cat. 193, II, figs. 182, 184.
79 See Giorgio Vasari, Life of Pontormo in Le Opere di Giorgio Vasari, VI, 260.
80 It is believed to have been influenced by Raphael’s Double Portrait of Navagero and Beazzano in the Galleria Doria Pamphilj, Rome and Giorgione’s Double Portrait of Giovanni Borgherini and his teacher in the National Gallery, Washington DC. See Luciano Berti, L’Opera completa del Pontormo (Milan: Rizzoli Editore, 1973), 97, Cat. 74, repro. and Philippe Costamagna, Pontormo (Milan: Electra, 1994), 166-68, Cat. 40.
spectator, as the man on the proper right turns and points to the document. With its reference to Cicero, the letter ties the pair to Humanist circles. A similar portrayal is the well-known Portraits of Erasmus and Gillis by Quentin Metsys (Fig. 5.51). Erasmus and Gillis commissioned their famous diptych in May 1517 as a gift for Thomas More. Erasmus, in his portrait, is cloaked in black as he writes his Paraphrase on the Epistle to the Romans. In the other panel, Gillis looks in the direction of Erasmus as he rests his right hand on Erasmus’ book, Antibarbarorum Liber, and holds a letter from Thomas More in his left. This diptych was originally a single panel, for the men rest at two ends of the same table while two shelves of books on the back wall run continuously from one panel to the other, thereby sharing a unified interior space.

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81 Quentin Metsys, Diptych Portraits of Erasmus and Pieter Gillis, c. 1517, oil on panel, 58.4 x 46 cm; 59 x 46 cm, Galleria Nazionale d’Arte Antica, Palazzo Barberini, Rome; Koninklijk Museum, Antwerp, respectively [probably replicas]. The originals could be the following: Erasmus, oil on panel, 50.3 x 45 cm (Hampton Court, England [331]); Gillis, oil on panel, 74.6 x 52.2 cm (Lord Radnor collection, Longford Castle). The originals were reported to have been in the collection of King Charles I. See Larry Silver, The Paintings of Quinten Matsys (Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1984), 235-236, Cat. 57.

82 When Erasmus lived in England for five years, he resided part of the time in Thomas More’s house. Subsequently he lived in the house of his friend Petrus Aegidius in Antwerp. In the summer of 1516, he went back to England for a short stay. Erasmus told More of the project for the portrait and was to be a gift for him. Work on it, he wrote, was suspended for some days because his doctor had given him some pills to purify his bile, and the painter, Quentin Matsys, complained that he no longer looked the same. Six weeks later More impatiently awaited the arrival of the painting “which will bring me your likeness and that of Peter,” and at the end of the first week in September it was dispatched. “I am sending you the portrait,” writes Erasmus, “in order that we may be always with you, even when death shall have annihilated us.” When he received the picture, More wrote to Erasmus: “I cannot tell you how proud I am to think that by this signal proof you have declared that there is no one by whom you are more loved than me.” Thanks to the portrait, the memory of Erasmus is kindled in his heart every hour of every day. To Aegidius he sent a poem, comparing the friendship that bound the donors to the bond between Castor and Pollux, and praising the painter Metsys, who could perpetuate the features of men from antiquity known only in small numbers. “If the terrible Mars does not triumph over Minerva,” the poem ends, “what price will posterity not set upon this painting.” For more information on this diptych, see John Pope Hennessy, Portrait in the Renaissance, 96; H. Hymans, “Quinten Metsys et son portrait d’Erasme” in Bulletin des Commissaires Royaux d’Art et d’Archeologie, XVI (1877), 615-44; A. Gerlo, “Erasmus en Quinten Mesijns,” in Revue belge d’archeologie et d’histoire de l’art, XIV (1944), 33-45; G. Marlier, Erasme et la peinture flamande de son temps (Damme: 1954), 71-111; Lorne Campbell, Margret Mann Phillips, Hubertus Schulte Herbrüggen, and J.B. Trapp, “Quinten Matsys, Desiderius Erasmus, Pieter Gillis and Thomas More,” Burlington Magazine CXX, no. 908 (November 1978), 716-726; and Larry Silver, The Paintings of Quinten Matsys, 235-236, Cat. 57.

83 Quentin Metsys, Petrus Aegidius, oil on panel, 73.8 x 55.2 cm, Earl of Radnor, Longford Castle and Quentin Metsys, Erasmus, oil on panel, 59 x 46.5 cm, Galleria Nazionale d’Arte Antica, Palazzo Barberini, Rome. See J. Pope Hennessy, The Portrait in the Renaissance, 96.
The literary nature of Humanism also created an atmosphere for the circulation of contemporary textual materials, sometimes based on antique sources and including editions of classical friendship, texts, letters, and *alba amicorum.*

Johan Huizinga, in *The Waning of the Middle Ages,* discussed the emergence outside the universities of male circles who held common intellectual or aesthetic interests. One typical sixteenth-century example was an informal group that met regularly in Venice to hold scientific, literary, and philosophical discussions in an attempt to “understand the truth.” The epistolary appeal among scholars is further proven by their interest not only in circulating, but also in publishing their letters. Letter writing was still considered a serious branch of literature in the Renaissance. Much like Cicero, medieval and Renaissance writers Petrarch, Erasmus, and Lipsius all published their letters. Petrarch wrote that “Fa’ si—scrive a un amico—che con assiduo scambio di lettere, possa sempre vederti.”

The ties that bound literary and artistic communities are visualized in male double portraits through displays of letters and books within their compositions.

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84 See Kate Bomford, *The Visual Representation of Friendship amongst Humanists in the Southern Netherlands c. 1560-1630,* PhD diss., Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 2000, I & II. In her dissertation she connected humanism, friendship, and Dutch art of the early seventeenth century.

85 Universities and academies united learned men of diverse origins. They kept in touch with each other even after leaving the university setting. They remained connected through an international correspondence network, often by writing letters in Latin. These missives contained news, opinions, and advice. The larger international community of Letters and Culture provided social and spiritual support during a period when bourgeois republics were disappearing and Italian universities were on the decline. See Johan Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages: A Study of the forms of life, thought, and art in France and the Netherlands in the XIVth and XVth centuries* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1954), 11-12.

86 See Petrarch, *Familiares,* 2, 6, 10. He also wrote that “Mi è stato dolce parlare con te, e con desiderio. Quasi di proposito, ho prolungato questo nostro colloquio. Mi ha riportato dinanzi il tuo volto attraverso tante terre e tanti mari, e mi ha restituito la tua presenza fino al tramonto, da questa mattina, quando ho preso in mano la penna.” See Petrarch, *Familiares,* I, vi, 1, 47. These particular writings by Petrarch were all printed at the beginning of the Cinquecento.

87 It is interesting to note that upon receiving the friendship pendants, Thomas More wrote to Gillis, enclosing Latin epigrams, including an elegiac couplet in honor of the *tabula duplex.* See Lorne Campbell, Maragert Mann Phillips, Hubertus Schulte Herbrüggen, and J.B. Trapp, “Quentin Matsys, Desiderius Erasmus, Pieter Gillis and Thomas More,” 717.
Exchange of Portraits

The exchange of portraits—as well as letters—during the late Medieval and Renaissance periods is further evidence of friendship bonds. Andrew Martindale has studied one of the first instances in which the portrait was utilized as a memento vivere, private memento and reminder of life, in an exchange among friends. His focus was Simone Martini’s image of Laura, probably done in 1336, for his friend Petrarch.88 Pandolfo Malatesta of Rimini also had an image of Petrarch commissioned in 1356 as a token of friendship.89 Much later, Erasmus developed a cult of friendship, which he expressed through the exchange of portraits, writing to his friend Willibald Pirckheimer:

Portraits are less precious than jewels—I have received from you a medallic and a painted portrait—but at least they bring my Willibald more vividly before me...I have the medal of you on the right-hand wall of my bedroom, the painting on the left; whether writing or walking up and down, I have Willibald before my eyes, so that if I wanted to forget you I could not...You have a medal of me.90

Friendship portraits were disseminated easily through the printed and medallic media. Larry Silver has explored the making and spreading of these images by German artists in the sixteenth century, tracing a complex network of exchange among humanists, religious figures, artists, and rulers, that occurred in informal humanistic circles and courtly gatherings. The print and medallic forms increased the accessibility and mobility

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88 Portraits of beautiful women, such as Laura, were also seen as tokens of friendship such as Giorgione’s Laura (c. 1506, oil on canvas, transferred to panel, 41 x 33.5 cm, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) and were passed among friends.
of likenesses. Portrait medals became one of the most widely circulated art objects in Renaissance Europe. They were frequently inserted in letters and passed from hand to hand and from city to city as gifts and tokens of friendship. An Italian Double Portrait Medal of Two Men from the fifteenth century, perhaps representing a father and son in profile, is one example that could have been easily transferred (Fig. 5.52). A copper medal with a grand display of friendship is Giovanni di Bartolommeo dal Cavino’s Alessandro Bassiano with Self-Portrait of the Artist (see Fig. 1.34). The metalsmith Cavino, known for his treatment of ancient subjects, relied on the knowledge of Alessandro Bassiano, his friend and an antiquarian scholar of ancient coins, for some of his themes. On the recto of their friendship medal, Bassiano and Cavino are shown bust-length, turning to the right and robed in garbs all’antica. Their names are inscribed around the edge of the medal in a foliated design. Their friendship was also commemorated in a poem by the historian Francesco Savonarola, in another instance where both image and word were used to the same purpose.

91 There was an “epistolary” circulation of printed portraits. See Larry Silver, “The Face is Familiar: German Renaissance Portrait Multiples in Prints and Medals,” in Likeness in an Age of Mechanical Reproduction: Printed and Medallion Portraits in Renaissance and Baroque Europe in Word & Image 19, nos. 1&2 (January-June 2003), 6-21.
93 Attributed to Amadeo da Milano, Medal of Two Unknown Men, fifteenth century, medal, 73 x 61.5 mm, Plaquette collection, Museo Nazionale, Florence [271]. The two busts are turned to the left, jugated, with straight hair to the neck’s nape. The men both wear tall cylindrical caps and surecoats with pleated fronts. Nothing is inscribed on the reverse. See G.F. Hill, A Corpus of Italian Medals of the Renaissance before Cellini (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1930), pl. 199, Cat. 139 ter. Another medal by a Mantuan artist with the jugated profiles of two men turned to the right is also in the British Museum, London. See G.F. Hill, A Corpus of Italian Medals of the Renaissance before Cellini, pl. 41, no. 245. An additional medal of similar concept is by a Mantuan artist. See Mantuan artist, Medal of Two Men, fifteenth century, medal, British Museum, London. See G.F. Hill, A Corpus of Italian Medals of the Renaissance before Cellini, Pl. 41, no. 245.
The exchange of portraits among friends was quite popular in Italy, in a practice that bonded the members of the patriarchy creating networks of friendship and patronage.\textsuperscript{96} It could be considered the visual equivalent of the popular epistolary exchange among humanists. Giorgio Vasari painted Luigi Guicciardini’s portrait “because he was very much my friend.”\textsuperscript{97} Similarly, Bronzino gave his Portrait of Andrea Doria as Neptune (late 1530s-early 1540s) to his friend Paolo Giovio for his important collection of portraits of prominence. Marcantonio Michiel provides more evidence for this common practice, for he documented masculine friendship portraits in the collection of Bernardo Bembo and his son Pietro Bembo.

Lomazzo described the category of the ritratto intellettuale, which could also characterize double portraits of two men which focus on a balanced intellectual exchange among friends.\textsuperscript{98} One of the most well-known double portraits, Raphael’s Double Portrait of Andrea Navagero and Agostino Beazzaro (c. 1516), best exemplifies this type of exchange and is an Italianate version of Metsys’ Portrait of Erasmus and Gillis (see Figs. 1.75 and 5.51).\textsuperscript{99} The two men, set at angles, face one another against a vibrant green background, their hands interlocked. They both stare directly in an attempt to gain the attention of the viewer, who is, essentially, a third friend outside the picture plane. A letter of April 3,

\textsuperscript{96} See Patricia Simons, “Homosociality and Erotics in Italian Renaissance Portraiture,” 44.
\textsuperscript{97} Luigi Guicciardini, according to Vasari, had used “out of love for me [Vasari]” his influence to help Vasari in a land acquisition. See Giorgio Vasari, Le Opere di Giorgio Vasari, VII, 688; Vasari-de Vere, Lives, 2248; and cited in Patricia Simons, “Homosociality and Erotics in Italian Renaissance Portraiture,” 42.
\textsuperscript{98} The double portrait in Würzburg, full of attributes, appears as a type of image considered “ritratti intellettuali” according to Lomazzo’s definition. Though it could be considered intellectual because of the illusionism/trickery within the painting—it also is a portrait of two friends with similar interest. See G.P. Lomazzo, Trattato dell’Arte della Pittura (Milan: 1584), VI, 437, cited in L. Grassi in Dizionario della critica d’arte, II, 488; L. Grassi, “Lineamenti per una storia del concetto di ritratto,” A.M, 13-16, 1961, 477-494. He stated that “ritratti intellettuali-che riflettono il concetto e l’idea dell’artefice, su quelli che tali non sono.”
\textsuperscript{99} Raphael, Double Portrait of Andrea Navagero and Agostino Beazzaro, c. 1516, oil on canvas, Galleria Doria Pamphilj, Rome. Though the sitters have been acceptably identified as Andrea Navagero (1452-1520) and his friend Andrea Beazzaro (d 1549), the sitters have previously been identified as Luther and Calvin, Bartolo da Sassoferrato and Baldo degli Ubaldi, Andrea Doria and Christopher Columbus, and two fourteenth–century jurists. Copies as two separated portraits based on this work are in the Prado.
1516 from Pietro Bembo to Cardinal Bibbiena testifies to the friendship between the two portrayed men as well as the artist. According to Bembo, Navagero and Beazzaro had planned a trip together to Tivoli with Raphael, Castiglione, as well as Bembo himself, for the following day. Raphael’s double portrait was probably painted in 1515, before Navagero’s departure from Rome to become the state librarian in Venice at the end of April of that same year. S.J. Freedberg has suggested that

the particular pretext of its painting may have been just in this proposed departure: to memorialize the friendship of the two poets, whose names are coupled in Bembo’s letter as their presences are coupled in the picture

…meant to document the association of the two men, not for each other but for a third person, Bembo, friend of both.100

The double portrait had been given by the Cardinal to Beazzano around 1538.101 In the late 1530s, the picture was also in Bembo’s house in Padua, where it was seen by Michiel. The character of this double portrait does not suggest that the images of the two men were conceived separately, and subsequently joined together in this representation, but they are visually unified in an interior space, as if completing a circle with the viewer—as the third person outside the picture plane—linked to them through their equal stares. Marcel Mauss has pointed out that gift-giving could mark exchanges and contracts. Theoretically, these interactions were voluntary, but, they were given and reciprocated obligatorily, through diplomatic and personal motivations, and utilized by rulers, favor-

100 Freedberg furthered by commenting that “in no other portrait does the format in itself so much suggest the old Albertian precept of a window into space…the frame works like a casement; it is as if we looked from the space outside a room—from a street or garden, or better, from within a loggia—at the two men sitting at a window…the pattern (now almost obliterated) of tooled leather paramenti [is] on the wall. This spatial situation is not forced…A strong daylight reaches through the casement but is consumed in the darkness of the room.” See V. Golzio, Raffaello nei documenti nelle testimonianze dei contemporanei e nella letteratura del suo secolo (Città del Vaticano, 1936), 162; and S.J. Freedberg, Painting of the High Renaissance in Rome and Florence (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961), I, 337.

101 It is recorded that Pietro Bembo owned the double portrait in 1538. It probably entered the collection of Olimpia Aldobrandini Pamphilj before 1665 and only after it was listed as in the collection of Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini in 1603 as “two portraits both the work of Raffaello da Urbino.”
seekers, artists, and friends. This image, therefore—with Bembo as viewer, completing the chain of friendship—not only becomes a substitute for the presence of absent friends, but also becomes an intimate visual network of exchange. As we shall see, male double portraits perform a voluntary as well as obligatory display of reciprocity among friends, patrons, family members, and colleagues, becoming visual recognizants/documents of these social and political interactions.

**Fifteenth-century Double-Figure Compositions**

The existence of double-figure compositions is documented from the fifteenth century. One of the earliest known Renaissance examples of the same gender composition is a now-lost painting by Jan van Eyck of a *Noble and his Agent* from 1440, in which two men were shown at work on financial accounts. Double portraits of the same gender were also produced in Italy from the early fifteenth century. In c. 1400-1435 Giovanni del Ponte painted a double-figure composition, illustrating the recognizable Dante and Petrarch full-length, clad in medieval costume, within one space on a single rectangular wooden panel (Fig. 5.53). Each holds his own book as a referent to his literary accomplishment, and they stand on a flower-strewn field of grass, against a gold background. Dante, who appears on the heraldic dexter is about to be crowned by a

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103 It is assumed that Quentin Metsys’ *Money Changer and his Wife* of 1514 used Van Eyck’s painting as his model: “El quadretto a meze figure, del patron fa conto cu el fattor fo de man de Zuan Heic, credo Memelino, Ponentino, fatto nel 1440.” Frimmel has interpreted “Zuan Heic, credo Memelino” as “Jan van Eyck, whom I believe was called Memling.” See Theodor Frimmel, ed., *Der anonimo Morelliano: Marcanton Michiel’s Notizia d’opera del disegno in Quellenschriften für Kunstgeschichte und Kunsttechnik* (Vienna: 1888), I, 54-55.
104 Giovanni dal Ponte, *Dante and Petrarch*, c. 1400-1435, tempera on panel, Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge.
winged genius hovering in the air, while Petrarch already wears upon his head a wreath of laurel leaves.\textsuperscript{105}

A work by Giovanni Agostino da Lodi from c. 1495-97, Double Portrait of St. Peter and St. John, shows the religious characters half-length in a portrait-like manner (Fig. 5.54).\textsuperscript{106} The painter has eliminated the spatial setting and excluded the arms and hands of the saints.\textsuperscript{107} Their heads are compressed within a small space, highlighting their age difference through a juxtaposition of old and young that is indebted to Leonardo’s interest in physiognomy.\textsuperscript{108} Leonardo’s treatment of the same apostles’ heads in his Last Supper certainly influenced Lodi’s treatment.\textsuperscript{109} The figural arrangement of Lodi’s image, in turn, influenced half-length two-figure compositions in Venice and thus contributed to the development of double portraiture more generally.\textsuperscript{110}

Also in the fifteenth-century, manuscripts appeared that included images of conversing contemporary men in half-length and which fall more clearly into the category of double portraits. Within the initial “P” (for Paullus Fiorentinus) of a page of De Origine Servorius, a manuscript from c. 1460 dedicated to Piero di Cosimo de’ Medici, two half-length male figures, cloaked in dark garb, converse against a blue sky. Their slightly over-

\textsuperscript{106} Giovanni Agostino da Lodi, Sts. Peter and John the Evangelist, c. 1495-97, oil on panel, 35 x 26 cm, Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan [789, reg. cron. 2119]. It is signed JOHANNES AVGVSTINVS/LAVDENSIS. P. Giovanni Agostino da Lodi is known for his assimilation of Leonardo’s Milanese manner, Venetian colorism, and Albrecht Dürer’s Northern style. See Venice, Palazzo Grassi, Leonardo & Venice, ed. by Giovanna Nepi Scire and Pietro C. Mariani (Milan: 1992), 146-147, 386, Cat. 84.
\textsuperscript{107} It has been suggested that this painting influenced Tullio Lombardo’s Double Portrait in Venice of the same year.
\textsuperscript{108} Compare Lodi’s composition to Leonardo da Vinci’s red chalk drawing, An Old Man and a Young Man in Profile Facing Each Other of c. 1495 in the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Uffizi, Florence [423E].
\textsuperscript{109} See Pietro C. Mariani, Leonardo e I Leonardeschi a Brera (Florence: 1987), 90-94. Giorgione also produced his version of two contrasting ages shown in profile, seemingly based on Leonardo’s physiognomic head studies, probably seen in Venice through copies, in his Portrait of a Young Soldier with his Retainer (Portrait of Girolamo Marcello) (oil on canvas, 72 x 56.5 cm, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna [1526]). In this image, a young man faces to the left in profile. He is confronted by a hook-nosed attendant.
\textsuperscript{110} It has been particularly connected to Tullio Lombardo’s sculpted double portraits. See Venice, Palazzo Grassi, Leonardo & Venice, cat. by Giovanna Nepi Scire and Pietro C. Mariani (Milan: 1992), 146-147.
half-length bodies overlap to fit within the space. One of the two represents Cosimo de’ Medici, who gestures with his left hand in dialogue with the grey-haired Paullus, who appears in profile (Fig. 5.55).\footnote{Bartolomeo di Domenico di Guido, *Two Men Conversing* in an initial “P” for Paullus Florentinus, of *De Origine Servorum* (manuscript dedicated to Piero de’ Medici), Biblioteca Laurenziana, Plut. 23.21; see K. Langedijk, *Portraits of the Medici*, p. 1332, no. 8, fig. 98,8.} In a copy of Landino’s *Disputationes Camaldulenses* from about 1475, a surprising large double portrait of two men executed by Francesco di Antonio del Chierico was pasted into the back of the front cover (Fig. 5.56).\footnote{Francesco di Antonio del Chierico, *Two Men at a Window (Federico da Montefeltro and an Unknown Man)*, miniature inside front cover of Landino’s *Disputationes Camaldulenses*, c. 1475, Codice Urb. Lat 508, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican. It was erroneously attributed to Francesco di Giorgio.} It is not clear when the image was placed inside the book, which is of divergent contents, though it probably occurred at an early date. In this composition which is inset within a rectangular frame, a profiled bust-length Federico da Montefeltro positioned at the proper right, holds a book and looks toward his companion, who is smaller in size but also bust-length. They are placed against a blue sky and behind an oriental carpet draped over a ledge, that projects into the viewer’s space. The painting is compositionally reminiscent of *Doge Andrea Vendramin Received Together with his Secretary (Un Legato Papale)* (c. 1476-78), attributed to Gentile Bellini, in which Vendramin faces a man to his left (Fig. 5.57).\footnote{Attributed to Gentile Bellini, *Doge Andrea Vendramin and a Cardinal Received Together with his Secretary un Legato Papale*, c. 1476-78, painting on vellum (miniature su pergamena), 31.5 x 22 cm (12 3/8 x 8 11/16 in), Van Beuningen Collection, Rotterdam. It was in the Heseltine Collection and Sunderland Collections in London, and the Könings collection, Amsterdam (or Haarlem) before making its way to Rotterdam. It was on loan to Rotterdam as of 1936. It was on exhibition in London, Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Early Venetian Exhibition*, 1912 (attributed to Giambellino). Adolfo Venturi affirmed that it was “da noverare tra le primitive imitazione da Giambellino…ma vi si nota un accento realistico insolito a lui, e più proprio della maniera di Gentile…non un particolare veristico manca al volto astuto del vecchio doge dale grosse labbra sensuali, e all’altro cipigliato del suo segretario, non una finezza al profile del Cardinale, delineato sul chiarore del fondo come in una placchetta di medalista.” See Fritz Heinemann, *Giovanni Bellini e I Belliniani* (Venice: Neri Pozza Editore, 1959), I, 240, Cat. V 150, II, fig. 713; and Luigi Servolini, *Jacopo de’ Barbari* (Padua: “Le Tre Venezie”, 1944), 30, Pl. 3 (here attributed to Jacometto?). Servolini listed this image as being in Haarlem.} Both men are behind a carpet draped over a ledge. Clearly, it was popular to portray two male figures behind an eastern carpet. Another example appears in a detail of
Carpaccio’s *Meeting of the Betrothed Couple and the Departure of the Pilgrims* (1495), in which two men lean or sit on a carpeted ledge as they stare out at the viewer (Fig. 5.58). An example in miniature format is *Ludovico Sforza on his Knees Together with his Nephew Gian Galeazzo, Duke of Milan* from the late fifteenth century, which shows the profiled men in full-length as they kneel before a seascape, with boats and a city in the far distance of the upper left corner (Fig. 5.59).

Larger format examples also exist from the fifteenth century. A painting which resembled a double portrait from c. 1485, once attributed to Giovanni Bellini, was listed in the Vendramin collection as “un altro quadreto con il retrato de Zuan Bellini suo dixipulo nel coperchio” (another little painting with the portrait of Giovanni Bellini and that of Vittorio, his disciple, on the cover). Giorgio Vasari described a double portrait of two men in the Medici inventory, located in the guardaroba of the duke, as showing “il ritratto di Giovanni di Bicci de’ Medici, e quello di Bartolomeo Valori, in uno stesso quadro, di mano del medesimo (…the portrait of Giovanni di Bicci de’ Medici, with that of Bartolomeo Valori, in one and the same picture by the hand of the same artist).

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117 It is attributed to Zanobi Strozzi (1412-1468). When the painting on panel was added to the Medici portrait collection, the second figure was cut out of the picture. Remains of the second figure are visible on the left side. The figure of Giovanni di Bicci de’ Medici by Zanobi Strozzi was later copied by Bronzino for his versions of the historical character. From Medici III:35 in See Giorgio Vasari, *Le Opere di Giorgio Vasari*, II, 521; *A Guide to the Paintings in the Florentine Galleries: The Uffizi, The Pitti, The Accademia*, ed. by Maud Crutwell (London: J.M. Dent & Company, 1907), 14, Cat. 43; and Pope-Hennessy, *Portrait in the Renaissance*, 24.
Andrea Mantegna also painted double portraits. His now lost Double Portrait of Leonello d’Este and Folco da Villafora of 1458 was an interesting twist on the genre, showing not two men next to each other, but rather the Marchese on one side and his friend on the reverse. In another documented double portrait, however, Mantegna did use the standard, formal configuration of two friends placed next to each other, anticipating Raphael’s Double Portrait of Andrea Navagero and Agostino Beazzano (see Fig. 1.75) from the sixteenth century. Painted in 1458, the same year as the Double Portrait of Leonello and Folco, this work, now lost, depicted Janus Pannonius, a Hungarian humanist and poet, with Galeotto Marzio da Narni, his “intimate friend and room companion” from their shared university days in Ferrara. Mantegna painted the two humanists in this keepsake portrait when they were re-united, temporarily, in Padua. A number of Venetian double portraits of two noblemen reflect the design of Mantegna’s double portrait, and a poem written by Pannonius relayed its significance: “As the hand of Apelles with its wondrous grace painted the Pellaean king with his fathful companion, so Galeotto breathes with Janus in one picture, in a knot of unbroken friendship (inabruptae nodus amicitiae).”

The transition from Uomini Famosi cycles to male double portraits is perhaps best illustrated by Donato Bramante’s erroneously titled Double Portrait of Heraclitus and Democritus from c. 1490-99 (Fig. 5.60). Although its current form is identical with that of a double portrait, it was not originally conceived as such, for it was originally part of a

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118 Andrea Mantegna, Double Portrait of Leonello d’Este and Folco da Villafora, 1449, Ferrara, now lost. See Ronald Lightbown, Mantegna (Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986), 437, Cat. 64.
119 The perpetuation of this type indicates its popularity. These subsequent variants sometimes have been attributed to Bellini or Cariani. For more information on the painting by Mantegna, see Ronald Lightbown, Mantegna (Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986), 459-60, Cat. 68. For the poem, see Lightbown, Mantegna, 459-60; John Shearman, Only Connect…Art and the Spectator in the Italian Renaissance (The A.W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts) (Princeton University Press, 1992), 134; and Jodi Cranston, The Poetics of Portraiture in the Italian Renaissance Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 66.
120 Donato Bramante, Double Portrait of Heraclitus and Democritus (erroneously titled), c. 1490-99, detached fresco, 102 x 127 cm., Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan.
Uomini Famosi cycle, located over a doorway in a Milanese house owned by Gasparo Ambrogio Visconti. In this image, the presumed Heraclitus and Democritus sit as equals in a study amidst their books, both flanking a map on the back wall. They are depicted with contrasting expressions as Heraclitus on the left weeps and Democritus on the right laughs. The quasi-antique frieze behind them provides another contrast, depicting a triumphal procession on the left and a surrender scene on the right. It is unclear when the image was cut down to be transformed into a double portrait. In its present state, the two men, angled toward each other, play off each other’s emotional state. In the larger cycle, presumably, other men were similarly paired in a manner akin to the painted groupings from c. 1475 in Federico da Montefeltro’s studiolo in the Ducal Palace in Urbino. These early examples of double-figure compositions produced in a variety of media demonstrate its growing popularity in the fifteenth century and a hint to their utilization in the sixteenth century.

Controlling the Image

The genre of double portraiture was flexible enough to express myriad relationships of men in Renaissance culture. As portraits and compositional designs proliferated in the sixteenth century, men came to be depicted in formal and informal contexts. Relationships between adult men that were reflected in double portraits were based on family connections, as in the example of fathers and adult sons, on friendship, professional ties, and relationships between artists and their patrons. These compositions did not reveal gender preference, as in marriage double portraits, but age, experience,

121 It is now known as Casa Panigarola.
122 Federico included his most illustrious devout friends, including his favorite contemporary authors such as Vittorino da Feltre, Pius II, and Cardinal Bessarion. See L.M. Sleptzoff, Men or Supermen?: The Italian Portrait in the Fifteenth Century (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University), 84.
wealth, and patronage decided who controlled the power in the relationship and thereby, demonstrable in the figural arrangement within the image.

**Fathers and Adult Sons**

Prestigious family lineages were promoted visually through double portraits. Images of men with their progeny, particularly young sons, were popular in the Renaissance, with one example being Pedro Berruguete’s *Duke Federico da Montefeltro and bis son Guidobaldo* from the fifteenth century (Fig. 5.61).\(^{123}\) The continuity of the family line was also demonstrated visually in portraits of adult male family members, in another category that became increasingly popular. Not only could the two men be united by bloodline and likeness, as in Berruguete’s portrait, but also by their common interests once the child reached maturity. Likewise, the physiognomic interest of the old and the young, demonstrable in Leonardo’s oeuvre, also probably influenced double portraits of two male family members from different age groups.

Double portraits of fathers with adult sons suggest dynastic ideas of the passage of power, wealth, and responsibility from fathers to sons. In Leone Leoni’s *Double Portrait of Charles V and Philip II* (1550), executed in sardonyx and mounted in gold, the artist arranged the father and son duo in profile facing left (Fig. 5.62).\(^{124}\) Their similar facial features, intent expressions, and pointed beards reiterate their familial tie. Their bodies overlap, with the father prominently placed closer to the viewer as he exposes more of his torso, perhaps mimicking portrayals on Roman coins. A work attributed to Francesco di

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\(^{123}\) Pedro Berruguete, *The Duke Federico da Montefeltro and bis Son Guidobaldo*, 1400s, Galleria Nazionale, Urbino.

\(^{124}\) Leone Leoni, *Cameo of Charles V and bis son Philip II*, obverse, 1550, sardonyx mounted in gold, 1 3/8 in (3.5 cm), The Milton Weil Collection, Gift of Ethel S. Worgelt, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York [38.150.9]. A medal struck in 1555, two years before Philip II was to succeed his father, copied this double-portrait cameo. See Washington, National Gallery of Art, *Renaissance Medals*, volume one, *Italy* (2007), cat. by John Graham Pollard, 494, Cat. 493, reprod.
Giorgio Martini, *Federico da Montefeltro facing his Nephew Ottaviano Ubaldini della Carda* (1482) also underscores a familial connection (Fig. 5.63). In this work, originally located above a doorway in the Palazzo Ducale in Urbino, the men face each other in profile.

Even in devotional images, such as the *Annunciation with Two Male Donors* by Filippo Lippi from the early 1440s, two male donors, presumably from the same family, are placed next to each other (Fig. 5.64). While the sacred scene is clearly the central focus, the arrangement of the donors next to each other in this composition was possibly influenced by male double portraits. Instead of being placed one on either side of the religious core of the image, they are shown with a proximity that reinforces their familial connection. On the viewer’s far right, the two male donors, both in near-profile with grey eyes, kneel behind a balustrade. The donor closest to the viewer has grayish-black hair, while the other donor has lighter hair and a beard, appearing a bit older. Jeffrey Ruda has suggested that they might be either brothers or a father and son duo. The elder one, although behind his younger counterpart in a certain sense occupies a more prominent position, for he is closest to the Virgin.

A Renaissance belief persisted that an adult male child was actually a young double of the father. In visual form, this concept was thought not only to present two persons, but also to reenact one person in two roles. This tradition was perhaps influenced by a comment made by Pliny the Elder in *Natural History*, in which he stated

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125 Attributed to Francesco di Giorgio Martini, *Federico Montefeltro facing his Nephew Ottaviano Ubaldini della Carda*, 1482, sopraporta, Palazzo Ducale, Urbino. Much like the *Diptych of Federico Montefeltro and Battista Sforza*, Federico appears on the proper left due to his eye injury, thereby showing off his best side. A similar carved double portrait is by a Southern German artist of the *The Emperors Maximilian I and Charles V* of 1529, made of marble and located in Vienna. Both are in profile with long pointed hats as if engaged in conversation.


127 See Jeffrey Ruda, *Fra Filippo Lippi: Life and Work with a Complete Catalogue*, 403-404, Cat. 23, pls. 84-6, 238.
that a “picture is remarkable for displaying the close family likeness between a son in the
prime of life and an elderly father, allowing for the difference of age.”
An observer of a
Confraternity procession of 1428 in Florence even wrote that “the sons had put on their
father’s clothes, learned all of their gestures, and cop[ied] each and every one of their
actions and habits in an admirable way.”
Their sons directly mimicked as well as
emulated their fathers. In paintings that visualized these ideas, the double portrait could
represent the father and son duo with attributes of the same profession, bolstering the
“doubling” effect. In Agostino Ardenti’s medal, Portrait Medal of Titian and his Son Orazio
(c. 1560), the artist appears in profile presenting a framed portrait of his son, also an artist
(see Fig 4.47). Similarly, in the Double Portrait of the Artist Painting a Portrait of His Father by
Luca Cambiaso (c. 1575-80), the younger artist paints a portrait of his father, also a
talented artist (see Fig. 4.44).

In an unconventional examination of the roles of fathers and sons in Renaissance
portraiture, Patricia Simons has suggested that the use of an assertive codpiece in images
of single men stressed the young man’s defiance of his father and asserted his virile
independence, as in Bronzino’s Guidobaldo della Rovere of 1532.
However, other double
portraits of this sort lack the quality of rebelliousness/insubordination, casting doubt on

128 See Pliny the Elder (23-79 CE), Natural History, trans. by H. Rackham (Cambridge: Harvard University
129 Transcribed in R. Hatfield, “The Compagnia de’Magi,” Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 33
130 See my discussion of these two images in Chapter Four of my dissertation.
131 See Patricia Simons, “Homosociality and Erotics in Italian Renaissance Portraiture,” in Portraiture Facing
the Subject, ed. and introduction by J. Woodall (Manchester/NY: Manchester University Press, 1997), 36; K.
and Patricia Simons, “Alert and Erect: Masculinity in Some Italian Renaissance Portraits of Fathers and
Sons,” in R. Trexler, ed., Gender Rhetorics (Binghamton: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1994),
163-86.
Simons’ theory. In Lorenzo Lotto’s Double Portrait of the Surgeon Gian Giacomo Stuer and his Son Antonio of 1544, the father puts his arms around his young son in an affectionate and protective embrace, indicating their bond. The surgical instruments, close to the young son’s hands, signal that he will follow in his father’s footsteps. Lotto also depicted an adult father and son in the well-known Double Portrait of Giovanni Agostino and Niccolò della Torre of 1515 (see Fig. I.8). The father rests at the center in an arm chair. He holds papers in his right hand and grips a book with his left hand, keeping its pages open with his fingers. His son Niccolò, with his head placed slightly higher than his father’s, stands over the left shoulder of the older man (Fig. 5.65). To their right, receding on a diagonal into the background, is a desk strewn with books, papers, and an inkstand. Peter Humfrey has argued that this image portrays a father and son who were both leading members of a pro-Venetian faction as well as eminent physicians. The belief that father and son shared a profession would seem to find confirmation in Lotto’s painting.

132 Bronzino representation of Guidobaldo della Rovere, instead, suggests genetic virility and promise for continuation of the family.
133 Lorenzo Lotto, Double Portrait of the Surgeon Gian Giacomo Stuer and his Son, 1544, oil on canvas, 87 x 75 cm, John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia [196]. In the Libro dei Conti, it stated that Gian Giacomo Stuer must pay Lotto in Treviso in March 1544 for “un quadro de retrato suo inseme con el suo fioleto Zan Antonio.” See Flavio Caroli, Lorenzo Lotto e la nascita della psicologia moderna (Milan: 1980), 278. Though this double portrait is excluded from my definition of a double portrait, since it does not deal with two adults, the design of the composition and its meaning is relevant.
135 Giovanni Agostino held an office as prior of the college of physicians from 1510 until his death in 1516. See Peter Humfrey, Lorenzo Lotto, 66.
However, Nicholas Penny has reached a different conclusion: while Giovanni Agostino was in fact an eminent doctor, his only son, Niccolò, as noted by the inscription written on a piece of paper on the table behind them, was a member of the pro-Venetian Guelph party and a Bergamask city councilman.136

Scholarly attention has also been devoted to the original configuration of this double portrait. In 1880, Giovanni Morelli was the first to propose that Niccolò was added to the original format of a portrait of one individual, that of Giovanni Agostino, a theory echoed by Bernard Berenson in 1895.137 Cecil Gould, discussing the painting in 1966, argued that the composition began as a single portrait of the elder gentleman, and the younger man was an afterthought because “the elimination of the right hand figure in the Della Torre portrait would be an improvement.”138 He considered double portraits in general as asymmetrical compositions, due to the imbalance between the two sitters. In 1997, Peter Humfrey, though believing that the placement of the two sitters in this image was an awkward design, concluded that it must have been planned as a double portrait from its conception.139 Nicholas Penny took issue with Humfrey in 2004, believing that Niccolò was in a space too narrow for him to occupy comfortably. The awkwardness he perceived in the double portrait suggested to him that the figures had not been planned together.140

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139 He stated that “it would have been uncomfortably empty at the right without a second figure and technical examination has not revealed the previous existence of a feature such as a window on the right that would always have been needed to balance the still-life on the left.” See Peter Humfrey, *Lorenzo Lotto*, 66, 68.
The configuration with the adult son behind and to the proper left of his father should not be considered an afterthought, but rather a logical placement in a double portrait, depicting a father-son relationship. The father maintains the central place, as the elder within the composition (who was perhaps even deceased at the time of its making). Giovanni Agostino’s academic dress, with a belt and open sleeves, also suggests his high rank. The son, for his part, is not removed to the corner of the image, but stands respectfully behind his father’s chair, with his head located higher than his father’s, and fills a space at least as large as that occupied by his father. In this way, he retains an important position within the composition. The two are also matched in their gazes as they both stare out at the viewer, who Penny has pointed out, is made to feel as if he is standing in the presence of a seated man. Individuals of prominence, such as popes, were always shown seated in their portraits, for this was an honored position. A composition similar to the Della Torre Double Portrait is Jacopino del Conte’s Portrait of Paul III and Ottavio Farnese, his Nephew (c. 1546), which shows the aged Pope Paul III in a prominent seated position with his nephew, Ottavio Farnese, standing behind him on the right (Fig. 5.66).

141 Upon his death, a monument in honor of Agostino was also erected indicating his venerated status.
143 Jacopino del Conte, Pope Paul III and Ottavio Farnese, c. 1546, oil on canvas, Palazzo Spada, Rome. Jacopino del Conte also painted a Double Portrait of Pope Paul III and a Cardinal from about the same date. See F. Zeri, La Galleria Spada in Roma (Florence: 1954), 65; and Iris H. Cheney, “Notes on Jacopino del Conte,” The Art Bulletin (1970), 32-40, esp. 40. The taste for double portraiture of lineage by Pope Paul III is furthered by another double portrait of the Pope with a young version of his grandson, Alessandro, identified by E.H. Ramsden. The so-called Double Portrait of Clement VII and Pietro Carneschi which was left unfinished and located in the Galleria Nazionale di Parma, was reidentified by the scholar as a Double Portrait of Paul III and his Grandson, Alessandro Farnese by Sebastiano del Piombo in the first year of the Pope’s pontificate. Vasari referred to an unfinished lost painting of Paul III with his son, but due to age, Ramsden identified the second figure as his grandson. See E.H. Ramsden, ‘Come Take this Lute’: A Quest for Identities in Italian Renaissance Portraiture (Salisbury, England: A Naddler Book, Element Books Ltd., 1983), 185-193. Jacopino del Conte could have utilized the famed triple Portrait of Paul III and his Neighbors Alessandro and Ottavio Farnese painted by Titian from 1546 (Gallerie di Capodimonte, Naples). The pope is in a similar position. In Titian’s composition, the kneeling Ottavio is before the pope while Alessandro is standing
Penny believed that Lotto, if he had initially planned the two figures together, would have allowed “some physical or psychological contact between the father and son, such as is found in his other, slightly later double portraits [of married couples].” I believe, however, that this double portrait has more, not less, of a psychological connectedness than Lotto’s later *Marsilio and his Bride* (see Fig. 2.4). The married couple is united in a formal, ceremonious format that diverges from the della Torre double portrait. While *Marsilio and his Bride* barely touch fingers, the father and son duo physically touch, overlapping each other with more familiarity. Penny further argued that the design of the della Torre double portrait did not follow standard practice for depictions of two men because “the older generation generally sees itself as occupying a position behind the younger, and in this case there was no professional descent.” Humfrey, by contrast, commented that “the placing of the son and heir in a plane behind that of the father is eloquently expressive of professional and family lineage.” In the case of the della Torre double portrait, the two men, though not united by the same profession, were connected by their patrimony as well as high rank (*nobile*), because the father was a well-respected, learned physician and his son a distinguished participant in Bergamo’s political arena. Because the della Torre double portrait shows purely hereditary and not professional lineage, it was logical to place the elder in front of the younger man. When the positions are reversed in a male double portrait, it is usually in the case of a narrative or active double portrait, in which the couple was pictured in the “act of learning,” as we shall see behind the pope. Conte’s composition, similarly, placed Ottavio now in the standing position and eliminated the third person for a tighter compositional connection between two figures.

144 Penny further suggested that Niccolò probably was added to the composition in 1516 at the age of 33 soon after his father had died. See London, National Gallery, *National Gallery Catalogues: The Sixteenth Century Italian Paintings*, I, cat. by Nicholas Penny (2004), 56. It is not uncommon to place a living member of the family with the image of a deceased family member as an act of commemoration, as seen in my chapter on commemoration. However, the living member was not often added as an afterthought.


146 See Peter Humfrey, *Lorenzo Lotto*, 66
in my discussion of Maso da San Friano’s *Double Portrait* (c. 1556), which reinforces a mentor and pupil relationship. However, when a double portrait of an older and younger man was made for purely patrimonial display, a more hierarchical presentation was used, and the older man always maintained a more frontal and/or dexter position.

Popularity of double portraits of fathers with their adult sons in the Renaissance spoke to a desire to display lineage, promoting the son’s inclusion in Lotto’s image as part of the initial design. Other examples include Girolamo Mazzoli Bedoli’s portrayal of Ariosto and his son Virgilio, in which the younger man standing proudly erect, shows off the portrait of his father on a book cover by holding it in front of him on a table (c. 1540) (see Fig. 4.108). As noted previously, Virgilio commissioned this double portrait upon Ariosto’s death in order to establish and promote his legal right as his father’s heir, thus asserting the continuation of lineage. It can also be compared to Hans Holbein’s early *Double Portrait of Sir Thomas Godsalve and his Son John* of 1528 which displays a well-connected father and son, with the older male set in front of the younger, eclipsing him on the foreground plane (Fig. 5.67). The cameo by Leone of Charles V and Philip II also shows a father-son duo with the father more prominently located in the foreground (see Fig. 5.62). In all of these cases, the elder could additionally view his son as a younger version of himself, and feel nostalgia for his own youth. Marsilio Ficino mentioned this duplexity, stating that “a patriarch like a true and generous sculptor…carves in his offspring a living image of himself.”

The popularity of this double portrait type was such that it even reached the Ottoman court. Many Italian mediæval, engraved, and painted images were made of

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147 Hans Holbein the Younger, *Double Portrait of Sir Thomas Godsalve and his Son John*, 1528, tempera on panel, Alte Meister Gallerie, Dresden.
Mehmed II the Conqueror during his reign. The sultan was fascinated with European culture and is known to have commissioned portraits of himself. In 1461, for example, he asked the medalist Matteo de’ Pasti to come to Istanbul to make his image.149 Gentile Bellini visited the Ottoman court and during this time painted several images of the sultan. In the Portrait of Mehmed II from 1480, Bellini painted him in three-quarter view, partially turned to the front, seen through a window frame with a cloth of honor projecting over the ledge of the parapet (Fig. 5.68). Caroline Campbell has pointed out that several later eastern and western portraits of Mehmed derive from this prototype, and artists updated Gentile’s famous image to suit changing taste.150 One such derivation is a Double Portrait of the Sultan Mehmed II with possibly his Son, Bayezid (c. 1480) on a rectangular panel (Fig. 5.69).151 Both figures rest behind a long balustrade. The older Sultan turns to his right, much as he does in the individual portrait of him. The younger man faces him from the proper right, but they gaze past each other’s line of sight. The positioning of the figures, with the more prominent male on the proper left instead of the proper right, can here be attributed to compositional copying, since the individual portrayal of the Sultan was utilized for this painting. The transformation of the sultan’s portrait into a double portrayal with his male progeny is yet another indication of the taste for father-son portraits in Renaissance Italy.

150 Gentile Bellini, Portrait of Mehmed II, 1480, oil on canvas, 70 x 52 cm, National Gallery, London [NG 3099]. The window-like effect is similar to the illuminated images mentioned early attributed to Gentile Bellini and Francesco di Antonio del Chierico (see Figs. 5.56 & 5.55). See London, National Gallery and Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Bellini and the East, exh. cat. by Caroline Campbell and Alan Chong (2006), 78-79, Cat. 23, reprod.
151 Attributed to Gentile Bellini or workshop, Double Portrait of the Sultan Mehmed II with Possibly His Son, Bayezid, c. 1480, oil on panel, Private Collection, Switzerland. Otto Pächt entitled this painting “Double Portrait of Sultan and Prince.” He thought it was in a rather better state of preservation than the London Portrait of the Sultan and considered it one of the earliest known double portraits aside from “a few Northern betrothal portraits.” See Otto Pächt, Venetian Painting in the 15th Century: Jacopo, Gentile and Giovanni Bellini and Andrea Mantegna, ed. by Margareta Vysoral-Tschapka and Michael Pächt and trans. by Fiona Elliott (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2003), 143, fig. 133.
Mentors and Pupils

Double portraits of mentor and pupil also reflect the concept of representing the same person in older and younger versions. One example is the Double Portrait of Fra Luca Pacioli with Pupil (c. 1495) by Jacopo de’ Barbari (Fig. 5.70). The Franciscan monk and Renaissance mathematician stands in the prominent, central position of the image. Over his left shoulder, stands a tall young man, his attention not on the master, for he gazes into the viewer’s space. The men are set behind a table that is strewn with mathematical instruments, including a compass and a goniometro, along with a book that is open to the page which reveals it to be Euclid’s “Elements.” A chalkboard lying flat on the table illustrates a problem described in Book XII of Euclid’s treatise. A three-dimensional polygon rests on top of the closed volume of Pacioli’s own Summa de Arithmetica, Geometria e Proportione, while another polygon appears against a dark background on the wall over his shoulder. The young man, as a supportive role behind the main character, visually bolsters the status of the prestigious mathematician, who is actively demonstrating a theorem. He also compositionally balances the hanging polygon on the other side of the picture. His gaze focused on the viewer seems to suggest that the mathematician addresses his students outside the frame, while teaching one pupil within the painting. This sort of composition was hardly unique. Indeed an earlier engraved

152 An early version of this representation is from the Trecento. In the Sala dei Giganti at the University of Padua, Petrarch was portrayed together with his pupil Lombardo della Seta. It was heavily repainted after a fire destroyed most of the decoration in the room in the sixteenth century. It is best preserved in a copy after a miniature in an early Quattrocento manuscript of the Rime. See E. Mommsen, “Petrarch and the decoration of the Sala Virorum illustrium in Padua,” Art Bulletin 34 (1952), 95-116 and R. Hatfield, Men or Supermen?, 78-79.

153 Jacopo de Barbari, Portrait of Fra Luca Pacioli and his pupil, c. 1495, oil on panel, 99 x 120 cm, Museo e Gallerie di Capodimonte, Naples. It has also been attributed to Guidobaldo da Montefeltro (?-1495). Though considered here to be a student of the famous mathematician, the other person thought to be a portrait of Guidobaldo, Duke of Urbino as well as Albrecht Dürer. A xilograph of similar compositional construction is located in Alessandro Achillini’s De Humani Corporis Anatomia (Venice: Giovanni Antonio e Fratelli da Sabbio, 1521), in which it shows the author with a pupil over his left shoulder. See Giuseppina Zappella, Il Ritratto nel Libro Italiano del Cinquecento (Milan: Editrice Bibliografica, 1988), II, esp. I, 154, II, pl. 3.
image of an *Artisan* by the Tarocchi Master shows a man hard at work with his apprentice standing behind him (Fig. 5.71).\(^{154}\)

Another possible representation of tutor and student, *Double Portrait Relief with Busts of a Man and a Youth (Possibly Giovanni Bellini with Vittore Belliniano)* from c. 1495/1500, shows two profiled men facing one another in a rectangular composition (Fig. 5.72).\(^{155}\) It is compositionally reminiscent of the *Double Portrait of Federico di Montefeltro and Ottaviano Ubaldini*, mentioned above (see Fig. 5.63). The projection of the two busts beyond a shallow plinth is reminiscent of Tullio Lombardo’s style. The older man remains on the heraldic dexter, while the younger man rests on the sinister side. They are similarly adorned, with the same caps and mantles clasped by a floral brooch at the shoulder. Their classically adorned garb and profiled format is reminiscent of ancient ancestral medallions, carved gems, and roman funerary reliefs.\(^{156}\) The image has been thought to capture the portraits of a teacher and pupil, and indeed the subjects have been uncertainly identified as Giovanni Bellini and his student Vittore Belliniano.\(^{157}\)

\(^{154}\) Tarocchi Master, *Artisan (Ferrara), Serie E*, 1455-65, Uffizi, Florence.

\(^{155}\) Workshop of Pietro Lombardo, *Double Portrait Relief with Busts of a Man and a Youth, c. 1495/1500*, 44 cm x 47.3 cm, approx. 6.7 cm deep, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna [8896]. It was located in the Österreichisches Museum für Angewändte Kunst as a gift of Anna von Schwartz before 1929. In about 1934 it changed hands and was given to the Kunsthistorisches Museum. This overcleaned sculpture is reminiscent of the defaced double portrait relief of a man and woman located in the Victoria & Albert Museum, London.


Another Venetian double portrait attributed to Giorgione, Giovanni Borgherini and His Tutor, Niccolò Leonico Tomeo, can be added to the list of male tutor-student double portraits (Fig. 5.73). Borgherini, shown bust-length on the heraldic dexter, is adorned in green with a crimson collar. In his left hand he grasps a paintbrush, as well as a quill pen, a flute, and a pair of compasses. His tutor, to his proper left and also in bust-length, clutches an armillary sphere in his right hand, attached to which is an inscription: “Non balet ingenium, nisi facta valebunt” (“cleverness is worthless unless founded on facts”). The tutor appears to emphatically reinforce this statement by pointing with his left hand. The painting was probably executed when Giovanni Borgherini, a young Florentine, visited Venice with his tutor. In this case, the prominence of the pupil’s family, who presumably commissioned the work, influenced the placement of the youth on the dexter side. Yet, the mentor retains power in the composition, for he is in an active pose while the young man looks wistfully toward the onlooker. In another representation of an anonymous teacher and pupil (c. 1490) attributed to Giovanni Bellini (and Vincenzo Catena), the positioning of the older and younger men return to the

158 Attributed to Giorgione, Giovanni Borgherini and His Tutor Niccolò Leonico Tomeo, date unknown, oil on canvas, 47 x 60.7 cm (18 ½ x 23 7/8 in), Gift of Michael Straight, National Gallery, Washington DC [1974.87.1]. This painting was probably the double portrait described by Vasari in 1569, identified as Giovanni Borgherini and inherited by his sons. He stated “in Florence, in the house of the sons of Giovanni Borgherini, a picture by the hand of Giorgione. The portrait namely of the above-named Giovanni, taken when he was still a youth, and living in Venice; in the same picture is also the portrait of his preceptor; nor is it possible to imagine two heads more admirably depicted…” The heirs of Cavaliere Pier-Francesco Borgherini (d. 1718) sold the painting in Milan in 1923. It was subsequently owned by an anonymous dealer in London from 1923-25 and then in the collection of Herbert Cook (Doughty House, Richmond, Surrey) until 1932. It was purchased by a Mr. Michael Straight in 1939 who bequeathed it to the National Gallery in 1974. Shapley argued that the pentimenti of this work did not suggest it as a copy but looks to have been done by two hands. Giorgione could have painted the portrait of the young Giovanni Borgherini, while another artist painted the rest of the picture. Jaynie Anderson refuted this suggestion. The work is in bad condition: severely abraided and radically repainted. See H. Cook and M.W. Brockwell, Abridged Catalogue of the Pictures at Doughty House, Richmond) (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1932), 69-70, Cat. 568, pl. XXIII; Terisio Pignatti, Giorgione (London: Phaidon Press Ltd, 1971), 144-145, Cat. A67, pl. 132 (as attributed to Giorgione); Fern Rusk Shapley, Catalogue of the Italian Paintings (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1979), I, 217-218, Cat. 2674, II, pls. 148, 148A; and Jaynie Anderson, Giorgione: The Painter of 'Poetic Brevity' (Paris/New York: Flammarion, 1997), 314-315.

159 Jaynie Anderson has translated it as “Talent is of no avail if deeds are not going to be effective” which she connected to a paternal admonition by his father, Salvi Borgherini, to his son.
conventional placement, with mentor on the proper right (Fig. 5.74). The two men are both portrayed bust-length behind a long parapet in dark somber clothes with black hats. The older gentleman wears a tall cap and looks to his left toward the younger man, who wears a short cap and returns the gaze, slowly pushing a small piece of paper with his right, fingerless-gloved hand. These male double portraits of a mentor-pupil relationship are but a few examples of what seems to have been a popular genre.

Patricia Simons has argued that double portraits of mentor and pupil functioned as a display platform for homoerotic relationships among older men and younger students in an age that discouraged this activity. According to Patricia H. Labalme, sodomy became infamously associated with humanists, tutors, and schools. Guido Ruggiero has investigated the specific case of a Venetian herald whose adolescent pupil characterized their homosexual relationship as a “friendship” because the older man was “teaching him like a master.” These concepts might shed light on Maso da San Friano’s *Double Portrait* in Naples which has a sensual, even erotic, feel, possibly evoking a covert

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160 Giovanni Bellini (or Vincenzo Catena), *A Double Portrait: A Master and His Pupil*, c. 1490, oil on panel, 44.5 x 63.5 cm (17 ½ x 25 in.), private collection. It was once in the Lord Kinnaird Collection (Rossie Priory, Inchtuthil, Perthshire) and sold, London, Christie’s (Derby House, Stratford Place, Oxford Street), June 21, 1946, lot 67. See sale, New York, Sotheby’s, *Important Old Master Paintings*, June 6, 1985, lot 39, repro (as from The Property of a Family Trust, attributed to Giovanni Bellini). The *Double Portrait* is also mentioned in the following sources: Bernard Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance, Venetian School* (1957, I, 34, pl. 254; Fritz Heinemann, *Giovanni Bellini e Belliniani*, 1959, I, 76, Cat. 278, II, pl. 121; F. Gibbons, “New Evidence for the Birth-date of Gentile and Giovanni Bellini,” *Art Bulletin* (1963), XLV, 56 (as by Giovanni Bellini); and Giles Robertson, *Giovanni Bellini* (1968), 110 (as possibly by Vincenzo Catena).

161 The fingerless glove, often worn by scribes, clerks, and notaries, is similar to the one worn by the man in the *Double Portrait of Lovers* by Altobello Melone in the Nationalmuseum in Budapest.

162 Simons has commented that “same-sex behavior between Renaissance artists, apprentices, and models is not surprising since Cennini at the beginning of the fifteenth century and Paolo Pino, in the middle of the sixteenth century, both advised artists to avoid the company of women ‘because it can make your hand unsteady.’” She further suggested that there were sodomical connections to male double portraits which included pages or servants. She considered them “instances of erotic, sometimes racialized relations.” See Patricia Simons, “Homosociality and Erotics in Italian Renaissance Portraiture,” in *Portraiture: Facing the Subject*, ed. and introd. by J. Woodall (Manchester/NY: Manchester University Press, 1977), 44.


meaning (Fig. 5.75). The older master presses behind the younger man as he guides the apprentice’s hand with his own over a ground plan for a basilica. The intimacy of their relationship is reinforced by the overlapping of their arms and the older gentleman’s gesture of reaching with his right arm around the body of the younger student (Fig. 5.76). The teacher looks toward the drawing on the table and, with parted lips, begins to speak, while the pupil looks over his shoulder as if seeking guidance from his older companion. Moreover, they resemble one another, with similar dress of black doublets over a white shirt, black berets, and trimmed beards.165

As we have seen, double portraits of father and adult son as well as mentor and pupil become exemplars of virtuous male relationships, promoting patrimonial and professional lineage. Displaying the transition from youth to old age, these images also visualized an intellectual and/or moral transformation. Some of them even, perhaps covertly, suggest homosexual relations, strengthening the tie between two men. In this type of male double portrait, except when the design is based on a prototype or the subjects are clearly of varied social status, the older gentleman is always placed in the center or on the proper right, giving him the more prominent position. In an era when Humanism and Neoplatonism promoted education as a means to create honorable citizens, the elder’s authoritative status is acknowledged through these images, while one aspires to become his equal through emulation. *Freundshafsbild*, encouraged by humanists, is also commemorated in these double portraits of father-son and teacher-pupil. While becoming a demonstration of the classical ideal of *contubernales*, a combination of intimate

165 Tomasso Manzuoli, called Maso da San Friano, *Double Portrait*, 1556, oil on panel, 115 x 90 cm, Museo e Gallerie Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples. An old identification of the two men is of Bramante and his son. Louis A. Waldman identified the two men in the picture as the ducal secretary to Cosimo I de’ Medici, Lorenzo Pagni, accompanied by his young relative, the architect Zanobi di Lorenzo Pagni. For an in-depth study, particularly on identification of the sitters, see Louis A. Waldman, “Patronage, Lineage, and Self-Promotion in Maso Da San Friano’s Naples *Double Portrait,” I Tatti Studies: Essays in the Renaissance* 10 (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2005), 149-172.
friendship and education, usually between a younger and older man, male double portraits of this type illustrate hierarchy, while at the same time, exhibit likeness.166

Maintaining Balance

An inherent hierarchical construction is at work in images of fathers and adult sons, and mentors and pupils. In this section I will consider whether these same hierarchies exist in male double portraits that do not project familial or professional genealogies. Kate Bomford has pointed out that friendship, as cultivated by humanists, was founded on an ideal of shared virtue, wisdom, and learning.167 This mutual ideal is visualized in double portraits of two men, which project formal as well as informal roles in a manner akin to marriage portraits, some of which ceremoniously demonstrate the marital contract or conjugal union while others are more informal, depicting gentler loving relationship between the espoused.168 Double portraits of men, similarly reflected a ceremonial function, or served as remembrances of a more informal sentiment between friends.169

166 The term contubernales was applied to persons connected by intimate friendship ties and living in the same place of residence, called contubernium. See Pliny, Epist. II.13; Cicero, Ad Familiares, IX.2; cited in William Smith, A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities (London: John Murray, 1878).
167 See Kate Bomford, The Visual Representation of Friendship amongst Humanists in the Southern Netherlands c. 1560-1630, 17.
168 The more informal type of marriage double portraits mainly occurs in the latter part of the sixteenth century.
169 In Michael Hirst’s discussion of Sebastiano’s Portrait of Ferry Carondelet and his Secretary, he refers to the formality and diplomatic role indicative of the sitter in the image. He has considered the influence of this sort of narrative portrait and composition by the combined encounter of a northern sitter with a southern artist. It has a northern appearance reminiscent of Quinten Massys, such as the portrait in Edinburgh or a man with a carefully inscribed letter, dated 1510 at Winterthur. The members of the Carondelet family are known to have been active art patrons. Perhaps, according to Hirst, the idea for the Carondelet portrait stemmed from the sitter showing a narrative portrait with an emphasis on “his status and representative of a great power.” Hirst furthered that a tradition of narrative double portraiture may have been long standing in Netherlandish art, for Marcantonio Michiel’s mentioned a small-scale picture he saw in Milan from 1440, described as “El Quadretto a meze figure, del patron chef a conto cun el fattor fo de man de Zuan Heic, credo Memlino, Ponentino, fatto nel 1440.” See Michael Hirst, Sebastiano del Piombo (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 98.
In Renaissance patriarchal society, men constantly sought advancement and higher status through complex networks of colleagues and friends. Masculine self-promotion and ambition secured social and political advantages that were cultivated through allegiances and patronage. These masculine bonds were also societally advantageous for they contributed to the maintenance of civic peace and public order. Alberti wrote of these advantages to friendship, by stating that “I should have need of you, and you of him, he of another, and some other of me. In this way one man’s need for another serves as the cause and means to keep us all united in general friendship and alliance.” Homosocial bonding within this masculine domain was put visually “on stage” in double portraits that advertised the value of male friendship, considered a shared presence.

Two Gentlemen, Two Friends?

As noted, the manner in which men are portrayed in double portraits suggests relationships of greater or lesser degrees of formality. A collaborative Double Portrait of Two Venetian Gentlemen (c. 1510) by Vincenzo Catena and an unknown artist falls into the more formal category. In it, two men appear in ceremonial costumes (Fig. 5.77). The man on the right, adorned with a gold and red-brocaded vest, is perhaps a representative of the Venetian oligarchy, while the younger man on the viewer’s right is of lower status, for he

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171 Vincenzo Catena and unknown artist (once attributed to Giovanni Bellini), Double Portrait of Two Venetian Gentlemen, c. 1510, oil on panel, 63.5 x 98.1 cm, National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin [NGI 100]. It was purchased from M.M. Auguiot in 1867. The two individuals in the painting were originally thought, though incorrectly, to be the poets Andrea Navagero and Agostino Beazzano. The young man portrayed on the right appears to have been executed by Vincenzo Catena while the man on the left seems to have been painted by an equally competent artist. Perhaps, it was started by one painter and then finished by another, which was quite common for collaboration in this period. See Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland, Illustrated Summary Catalogue of Paintings, introduction by Homan Potterton 1981), 9, Cat. 100, repro.; and The National Gallery of Ireland: Essential Guide (London: Scala Publishers, 2002), 34. Robertson has pointed out that Catena could have seen Raphael’s Double Portrait of Navagero and Beazzano, which Pietro Bembo owned a version in his house in Padua. See Anonimo Morelliano (1888), 20 and cited in Giles Robertson, Vincenzo Catena (Edinburgh: University Press, 1954), 81, no. 7.
wears a coat that indicates his membership in a religious confraternity. The two men turn
toward each other, their hands and broad sleeves overlapping at the center of the picture.
They do not gaze at each other, but look past one another. The older gentleman with gray
beard is given the prominent position on the heraldic dexter. He points to a book in the
center of the image, in a manner reminiscent of presentation pages in manuscripts, in
which an author/illuminator presents a tome to his patron. The stiff, formal appearance
of the pair indicates that this image is of a ceremonial nature, a document of a social
function rather than an informal Freundschaftsbild like the Double Portrait of Andrea Navagero
and Agostino Beazzaro by Raphael (see Fig. 1.75).

Professional Pairing

A formal approach to male double portraiture reflects a professional rapport. One
example is Girolamo da Carpi’s Double Portrait of Cardinal Ippolito de’ Medici and Monsignor
Mario Bracci (after 1532), in which two men in half-length are placed next to a table (Fig.
5.78). The Vice-Chancellor has just signed a papal bull resting on the table with ink

172 The older man in this double portrait is similarly garbed with a cassock, cloak, and black cap like Portrait
of a Man painted by Catena in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna [20]. Likewise, Catena’s signed Portrait
of a Venetian Senator in the Metropolitan Museum of Art also shows a man dressed with a cassock, black cap,
and bearded. Robertson placed the work in Dublin as a “traditional and miscellaneous False Attributions.”
He did, however, agree that the older man was painted by Catena, while the younger gentleman seemed to
be the work of another hand, possible the same artist that painted a work in Chantilly or the artist Pietro
degli Ingannati. See Giles Robertson, Vincenzo Catena (Edinburgh: University Press, 1954), 52-53, Cat. 25,
pl. 21, 66, Cat. 45, pl. 40, 81, no. 7.

173 Attributed to Girolamo da Carpi, Double Portrait of Cardinal Ippolito de’ Medici and Monsignor Mario Bracci,
after 1532, oil on panel, 136.4 x 111.8 cm, National Gallery, London [NG20]. The Cardinal points to
the paper which was partially inscribed with his name, “Hyppol…e Vice cancel.” The inscription, “M de
Braccijs,” is located underneath the seals that are held by the standing figure. Voss originally made
the attribution to da Carpi. See Hermann Voss, Girolamo da Carpi in Städel Jahrbuch (Frankfurt: 1924), 97. Cecil
Gould considered Raphael’s Leo X with his Secretaries as a prototype. The inscriptions that Carpi inserted in
the painting clearly reflect the manner in which the sitters are portrayed in Sebastiano’s painting with the
insertion of Carondelet’s motto in his portrait. Even with the inscriptions visible within the painting,
Ramsden still has argued an old theory that the individuals represented are the Cardinal Ippolito de’ Medici
and Sebastiano del’ Piombo (since he was appointed to the Office of Piombatore in 1531). She further stated
that the double portrait depicts the installation of Ippolito de’ Medici as Vice-Chancellor which took place
in the Cancelleria in Rome on July 2nd, 1532 and Sebastiano del Piombo is seen in the image as the
piombatore for the event. Cecil Gould has disputed this theory claiming that it is not ceremonious enough for
provided by the other figure, who, holds a portable inkwell in his left hand. The figures have an awkwardness that suggests the use of two individual portraits to form the double. It retains a formal sensibility, that makes it a portrait of “occasion.” Ippolito de’ Medici was appointed Vice Chancellor of the Church in 1532, while Bracci had been an official at Charles V’s coronation in Bologna in 1530. E. Hartley Ramsden has argued that the stimulus for this double portrait was the installation of the Cardinal as Papal Vice-Chancellor in 1532, for he signs a papal bull in attendance of the piombatore from 1532, Sebastiano del Piombo, instead of the Monsignor Bracci. More plausible, however, is Cecil Gould’s theory that the picture was probably painted around 1532 in Bologna to commemorate the cardinal conferring an office on the monsignor.174 The two figures are balanced within the composition, with their names both inscribed on papers. Their heads are placed at the same level, even though the man identified as Bracci stands while the figure of Ippolito de’ Medici is seated.175 The Cardinal is indeed given prominence through his seated position and his authoritative role is underscored by his act of signing an important document. Yet, Bracci, as chancery official, is in an equally significant position within the image. As a standing figure in the foreground on the heraldic dexter, he too is given prominence within the image and is the likely commissioner of the double portrait.

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174 Gould has mentioned that in the chronicle of Clement VII’s visit to Bologna in 1529-30 to crown Charles V, there is mention of a certain Monsignor Mario Bracci who was a “chierico di Camera,” just a few years before the painting’s production. See Cecil Gould, “Short Notices: New Evidence on a Problem Picture,” The Burlington Magazine (1962), 116-118.

175 Gould has noted that as such an important functionary, Ippolito would not have spared the time to sit for his portrait, though it is known, according to Vasari, that he did sit for the making of two portraits of him by Titian when he was in Bologna. Carpi probably had access to Titian’s portrait (now located in the Pitti Palace in Florence) and he utilized Titian’s portrayal of the face of the Vice-Chancellor for the face of Ippolito in this Double Portrait. See Cecil Gould, “Lorenzo Lotto and the Double Portrait,” 49.
portrait. The image, therefore, is simultaneously a balanced composition and a record of self-promotion through advantageous connectivity of status and power by association.

Comparable to Carpi’s composition of c. 1532 is Bartolomeo Passerotti’s *Double Portrait of Cardinal Filippo Guastavillani and a Knight of St. Stephen* of c. 1574-75 (Fig. 5.79). Passerotti was probably influenced by examples of this type of double portrait that existed in Bologna. In this image the cardinal sits with his hand raised in a commanding position as he gives a document to the man standing to his right. His coat of arms looms in the background over his left shoulder. The knight, strategically placed on the heraldic dexter, expressively placed his left hand on his chest, a symbol of *amicizia*, and takes the document with his right hand, in an active exchange with the Cardinal. Their hands intertwine at the center of the composition. Guastavillani was made cardinal in 1574, around the time this painting was executed, thus it probably was commissioned to illustrate his new political and religious responsibilities.

Sebastiano del Piombo’s *Portrait of Cardinal Ferry Carondelet and his Secretary* of c. 1510-12, which “reenacts” a bureaucratic procedure, was highly influential on subsequent images of this type (Fig. 5.80). Indeed, balanced representations of two men at a table like the double portraits by Carpi and Passerotti stem from the figural arrangement developed by Sebastiano and subsequently espoused by Titian: an important character

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177 The *impresa* of the Guasavillani family of Bologna is shown with the three concentric circles, like a target, which is encircled and crowned by a snake. The dark-colored cross which hangs from the belt of the figure on the heraldic dexter could signify that he is a Knight of St. Stephen. Borghini mentioned that Passerotti made a portrait of Cardinal Guastavillana. See R. Borghini, *Il Riposo* (Florence: 1584), 566; Raffaello Borghini, *Il Riposo*, ed. and trans. by Lloyd H. Ellis (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), book IV, 270.

178 The hand on the chest has often been a symbol of *amicizia* as illustrated in Ripa’s *Iconologia*.

179 Sebastiano del Piombo, *Portrait of Ferry Carondelet with his Secretaries*, 1510-12, oil on panel, 112.5 x 87 cm, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid. See R. Borghini, *Il Riposo* (Florence: 1584), 566.
with his secretary poised next to him, clearly denoted as a scribe ready with pen in hand. Sebastiano produced his influential composition while in Rome. It clearly emphasizes Carondelet, the procurator of Margaret of Austria, in his official diplomatic role at the Bolognese court of Julius II in 1510. He sits at a carpet-draped table with his secretary, shown ready with pen in hand and attentive gaze, on the left, as a third man holding a note enters from the back of the room. The main character, larger in scale than the other two, is momentarily distracted from his dictation by the viewer, as he looks not at his secretary, but instead gazes out of the picture. Michael Hirst has described this portrait as “half-length double portrait (with a third ancillary figure added); a representation of the subject in a rather specially defined role (for the letter Carondelet holds alludes to his diplomatic mission).” The profound influence of Sebastiano’s composition on subsequent imagery was especially due to its success at suggesting official authority and prominence through the configuration of two figures.

Michael Jaffé has explored Sebastiano’s influence on Titian, who was probably shown a sketch of the painting by Sebastiano himself when he was back in Venice during the summer of 1528. Sebastiano’s composition is reflected in Titian’s Portrait of Georges d’Armagnac, Bishop of Rodez, with his Secretary (1536-39) (Fig. 5.81). In such compositions

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180 Jaffé stated that “in painting his masterpiece Sebastiano seems not to have been in any doubt, at least from the moment that he started work on the actual panel, how he would indicate the subordinate role and the figural relationship of the secretary to his master. It seems inconceivable that the nervously attentive secretary ever could have ventured in Sebastiano’s imagination to advance the sleeve of his writing arm to any position in front of Carondelet’s stiffly dictatorial elbow. Indeed so subordinate does this unidentified fellow appear.” See Michael Jaffé, “The Picture of the Secretary of Titian,” Burlington Magazine, CVIII, no. 756 (March 1966), 114.

181 Hirst has pointed out that it becomes an “evocation of personal pride and status.” One can notice on the architrave above the door of the loggia, decorated with Corinthian columns, the sitter’s personal motto: NOSCE OPPORTUNITATEM.” See Michael Hirst, Sebastiano del Piombo (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 98-99.

182 See Michael Jaffé, “The Picture of the Secretary of Titian,” 114.

183 Titian, Portrait of Georges d’Armagnac, Bishop of Rodez, with his secretary Guillaume Philandrier, 1536-39, oil on canvas, 104.1 x 114.3 cm, Collection of the Duke of Northumberland, Almwick Castle, England [3351]. “Titian used Sebastiano’s Carondolet portrait as a prototype for this one,” from Jennifer Fletcher, “Titian as
of master and secretary, the clearly differentiated status of the two individuals should eliminate them from my study of double portraits. They are relevant, however, because the compositional construct of master with secretary was utilized by later sixteenth-century artists in more balanced double portraits of men from similar social status or professions. While the secretary in the works by Sebastiano and Titian always appear subsidiary, cramped in a corner, never touching nor overlapping the master and maintaining a social distance, the balance clearly shifts in the later works by Catena, Passerotti, and Carpi. 184 The images by Sebastiano and Titian demonstrated how to project an official and ceremonial event using a small number of personages. Yet, it was transformed by later artists into compositions showing two figures instead of three, focusing on a restrained balance of human relations, and thus streamlining the interaction. The most well-known, regal, ceremonial display of two men to project social and political bonding is the full-length, life-size double portrait by Hans Holbein the Younger known as The Ambassadors (1533) (5.82). 185 Here, the two men appear in a

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184 An odd pastiche of this double portrait scenario is found in the book on Titian by Wethey, in which it represents a Double Portrait of Titian with a Venetian Senator.

185 Hans Holbein the Younger, The Ambassadors, 1533, oil on panel, 207 x 209.5 cm, National Gallery, London. The visages and dress identifies the sitters as two French ambassadors (Jean de Dinteville, Sieur de Polisy, and Georges de Selve, Bishop of Lavaur) to the court of Henry VIII of England. The figure on the left is in secular dress while the man on the right is in an informal Catholic religious garb. They flank a table which displays books and other paraphernalia. Its richness includes a still life, capturing a Northern feel, of detailed rendered objects including two globes, a sextant, an astrolabe, and carpets. The detail of a skewed human skull, with its anamorphic perspective was placed on the floor in the lowered center of the composition, indicating a vanitas theme. For a current discussion of the painting, see Kate Bomford, “Friendship and Immortality: Holbein’s Ambassadors Revisited,” Renaissance Studies 18, no. 4 (2004), 544-581.
perfect balance, discarding a master-servant arrangement, though the patron, Jean de Dinteville, gains priority, located on the heraldic dexter. 186

Half-length formats, associated with the depiction of humanists, were less promotional and less prompted by a specific occasion. They often commemorated intimate friendships, as in the many variations on a composition of Two Venetian Gentlemen. 187 Marcantonio Michiel, in his Notizie d’opere del disegno (c. 1520-43), cited one such example in the collection of Gabriele Vendramin, while Carlo Ridolfi in Le maraviglie dell’Arte (1642) mentioned a Double Portrait of Two Cosmographers in the Palazzo Grimani at S. Ermagora in Venice. 188 As is known from Venetian inventories, Giovanni Bellini produced several male double portraits. Extant variants are based on one of these compositions, or, perhaps, a lost image by Bellini. A Double Portrait of Two Venetian Gentlemen attributed to Giovanni Bellini, now in the Musée du Louvre, is presumed to be the double portrait mentioned in the 1569 inventory of the Vendramin Collection (Fig. 5.83). 189 Two men are shown bust-length against a green silk backdrop between a window giving into a view of a continuous landscape. The dark-haired man on the left sports a

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186 Bomford has suggested that friendship portraits, like the Ambassadors, did not have standard iconography and looked to marriage portraiture as their cue. Thereby, men take on gendered roles in the image and symbolism stems from matrimonial unity. The men’s relationship has also been described as intime amy. Ibid., 548-53.

187 See Kate Bornford, The Visual Representation of Friendship amongst Humanists in the Southern Netherlands c. 1560-1630, 56

188 Marcantonio Michiel mentioned one composition as two portraits of youths in profile and/or “watercolors in small format.” See Marcantonio Michiel, Notizie d’opere del disegno (c. 1520-43), cited in Fritz Heinemann, Giovanni Bellini e i Belliniani (Hildesheim/Zurich/New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1991), 80, Cats. 300 & 301. Ridolfi mentioned Due cosmografie in the Palazzo Grimani at S. Ermagora in Venice as “sull’una sono raffigurati Tolomeo e Strabone e Sull’altra Clinio e Pomponio Mella.” It was signed, but now lost. See Carlo Ridolfi, Le maraviglie dell’Arte ovvero, Le vite degli Illustri Pittori Veneti e dello Stato (1642).

189 Attributed to Giovanni Bellini, Double Portrait of Two Venetian Gentlemen, c. 1510, oil on canvas, Musee du Louvre, Paris. The citation in the Vendramin inventory states “un altro quadrieto con doi ritratti de doi nobili venetiani de man de Zuan Belin.” See Arnauld Brejon de Lavergnée, L’Inventaire de Le Brun de 1683: La collection des tableaux de Louis XIV (Paris: 1987), 167-68, Cat. 107; and, Rodolfo Pallucchini and Francesco Rossi, Giovanni Cariani (Bergamo: 1983), 135, Cat. 64. This double portrait has been attributed to both Giovanni and Gentile Bellini, sometimes considered to portray the two brothers. Bode dismissed this identification of the sitters based on their visages impressed on portrait medals. See Wilhelm von Bode in Königliche Museen zu Berlin: Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Gemälde, ed. Julius Meyer (Berlin: 1921, 8th ed.), 32.
coat trimmed with an ermine collar, while the reddish/brown-haired man on the viewer’s right wears a coat with a brown fur collar. The man on the left turns at a three-quarter angle, looking directly out of the image, while the other man is positioned frontally, overlapping the rear shoulder of the man behind him as he stares out to his right. As was customary in Venice during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the young men wear broad, shoulder-length hairstyles with black barete. A copy of the painting in Boston by an unknown hand mimics the Louvre composition (Fig. 5.84). Vittore Belliniano (originally called Vittore di Matteo), a student of Giovanni Bellini, is believed to have produced a finer variant. His Portrait of Two Young Men (c. 1515) at the Museum of fine Arts in Houston varies from the Louvre version for it is reduced on all sides and devoid of landscape (Fig. 5.85). The two men in the Houston picture are shown bust-length against a plain dark ground and they have swapped positions: the reddish/brown-haired man with the brown fur collar is now on the viewer’s left, the black-haired man with ermine collar on the viewer’s right.

Pallucchini and Rossi have argued that due to the many versions of this composition, all stem from a now-lost prototype made by Giovanni Bellini. In all of these versions based on the same model, the lack of interaction between the sitters lends a

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190 Attributed to Vittore Belliniano, Double Portrait of Two Venetian men in Furred Coats, c. 1515, Gift of Ralph Lowell, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Other copies of this image are seen in individual portraits of the sitters in the Musée Jeanne d’Abbéville, Fère; the Collection of Dionysios Mouzakis, Athens; Galerie Výtvarného umění v Ostravě, Dům umění, Most, Czech Republic; and Agostì Collection, Mendoza. See Rodolfo Pallucchini and Francesco Rossi, Giovanni Cariani (Bergamo: 1983), 135; and, Giorgio Fossaluzza, “Vittore Belliniano, Fra’ Marco Pensabene e Giovano Girolamo Savoldo: La Sacra Conversazione in San Nicolò a Treviso,” Studi Trevisani, 4 (1985), 51, fn. 26.

191 Vittore Belliniano, Portrait of Two Young Men, c. 1515, oil on canvas, 18 x 24 7/8 in (45.7 x 63.2 cm), Edith A. and Percy S. Straus Collection, Museum of Fine Arts Houston [44.553]. See Houston, Museum of Fine Arts Houston, Italian Paintings, cat. by Carolyn Wilson (1996), 315-322, Cat. 31. This work was in Berlin, where it was previously attributed to Cariani. In Pallucchini and Rossi’s monograph on Cariani, they attribute the Louvre picture to Cariani and the Houston picture to Belliniano. See Claude Phillips, “Some Portraits by Cariani,” Burlington Magazine XXIV (Dec. 1913), 157-58; Rodolfo Pallucchini and Francesco Rossi, Giovanni Cariani (Bergamo: 1983), 135-36, 279, 298, Cat. A41; Rona Goffen, Giovanni Bellini (New Haven/London: 1989), 213, 320, fn. 51; and Michel Laclotte in Le Siècle de Titien, ed. by Michel Laclotte and Giovanna Nepi Scirè, Grand Palais, Paris (1993), 272 (as by an anonymous Venetian painter).
more formal air. The composition of two bust-length portraits which are juxtaposed but not effectively linked is reminiscent of the Lodi painting mentioned earlier (see Fig. 5.54) and the double-portrait marble reliefs of gendered couples in Venice and Vienna by Tullio Lombardo. The overlapping of the two men is also reminiscent of marriage portraits in which the man crosses in front of his wife, noted in Chapter Two. In this Venetian double-portrait type of the same gender, the overlap occurs with the rear shoulder of the man set in the back always behind the frontally placed figure, and always staring out to his left. In any event, it is clear from all of the variants that this double portrait was considered an exemplar for representations of friendship in Venice.

Informal double portraits of men also combined friendship and professional affiliation. Vasari mentioned that Titian made a portrait of himself with the mosaicist Francesco Zuccaro, thus presenting to the viewer two artists. Vasari in 1568 and Raffaello Borghini in 1584 commented that shortly before leaving Venice for Rome in 1511, the artist Sebastiano del Piombo painted “Verdelot frazese musico eccellentissimo”

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192 The awkwardness of their positioning could be caused by the bust-length portrayal. Cecil Gould has pointed out that bust-length double portraits were limited to a short period in Venice, then developed into larger formats, giving more possibility of an interaction between the two sitters. Alison Luchs has suggested that the double portrait of two young men, existing in its many variations, related to Tullio’s compositions. However, its appearance could also be owed to Northern images, or to North Italian works, such as Giovanni Agostino da Lodi’s Sts. Peter and John the Evangelist or the lost Mantegna double portrait of two friends. The multiplication of portraits of these two subjects suggests either admiration for them among a large circle of family or friends or perhaps, a popular collectors’ object, autonomous from the subjects’ identities, as in the case of Giorgione’s more fanciful images of beautiful youths.

193 I would like to further suggest that the placement of the figures also could have been influenced by double portraits of doges in the Palazzo Ducale (Venice), mentioned later in this chapter.

194 Junkerman has pointed the sense of equality of Venetian men in the citizen and patrician classes through their manner of dress. Male costume would identify an individual in the city’s political structure while also evoking a sense of tradition, established order, and thereby, the Venetian Republic. Men were presented as an image of equality and homogeneity with subtle distinction. See Anne Christine Junkerman, “Bellissima Donna: An Interdisciplinary Study of Venetian Sensuous Half-Length Images of the Early Sixteenth Century,” PhD diss, University of California, Berkeley (1988), 202, 204. The double portraits by Bellini and his followers are perfect examples of this concept.

together with “Ubretto suo compagno cantore.” This now destroyed Double Portrait of Verdelotto and Ubretto of c. 1520 by Sebastiano showed the two musicians turned toward each other, but with the man on the left turning to gaze directly at the viewer as if they have just been interrupted in the midst of a conversation (Fig. 5.86). The only painting known to have been produced during Sebastiano’s Venetian period, it was probably painted in 1505, the only year in which both musicians were together. The informality


197 Sebastiano del Piombo, Double Portrait of Verdelotto and Ubretto, c. 1520, oil on canvas, 87 x 102 cm, Formerly Gemaldegalerie, Berlin, destroyed in 1944 [152] (Photo: Gesellschaft Berlin). Phillippe Verdelot, an early composer of madrigal music, was probably acquainted with Florentine intellectual figures who frequented Compagnie (cultural circles). He composed his earliest madrigals in a particular setting for a particular audience and is known for making use of the Rucellai gardens. See Anthony M. Cummings, The Maecenas and the Madrigalist: Patrons, Patronage, and the Origins of the Italian Madrigal (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2004), frontispiece, 15, fig. I.I, II; and H. Colin Slim, A Gift of Madrigals and Motets (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), 51. The other man portrayed in the composition, Ubretto (Bruett, Brueto, Urbech), was a singer active in Florence.

198 Freedberg has commented that the problematic double portrait was new in the Roman school. Precedents for the type existed, but there were more examples in Venice than in central Italy. He presumed that it was unlikely that Venetian examples were known in Rome. The most assured Venetian precedent was this double portrait, attributed to Sebastiano before 1512 (last recorded in the deposit of the Berlin Museums; there assigned uncertainly to Titian). However, no genuine examples of double portraits exist for Sebastiano’s Roman phase. He did, however, paint the first Roman group portrait (in this same year, 1516), which I believe was influential on the double portrait type. See S.J. Freedberg, Painting of the High Renaissance in Rome and Florence, I, 336-37, 374, II, 334, pl. 459. Vasari added that the painting, at the time of his writing, came with Ubretto (Ubrecht) to Florence and was owned by Francesco da Sangallo. See Giorgio Vasari, Le Opere di Giorgio Vasari, V, 565-69. Hirst has commented that what Vasari said about Verdelot cannot be reconciled with recent knowledge of the musician’s career—he seems to have been a resident of Venice in the 1530s. Michael Hirst, unlike Freedberg, believed that the destroyed double portrait once in Berlin is the work Vasari mentioned due to the fact that Sebastiano, being a musician himself, did not stress the professional character of the great madrigralist, but instead chose a more informal appearance. See Michael Hirst, Sebastiano del Piombo, 93, fn. 13. Despite much research on this painting, it has not yet been identified and dated with certainty, nor has any light been shed on the identity of Verdelot’s companion. Some (including Freedberg and Slim; questioned by Pirrotta and Hirst) believe that Vasari was referring to a painting (once housed at the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum in Berlin, but destroyed at the end of World War II) portraying Verdelot at about 40 years of age accompanied by the young composer, Hubert Naich. Other scholars, such as Ramsden, have suggested that the painting is the famous Concerto (attributed to Giorgione and Titian; dated c. 1505) in the Palazzo Pitti in Florence, identifying Verdelot and Jacob Obrecht with a younger, anonymous person. Yet there is still no concrete documentary evidence to support these claims. Verdelot’s future colleague in Florence, was listed with him in the Libri di Cassa of the Opera of S Maria del Fiore as ‘Bruet’ (1 July 1523) or ‘Urbec’ (28 June 1527); later Verdelot himself mentioned his inseparable
of the scene, which seems to capture a casual conversation between friends, is coupled with the fact that they are dressed identically, perhaps visualizing the notion that humanists were known to be alike in every way, stressing their ties to commonality.

Bartolomeo Passerotti also incorporated the subject of two musicians into his oeuvre. His vertically formatted *Double Portrait of Two Musicians* (c. 1570) presents a young cornet player in the immediate foreground on the viewer's right turning toward the onlooker and holding up his wind instrument (Fig. 5.87). An older gentleman, contemplatively gazing out of the picture, is set back from the visual plane, behind the younger gentleman, yet, he retains a position on the proper right. They face each other, but their gazes do not connect. This portrayal suggests that the young man is in the process of paying homage to the older gentleman, while also entreating the viewer to do the same. The two men are placed against the same dark ground, but the older gentleman has a hazy realm of lighter paint around him, similar to the halo-like form surrounding the nurse in Sofonisba Anguissola’s *Self-Portrait at a Clavichord with her Nurse* (see Fig. 5.23). The aureoles that surround the two individuals suggest that both works were of a commemorative nature. Therefore, in Passerotti’s *Double Portrait of Two Musicians*, the older gentleman is present, yet absent, due to his presumably deceased state, while the young man not only actively pays homage to him, but also plays a eulogizing tune. In addition, his placement in front of the old man further suggests a double portrait in the “act of learning,” similar to the mentor-pupil double portraits mentioned earlier (such as Figs. 5.70 and 5.75).

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199 Bartolomeo Passerotti, attributed to, *Double Portrait of Two Musicians*, c. 1570, oil on canvas, 73 x 59 cm, Capitoline Museum, Rome [70].
Perhaps one of the most familiar double portraits of men is Raphael's *Self-Portrait with a Friend* of 1518 in the Louvre (Fig. 5.88). Here, Raphael placed himself in the background, staring out at the observer, while his unknown companion, with an outstretched arm, turns his head vigorously toward Raphael. The balancing act complicates the composition along with the still controversial identification of Raphael's seated male companion. Raphael has utilized diagonal lines in the image to link the two figures. While double portraits have often been critically rebuked for being disjointed, Raphael in his two extant male double portraits unifies the two men in a decisively organized and coherent shared space. The equally balanced sitters in Raphael's earlier *Double Portrait of Navagero and Beazzano* (see Fig. 1.75) would be incomplete if one of the two individuals were missing. Likewise, Raphael's *Self-Portrait with a Friend* creates an inherent link between the two men. The frontal figure uses his severely foreshortened pointing right arm and turned head to connect to the figure behind him. He looks to the

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200 Raphael, *Self-Portrait with a Friend*, 1518, oil on canvas, 99 x 83 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris. Much discussion has been made over the identification of the friend. The painting has also been called *Raphael and His Fencing Master* probably because the second figure holds a sword in his left hand. John Shearman identified Raphael's friend as Giovanni Battista Branconio dell'Aquila, but left the identification of the sitter as unknown in his subsequent book. See Paris, Grand Palais, *Raphael dans les collections françaises* (Paris: 1983), entry by John Shearman, 101, Cat. 13; and *Only Connect...*, 140. Caroline Elam and Jodi Cranston both have suggested a hierarchical situation in the painting. Caroline Elam stated that “Raphael's elevated position in the picture plane and reassuring hand on his friend's shoulder surely suggest a relationship of superior to subordinate.” Cranston has suggested that he acknowledged Raphael with the affection not uncommon for an instructor toward his student. See Caroline Elam, “Exhibition Reviews: Rome and Florence, The Raphael Exhibitions: Architecture,” *Burlington Magazine* (July 1984), 456; and Jodi Cranston, *Poetics of Portraiture*, 68. Cecil Gould believed it to be Pietro Aretino while Jones/Penny identified him as a “superior friend,” due to the way he is composed. Jones/Penny further suggest that the audience consists perhaps of relatives or friends living far from Rome, as a present, showing the friendship between the two men before one's departure. Gould furthered by making this a “trio” portrait with the viewer being Agostino Chigi, Raphael's and Aretino's patron and friend. In a letter by Aretino to Giovanni da Udine of September 5, 1541, the poet mentioned his friendship with Aretino and perhaps he likewise urged Raphael to paint a double portrait of them as a gift for Chigi. See Cecil Gould, “Raphael's *Double Portrait* in the Louvre: An Identification for the Second Figure,” *Arthibus et Historiae* 10 (1984), 57-60; and Roger Jones and Nicholas Penny, *Raphael* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1983), 171. Adding to the list would be Woods-Marsden's assertion that the young man is Agostino Chigi. She has argued that Raphael's hand on the shoulder of his companion “could have been characterized as a patronizing gesture.” See Joanna Woods-Marsden, *Self-Portraiture: The Visual Construction of Identity and the Social Status of the Artist* (New Haven/London: 1998), 128.
more distant standing figure of Raphael as if for guidance, and Raphael, in turn, places his
left hand on his friend’s shoulder in a somewhat paternal fashion. The pointing gesture of
Raphael’s companion recalls Alberti’s recommendation that painters include

someone who admonishes and points out to us what is happening
there; or beckons with his hand to see…where the face of some
well-known and worthy man is put in…to draw to itself the eyes
of the one who looks.201

Lodovico Dolce, in his *L’Aretino*, also referred to foreshortening as an element to be
utilized, but only with great judgment and discretion “so that one’s pleasure is not
disturbed,” and therefore, would be more effective. He stated that “a single figure which
is foreshortened expediently is sufficient.” Foreshortening was praised by Fabio, the
interlocutor in the *Dialogue*, as the ultimate proof of an artist’s skill and ability. Yet, Dolce
warned that “the artist should not limit his pursuit of praise to one element alone [such as
foreshortening]…He should endeavor to excel in all elements of painting, more especially
in those which afford greater pleasure.”202 John Shearman has discussed the unknown
friend’s presence as occupying the liminal space separating the real and painted world.203

From there, the anonymous sitter draws the viewer, as a third friend, into the circle of
friendship. Joanna Woods-Marsden argued that the sword and the seated pose of
Raphael’s companion was evidence that he was an aristocrat and socially superior to the
painter. Yet Raphael’s elite status at the end of his life contradicts this notion of

hierarchical division between the sitters. The image is not formal and static as were the

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203 Woods-Marsden believed (I think erroneously), that there was not an actual third friend intended for the
image, but instead that this composition was set in front of a mirror. See Woods-Marsden, *Self-Portraiture,*
128.
double portraits by Catena and da Carpi (see Figs. 5.77 and 5.78), which commemorated ceremonious occasions. In Raphael’s double portrait, the more dynamic, less staunch, informal presentation of two men in informal attire speaks to a personal rapport between friends.

**Pairs of Patronage**

Another important consideration in male double portraits is the relationship between patron and recipient. Early fifteenth-century manuscripts often contained scenes on dedication pages of the patrons who commissioned literary and artistic works from the writers, poets, philosophers who produced them, or the illuminators who decorated them. Such images often took the form of a ceremonious presentation of the book to its destined owner. In these cases, the patron normally is seated, shown in profile. The author/illuminator faces him, kneeling to present him with the manuscript, as in Gherardo’s frontispiece to a manuscript in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (Fig. 5.89). Such depictions of two men together were also inserted into initial letters, decorative medallions, or smaller miniatures, such as in Francesco di Chierico’s renditions in manuscripts in Valencia and the Vatican (Figs. 5.90 and 5.91). In the latter part of the Quattrocento, the relationship between the patron and author/illuminator seemed to significantly change in these illustrations. The writer/illuminator sometimes appeared more as a companion, almost an equal to a powerful ruler, and not as a domestic servant.

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204 See Gherardo, Codex [pl. 89, sup. 43], folio 78, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence.  
205 The presentation of the book was not only a visible rendering, but a ceremonial act of presentation occurred. In a case in which the author was not able to be present, a portrait was substituted in his place. The Triestino humanist Raffaele Zovenzoni apologized to his patron, Giovanni Hinderbach, the Bishop of Trento at the end of his collection of Latin poems, entitled the *Istrias*. He had Giovanni Bellini paint his portrait on a page in the book. See Giovanni Bellini, *Portrait of a Man, identified as Raffaele Zovenzoni*, dated 1474, cutting on vellum, 15.2 x 15.9 cm, Biblioteca Trivulziana, Milan, Ms sciolto 452. It is reproduced in Jennifer Fletcher, “The Painter and the Poet: Giovanni Bellini’s Portrait of Raffaele Zovenzoni Rediscovered,” *Apollo* 134 (1991), 153, fig. 1.
One example is the dedicatory page of a manuscript of Strabo’s *Geography*, translated by Guarino, and painted in 1458-59 (Fig. 5.92). In the image, the author delivers the manuscript to Jacopo Antonio Marcello, governor of Padua. The full-length standing author in a long red robe hands the manuscript to his patron, who also stands to receive him. They stand before a triumphal arch decorated with polychrome marble plaques and surmounted by a pediment. The patron stares into the face of the author, who, in turn, looks down at his achievement in his hands. The image is less formal than earlier renditions on dedication pages in which the author/illuminator approaches his patron on his knees. In this image, as well as the *Double Portrait of Federico da Montefeltrro and Unknown Man* on the inside cover of Landino’s *Disputationes*, mentioned above (see Fig. 5.56), the artist who designed the scenes suggests an intellectual equivalence between the two personages represented.

The painted counterpart to this sort of representation is Filippino Lippi’s *Double Portrait of Piero del Pugliese and Filippino Lippi* (c. 1486), in which the artist painted a double portrait of himself with his patron (Fig. 5.93). The *Double Portrait* shows a close-cropped image of Piero on the heraldic dexter leaning his head toward the left, as if to hear the words of the younger man, that of Filippino, shown in profile. A haphazard selection of

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books is arranged on the back ledge behind them. The use of bust-length figures contributes to its informal, conversational portrayal, suggesting a friendship, as in the Bellinesque half-length male double portraits (see Figs. 5.83-5.85), in addition to a patron/artist relationship. The high regard for this image is indicated by the fact that it is mentioned in a Florentine chansonnier, *Epigrammaton Libellus* (two poems), by the Florentine notary, humanist, and statesman Alessandro Braccesi. Filippino probably used previous portrayals of the two individual sitters for this double portrait, originating from his paintings in the Brancacci Chapel in Florence. Except for the fact that Publiese’s head is turned to the right instead of the left, the portrayal of him is similar to his appearance as a witness in the fresco *The Resurrection of the King’s Son* (1471-72) in the Brancacci Chapel (Fig. 5.94), and in Filippino’s *Apparition of the Virgin to St. Bernard* in the Badia (1486) (Fig. 5.95). Though Filippino’s self-portrait in this composition is in profile, it can be compared to his image in the Brancacci Chapel, along with that of his patron, in *Saints Peter and Paul Before the Consul* (Fig. 5.96). This double portrait

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209 In the mentioning of a lost *Portrait of Pugliese* by Filippino Lippi it suggests their friendly relationship. He stated “E a Piero del Pugliese amico suo lavorò una storia di figure piccole condotte con tanta arte e diligenza, che volendone un altro cittadino una simile, gliela dinegò, dicendo esser impossibile farla.” See L. Berti and U. Baldini, *Filippino Lippi* (Florence: 1991), 231.


exemplifies a shift in the representation of the patron/artist relationship from an illustration of a more hierarchical division between the two to a more informal approach, a kind of *Freundschaftsbild*. In addition, if the unknown individual in Raphael’s Louvre *Double Portrait* is in fact a patron then that image too should be reconsidered in this context (see Fig. 5.88).

Recreational Bonding

Individualized men were also depicted in romanticized or casual settings, sometimes enjoying a favorite pastime. In the Palazzo Venezia in Rome, a *Double Portrait* (c. 1502) attributed to Giorgione captures two men in a more romantic, somewhat pastoral mode (Fig. 5.97).\(^{213}\) This image has often been considered strange for its portrayal of one sitter in an exaggeratedly melancholic fashion. The centrally placed sitter is full-faced with shaded eyes, and he supports his right cheek with the palm of his hand. Another man, in the background on the viewer’s right, stands over the left shoulder of the first sitter, who could stand alone as a single portrait. Yet the presence of the other figure represented in the right-hand corner, as Gould has pointed out, “would represent

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\(^{213}\) Attributed to Giorgione, *Double Portrait of a Young Patrician Holding a Seville Orange with Another man in the Background*, oil on canvas, 77 x 66 cm, Museo del Palazzo di Venezia, Rome. While in the Cardinal Ludovisi collection in Rome (1595-1632; dispersed in 1660) it was attributed to Giorgione and described as “Un quadro di due ritratti mezze figure uno tiene la mano alla guancia e nell’altra tiene un melangolo.” Incongruously, the painting was listed in the inventory of Pio da Carpi of 1624. In Cardinal Ludovisi’s brother’s inventory (Niccolò), it was also listed as a work by “Castelfranco’s maestro.” In 1734, the painting was attributed to Dosso Dossi in the collection of Cardinal Tommaso Ruffo in Ferrara. It entered the Palazzo Venezia’s collection in 1919, donated by Prince Fabrizio Ruffo di Motta Bagnara. The *Double Portrait* was attributed to Domenico Mancini by Bernard Berenson (See *Venetian School* (1957), I, 107) and Roberto Longhi gave it to Giorgione. See Roberto Longhi, *Viatico o per cinque secoli di Pittura Veneziana* (Florence: 1952), 22, 63. Ballarin and Luccio (1980, 1990) have both asserted that it was a work by Giorgione, dateable to c. 1502. See A. Ballarin, “Una nuova prospettiva su Giorgione: La Ritrattistica degli anni 1500-1503,” in *Giorgione: Atti del Convegno Internazionale* (1979), 227-252; and A. Ballarin, “Giorgione e la Compagnia degli Amici: ‘Il Doppio Ritratto’” Ludovisi in *Storia dell’arte italiana*, pt. 2, I (Turin: Einaudi, 1983), 481-541. For the Ludovisi Inventory, see Klara Garas, “Giorgione e giorgionismo au XVIe siècle, I,” *Bulletin du Musée Hongrois des Beaux-Arts* XXVII (1965), 51. The softness in approach to Giorgione’s portrait heads in this double portrait is reminiscent of individual portrait heads by Giorgione such as his *Portrait of a Man* (oil on poplar, 30.1 x 26.7 cm, San Diego Museum of Art), *Young Boy with an Arrow* (oil on poplar wood, 48 x 42 cm, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna), and his own *Self-Portrait as David* (oil on canvas, 32 x 43 cm, Herzog Anton-Ulrich Museum, Braunschweig). See also A. Torrini, *Giorgione: Catalogue Completo dei Dipinti* (Florence, 1993).
an aesthetic loss.” Without him, the main figure’s neck would appear to incline too far to the left; he provides balance. Also, the “subordinate” figure engages directly with the observer, controlling his/her gaze through eye contact. Jaynie Anderson has described it as a “double portrait of a young patrician holding a Seville orange with his servant,” yet, upon inspection, the double portrait does not exhibit the hierarchical imbalance, that would suggest that the man in the background is from a lower social class. The image can be compared to Raphael’s Self-Portrait with Friend in its vertical composition and diagonal setting, as well as the balance of the two characters within the image (see Fig. 5.88).

Visual records of male bonds also show in less formal, casual pastimes, or members of lower-class professions, sometimes referencing instructional relationships reminiscent of mentor-pupil double portraits (see Figs. 5.70 and 5.74). Game-playing, inherently association with competition, could be an opportunity for a balanced view of two men across a gameboard, or could serve as as a pretense for the display of instruction. In a thirteenth-century treatise on chess written by a Dominican monk, Libro di ginocho di scacchi, the game was used as an allegory of civil life and social hierarchy. The Renaissance interest in chess probably stemmed from this book’s wide circulation, for it was printed in Florence in 1493 and Venice in 1534. One of the illustrations, The Game of

215 See Jaynie Anderson, Giorgione: The Painter of ‘Poetic Brevity’ (Paris/New York: Flammarion, 1996), 340-341 (as a rejected attribution to Giorgione). This double portrait has also been disregarded as a portrait-like image. Anderson suggested that this image could have an allegorical twist, in which the subject was of amorous passion leading to melancholic love, suggesting the different experiences of love. The frontal figure holding the orange (as a symbol of love) would be melancholy, while the other more aggressive young man expressed passion. However, this idea is pure conjecture.
Chess, shows two men competing at a table, while a King officiates (Fig. 5.98). In Paris Bordone’s version of a gaming scene, The Chess Players (1550-55), the artist utilized the double-portrait idiom of two gentlemen (Fig. 5.99). In the garden of a country villa, the game players, in the foreground, mull over a game of chess. Patricia Fortini-Brown has claimed that this image is a “straightforward genre portrait,” for it commemorates a pair of aristocratic men in a game of mental dexterity to chase away boredom. The bearded man on the right holds a rook in his hand as he moves to checkmate his younger opponent on the left. They seem to be engaged in instruction as the elder, and seemingly wiser, man teaches the young man the game of chess and, therefore, the game of life (society). The picture is comparable to Two Men Playing a Game of Checkers (c. 1520), by the Northern artist Anthonius Mor, in which two properly dressed men stand upright, separated by a gameboard (Fig. 5.100). These individuals, with their portrait-like immediacy, remove these game-playing paintings by Mor and Bordone from the category of pure genre, in contrast to the Chessplayers by Lodovico Carracci from the 1590s, in which the individuals are more generalized and make no eye contact with the viewer (5.101).

Double portraits of men from the same profession, such as Sebastiano del Piombo’s Double Portrait of Verdelotto and Ubretto (see Fig. 5.86), display individual likenesses, as well as career affiliations. Lower-class men were also portrayed in a similar fashion, as in Bartolomeo Passerotti’s Butcher Shop (c. 1582-83) (Fig. 5.102). Two butchers, one young and another old, stand behind the counter in their shop. The young man,

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217 Paris Bordone, The Chess Players, 1550-55, oil on canvas, 44 x 71 ¼ " (1.1 x 1.8 cm), Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.
219 Anthonius Mor, Two Men Playing a Game of Chess, c. 1520, Utrecht.
220 Lodovico Caracci, Chessplayers, location unknown.
holding a cutlass with one hand and grasping the snout of a pig with the other, amusingly stares out at the viewer. The older man, to his left, also displays a piece of butchered meat to the onlooker. A diagonally placed meat rack in the background reinforces their profession. The image cannot be clearly delineated as a portrait of two specific men, for it is from a series of four lowlife genre scenes for the Mattei family of Calcura in Rome. The family’s inventory of 1614 recorded it as “four paintings by Passerotti representing pieces of meat, fish, birds, prawns, with figures of men and women.” Barry Wind has suggested that it is a moralistic satire against erotic passions, a recurrent theme in the *commedia dell’arte*. However, the two men showing their wares in this scene, have a balanced format, reminiscent of Vincenzo Catena’s *Portrait of Two Venetian Gentlemen* from 1510 (see Fig. 5.77). Yet the painting also illustrates a young and old butcher, suggesting a paternal relationship—father-son or master-apprentice—recalling the tradition of male double portraits like Lotto’s *Double Portrait of Giovanni Agostino and Nicolo Torre* (see Fig. 5.65) and *Giovanni Borgherini and His Tutor*, attributed to Giorgione (see Fig. 5.73). In addition, GianPaolo Lomazzo even commented on painted portrayals of butchers in a letter to the sculptor Leone Leoni from July 1545 in which he claimed that “it is a disgrace of our age that it tolerates the painted portraits even of tailors and butchers,” giving credence to the notion that these genre-like images focusing on the lower classes were considered a sort of portrait, and thereby, in this instance a double portrait.

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221 See Barry Wind, “Annibale Carracci’s Scherzo: The Christ Church Butcher Shop,” *Art Bulletin*, LVIII (1976), 93-96. Genre-like images of a more comical nature are seen later in the century, as in Giovanni Ambrogio Brambilla’s set of twelve engravings, which show two profiled male caricatures in double-portrait formats (Gabinetto dei disegni e delle stampe, Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence).

222 G.P. Lomazzo wrote that “A tua infamia, secolo, che sopporti che sino I sarti e I beccai appaiano là vivi in pittura.” See Pietro Aretino, *Lettere sull’Arte di Pietro Aretino*, commentary by Fidenzio Pertile & ed. by Ettore Camesasca (Milan: Milione, 1957-60), II, 75. Examples of Northern profession portraits ranging from upper to lower classes are *Hans and Jacob Furraht as Doctor and Mathematician*, Quentin Metsys’s *Portrait of Two Praying Monks* (Alte Pinakothek, Munich), *Banker and his Client* (Caleux Collection, Paris), and the
The male double portrait also embedded itself in narrative scenes in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In Luca Signorelli’s *Deeds of the Antichrist* (c. 1499-1502) in the San Brizio Chapel in the cathedral in Orvieto, a double portrait of the artists, Fra Angelico and Signorelli as full-length active witnesses as well as a full-embodied “signature,” was placed in the lower left of the scene (Figs. 5.103 and 5.104). In a similar manner, in Francesco Salviati’s *The Visitation* in San Giovanni Decollato in Rome (1538), two men appear to be walking, as if on a stage, in the lower-left corner (Fig. 5.105). They are dressed in black and one of the men points to the main action of the scene with his left hand. The insertion of these two figures was not a late addition, but clearly a part of the original concept, for they appear in a preparatory drawing for the final painting. Perhaps these figures should be considered intermediaries between the religious figures in the narrative and the audience outside the picture plane, but they are also portraits of the men, confraternity members, who had commissioned the painting (Fig. 5.106), giving their portrayal together, yet separated from the main scene particular importance. These male double portraits of a more casual nature enhance the discussion of *Freundschaftsbild* in the Renaissance.

German painter, Ludger Tom Ring the Younger (1522-1584) in his *Double Portrait of Two Men* as middle-class burghers.

223 Luca Signorelli, *Deeds of the Antichrist*, 1499-1502, fresco, San Brizio Chapel (once called the Cappella Nuovo), Cathedral, Orvieto.

224 The Confraternity of San Giovanni Decollato was a brotherhood of Florentine residents in Rome. The men held meetings and conducted religious services in the oratory, build in the 1530s, and decorated between 1536 and 1553. Vasari named Battista da San Gallo, brother of Antonio da San Gallo the Younger and the banker Giovanni da Cepperello as the commissioners of the *Visitation* in 1538. The *Baptism of Christ*, probably originally commissioned for Salviati (as evidenced by a print of the *Baptism of Christ* by Philippe Thomasin [after Salviati], British Museum, London), two similarly placed figures directing the viewer into the picture, as in the *Visitation*, located in the lower left corner of the composition. Salviati’s version of the *Baptism* was probably replaced by Jacopino da Conte’s painting. In Salviati’s *Visitation*, the two half-length men are emphatically addressing the viewer. See Giorgio Vasari, *Le Opere di Giorgio Vasari*, annotated by Gaetano Milanesi [Reprint of Le vite de’ più eccelenti pittori, scultori ed architettori] (Florence: Sansoni, 1981), VII, 16, 31.; Jean S. Weisz, “Salvation through Death: Jacopino del Conte’s Altarpiece in the Oratory of S Giovanni Decollato in Rome,” *Art History*, VI, no. 4 (December 1983), 400; and *Pittura e
“Political Correctness”

The widespread interest in double portraits, especially of two men, was no doubt influenced by images of gran maestri, powerful or great men. Among double portraits of men, a sub-type arose that was clearly politically motivated, geared toward the demonstration of social and political alliances among rulers. The print media disseminated these images more widely, as in Daniel Hopfer’s profiled Double Portrait of Pope Leo X and Giuliano de’ Medici (Fig. 5.107) or the Double Portrait of Charles I and Ferdinand I by the Monogrammist CB (Fig. 5.108). Male double portraits were also prominently displayed in churches, administrative offices, and palaces. Near the entrance of the sacristy of Il Gesù in Rome, a Double Portrait of Cardinals Alessandro and Odoardo Farnese (c. 1600) position two cardinals linked by family in throne-like chairs, in front of an interior view of Il Gesù, the object of their family’s patronage (Fig. 5.109). This sort of grand display extends to other venues, as in the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence. In the Sala del Clementino, two double portraits are still placed in their original positions above a doorway, Double Portrait of Clement VII and Charles V and Double Portrait of Clement VII and Francis I (c. 1556-62), in a manner reminiscent of Pliny’s recommendation that doorways of homes be decorated with portraits (see Figs. 5.110, 5.111, and 5.112). Sebastiano del Piombo also made a preparatory drawing for a Double Portrait of Clement VII and Charles V (which was not realized in painted form) in Bologna (c. 1529-30). The two powerful

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225 A similar portrayal of two men is seen on a Roman medal of the Pope Adrian VI (1522-1523) and a colleague. See Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, *Vittoria Colonna: Dichterin und Muse Michelangelo*, cat. by Sylvia Ferino-Pagden and Agostino Attanasio (1997), Fig. 1.37.


227 Sebastiano del Piombo, *Study for Double Portrait of Pope Clement VII and Charles V*, British Museum, London. It is not a true double portrait for it should be more likely a historical image with portraits of the
men are seated at a table, with Clement VII located on the heraldic dexter, suggesting that he was perhaps the commissioner of the painting.

Perhaps the most numerous display of male double portraits is in the Sala del Gran Consiglio in the Ducal Palace in Venice. The vast room that serves as a setting for Tintoretto’s enormous Paradise, has a frieze running around the edge of the room and above the main narrative cycle, that shows a series of posthumous double portraits of doges in chronological order (see Fig. 1.73). Every Venetian doge is portrayed from the early ninth century on, in waist-length, three-quarter view, facing each other in pairs. This series of “succession portraits” is reminiscent of displays of popes’ heads high on church walls, as in the sculpted portrait heads jutting out in two rows near the ceiling in the Cathedral in Siena or the painted series of popes which was once located in San Paolo Fuori Le Mura in Rome. Like the popes in this setting, the painted doges demonstrate their political and religious lineage chronologically, much like a family tree (see Fig. 1.74).

What makes the Ducal Palace series unique, however, is the desire to display succession portraits in pairs, utilizing the double-portrait format (Fig. 5.113). It is certainly the rulers due to the arrangement of spectators surrounding the prominent men. The parting of a curtain between the two men shows a cityscape through a window in the distance. It should also be noted that Pope Clement dominates the composition in his commanding gestures, while Charles V acquiesces. Interestingly, Pope Clement was the suppliant of the ruler at this time. See Michael Hirst, Sebastiano del Piombo, 100, fig. 135; and Rome, Palazzo di Venezia, Sebastiano del Piombo 1485-1547, exh. cat. by Claudio Strinati, Mauro Lucco, et al (2008), 328-329, Cat. 103, repro. In a red chalk drawing by Baldassare Peruzzi, Clement VII is also seen with the other Medici pope, Leo X. It was once located in the Kunsthalle in Bremen [37/273] but was lost in World War II. It was inscribed in the uppermost left as “Ritrati di Leone et Clem…” See K. Langedijk, Portraits of the Medici, 1412, Cat. 25, fig. 103, 25.


229 Interestingly, in a print by Giacomo Franco which records The Great Council in Session after the fire of 1577 in the Sala del Maggior Consiglio in the Doge’s Palace it shows Tintoretto’s Paradise on the far wall and the Portraits of the Doges in the frieze. Perhaps due to greater interest portraying the actual occasion, the visual chronicler mistakenly interpreted the series of doges with only one doge in each frame instead of
grandest display (in quantitative terms) of double portraits in one room in Renaissance Italy, if not in all of Europe. These double portraits were begun under the reign of Doge Marco Dandolo (1365-68) and were continually painted by prominent artists from each generation, from Guariento to Tintoretto. In 1577, the hall caught fire, and most of the room, including the succession portraits, was destroyed. In the subsequent campaign to renew the decoration, many artistic compositions from the previous decoration were altered, as opposed to copied, but the concept of ducal succession portraits as doubles was maintained. Immediately after the fire, the narrative and portrait cycles were replaced by Jacopo and Domenico Tintoretto. The current frieze shows the portraits of the first seventy-six doges from Obelerio Antenoreo to Francesco Venier (1554-1556). Each double portrait, as in the *Double Portrait of Doge Antonio Grimani and Andrea Gritti* (Fig. 5.114), shows the doges in ceremonial garb, looking distantly out and gesticulating with one hand, while the other hand remains hidden by an identifying banderole that twists around their bodies. This grand display provides a patrimonial lineage for Venice in the most magnificent hall in the city. In addition, as the various ruling bodies were in session in the *grand salone*, the location of the double portraits of doges high up on the wall, as if looking down from heaven, promoted the idea that these men, past and present, ruled over all procedures. The symbolic power and dominance of these leaders over formal and informal social occasions in this room set an example for the Venetian state.


230 Jennifer Fletcher has mentioned that in 1556 Titian was relieved of the task of producing dogal portraits and *ex-voto* for the Doge’s Palace. See Jennifer Fletcher, “Titian as a Painter of Portraits,” in Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, *Tiziano*, exh. cat. (2003), 320.
Conclusion

Single-gender double portraits reflect the complex interactions and social bonds in Renaissance society. The limited number of existing examples of female double portraits suggests that Renaissance women were not thought to maintain the same social and political connectedness that men did. Though some women had strong, influential roles, their display in female double portraits was limited to formal portrayals in which they became pawns in their family alliances, vehicles by which to express male connections, or they were made to conform to a more seductive/erotic role for a particular male voyeur.231 In fact, Renaissance moralistic literature cast doubt on women’s capacity for true friendship.232 Among known examples, only a woman artist, Sofonisba Anguissola, portrayed the more private associations between two women. As we have seen, in her *Self-Portrait with Nursemaid* the painter visually raises the status of her counterpart within the tender image.

Male relationships, however, were much discussed, written about, and visualized in the Renaissance, and were particularly fertile ground for double portraits. Alberti expressed the need for links between men by stating “God established in the human mind a strong tie to bind together human beings in society, namely justice, equity, liberality and love.” He expanded upon his discussion by using Aristotle’s classification of friendship into three types: for the sake of virtue, for pleasure, and for utility, and he

231 F. W. Kent suggested a type of *sottogoverno* in which women acted as intercessors and facilitated political and social processes in the male hierarchy. See F. W. Kent, “A Proposal by Savonarola for the Self-Reform of Florentine Women (March 1496),” *Memorie domenicane*, NS 14 (1983), 335-41. The indirect means in which women used their female and male connections differed from the more overt display by males in Renaissance society.

illustrated the concept with three distinct portraits. Yet, Renaissance personal, social, and political relationships cannot be so easily defined, for they were an amalgam of overlapping ties of patronage, kinship, and friendship.

The ideal friendship described by Aristotle, Cicero, and Marsilio Ficino was not necessarily operable on a real everyday level. Ficino wrote that a “true friendship, can only exist for those who neither seek to accumulate riches nor to satisfy sensual pleasures…only for those who apply themselves…to acquire and exercise the single and permanent virtue of the soul.” Perhaps the very lack of perfect harmony in Renaissance society created a need to emphasize ideal friendships in order to compensate for the unstable, highly self-interested and self-promoting social relationships of the time. Double portraits of men exemplify ideals to strive for, even if they were rarely possible to achieve. Yet they could also demonstrate horizontal, balanced relationships, mainly of a humanistic nature, and project an individual’s vertical aspirations covertly by his placement in a portrait with another, more prestigious male companion, thus providing a visual link to political and social prestige. The male double portrait, therefore, is one of the most revealing Renaissance records of masculine self-fashioning and social aspiration.

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234 See Guy Fitch Lytle, “Friendship and Patronage in Renaissance Europe,” 60. Dale Kent also discussed the patronal bonds of neighborhood, friendship, and kinship in the form of amicizia in Florentine society. See Dale Kent, chapter 4, in *Patronage, Art and Society in Renaissance Italy*.
235 In his explanation on the nature of friendship to Giovanni Cavalcanti. See *The Letters of Marsilio Ficino* (London: 1975), i, 96.
236 Lytle, “Friendship and Patronage,” 56.
237 Gene Brucker suggested that with the demise of traditional corporations in Florence, individual citizens sought support and friendship of men more powerful and influential than themselves. See Gene Brucker, “The Structure of Patrician Society in Renaissance Florence,” *Colloquium* 1 (1964), 8-11.
Conclusion

Sharing space involves a union of two individuals framed together for a specific purpose. Double portraiture was a compositional variation in portrait-making available to Renaissance patrons that provided a means to promote interrelationships of a myriad nature: family alliances, discreet sexual relations, mutual obligations, kindred spirits, remembrances of individuals separated by distance, and the passing of loved ones. The double portrait became a vehicle of projection promoting the social image of specific rapports and framing them by means of proper facades and behaviors in appropriate settings. The commission for the double portrait was requested either by one of the two sitters in the image or by a third party with a connection to the two portrayed. I have reassessed this important category that has been marginalized. By illuminating examples heretofore unknown or unexamined, I have thus demonstrated that this was a major genre, not an aberrant trend.

Art historical studies on portraiture address the separation of gender. Feminist art historians have reevaluated the achievements of women artists and examined how gender shaped images of women. More recently, studies on masculinity in the early modern era have used gender as a tool of investigation to expose conflicts and fractures in patriarchal society.¹ This study expands previous examinations of Renaissance portraiture by considering the double portrait as a shared endeavor, and by looking at gender relationally. Double portraits construct identity while at the same time constructing power. Identity is clarified by the communicative rapport disclosed in the image. The

¹ This was explored in a session, entitled “Masculinity and Early Modern Art,” presented at the most recent College Art Association annual conference (February 20-23, 2008). According to Broude and Garrard, the model of a social order in which power is vested primarily in one sex is itself a patriarchal idea. See Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrard, *Feminism and Art History: Questioning the Litany* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1982), 3.
constructed identity is centered around a set of cultural forms and symbols collectively understood by the artist, sitter, patron, and viewer, who were all a part of the same social milieu. Cultural norms and expectations would, for instance, govern gestures and dictate behaviors and costume. By locating trends in the double portrait, I have approached the genre not just to explore facets of the represented individuals, but more importantly, to explore the construction of public character.

The double portrait in Renaissance Italy takes its cue from ancient, medieval, and Northern European sources. As discussed, objects such as antique sepulchral reliefs, *imagines clipeatae*, *uomini famosi* cycles, palatial decoration, tomb sculpture, and religious images were important sources to draw from for Italian Renaissance artists. Double portraits in Italy from the fifteenth century were primarily constrained to small formats, often relegating individuals to profile representations and with limited mobility. Yet, as portraiture became more popular with clients and artists in the sixteenth century, the expansion of formats created further opportunity to portray more than one individual in the same figurative space. Conversation between the sitters in double portraits became more engaged with additional gestures and expressions inside the pictorial framework, and effected the pairs’ dialogue with the spectator. The onlooker, when approaching this type, immediately reacts to more than one portrait sitter, and when contemporaneous viewers confronted sixteenth-century versions which contained the sitters’ new freedom of expression, the involved parties participated in an extended discourse. Such a portrait commission was presumably more profitable for the artist since it doubled the number of sitters to paint. The double portrait would naturally relate to the commissioner, but was also aimed at a wider audience. While a condition of portraiture at this time was to represent “likeness” in regard to individual features, the manner in which the artist
represented the sitter(s) could still evoke a credible presence, and at the same time, paint ideal appearance(s). Double portraits have the same objective, while, in the same manner, also codifying existing societal values, recognizable to contemporary onlookers. The relationships on view were not necessarily accurate, everyday representations of the couples’ rapport, but could be idealized versions. The double portrait defined relationships by perpetuating standard iconography appropriate for specific contexts (i.e. the handclasp as a symbol for marriage). Double-portrait iconography was also gendered, associating such objects as swords, books, and columns with men, and handkerchiefs, fans, and flohpelze with women. Signs intended for decoding within the image extended to gesture, touch, costume, backdrop, positioning, and eye contact.

In this study, I have demonstrated that the double portrait was not merely a rare, awkward portrait type, but a cultural model playing an important role in Renaissance society. While a single portrait depicts a sitter at a specific moment of his/her life, the double portrait offers an even more specific nexus as two lives purposefully intersect and sets up a narrative. Conjugal double portraits of nobles set the standard, demarcating formal marital obligations and fusing family alliances, as in Lorenzo (Vaiani) dello Sciorina’s Double Portrait of Giovanni di Pierfrancesco de’ Medici and his Wife Caterina Sforza (1585) and Charles V and Isabella of Portugal by Titian (copy after by Rubens) (1548) (see Figs. 2.73 and 2.102). Lorenzo Lotto’s Double Portrait of Messer Marsilio and his Bride (1523) even demonstrates l’anellamento (the ringing of the bride), visually documenting their union (see Fig. 2.4). Such images were not just meant to signal approval of the two wedded sitters, but, like the marriage itself, were also enmeshed in the couple’s dedication to their patria and to the promotion of civic ideals. Matrimonial double portraits stem from interlocking two families’ heraldic standards, yet this genre further developed a set
of standard pictorial conventions and iconography. A genre of visual images in the
Renaissance promoted the marital relationship, ranging from portraying biblical couples
to narrative scenes showing private (domestic) life and cassoni panels that expressed
marital ideals. Conjugal double portraits can be added to this list as a fused representation
of matrimony, illustrating couples as contemporary models of comportment. Lavinia
Fontana’s Portrait of a Couple (c. 1560-85) lacks information to identify the sitters, except
for their ages, which are prominently marked above their heads (see Fig. I.1). The
connection between the man and woman is not documented and even the attribution to
the artist is under debate. Yet, a reading of the painting signals their evident matrimonial
tie through gender distinctions, positioning, and artistic conventions.

Lower classes also participated in this social practice by emulating this sort of
portrayal. The matrimonial double portrait also spread to other facets of visual culture,
such as its use on maiolica plates, utilized in wedding festivities (see Fig. 2.111). In this
way, usage of the type extended to more social classes, becoming more ubiquitous. Into
the sixteenth century, depictions of matrimonial pairing also varied with more informal
and domestic approaches, illustrating enhanced ways of thinking about women and their
roles (see Figs. 16 and 2.96). Conjugal double portraits became vehicles of identity and
their placement within the domestic interior also served as backdrops to festivities in
these spaces. Even in Venice, where women were thought to be marginal in civic,
commercial, and religious affairs, playing virtually no role in public rituals, they
maintained an important presence in the private sector, bridging inter-family associations
(natal and conjugal relationships). They were key in actively exhibiting wealth and prestige
in social festivities where Venetian women, celebrated for their physical beauty and
opulence, were literally put on public display. Likewise, Renaissance women in double portraits were also on display, with appropriate decorum and the most suitable chaperone, their husband.

While matrimonial double portraits were on public display in such places as grand stairways or large saloni, the converse lover and allegorical category was better left to more private locations. If masked in allegory, however, the amorous couple could be more publicly exhibited. Double portraits of love, allegory, and folly can appear misleading. These amorous pairings in a double-portrait idiom often have a credible presence and figural arrangement similar to conjugal versions, but they breach decorum and stray from formal and appropriate appearances. They also reveal eroticism, bordering on the burlesque, in a manner to contemporaneous romantic and comic literature. Visually, these images could stem from the medieval tradition of courtly love imagery. Amants portraits, as in Altobello Melone’s Lovers (c. 1515) (see Fig. 3.34), fit into this category, for they exhibit a straightforward presence, a realistic “likeness” of a couple, yet allude to a theme of seduction with intimate contact, provocative clothing, shifting of hierarchical positioning, and hazy, obscured settings. The woman also becomes an active participant, enticing the viewer with her gaze and loosening male control. Giorgione and Leonardo were probably the proponents of this genre, and this type gained widespread interest in northern Italy and the Veneto.

Renaissance sitters often took on the roles of fictional characters, being portrayed in some sort of allegorical guise, revealing other facets to their identities or projecting

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3 Other images that retain a portrait-like presence are paintings of half-length females. Sidney J. Freedberg has commented that this group “lies on the verge of portraiture...with their conspicuous handsomeness.” See Sidney J. Freedberg, Painting in Italy, 1500-1600 (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1993), 162.
some underlying intention. Theatrical productions popular in the sixteenth century stimulated this type, in which individuals became actors on stage. I argue that double portraits also involve this type of role-playing, in which the guise was used to enhance the represented relationship. Pairs were dressed up as mythological, saintly, or biblical characters. For instance, married couples were painted as Mars and Venus, visually emphasizing their relationship as one of harmonious marital love (see Figs. 3.64 and 3.66). Yet, a guise could also be an appropriate means to express more sensual love and desire, showing sitters in more risqué attire (see Fig. 3.63). Bartolomeo Passerotti’s *Ulysses and Circe* of c. 1575 is one of the most outlandish allegorical double-portrait types from the sixteenth century (see Fig. 3.69). It not only depicts the well-known Bolognese naturalist Ulisses Aldovandi as Ulysses, the Greek adventurer, but also portrays him advancing upon an individual dressed as the seductive Circe, who bears one breast, and whom the artist has portrayed as a hermaphrodite. Images of love and lust developed into comic acts, closely parallel to the ribald humor in literature of the sixteenth century. The double-portrait idiom was also extended to comical couples at this time, reinforcing the popularity of this genre and transforming the positive view on marriage, and therefore, conjugal double portraits, into ridicule (see Fig. 3.84).

Another type, the portrait within a portrait, places a missing person in rapport with another and explicitly on display, heightening the theme of absence made present and the notion of honor. Written letters from the period often raised the need for reminders of the missing. Images of this sort also became remembrance tokens as well as cultural symbols of constancy, as in Bernardino Linicino’s *Portrait of a Woman with the Effigy of her Spouse* (c. 1524-28) or Girolamo Mazzola Bedoli’s *Portrait of a Nobleman, identified as Virginio Ariosto* (c. 1540) (see Figs. 4.1 and 4.108). Others attempted to bolster the
reputation of, or express gratitude from, one individual in their alignment with another through the display of a portrait, such as in Botticelli’s *Portrait of a Man with a Medallion* from the 1470s (see Fig. 1.70). As I have shown, the portrait within the portrait stems from a commemorative and communicative tradition with portrait-like objects. This type had historical and religious precedents ranging from ancient literary stories of love and loss and the use of the *imagines clipeatae* to the conspicuous act of display in the religious icons of Saints Veronica and Luke.

Portraits have affinities with mirrors by nature of display and their attempt to capture a sense of naturalism. A doubled reality, effected through the use of a mirror, was also influential on the portrait within a portrait type, encompassing a variety of meanings from the *paragone* debate and self-commemoration, to themes of the lover’s gaze, beauty, and *vanitas*. In one operation, the actions performed by men and women through the use of mirror/portrait-object fuse lover with beloved, as in a double portrait. Mirror frames with sculpted female busts, as in one example by Mino da Fiesole of c. 1470-80 (see Fig. 4.87), illustrate this concept which associates the female beholder looking in the mirror with an ideal female bust above or a male viewer performing the same action below an image of his beloved. The portrait-within-the-portrait type took on many forms. The inner simulacrum could be made of a variety of media: medallions, cameos, sculpted busts, paintings, drawings, and even book covers. This genre became a popular means of remembrance in the Renaissance that continued to flourish in later centuries.

Bonds of loyalty extend to same-gender double portraits, promoting male and female companionship, linked by friendship and kinship, though a significant difference in the variations of male companionship emerged in this study. Female double portraits memorialized a familial tie, most often becoming expressions of male connections, as in
Moretto da Brescia’s *saletta delle nobili dame* (1545-46) in Brescia (see Figs. 5.24 and 5.25). The eight women, with two being on each wall in double-portrait fashion, are arranged in front of an expansive landscape of gardens and palaces, illustrating the wealth of the Casato-Martinengo family and commissioned to mark matrimony between these lineages. Portrayals of two women sometimes framed them as seducers for a specific male voyeur, such as in Jacopo Zucchi’s allegorical portrayal of two lovers of Ferdinando de’ Medici in his *Three Graces* (c. 1570s) (see Fig. 5.32).

Men, on the other hand, were represented in double portraits to demonstrate a variety of affiliations, with only one being familial, in a promotion of male sociability. Male friendship was much discussed and promoted in humanistic circles. Personal, social, professional, and political ties found visual expression in the single-gender double portrait. Ideal friendships, though rare to achieve due to self-interest and self-promotion, at least could be visually attainable in a balanced portrayal of two men, as in Pontormo’s *Portrait of Two Men with a Letter* (c. 1522-24) (see Fig. 5.50), and the extant variants of a perhaps lost image by Giovanni Bellini, frequently called a *Double Portrait of Two Venetian Gentlemen* (c. 1510) (see Fig. 5.83). Raphael’s *Double Portrait of Andrea Navagero and Agostino Beazzaro* (c. 1516) became a substitute for absent friends, significantly making the recipient of the portrait-gift, Pietro Bembo, also the specific viewer (see Fig. 1.75). The male double portrait was also utilized by rulers to promote their alliances, as in Vasari’s *Double Portrait of Clement VII and Charles V* and *Double Portrait of Clement VII and Francis I* (c. 1556-62) located in their original location over doorways in the Palazzo Vecchio, Florence (See Figs. 5.110, 5.111, and 5.112). The mentor-pupil relationship as well as patronage ties were also visually expressed with this type (see Figs. 5.70, 5.75 and 5.93). Bonds of patronage, kinship, and friendship overlapped in Renaissance society.
double portraits perform an intentional as well as required display of reciprocity among friends, patrons, family members, and colleagues, becoming visual records of these social and political contacts.

Power relations are the defining factor in the double portrait, for they profoundly impacted the dynamics involved in the image and its role in creating identity. Power becomes an inherent link in this type of composition—between the two sitters and between them and the viewer. The image and the reason for portrayal allow one subject—through such devices as gender, age, or sexuality—to dominate or persuade the other within the displayed scenario as well as to take control of the viewer’s line of sight. One individual in a double portrait may wield power, or reciprocal power between the two sitters may be endorsed in accordance with the nature of their relationship. Binary factors such as male/female, young/old, presence/absence, close/distant, and active/passive dictate the means to understanding the represented individuals, the relationship between them, and the intended reception of the image by the audience who had intersubjectively accepted knowledge. I contribute this new method of interpretation in exploring the relationships on view in double portraits.

My analysis focuses on double portraiture as a representational genre privileging paradigmatic relations, as each specific image was understood to be a member of a particular class of objects. Yet, the double portrait was also linked syntagmatically to the physical/interior space where it resided, whether in a domicile or a public building. Commissions for double portraits occurred in most major Italian cities and its interest spread to the provinces, illustrating the need to project connectivity during this time. Double portraits also embody concurrent Renaissance principles and ideals of marriage, love, friendship, and commemoration embedded in the historical and cultural matrix of
their time. This study demonstrates their value as eloquent, and highly revealing windows onto the social dynamics and mores of early modern Italy.
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Fig. I.1 Lavinia Fontana, attributed to, *Portrait of a Couple*, c. 1580-85, oil on canvas, Cleveland Museum of Art [1916.793].

Fig. I.2 Piero della Francesca, *Diptych of Battista Sforza and Federico da Montefeltro*, c. 1472, oil and tempera on panel, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.

Fig. I.3 Raphael da Sanzio, *Portraits of Agnolo Doni and Maddalena Strozzi Doni*, c. 1505, oil on panel, Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti, Florence.
Fig. I.4 Paolo Veneziano, *Madonna and Child with Doge Dandolo and his Wife*, 1339, Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice.

Fig. I.5 Sebastiano del Piombo, attributed to, *Portrait of Vittoria Colonna and her husband*, c. 1530-40, Columbus Museum of Art, Columbus, Ohio.

Fig. I.6 Hans Memling, *Portrait of an Old Man*, 1470-75, oil on panel, Staatliche Museen, Berlin. And Hans Memling, *Portrait of an Old Woman*, 1470-75, oil on panel, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
Fig. I.7 Swabian Master, Portrait of Wilhelm IV. Graf Schenk von Schenkenstein und Agnes Gräfin von Werdenberg-Trochtelfingen, c. 1455, Furstlich Fürstenbergsche Sammlungen Würth, Donaueschingen [6468] (Ex-Donaueschinger Bilderschatz in Schwäbisch Hall ausgestellt).

Fig. I.8 Lorenzo Lotto, Double Portrait of Giovanni Agostino and Niccolò della Torre, c. 1513-16, oil on canvas, National Gallery, London [NG699].
Fig. 1.1 Italian artist, *Drawing after The Roman Labours of Hercules Sarophagus*, c. 1550-55, Codex Coburgensis, folio 96, Kupferstichkabinett der Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg, Coburg [Hz 2].

Fig. 1.2 Carlo Maderno, *Palazzo Mattei di Giove*, detail of *Cortile d’Onore*, 1598, Rome.

Fig. 1.3 Roman, *Funerary Stele of Lucius Rubrius Stabilio Primus*, 1st century CE, Il Lapidario Romano dei Musei Civici, Modena.
Fig. 1.4 Ciriaco d’Ancona, *Sketch after an Inscribed and Sculpted Sarcophagus from the Church [of the Forerunner], Kharia, Tainaron peninsula, Peloponnese, 1447-48*, in *Diario V*, 26, Ms. Trotti 373, fol. 107r, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan.

Fig. 1.5 Jacopo Bellini, *Roman Monuments: Metellia Prima Stele*, from his *Book of Drawings*, c. 1440, folio 44, pen and ink over silverpoint on parchment, 29 x 42.7 cm, Cabinet des Dessins, Louvre, Paris [R.F. 1512].

Fig. 1.6 Felice Feliciano, *Sketch after the Monument of Metellia-Stele*, from Giovanni Marcanova, *Quaedam antiquitatum fragmenta*, c. 1457-65, pen and ink on parchment, Ms. A.L. 5.15, fol. 138 verso and 141 verso, Galleria Estense, Modena.
Fig. 1.7 Roman, *Funerary Relief of a Husband and Wife*, 1st century CE, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York [09.221.2].

Fig. 1.8 Andrea Mantegna, *Martyrdom of Saint Christopher*, c. 1457, fresco, Ovetari chapel, Church of the Eremitani, Padua, detail from scenes 1-2, bottom register left and right.

Fig. 1.9 Tullio Lombardo, *Double Portrait of a Man and Woman*, 1490-1510, marble, Galleria Franchetti, Ca' d'Oro, Venice.

Fig. 1.10 Alfonso Ruspagiari, *Profile Portrait of a Lady Confronting a Portrait Bust*, lead allow, hollow uniface cast, oval, Michael Hall Collection, New York.
Fig. 1.11 Roman, *Busts of a Man and a Woman in Cupboards*, grave relief, marble, National Museum (Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek), Copenhagen [1187].

Fig. 1.12 Roman, *Funerary Relief with Images of the Ancestors*, 1st century BCE, Montemartini Museum, Rome [15312].

Fig. 1.13 Urbino or Marches sculptor, *Profiled Portraits of Man and Woman*, reverse of the Portrait of Francesco Cinzio Benincasa, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Fig. 1.14 Andrea Mantegna, attributed, *Portrait of Lodovico Gonzaga and Barbara of Brandenburg*, oil on panel, location unknown.
Fig. 1.15 Roman, Stele Funeraria dei Salvius, Lapidario Romano dei Musei Civici, Modena.

Fig. 1.16 Italian artist, Tomb Monument of Sertullius and Rancilia, woodcut, Folio r. 3 r., Chapter 9 in Francesco Colonna’s Hypnerotomachia Poliphili (Venice, Aldus Manutius: 1499).

Fig. 1.17 Roman artist, Epitaph of Stefano and Maddalena Satri. fifteenth century, S. Omobono, Rome.

Fig. 1.18 Roman, Funerary Relief of Lucius Antistius Sarculo and Antistia Plutia, 10 BCE-30 CE, marble, British Museum, London.
Fig. 1.19 Roman, *Sarcophagus with Imago Clipeata*, Palazzo Giustiniani, Rome.

Fig. 1.20 Attributed to Marco Zoppo, *Drawing after Roman Grave Monument*, ms. A. L. 5. 15, fol. 39 verso (alt 41 verso), Biblioteca Estense, Modena.

Fig. 1.21 Giulio Romano, *Medici Emblems with Imago Clipeata*, c. 1520, vaulted ceiling, grand salone, Villa Madama, Monte Mario, Rome.

Fig. 1.22 Giovanni da Udine, *Imago Clipeata Motif*, c. 1520, stucco, wall, Raphael’s Loggia, Villa Madama, Monte Mario, Rome.
Fig. 1.23 Giovanni da Udine, *Decorative Archway with Dome and Portrait Busts*, detail 2, c. 1520, stucco, decorative archway, Raphael’s Loggia, Villa Madama, Monte Mario, Rome.

Fig. 1.24 Francesco Laurana, *Funerary Mask of the Lady Battista Sforza, Duchesse of Urbino*, c. 1470, terra cotta with traces of polychrome, Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Fig. 1.25 Andrea Mantegna, *St. James before Herod Agrippa*, c. 1457, fresco, Ovetari Chapel, Church of the Eremitani, Padua.

Fig. 1.26 Andrea Mantegna, *St. James before Herod Agrippa*, detail of portrait roundels on triumphal arch, c. 1457, fresco, Ovetari chapel, Church of the Eremitani, Padua.
Fig. 1.27 Andrea Mantegna, *Self-Portrait*, pre-1506, Bronze, porphyry and Istrian stone, Sant’Andrea, Mantua.

Fig. 1.28 Luigi Capponi, *Epitaph of Andrea Bregno*, 1506, marble, Santa Maria Sopra Minerva, Rome.

Fig. 1.29 Tullio Lombardo and workshop, *Tomb of Doge Andrea Vendramin*, detail of cuirass of the helmeted warrior, c. 1490-94, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice.

Fig. 1.30 Roman, Late Imperial, *Tondo-Imago Clipeata with Busts of a Man and a Woman*, c. 250-270 CE, Marble, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston [1990.242].
Fig. 1.31 Roman, Season *Sarcophagus with Imago Clīpeata of a Couple (Claudia Prīmitiva)*, Vatican Museum, Rome.

Fig. 1.32 Alessandro Allori, *Portrait of a Collector*, 1590, oil on panel, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

Fig. 1.33 Pisanello and Workshop, *Drawing after the Coin, Maximinus I. Thrax and Maximus*, Ms. E. III, 19, fol. 85 (recto), Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, Turin.

Fig. 1.34 Giovanni di Bartolommeo dal Cavino, *Alessandro Bassiano with the Artist*, obverse, copper alloy, The National Gallery of Art, Samuel H. Kress Collection, Washington DC [1957.14.982].
Fig. 1.35 Ferrarese School, *Medal of a Man and a Lady*, fifteenth century, British Museum, London [146].

Fig. 1.36 Sperandio da Mantova, *Medal of Ercole I and Eleonora*, 1473, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

Fig. 1.37 Jacopo Bellini, *Narrative Scene with Detail of Roman Coin on Wall*, from his *Book of Drawings*, c. 1440, folio 28, pen and ink over silverpoint on parchment, Cabinet des Dessins, Louvre, Paris [R.F. 1512].

Fig. 1.38 Roman, *Ptolemaic Couple*, third century, cameo, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.
Fig. 1.39 Roman, *Cameo of Ptolemy II and Arsinoë*, cameo, Hermitage, St. Petersburg.

Fig. 1.40 Giovanni Antonio de’ Rossi, *Cameo of the Portraits of the Duke Cosimo I de’ Medici and of his Family*, cameo, 18.5 x 16.5 cm, Museo degli Argenti, Palazzo Pitti, Florence.

Fig. 1.41 Roman, *Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus*, 2nd century CE, cameo, Cabinet des Medailles, Bibliotheque nationale, Paris.

Fig. 1.42 Early Christian, *Constantine II and Constantinus*, gold medal, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.
Fig. 1.43 Early Christian, *Wedding Scene with Dextrarium Iunctio*, medal? (base of glass bowl with gold leaf), Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York [15.168].

Fig. 1.44 Leyden Artist, *Konstantin VII and Mother Irene*, from *Imagines*, 1599.

Fig. 1.45 Francesco Laurana, *Rene d’Anjou, King of Naples, and Jeanne de Laval*, obverse, 1463, lead medal, 9 cm (3 17/32 in) diameter, National Gallery of Art, Samuel H. Kress Collection, Washington DC [1957.14.616.a-b].

Fig. 1.46 Domenico Compagni, *Double Portrait of Cosimo I and Eleonora*, cameo, 1574, Museo degli Argenti, Florence.
Fig. 1.47 Giovanni Bindino, *Portrait within a Letter*, after medieval manuscript, folio 115, location unknown.

Fig. 1.48 Francesco di Antonio del Chierico, *Profiled Double Portrait of a Courtly Couple*, 1450s, in Pliny’s *Historia Naturalis*, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, Pluteo 82.3, folio 4.

Fig. 1.49 Venetian artist, *Giuramento of Bertuccio Contarini, Procurator of San Marco de Supra*, detail, 1485, parchment, Museo Civico Correr, Venice. [Cod. Cl. III, 313, Cicogna 829].

Fig. 1.50 *Brass of a Married Couple, Sir Edward Cerne and Lady Elyne Cerne*, 1393, monumental brass, St. James Church, Draycott Cerne, Wilts.
Fig. 1.51 British artist, *Tomb of King Henry II of England and Eleanor of Aquitaine*, c. 1200, Abbey Church, Fontevrault.

Fig. 1.52 Cristoforo Solari, *Monument of Duke Ludovico Sforza and Beatrice d’Este*, 1497-99, marble, Church of the Certosa, Pavia.

Fig. 1.53 Antonio and Giovanni Giusti, *Tomb of Louis XII and Anne de Bretagne (and detail)*, 1515-31, Abbey Church, St. Denis, France.
Fig. 1.54 Jan van Eyck, *Portrait of Giovanni (?) Arnolfini and his Wife (“The Arnolfini Portrait”),* 1434, oil on oak panel, National Gallery of Art, London.

Fig. 1.55 Israhel van Meckenem, *Double Portrait of Israhel van Meckenem and His Wife Ida,* c. 1490, engraving, National Gallery of Art, Rosenwald Collection, Washington D.C. [1943.3.99].

Fig. 1.56 Medieval artist, *Pair of Martyrs,* 6th–7th centuries, Katharinekloster, Sinai.
Fig. 1.57 Gerhaert von Leyden, *Epitaph of Conrad von Busang*, 1464, Cathedral, Strasbourg.

Fig. 1.58 Gentile Bellini, *Madonna and Child with Donors*, c. 1460, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin.

Fig. 1.59 Giovanni Francesco Caroto, *Self-Portrait of Artist with Wife*, c. 1566, Museo di Castelvecchio, Verona.
Fig. 1.60 School of Giovanni Bellini, *Double Portrait of Doge Peter Orseolo and the Dogaressa Felicita*, Museo Civico Correr, Venice.

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Fig. 1.62 “Serie Aulica,” Portrait Collection on the Walls near the Ceiling, First Corridor, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.
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Fig. 1.64 Paolo Uccello (1397-1475), *The Miracle of the Desecrated Host*, scenes 1 & 2, respectively, c. 1465-69, tempera on panel, 43 x 58 cm (separately), Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Palazzo Ducale, Urbino.

Fig. 1.65 Maso Finaguerra, *Susannah and the Elders, with the display of maiolica*, c. 1460, ink on paper, folio 49, British Museum, London [1889-5-27-77].
Fig. 1.66 Italian artist, Poliphilo Complains that Polia never answers his letters, Polilfo’s bedroom with painting on back wall, Hypnerotomachia Poliphili, Chapter 32, Woodcut, Venice, 1499.

Fig. 1.67 Cremonese artist, Decorative Profile Portraits of Men and Women with Coat of Arms, fifteenth century, oil on panel, cornice from Cremonese palace, now Museo Poldi Pezzuoli, Milan.

Fig. 1.68 Bernardino di Betto, called il Pinturicchio, Annunciation, details of his Self-Portrait, fresco, Santa Maria Maggiore, Spello.
Fig. 1.69 Perugino, *Fresco Cycle with Framed Self-Portrait between Two Scenes*, detail, c. 1500, fresco, Sala dell’ Udienza, Collegio del Cambio, Perugia.

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Fig. 1.71 Venetian artist, *Capitals with Double-Portrait Compositions*, c. 1400, marble or istrian stone, Museo dell’Opera di Palazzo Ducale, Venice.
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Fig. 1.74 Domenico Tintoretto, *Double Portraits of Doges*, detail of frieze, late sixteenth century, frieze, Sala del Gran Consiglio, Palazzo Ducale, Venice.
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Fig. 2.1 Lavinia Fontana, attributed to, *Portrait of a Couple*, detail of intersecting arms, c. 1560-85, Cleveland Museum of Art.

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Fig. 2.5 Lavinia Fontana, attributed to, *Portrait of a Couple*, c. 1560-85, Cleveland Museum of Art, detail of hand near filhpeiz.

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Fig. 2.8 Constantine IX Monomachos and Empress Zoe Flanking Enthroned Christ, 1042-55, south gallery, east wall, Hagia Sofia, Istanbul.
Fig. 2.9 Roman, *Marriage Sarcophagus*, Archaeological Park, Tipasa, Algeria.

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Fig. 2.11 Early Christian, *Wedding Scene with dextrarium iunctio*, medal? (base of glass bowl with gold leaf, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York [15.168].
Fig. 2.12 French artist, probably Jollat?, *In Fidem Uxoriam*, from Andrea Alciati’s *Emblematum Libellus (Little Book of Emblems)*, published in Paris/Augsburg?, 1534.

Fig. 2.13 Faenza artist, *Inkstand with Images of a Couple and Clasped Hands*, 1500, tin-glazed ceramic, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Fig. 2.14 Bernardino Licinio, *Portrait of a Family*, Accademia, Venice.
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Fig. 2.17 Giulio Campi, *Francesco Sforza and Bianca Maria Visconti Adoring the Virgin and Child*, and portrayals in same chapel, Sant’ Agostino, Cremona.

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Fig. 2.19 Giovanni di Pietro da Rho, Façade below the timpanum, Cathedral, Cremona.

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Fig. 2.27 Venetian artist, *Madonna della Misericordia with Two Patrons*, detail, late fifteenth century, Istrian stone, Calle del Paradiso, near Santa Maria Formosa, Venice.
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Fig. 2.30 Francesco Torbido, called “Il Moro”, attributed to, *Double Portrait of a Man and a Woman*, c. 1516, Berea College, Study Collection, Kentucky.

Fig. 2.31 Michelangelo Buonarotti, *Lunette of Aminadab*, Sistine Chapel, Vatican.
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Fig. 2.34 Federico Zuccari, *Hand of Marriage*, c. 1598, ceiling fresco, Camera degli Sposi, Palazzo Zuccari, Rome.

Fig. 2.35 Federico Zuccari, *Matrimonial Composition*, c. 1598, fresco, camera degli sposi, Palazzo Zuccari, Rome.
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Fig. 2.37 Florentine Artist, *Cassone Panel of the Wedding Procession of Lionora de’ Bardi and Filippo Buondelmonte*, c. 1440, oil on panel, formerly the collection of Professor Heinrich Brockhaus, Dresden.

Fig. 2.38 Italian artist, *I Discreti di Papa Innocenzo IV, Scene of Matrimony*, Ms. Lat. 3988, Bibliotheque nationale, Paris.

Fig. 2.39 Italian artist, *I Discreti di Papa Innocenzo IV, Scene of Matrimony*, detail of Letter “O”, Ms. Lat. 3988, Bibliotheque nationale, Paris.
Fig. 2.40 Medieval artist, *Sponsus and Sponsa, representing Christ and the Church/ Virgin*, from Bede’s *Commentary of the Song of Songs*, from St. Albans, c. 1130, King’s College, Cambridge, ms. 19, fol. 21v.

Fig. 2.41 London, Pliny Master, *Initial “L” with a Pair of Portrait Busts*, in Plutarch, Dublin, Fag. GG.2.2., fol. 6 [A6r].

Fig. 2.42 Bonifacio Bembo, *Portraits of Bianca Maria Visconti (Sforza) and Francesco Sforza*, 1470, Brera, Milan.
Fig. 2.43 Fra Filippo Lippi, *Man and Woman in an Encasement*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Fig. 2.44 Stefano da Verona, attributed to, *A Lady and Her Lover*, Fritz Lugt Collection, Paris.

Fig. 2.45 Liberale da Verona (Francesco di Giorgio or Girolamo da Cremona, attributed), *Young Man Gazing at a Girl at a Window*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
Fig. 2.46 Italian artist, Massimo Sforza, Triumphant Portrait on a Horse, Codex 2167, Biblioteca Trivulzina, Milan.

Fig. 2.47 Upper Swabian Master, Portrait of a Man looking at a Woman in a Casement, Kunsthandel (art dealer), Munich.

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Fig. 2.49 Maestro dei Giuramenti, *Giuramento di Bertuccio Contarini*, 1485, Museo Correr, Venice.

Fig. 2.50 Francesco Rosselli, *Portraits of Federico Montefeltro and His Wife*, in *Bible of Montefeltro*, Urb. Lat. I, folio 1v, Biblioteca Vaticana, Vatican.

Fig. 2.51 Francesco d’Antonio del Chierico, Pliny’s *Natural History*, detail of Double Bust of Man and Woman, *Pluteo* 82.3, folio 4, 1458, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence.
Fig. 2.52 Francesco di Antonio del Chierico, *Profiled Man and Woman in a Circular Form*, Ms. 309, folio 1, detail, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.

Fig. 2.53 Luca Fancelli (? (1430-1495), *Fregio di Camino*, 1450-60, marble, Museo di Palazzo Ducale, Castello di San Giorgio, camera dei Soli, Mantua [G. 11548].

Fig. 2.54 Luca Fancelli (? (1430-1495), *Fregio di Camino*, detail of left side, 1450-60, marble, Museo di Palazzo Ducale, Castello di San Giorgio, Camera dei Soli, Mantua [G. 11548].

Fig. 2.55 Luca Fancelli (? (1430-1495), *Fregio di Camino*, detail of right side, 1450-60, marble, Museo di Palazzo Ducale, Castello di San Giorgio, camera dei Soli, Mantua [G. 11548].
Fig. 2.56 Hans Schenk Scheutzlich, attributed, *Portrait Herzog Barnims XI von Pomern and Anna*, Kalksteinrelief (limestone relief), Pommersches Landesmuseum, Ehem Stettin.

Fig. 2.57 Copy after Zanetto Bugatti, *Double Portrait of Galeazzo Maria Sforza and Bona of Savoy*, perhaps 1500s, formerly Gatti collection, now Castello Sforzesco, Milan.

Fig. 2.58 Italian artist, *Visconti and Sforza Profiled Portraits*, Marble doorway, Certosa, Pavia.

Fig. 2.59 Italian artist, *Stone Medallions of possibly Galeazzo and Bona*, Castello Sforzesco, Milan.
Fig. 2.60 Northern Italian artist, *Belt End with Image of an Amorous Couple and an Image of a Woman Holding a Pink*, c. 1450, The British Museum, London.

Fig. 2.61 Francesco di Antonio del Chierico, Ms 1108 (Petrarchian text), Biblioteca Riccardiana, Florence, detail.

Fig. 2.62 German artist, *Medallion with Two Figures*, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts.

Fig. 2.63 Franco-Flemish artist, *Christ and the Virgin*, Fine Arts Gallery, San Diego.
Fig. 2.64 Jorg Breu the Elder, Portrait of Coloman Helmschmid and Agnes Breu, Scholss Rohonez collection, Lugano?, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid.

Fig. 2.65 Anonymous Italian artist, Double Portrait Tomb, sixteenth century, Cathedral, Trent.

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Fig. 2.67 Master of the Landauer Altarpiece, Double Portrait of Lorenz and Christina Tucher, 1484, Staatliche Gallerie, Dessau.
Fig. 2.68 Austrian master, *Double Portrait of Ladislaus V and Madeleine de France*, c. 1500, Nationalmuseum, Budapest.

Fig. 2.69 Jan Gossaert, *Portrait of an Elderly Couple*, c. 1510-28, oil on vellum, National Gallery, London.

Fig. 2.70 Master of Frankfurt, *Self-Portrait with Wife*, 1496, Koninklijk museum voor schone kunsten, Antwerp.

Fig. 2.71 Italian after after Agnolo Bronzino, *Cosimo I de' Medici and His Wife*, 1546, Private Collection, Kent, England.
Fig. 2.72 Bartolomeo Passerotti, *Double Portrait of a Bearded Man and Woman*, c. 1550s, oil on canvas, Phillips, London, as of 1990.

Fig. 2.73 Lorenzo (Vaiani) dello Sciorina, *Portrait of Giovanni di Pierfrancesco Poolano and his Wife Caterina Sforza*, 1585, oil on panel, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.

Fig. 2.74 Giovan Battista Naldini, *Portrait of Giovanni de’ Medici, called ‘delle Bande Nere’ and his Wife Maria Salviati*, 1585, oil on panel, *Serie Aulica*, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.
Fig. 2.75 Giovanni Antonio Fasolo, *Double Portrait of a Man and Woman*, c. 1560, Location unknown.

Fig. 2.76 Titian, *Portrait of Eleonora della Rovere*, 1538, Uffizi, Florence.

Fig. 2.77 Bernardino Licinio, *Portrait of a Widow with her Three Sons*, detail, Hermitage, St. Petersburg.
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Fig. 2.79 Bernardino Licinio, *Portrait Group of Ducal Family of Modena*, Breitmeyer sale, Christies, June 27 1930.

Fig. 2.80 Workshop of the Patanazzi family, *A Family*, top of a desco da parto, c. 1580, maiolica, Kunstgewerbemuseum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.
Fig. 2.81 Florentine School, *Portrait of Bonaventura Strozzi Family*, 1580, oil on panel, once Von S. collection.

Fig. 2.82 Conrad Faber von Creuznach, *Double Portrait of Justinian von Holzhausen and his Wife, Anna von Furstenberg*, c. 1536, Städel Museum, Frankfurt am Main.

Fig. 2.83 Lorenzo Lotto, *Portrait of Giovanni della Volta with his Wife and Children*, 1547, oil on canvas, National Gallery of Art, London [NG1047].
Fig. 2.84 Attributed to Sofonisba Anguissola, *Double Portrait of a Married Couple*, Galleria Doria-Pamphilj, Rome.

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Fig. 2.86 Domenico Tintoretto, *Portrait of Doge Mario Grimani and Dogeressa Morosina Morosini and Members of the Confratelli della Scuola dei Pollaioli*, San Giovanni Elemosinario, Venice.
Fig. 2.87 Federico Zuccari, *Imposizione del Cappello Cardinalizio a Carlo Borromeo*, detail of conjugal double portrait, Collegio Borromeo, Padua.

Fig. 2.88 Federico Zuccari, *Imposizione del Cappello Cardinalizio a Carlo Borromeo*, detail of two male bystanders, Collegio Borromeo, Padua, drawing, Uffizi, Florence.

Fig. 2.89 School of Giulio Campi, *Double Portrait of a Man with His Arms Around his Wife who is Reading, perhaps, a Prayer Book*, c. 1530, oil on canvas, Formerly Jose Pijoan Collection, Madrid.
Fig. 2.90 School of Alessandro Allori, *Double Portrait of a Married Couple (Cosimo and Eleonora)*, c. 1560, oil on panel, Musée des Beaux Arts, Strasbourg.

Fig. 2.91 Jan Jacobsz. Doudijn, copy, *Portrait of Jakob Halling and Kornelia van der Bies*, Stedelijk Museum, Backerstichting, Amsterdam.

Fig. 2.92 Florentine School (Follower of Andre del Sarto), *Portrait of the Artist and his Wife*, Galleria Pitti Florence.
Fig. 2.93 Lorenzo Lotto, *Married Couple*, Hermitage, St. Petersburg.

Fig. 2.94 Ulrich Apt, The Elder, *Portrait of a Man and his Wife*, dated 1512, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York [12.115].

Fig. 2.95 Circle of Sebastiano del' Piombo, *Double Portrait of Fernando d’Avalos, Marchese Pescara and Vittoria Colonna, his Wife, the Celebrated Poetess*, detail of couple, 1534-40, Frederick W. Schumacher Collection, Columbus Ohio [57.38.007].
Fig. 2.96 Federico Barocci, *Double Portrait*, Private Collection.

Fig. 2.97 Bernardino Licinio, *Portrait of a Husband and Wife Before a Window Ledge with Rosebuds*, oil on canvas transferred from panel, once Private collection Countess Manzi, Lucca as of 1991.

Fig. 2.98 Italian artist, *Portraits of Zaccaria Freschi and His Wife Dorotea* in *Memorie della Illustre famiglia de'Freschi*, 1485, Ms. It. VII, 165 = 8867, folio 35r, Biblioteca Marciana, Venice.
Fig. 2.99 Titian, *An Allegory of Marriage, with Vesta and Hymen as Protectors and Advisers of the Union of Venus and Mars*, once considered *Allegory of Alfonso d’Avalos (Marchese del Vasto)*, c. 1530 oil on canvas, Musée du Louvre, Paris [754].

Fig. 2.100 Titian, *Double Portrait*, by x-radiograph of oil on canvas, under *Venus with a Mirror*, c. 1555, National Gallery of Art, Washington DC.

Fig. 2.101 Titian, *Double Portrait*, by x-radiograph of oil on canvas, under *Portrait of a Man*, c. 1510, Brera, Milan.
Fig. 2.102 Titian, copy after by Rubens, *Charles V and Isabella of Portugal*, Collection of the Duchess of Alba.

Fig. 2.103 Federico Zuccari, *Self-Portrait of Artist and His Wife*, lunette, Casa Zuccari, Rome.

Fig. 2.104 Sofonisba Anguissola, attributed to, *Portrait of a Silk Merchant and His Wife*, c. 1550s, oil on canvas, Goudstikker Collection, 1924 and Amsterdam, Muller, June 1, 1961.

Fig. 2.105 Paris Bordone, *Double Portrait of Jeweler and a Woman*, Bayerische Staatsgemaldegalerie, Alte Pinakothek, Munich.
Fig. 2.106 Bartolomeo Passerotti, *The Fish Stall*, Galleria Nazionale d’Arte Antica, Palazzo Barberini, Rome.

Fig. 2.107 Mantuan School, *Medal of Francesco I Gonzaga and Isabella d’Este*, late 1400s, British Museum, London.

Fig. 2.108 Italian School, *Double Portrait of Ferdinand and Christina*, 1590, colored wax, Staatliche Museen, Berlin.

Fig. 2.109 Italian artist, *Double Portrait of a Couple*, miniature, Uffizi, Florence [1890, no. 8856].
Fig. 2.110 Daniel Lindtmayer, the Younger, *Husband and Wife, Stained Glass design*, Museum Boymans, Rotterdam.

Fig. 2.111 Florentine School, *Dish Shape 3 with Double Portrait of a Couple*, c. 1530s, Maiolica dish, Victoria and Albert Museum, London [C.2137-1910].

Fig. 2.112 Florentine School, *Dish Shape 3 with Double Portrait of a Couple*, c. 1530s, Maiolica dish, Victoria and Albert Museum, London [C.2137-1910].
Fig. 2.113 Casteldurante, *Bowl with Two Lovers*, 1530-40, Hermitage, St. Petersburg.

Fig. 2.114 Italian artist, *Double Heads of “Lav” and “Renza” in Design of Maiolica Pavement*, Maiolica Pavement, Grotta di Diana, Villa d'Este, Tivoli.

Fig. 2.115 Francesco Terzi, *Double Portrait of Carlo and Caterina*, Vienna.
Fig. 2.116 Jean Mone, *Portrait of Charles V and Isabella of Castile*, relief, Schloss Gaasbeek dei Brussels.

Fig. 2.117 Peter Paul Rubens, copy after Titian, *Portrait of Charles V and Isabella of Portugal*, 1548, print after copy of Rubens, Collection of the Duchess of Alba, Madrid.
Fig. 3.1 Italian artist, *Fournival, Bestiare d’Amours*, 1200s-1300s, manuscript, Morgan Library, New York [Ms. M. 459. f. 28].

Fig. 3.2 Domenico di Bartolo, *Declaration of Love*, Bride’s box, location unknown.

Fig. 3.3 Parisian artist, *A Lover with a Dog and a Lady with a Rabbit*, from a *Chansonnier*, Paris, c. 1280, Ms H196, fol. 270r, Bibliothèque Universitaire de Médecine, Montpellier.
Fig. 3.4 French artist, *Shameful Couple*, apse corbel, Church of Cénac, Dordogne.

Fig. 3.5 Italian artist, *Garden of Love*, from Hind, *Early Italian Engraving*.

Fig. 3.6 Italian artist, *Scene from Orlando Furioso*, c. 1530, Palazzo Bestia, Teglio.

Fig. 3.7 Bergamesque artist in the style of Cariani, *Amorous Scene from Orlando Furioso*, Piazza Mascheroni, Bergamo.
Fig. 3.8 Italian artist, *Scenes from a Romance*, Chatelaine de Verge, 1380, Palazzo Davanzati, Florence.

Fig. 3.9 Italian school, woodcut for Ovidius Naso, *De arte amandi e remedio amoris cum commentario*. Ovidius Naso, *De arte amandi e remedio amoris cum commentario Bartholomei Meruli*...annotation S J.B. Pii, J.B. Egnatii, Philippi Beroaldi, Folio Milano, Augustinus de Vicomercato per D.J. Jacobus et fraters de Legnano, June 13, 1521, woodcut, in sale, London, Sotheby’s, Catalogo di importanti libri antichi comprendente storia dell’arte, cataloghi di vendita antichi, October 22, 1970, lot 417.

Fig. 3.10 Giorgione, *The Tempest*, detail of two columns, Galleria dell’Academia, Venice.

Fig. 3.11 Giorgione, *The Tempest*, detail of two columns, Galleria dell’Academia, Venice.
Fig. 3.12 Titian, *Venus and the Organist with a Dog, without Cupid in a Bedroom in a Landscape*, 1545-48, Museo del Prado, Madrid [420].

Fig. 3.13 Lombard School, *Musicians*, 1400s, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

Fig. 3.14 Titian, *Venus and the Organist with cupid*, detail of amorous couple in the background, Museo del Prado, Madrid.

Fig. 3.15 Florentine artist, *Lovers with Apples*, engraving.
Fig. 3.16 Veronese artist, *Conversation Scene*, c. 1400, fragment of a fresco, Museo Bardini, Florence.

Fig. 3.17 Italian artist, *Scenes from a Romance*, *Chatelaine de Verge*, detail of *Chess and Seduction*, 1380, Palazzo Davanzati, Florence.

Fig. 3.18 Moretto da Brescia, *A Couple Playing a Game*, c. 1550, once Cini Collection, Venice.

Fig. 3.19 Italian artist, *The Lady and the Poet*, illumination, Codice 763, Biblioteca Trivulziana, Milan.
Fig. 3.20 Attributed to Dosso Dossi, *Dante and Lover*, 1500s, Banca Toscana Collection, Florence.

Fig. 3.21 Dosso Dossi, *Poet and Muse or A Man Embracing a Woman*, c. 1520, National Gallery, London [1234].

Fig. 3.22 Dosso Dossi, *Poet and Muse*, c. 1532, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Trent.
Fig. 3.23 Giuseppe Dala, *Laura from Petrarch*, in *I Cicognara, Storia della Scultura da Suo Risorgimento*, Venice, 1823.

Fig. 3.24 Italian artist, *Petrarch and Laura Turned Toward Each Other on a Funerary Urn*, from *Il Petrarca with l’Esposizione d’Alessandro Vellutello*, 1544, xilograph, Gabriele Giolito edition.

Fig. 3.25 Italian artist, *Aristotle and Phyllis in a Roundel, Surrounded by a Border with a Youth and a Girl, with Cupid and Charity(?)*, 1465-80, engraving.
Fig. 3.26 Michelangelo Buonarotti, *Intertwined Lovers*, c. 1510, Musée Bonnat, Bayonne [123].

Fig. 3.27 Giulio Romano, *Two Lovers*, oil on canvas, Hermitage, St. Petersburg.

Fig. 3.28 Nicolo dell’Abate, *Inamorati*, drawing, Galleria Estense, Modena.

Fig. 3.29 Veneto, Anonymous Netherlandish or German Painter, *A Pair of Lovers in an Interior* verso of *Portrait of a Man* recto, sixteenth century, Staatliche Museen, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.
Fig. 3.30 Master of the Housebook, *Uncourtey Lovers*, c. 1484, oil on panel, Museum, Gotha.

Fig. 3.31 Unknown artist, *Lovers on a Street*, c. 1500, wood, Adam’s House, Angers.

Fig. 3.32 Veneto artist, *Allegory of “Taming of the Passions”*, niello, once Gutekunst sale, Stuttgart.
Fig. 3.33 Bernhard Strigel, *Two Lovers*, pen black ink on reddish-brown prepared paper, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

Fig. 3.34 Altobello Melone, *Two Lovers*, c. 1515, Budapest Museum of Fine Arts.

Fig. 3.35 Domenico Cunego (After Giorgione), *The Lovers*, engraving.
Fig. 3.36 After Giorgione, *Two Lovers, Drawing after Picture by Giorgione*, once in the Collection of Andrea Vendramin, San Gregorio, Venice.

Fig. 3.37 Italian School, after Giorgione, *Lovers*, engraving.

Fig. 3.38 Zoan Andrea, *The Lovers*, c. 1475-1505, engraving.
Fig. 3.39 Paris Bordone, *The Lovers*, c. 1510-19, Royal Collection, England.

Fig. 3.40 Tullio Lombardo, *Young Couple, possibly Bacchus and Ariadne*, 1500/10 or 1520/25, marble, Kunsthistorisches Museum [KK, inv. 7471].

Fig. 3.41 Follower of Tullio Lombardo, *Relief with Busts of a Young Couple*, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

Fig. 3.42 Simone Bianco, possibly, *Faustina and Marcus Aurelius*, c. 1535, marble, location unknown.
Fig. 3.43 Imitator of Tullio Lombardo, *Double Portrait of possibly Alexander the Great and Campaspe*, c. 1550-1600, marble, Hermitage, St. Petersburg.

Fig. 3.44 Giovanni Girolamo Savoldo, *The Lovers*, oil on canvas, G. Rasini Collection, Milan.

Fig. 3.45 Girolamo Romanino, *Lovers*, Gemaldegalerie, Dresden.

Fig. 3.46 Dosso Dossi, *Erotic Couple (Violence?)*, Stephen Dobó Museum (Dobó István Vármúzeum), Eger [55.291].
Fig. 3.47 Dosso Dossi, *Nymph and Satyr*, c. 1508-09, Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti, Florence [147].

Fig. 3.48 Italian artist, *Declaration of Love*, Palazzo, Trent.

Fig. 3.49 Titian, *From Circle of Van Dyck?*, So-called copy of a Self-Portrait by Titian with a Mistress, etching.

Fig. 3.50 Giorgione or Calisto Piazza da Lodi, *Portrait of Alphonse, Duke of Ferrara with Laura dei Diante*, once Christie’s London.
Fig. 3.51 Giovanni Cariani, *Lovers*, Private Collection, Milan.

Fig. 3.52 Venetian artist, *Venetian Courtesan*, page from Venetian memento book, Rare Books, Yale University Library.

Fig. 3.53 Moretto da Brescia, *La Salome, possibly a Portrait of Tullia d’Aragona* (born c. 1510-1556), Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengo, Brescia.
Fig. 3.54 Lorenzo Lotto, *Portrait of a Lady as Lucrezia*, c. 1533, National Gallery, London.

Fig. 3.55 Nicolò Della Casa, *Cosimo I de’ Medici in Parade Armor*, 1544, engraving.

Fig. 3.56 Agnolo di Cosimo Bronzino, *Cosimo I de’ Medici as Orpheus*, c. 1538-40, oil on panel, gift of Mrs. John Wintersteen, Philadelphia Museum of Art [1950-86-1].
Fig. 3.57 Agnolo Bronzino, *Andrea Doria as Neptune*, late 1530s-early 1540s, oil on canvas (transferred from panel), Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan.

Fig. 3.58 Ambrogio De Predis, *Portrait of a Youth as Saint Sebastian*, late 1480s, Cleveland Museum of Art [1986.9].

Fig. 3.59 Palma il Vecchio, *A Youth in Armor and A Young Woman (Portraits of Bride and Bridegroom)*, 1510-1511, Szepmüveszeti Muzeum, Budapest.
Fig. 3.60 Dosso Dossi, *Guerriero and Giovanetta with Flute*, c. 1520, Cini Collection, Venice.

Fig. 3.61 Giorgio Vasari, *Saints Lazarus and Mary Magdalene*, detail of the side panel of Vasari and his wife as Sts. Lazarus and Magdalene, c. 1570, Badia of SS. Fiore e Lucilla, Arezzo

Fig. 3.62 Agostino Carracci, *Portrait of a Woman as Judith*, 1590s, Matthiesen Fine Art Ltd., London.
Fig. 3.63 Follower of Titian, *Allegory (Possibly Alfonso d'Este and Laura Dianti)*, National Gallery of Art, Washington DC.

Fig. 3.64 Italian artist, *Medal of Rodrigo de Bivar: Mars and Venus: QUORUM OPUS ADEST*, unknown location.

Fig. 3.65 Paris Bordone, *Mars and Venus Crowned by Victory in the Presence of Cupid (Allegory with Cupids)*, c. 1550, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna [s. 1781, inv. 120].

Fig. 3.66 Venetian school, *Double Portrait as Venus and Mars*, location unknown.
Fig. 3.67 Attributed to Lo Scheggia, *The Reconciliation of Romans and Sabines and The Entry of Romulus and Tatius into Rome*, Reclining, nearly Nude Youth Holding a Posy (inside lid) and *The Reconciliation of the Romans and Sabines, Hersilia Declares Peace*, Reclining Nude Girl (inside lid), 1421-1486, Tempera on panel (cassone), 41.5 x 165 cm (86.8 x 207.7 x 77.5 cm), Statens Museum fur Kunst, Denmark [KMS4786 & KMS4785].

Fig. 3.68 Guillaume Dupre, *Henry IV and Maria de’ Medici*, recto, *The Couple as Mars and Minerva*, medal, 1605, Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

Fig 3.69 Bartolomeo Passerotti, *Ulysses and Circe*, c. 1575, Hall & Knight, New York.
Fig. 3.70 Bartolomeo Passerotti, *Drawing of Animals for Ulysses and Circe*, Graphische Sammlung, Staatsgalerie, Stockholm.

Fig. 3.71 Pellegrino Tibaldi, *Ulysses and Circe*, Palazzo Poggi, Bologna.

Fig. 3.72 Girolamo Siciolante, *Portrait of Nude Woman*, Capitoline Museum, Rome.
Fig. 3.73 French artist, *Francis I as a Hermaphrodite*, c. 1536, Cabinet des Estampes, Reserve, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris.

Fig. 3.74 French artist, *Francis I as a Hermaphrodite*, detail, c. 1536, Cabinet des Estampes, Reserve, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris.

Fig. 3.75 Agostino Carracci, *Dwarf Amon, Mad Peter and Hairy Arrigo*, c. 1595, Capodimonte, Naples [0369].
Fig. 3.76 Attributed to Giulio Campi, *A Young Couple with an Old Man*, location unknown.

Fig. 3.77 Jacopo de’ Barbari, *Old Man Embracing Young Woman*, 1503, Johnson G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia Museum of Art.

Fig. 3.78 Andrea Alciati, *Emblemata* (c. 1531), Emblem 155 “De morte et amore.”
Fig. 3.79 Bartolomeo Passerotti, *Embracing Old Couple*, c. 1577, Federico Zeri collection, Mentana (Rome).

Fig. 3.80 Bartolomeo Passerotti, *Nymph and Satyr*, drawing, GDSU, n. 4066S, Uffizi, Florence.

Fig. 3.81 Master X, *Beggar Carrying his Wife in a Wheelbarrow*, fifteenth century.

Fig. 3.82 Florentine Artist, *Portrait of an Old Couple with Banner, “Dammi Conforto”, Encircled in a Wreath with Music Making Cupids*, 1465-80, engraving.
Fig. 3.83 Leonardo da Vinci, *Satire on Aged Lovers*, c. 1490, Royal Collection, Windsor.

Fig. 3.84 Leonardo da Vinci, *Two Old People in Profile*, 1485, Royal Collection, England.

Fig. 3.85 Leonardo da Vinci, copy after by Jacob Hoefnagel, *Mal-assorted Couple*, pen and brown ink, Albertina, Vienna.

Fig. 3.86 Francesco Melzi, *Old Couple in Profile*, Royal Collection, England.
Fig. 3.87 Wencesles Hollar, *King and Queen of Tunis*, 1645.

Fig. 3.88 School of Arcimboldo, *Four Seasons, Spring*, Sotheby’s, December 19, 1962, lot 86.

Fig. 3.89 School of Arcimboldo, *Four Seasons, Winter*, Sotheby’s, December 19, 1962, lot 89.
Fig. 4.1 Bernardino Licinio, *Ritratto di Donna che Regge l’effigie del congiunto (Portrait of a Woman with the Effigy of her Spouse)*, c. 1524-28, oil on canvas, Pinacoteca del Castello Sforzesco, Milan.

Fig. 4.2 Sidonian artist, *The Sarcophagus of the Mourning Women*, detail, c. 350 BC, Hall of Sidonian Sarcophagi, Istanbul Museum.

Fig. 4.3 Roman, *Man with Ancestral Masks known as the ‘Barberini Togata,’* early Augustan period, Montemartini Museum, Rome.
Fig. 4.4 Roman, *Sarcophagus of Aristocratic Woman*, c. 80 CE, British Museum, London.

Fig. 4.5 Roman, *Sarcophagus with Flying Amorini Holding a Portrait Medallion*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Fig. 4.6 *Hadrianic Sacrificial Relief*, relief, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.

Fig. 4.7 Byzantine artist, *Icon Held up by a Council of Archangels*, 1350s, National Art Gallery, Sofia.
Fig. 4.8 Colyn de Coter, *Christ as the Man of Sorrows*, c. 1490, oil on panel, 36 x 25 cm, Musée de Brou, Bourg-en-Bresse, France.

Fig. 4.9 Luca della Robbia, *Tabernacle*, 1443, marble and enameled terracotta, Santa Maria, Peretola.

Fig. 4.10 Workshop of Antonio Rossellino, *Tomb of Neri Capponi*, 1457, Santo Spirito, Florence.
Fig. 4.11 Il Buggiano, *Tomb of Giovanni di Bicci de’ Medici and Biccarda de’ Bueri*, c. 1429, Old Sacristy, San Lorenzo, Florence.

Fig. 4.12 Filarete, *Self Portrait in Framing*, detail of the doors of St. Peters, bronze, 1445, St. Peters, Vatican, Rome.

Fig. 4.13 Medieval artist, *Receiving the Mandylion*, after 944, Tempera on panel, St. Catherine’s Monastery, Sinai.
Fig. 4.14 Late Byzantine artist, *Icon with the Triumph of Orthodoxy*, Constantinople?, c. 1400, tempera and gold on wood, printing on linen, British Museum, London [1988, 4-II.I].

Fig. 4.15 Italian artist, possibly, *L’Ostensione della Veronica*, xilografia da *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*, 1475.

Fig. 4.16 Italian artist, *Sudarium Held Up by Angels with the Symbol ‘SPQR’ of Rome*, c. 1475, block book illustration of *Mirabilia Romae*. 
Fig. 4.17 El Greco, *Escutcheon with the Veil of St. Veronica*, 1579-90, private collection, Madrid.

Fig. 4.18 François-Roger de Gaigneres, Copy of a 1300 painting in Sainte Chapelle Paris, *Pope Clement VI Offering a Diptych to Duke of Normandy*, seventeenth century, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris.

Fig. 4.19 Simon Marmion, *The Mass of Saint Gregory*, 1460-65, Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto.

Fig. 4.20 Willem Vrelant or Workshop, *Charles the Bold and Isabella of Bourbon in Prayer*, 1455-60, Miniature in Book of Hours, Manuscript Department, Royal Library, Copenhagen.
Fig. 4.21 German artist, *Deceased Couple Praying to the Vera Icon called the ‘Bronbach Stone,’* c. 1350, Wall monument in gray sandstone, Liebieghaus, Frankfurt.

Fig. 4.22 Petrus Christus, *Portrait of a Young Man with the Vera Icon on the Wall,* 1462, oil on panel, National Gallery of Art, London.

Fig. 4.23 Petrus Christus, *Portrait of a Young Man with the Vera Icon on the Wall,* detail, 1462, oil on panel, National Gallery of Art, London.
Fig. 4.24 Master of St. Veronica, *St. Veronica with the Sudarium*, c. 1415, oil on panel, National Gallery, London.

Fig. 4.25 Robert Campin, *St. Veronica with Sudarium*, c. 1432, oil on panel, Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt.

Fig. 4.26 Byzantine artist, *Lectionary of St. Luke Painting the Virgin*, late 1300s–early 1400s, Tempera on vellum, The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt [Gr 233].
Fig. 4.27 Flemish artist, St Luke Writing the Gospel, Miniature, Book of Hours, Juana Castile, c.1500, British Museum, London.

Fig. 4.28 Antonio and Bartolomeo Vivarini and Giovanni d’Allemagna, The Decoration of the Pendentive with St. Luke, 1448-50, Ovetari Chapel, Eremitani, Padua.

Fig. 4.29 Michele Giambono, Coronation of the Virgin, detail of the four Evangelists, including St. Luke, c. 1448, Accademia, Venice.

Fig. 4.30 Rogier van der Weyden, St. Luke Drawing a Portrait of the Virgin Mary, known as St. Luke Madonna, c. 1435-1444, oil on panel, The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
Fig. 4.31  Rogier van der Weyden, *St. Luke Drawing a Portrait of the Virgin Mary, known as St. Luke Madonna*, detail, c. 1435-1444, oil on panel, The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Fig. 4.32  Giorgio Vasari, *St. Luke Painting the Virgin*, c. 1567-73, fresco, Cappella di San Luca, SS. Annunziata, Florence.

Fig. 4.33  Benedetto da Maiano, *Monument of Giotto di Benedone*, 1490, Duomo, Florence.

Fig. 4.34  Benedetto da Maiano, *Monument of Giotto di Benedone*, 1490, Duomo, Florence.
Fig. 4.35 Gherardo di Giovanni di Miniato (del For a), Painter that Paints a Cavalletto in Pliny, *Natural History*, 1420, douce 310, Bodeleian Library, Oxford, libro XXXV.

Fig. 4.36 Jacopo Carucci, called Pontormo, *Alessandro de’ Medici Drawing a Profile Female Head*, c. 1534/35, oil on panel, John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia Art Museum, Philadelphia.

Fig. 4.37 Jacopo Carucci, called Pontormo, *Alessandro de’ Medici drawing a profile female head*, detail, c. 1534/35, oil on panel, John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia Art Museum, Philadelphia.

Fig. 4.38 Giulio Campi, *Self Portrait Painting his Family*, oil on canvas, location unknown.
Fig. 4.39 Katharina van Hemessen, *Self-Portrait in the Process of Painting*, signed and dated 1548, oil on panel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Basel.

Fig. 4.40 Dirck Cornelisz van Oostsanen, *Portrait of the Artist’s Father Painting a Portrait of the Artist’s Mother*, 1550s, Museum of Art, Toledo, Ohio.

Fig 4.41 Sofonisba Anguissola, *Self-Portrait Painting the Virgin and Child*, late 1550s, Muzeum Zamek, Lancut.

Fig. 4.42 Sofonisba Anguissola, *Double Portrait of Bernardino Campi painting Sofonisba*, c. 1559-60, oil on canvas, Siena.
Fig. 4.43 Sofonisba Anguissola, *Portrait of a Painter*, oil on copper, location unknown.

Fig. 4.44 Luca Cambiaso, *Luca Cambiaso Painting his Father, Giovanni Cambiaso*, 1575-80, oil on linen, Galleria degli Uffizi, corridor of Vasari, Florence.

Fig. 4.45 Luca Cambiaso, *Luca Cambiaso Painting his Father, Giovanni Cambiaso*, c. 1575-85, oil on canvas?, Galleria di Palazzo Bianco or whereabouts unknown.

Fig. 4.46 Luca Cambiaso, engraving after, *Luca Cambiaso Painting his Father Giovanni*, Witt Print collection, London.
Fig. 4.47 Agostino Ardenti, attributed to, *Medal of Titian with Portrait of his Son Orazio*, c. 1563, bronze or colored wax?, whereabouts unknown.

Fig. 4.48 Annibale Carracci, *Self Portrait on an Easel*, c. 1605, oil on panel, Galleria degli Uffizi, collection of autoritratti, Florence.

Fig. 4.49 Nicolas Régnier, *Self-Portrait*, 1610, Collection unknown.

Fig. 4.50 Faustina Bracci Armellini, *Self Portrait Painting a Portrait*, Accademia di San Luca, Rome.
Fig. 4.51 Giuseppe Ghislandi, called “Fra Galgario,” *Self Portrait Painting a Portrait on an Easel*, 1732, oil on canvas, Accademia Carrara, Bergamo.

Fig. 4.52 Luis Melendez, *Self-Portrait Holding An Academic Study*, 1746, Louvre, Paris.

Fig. 4.53 Caravaggio, *Narcissus*, c. 1597, Palazzo Barberini, Rome.

Fig. 4.54 Jacopo Pontormo, *Two Male Figures Looking in a Mirror and a Putto*, c. 1515-20, Frankfurt.
Fig. 4.55 Giovanni Cavino, *Portrait Medallion of Marcantonio Passeri*, c. 1560, bronze medal, recto and verso.

Fig. 4.56 Cesare Ripa, *Disegno*, in *Iconologia*, woodcut, Padua, 1624.

Fig. 4.57 Paolo Caliari, called Il Veronese, *Muse of Painting*, c. 1565, oil on canvas, Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, Michigan [36.30].

Fig. 4.58 Giorgio Vasari, *Painting*, 1542, spandrel, Camera della Fama e delle Arti, Casa Vasari, Arezzo.
Fig. 4.59 French artist, *Timarete Painting her Self Portrait on a Wall*, manuscript illumination in Boccaccio’s *Noble and Famous Women*, c. 1401-2, Bibliotheque nationale, Paris [MS Fr 599], fol. 53v.

Fig. 4.60 French artist, *Iaia of Kyzikos Painting her Self Portrait*, tome, Bibliotheque nationale, Paris [MS Fr. 598], fol. 100.

Fig. 4.61 French artist, *Miniature showing Marcia Painting Self Portrait*, in French translation of Boccaccio’s *Concerning Famous Women*, c. 1401-02, Bibliotheque nationale, Paris [MS Fr. 12420], fol. 101v.
Fig. 4.62 Jan van Eyck, *Arnolfini Wedding Portrait*, detail of ornate mirror on the back wall, c. 1434, National Gallery of Art, London.

Fig. 4.63 Hans Memling, *Virgin and Child with Maarten van Neiuwenhove Diptych*, 1487, Memlingmuseum, Sint-Janshospitaal, Bruges.

Fig. 4.64 Hans Memling, *Virgin and Child with Maarten van Neiuwenhove Diptych*, detail, 1487, Memlingmuseum, Sint-Janshospitaal, Bruges.

Fig. 4.65 Ferrarese artist, *Portrait of a Doctor*, c. 1520-25, location unknown.
Fig. 4.66 Ferrarese artist, *Portrait of a Doctor*, detail, c. 1520-25, location unknown.

Fig. 4.67 Giovanni Battista Paggi, attributed, *Self-Portrait with an Architect? Friend*, dated 1580, oil on canvas, Martin von Wagner Museum, Wurzburg.

Fig. 4.68 Hans von Aachen, *Double Portrait with a Mirror*, after c. 1575, oil on panel, Arcibiskupsky Zamek, Kromeriz [O288/KE 3177].

Fig. 4.69 Johannes Gumpp, *Self-Portrait*, 1646, oil on canvas, Galleria degli Uffizi, collezione degli autoritratti, Florence.
Fig. 4.70 Hans Memling, *Diptych with Virgin and Child with Angels, St. George, and Donor*, Alte Pinakothek, Munich.

Fig. 4.71 Hans Memling, *Diptych with Virgin and Child with Angels, St. George, and Donor*, Alte Pinakothek, Munich.

Fig. 4.72 Giorgione, Attributed to, *Portrait of a Young Boy with a Helmet, said to be Francesco Maria I della Rovere*, Duke of Urbino, wood transferred to canvas, Gemäldegalerie, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.
Fig. 4.73 Giorgione, Attributed to, Portrait of a Young Boy with a Helmet, said to be Francesco Maria I della Rovere, detail, Duke of Urbino, wood transferred to canvas, Gemaldegalerie, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

Fig. 4.74 Giovanni Bellini, The Four Allegories: Perseverence, Fortune, Prudence (or Self-Knowledge), and Falsehood, c. 1490, oil on panel, Gallerie dell’Accademia, Venice.

Fig. 4.75 Giovanni Bellini, Allegory of Vanity, c. 1490, Accademia, Venice.
Fig. 4.76 Giovanni Girolamo Savoldo, *Gaston de Foix with reflection*, c. 1525-30, oil on canvas, Louvre, Paris.

Fig. 4.77 Girolamo Mazzola Bedoli, *Portrait of Anna Eleonora Sanvitale*, 1562, Galleria Nazionale, Parma.

Fig. 4.78 Tiziano Vecellio, called Titian, *La Schiavona*, c. 1511, oil on canvas, National Gallery of Art, London.

Fig. 4.79 Flemish artist, *Woman Looking in a Convex Mirror from Roman de la Rose*, c. 1480.
Fig. 4.80 German artist, *Vanity and the Devil*, from *Der Ritter vom Turn*, 1493.

Fig. 4.81 South German master, *A Bridal Couple*, c. 1470, tempera on wood, Cleveland Museum of Art, Delia E. Holden and L.E. Holden Funds [1932.179].

Fig. 4.82 Lucas Furtenagel, *Double Portrait of Hans Burgkmair and his Wife Anna*, 1529, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

Fig. 4.83 Titian, *Venus at her Toilette*, National Gallery of Art, Washington.
Fig. 4.84 Nicolas Régnier, *Vanité*, 1626, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon.

Fig. 4.85 School of Fontainebleau, *Portrait of possibly Diane de Poitiers*, c. 1650, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Kunstmuseum, Basel.

Fig. 4.86 Guillaume De Machaut, *The Lover Fixes his Gaze on his Lady’s Portrait* in Guillaume de Machaut’s *Le Livre du Voir-Dit*, Ms. Fr. 1584, fol. 235v, 1370-77, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

Fig. 4.87 Mino da Fiesole, *Portrait of a Lady*, c. 1470-80, marble mirror frame, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris.
Fig. 4.88 Neroccio de’ Landi, *Portrait of a Lady with Mirror*, c. 1475-1500, painted cartapesta mirrorframe, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Fig. 4.89 Florentine School, *Portrait of Isoretta Galante with Mirror*, c. 1500, majolica, Victoria and Albert Museum, London [C.2111-1910]

Fig. 4.90 Italian artist (Emilia-Romagna, Faenza, Florence, *Mirror Frame Decorated with Bas Relief of a Female Bust and a Medallion for Mirror*, c. 1500-10, maiolica, Musée national de la Renaissance [ECL2320].

Fig. 4.91 Italian artist, *Mirror Frame Decorated with Bas-Relief and female bust Portrait with Medallion*, c. 1500-10, maiolica, Musée nationale de la Renaissance, Écouen [ECL2445]
Fig. 4.92 Flemish artist, *Mirror Frame with Female Bust and Medallion*, c. 1500, panel carved in oak, Victoria and Albert Museum, London [W68-1920].

Fig. 4.93 Sofonisba Anguissola, *Portrait of Giulio Clovio*, Collection of Federico Zeri, Mentana (Rome).

Fig. 4.94 Florentine School, *Portrait of an Artist Holding a Miniature Portrait of a Woman*, c. 1600, oil on canvas, Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti, Florence [1912, n. 447].

Fig. 4.95 Jacopo da Ponte, called Bassano, attributed, *Un Cavaliere di Malta*, c. 1550, oil on canvas, location unknown.
Fig. 4.96 Antonio Campi, attributed, *Portrait of Bartolomeo Arrese*, c. 1530, Casa Radinski, Milan.

Fig. 4.97 Florentine artist, *Cosimo de’ Medici, 1389-1464, Pater Patriae*, c. 1465, Samuel H. Kress Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington DC [1957.14.840a].

Fig. 4.98 Sandro Botticelli, *Portrait of a Man with the Medal of Cosimo the Elder, detail of hands with medal*, detail, Uffizi, Florence.

Fig. 4.99 Sandro Botticelli, *Young Man Holding a Medallion*, c. 1485, private collection, New York.
Fig. 4.100  Sandro Botticelli, *Young Man Holding a Medallion*, detail, c. 1485, private collection, New York.

Fig. 4.101  Hans Memling, *Portrait of a Man with a Roman Coin*, c. 1480, Koninklijk museum voor schone kunsten, Antwerp.

Fig. 4.102  Hans Memling, *Portrait of a Man with a Roman Coin*, detail, c. 1480, Koninklijk museum voor schone kunsten, Antwerp.

Fig. 4.103  Antonio del Pollaiuolo, *Young Man in Pageant Armour with Nero’s Head*, Bargello, Florence.
Fig. 4.104 Antonio del Pollaiuolo, *Young Man in Pageant Armour with Nero's Head*, detail, Bargello, Florence.

Fig. 4.105 Tullio Lombardo, *Tomb of Bishop Giovanni Zanetto da Udine*, Cappella Maggiore, Cathedral, Treviso.

Fig. 4.106 Tullio Lombardo, *Bareheaded Warrior*, detail of cuirass, 1490-94, Tomb of Doge Andrea Vendramin, SS Giovanni e Paolo, Venice.
Fig. 4.108 Girolamo Mazzola Bedoli, Portrait of a Nobleman, identified as Virginio Ariosto, c. 1540s, oil on canvas, Private Collection, United Kingdom.

Fig. 4.109 Girolamo Mazzola Bedoli, Portrait of a Nobleman, identified as Virginio Ariosto, detail, c. 1540s, oil on canvas, Private Collection, United Kingdom.

Fig. 4.110 Titian, Portrait of Ludovico Ariosto, oil on canvas, Casa Oriani, Ferrara.
Fig. 4.111 Jacopo Pontormo, Portrait of Maria Salviati and Giulia de’ Medici, Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.

Fig. 4.112 Giacomo Argenta, Portrait of a Lady Holding a Cameo, 1566, Galeria Reale, Turin.

Fig. 4.113 Romagna artist (once attributed to Giulio Campi), Portrait of a Woman Reading with Profile Image on the Table, Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest.

Fig. 4.114 Alessandro Allori, Portrait of a Lady Holding a Cameo, Uffizi, Florence.
Fig. 4.115 Alessandro Allori, *Portrait of a Lady Holding a Cameo*, detail, Uffizi, Florence.


Fig. 4.117 Mirabillo Cavalori, *Portrait of a Man with Miniature*, c. 1560. Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti, Florence.

Fig. 4.118 Alessandro Allori, attributed to, *Francesco Holding Medal of Lucrezia*, 1560, private collection, United States.
Fig. 4.119 Federico Zuccari, *An Artist Showing his Portrait Drawing*, c. 1580, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.

Fig. 4.120 Gian Giovanni Francesco Caroto, *Red-Headed Youth Holding a Drawing*, c. 1508-20, Museo di Castelvecchio, Verona.

Fig. 4.121 Mirabello Cavalori, *Portrait of Youth with Portrait Drawing*, Museo Bardini, Florence.
Fig. 4.122 Carlo Dolci (1616-1687), *Self-Portrait with the Artist Holding a Self-Portrait Drawing*, 1674, oil on canvas, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.

Fig. 4.123 Carlo Dolci, *Self-Portrait with the Artist Holding a Self-Portrait Drawing*, detail, 1674, oil on canvas, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.

Fig. 4.124 Lorenzo Lotto, *Portrait of a Lady as Lucrezia*, detail, National Gallery, London.
Fig. 4.125 Caravaggio, *David with the Head of Goliath*, Galleria Borghese, Rome.

Fig. 4.126 W. Hollar, after Giorgione, *Self-Portrait as David*, engraving.

Fig. 4.127 Giovanni Busi, called Cariani, *Portrait of a Man with a Sculpted Portrait Bust*, c. 1510-15, oil on canvas, Gemaldegalerie, Berlin-Dahlem.

Fig. 4.128 Bartolomeo Passerotti, *Portrait of Paolo Pagliaroli that Contemplates the Image of a Deceased*, 1590, Galleria Estense, Modena.
**Fig. 4.129** Giovanni Busi, called Cariani, *Portrait of a Gentleman with a Female Profile Portrait*, 1510-14, formerly Northwick Park, Spencer Churchill Collection.

**Fig. 4.130** Domenico Ghirlandaio, *Portrait of an Old Man and a Boy*, c. 1480-90, Musee du Louvre, Paris.
Fig. 5.1 Jacques Iverny or Piedmontese artist, *Uomini Famosi Cycle with Titles in Latin of Heroes and Heroines*, 1420-30, fresco, Hall, Castello della Manta, Saluzzo, near Mantua.

Fig. 5.2 Andrea Riccio, *Double Tomb of Girolamo and Marcantonio Torre*, early sixteenth century, San Fermo, Verona.

Fig. 5.3 Attributed to Italian Artist (in the style of Luigi Capponi), *Double Portrait Funerary Monument of Bernardo Sculteri and Johannis Knibe Commemorating Gift to Church, Establishing Masses for the Dead*, c. 1518-20, Santa Maria dell’Anima, Rome.
Fig. 5.4 Vittore Carpaccio, *Two Venetian Ladies*, c. 1490, oil on panel, Museo Correr, Venice.

Fig. 5.5 Vittore Carpaccio, *Hunting on the Lagoon*, c. 1490, J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.

Fig. 5.6 Vittore Carpaccio, Composite of *Two Venetian Ladies* and *Hunting on the Lagoon*, c. 1490, J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.

Fig. 5.7 Pauwels Franck, called Paolo Fiammingo, *Five Venetian Ladies*, c. 1590, Private collection.
Fig. 5.8 Albrecht Dürer, *A Hausfrau from Nuremberg and a Gentildonna from Venice*, Städelisches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt.

Fig. 5.9 School of Giuseppe Arcimboldo, *Two Women with Baskets*, pen on prepared paper, Accademia, Bergamo [438].

Fig. 5.10 Benedetto Caliari, *Giardino di Villa Veneta*, c. 1570-80.

Fig. 5.11 Floriano Ferramola, *Two Women in a Garden*, detail, Casa della Corte Borgondio, Brescia.
Fig. 5.12 Matteo Pagan, *Procession of the Doge in Piazza San Marco*, detail showing a window of *Two Women*, c. 1555-60, woodcut from eight blocks, 39 x 417 cm (full image), Museo Correr, Venice.

Fig. 5.13 Il Garofalo, *Two Women on a Balcony, possibly Portraits of Isabella and Beatrice d’Este*, detail, 1506, fresco, Palazzo Costabili, called Ludovico il Moro, Ferrara.

Fig. 5.14 Federico Zuccari and Workshop, *Two Young Women*, drawing, Louvre, Paris.
Fig. 5.15 Federico Zuccari and workshop, *Two Female Virtues*, 1540, fresco, vault of the Loggia, Castelnuovo di Porto, Rocca Colonna.

Fig. 5.16 Jacques Iverny or Piedmontese artist, *Uomini Famosi Cycle with Titles in Latin of Heroes and Heroines*, detail of Lampeto and Tamaris, 1420-30, fresco, Hall, Castello della Manta, Saluzzo, near Mantua.

Fig. 5.17 Italian artist, *Cristina of Lorena in a Row with Mother and Grandmother*, 1595, oil on panel, Prado Museum, Madrid.
Fig. 5.18 Giovan Francesco Terzio, *Two Hapsburgian Women, Imagines Domus Austriacae*, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.

Fig. 5.19 Sofonisba Anguissola, *Double Portrait of the Infantas Isabella Clara Eugenia and Catalina Micaela*, c. 1569-70, Royal Collection, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Buckingham Palace London.

Fig. 5.20 Lombard School, *Cleopatra with Servant*, sixteenth century, Private collection.
Fig. 5.21 Lavinia Fontana, *Self-Portrait at the Clavichord with a Servant*, 1577, Accademia di San Luca, Rome.

Fig. 5.22 Paolo Veronese, *Giustiniana Giustiniani with her Nurse*, Sala del’ Olimpio, Villa Maser, Veneto.

Fig. 5.23 Sofonisba Anguissola, *Self-Portrait with Nurse at a Spinet*, c. 1559, Earl of Spencer Collection, England.
Fig. 5.24 Alessandro Bonvicino, called Moretto da Brescia, *A Frescoed Room with Eight Noblewomen in front of an Expansive Landscape*, 1545-46, fresco, oil, and tempera mural, Palazzo Martinengo, Then, Salvadego.

Fig. 5.25 Alessandro Bonvicino, called Moretto da Brescia, *A Frescoed Room with Eight Noblewomen in front of an Expansive Landscape*, 1545-46, fresco, oil, and tempera mural, Palazzo Martinengo, Then, Salvadego.

Fig. 5.26 Alessandro Bonvicino, called Moretto da Brescia, *A Frescoed Room with Eight Noblewomen in front of an Expansive Landscape*, detail, 1545-46, fresco, oil, and tempera mural, Palazzo Martinengo, Then, Salvadego.
Fig. 5.27 Alessandro Bonvicino, called Moretto da Brescia, _A Frescoed Room with Eight Noblewomen in front of an Expansive Landscape_, detail, 1545-46, fresco, oil, and tempera mural, Palazzo Martinengo, Then, Salvadego.

Fig. 5.28 British school, _Cholmondeley Sisters_, c. 1600-10, oil on panel?, Tate Gallery, London.

Fig. 5.29 School of Fontainebleau, _Double Portrait of Gabrielle d'Estrees and Her Sister_, c. 1594, Louvre, Paris.

Fig. 5.30 School of Fontainebleau, _Double Portrait of Two Women Bathing_, oil on canvas, Uffizi, Florence.
Fig. 5.31 School of Fontainebleau, *Two Woman Bathing*, variant, late sixteenth century, oil on panel?, location unknown.

Fig. 5.32 Jacopo Zucchi, *The Three Graces, presumable portraits of Clelia Farnese and Bianca Capello*, c. 1576, oil on copper, Private collection, Germany.

Fig. 5.33 Jacopo Zucchi, *Allegorical Scene*, 1574, Palazzo di Firenze, Rome.

Fig. 5.34 Marcantonio Raimondi, *The Three Graces, after an Ancient bas-relief*, engraving, 326 x 222 mm, Albertina, Vienna.
Fig. 5.35 Niccoló Fiorentino, *Giovanni degli Albizzi and Three Graces on reverse*, c. 1486-90, bronze cast, 78 mm, National Gallery of Art, Washington.

Fig. 5.36 Attributed to Giovanni Cariani, *Woman Choosing between Vice and Virtue*, c. 1520-25, oil on canvas, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemaldegalerie, Dresden.

Fig. 5.37 Attributed to Palma il Vecchio, *The Three Sisters*, sixteenth century, location unknown.

Fig. 5.38 Jacopo Zucchi, *Three Graces*, c. 1576, Formerly Czernin Collection, Vienna.
Fig. 5.39 Jacopo Zucchi, *Three Graces*, detail, c. 1576, Formerly Czernin Collection, Vienna.

Fig. 5.40 Scipione Pulzone, *Portrait of Clelia Farnese*, c. 1570, oil on panel, Galleria Nazionale, Palazzo Barberini, Rome.

Fig. 5.41 Scipione Pulzone, *Portrait of Bianca Capello*, c. 1570, Burghley House, Collection of M.H. Marques of Exeter, Stamford, England.

Fig. 5.42 Jacopo Zucchi, *The Exaltation of the Cross*, detail, c. 1570, oil on canvas, Sacresty with Altar of Reliquaries, Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome.
Fig. 5.43 Jacopo Zucchi, *Death of Adonis*, detail, 1577, oil on copper, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.

Fig. 5.44 Jacopo Zucchi, *The Coral Fishers*, c. 1585, oil on copper, Galleria Borghese, Rome.

Fig. 5.45 Jacopo Zucchi, *The Coral Fishers*, detail, c. 1585, oil on copper, Galleria Borghese, Rome.

Fig. 5.46 Jacopo Zucchi, *The Coral Fishers*, c. 1585, oil on copper, State Picture Gallery, Lwow, Russia.
Fig. 5.47 Jacopo Zucchi, *The Coral Fishers*, detail, c. 1585, oil on copper, State Picture Gallery, Lwow, Russia.

Fig. 5.48 Scipione Pulzone, *The Three Graces*, after Zucchi’s version, c. 1580, Private Collection, Milan.

Fig. 5.49 Cicerone and Simone da Milano, printed in Cicerone, *Epistolae familares*, Venice, 1494, xilografia.

Fig. 5.50 Jacopo Pontormo, *Portrait of Two Men with a Letter*, c. 1522-24, oil on panel, Conte Vittorio Cini Collection, Venice [V.C. 6733].
Fig. 5.51 Quentin Metsys, *Portrait of Erasmus and Gillis*, c. 1517, Palazzo Barberini, Rome; Koninklijk Museum, Antwerp, respectively.

Fig. 5.52 Attributed to Amadeo da Milano, *Medal of Two Unknown Men*, c. 1400, medal.

Fig. 5.53 Giovanni dal Ponte, *Dante and Petrarch*, c. 1400-35, tempera on panel, Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge.

Fig. 5.54 Giovanni Agostino da Lodi, *Sts. Peter and John the Evangelist*, c. 1495-97, oil on panel, Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan.
Fig. 5.55 Bartolomeo di Domenico di Guido, *Two Men Conversing* in an initial “P” for Paullus Florentinus, detail, in De Origine Servorium (manuscript dedicated to Piero de’ Medici), Biblioteca Laurenziana, Plut. 23.21.

Fig. 5.56 Francesco di Antonio del Chierico, *Two Men at a Window (Federico da Montefeltro and an Unknown Man)*, miniature inside front cover of Landino’s Disputationes Camaldulenses, Codice Urb. Lat 508, c. 1475, Vatican Library, Vatican.

Fig. 5.57 Attributed to Gentile Bellini, *Doge Andrea Vendramin and a Cardinal Received Together with his Secretary un Legato Papale*, c. 1476-78, painting on vellum (miniature su pergamen*a*), Van Beuningen Collection, Rotterdam.
Fig. 5.58 Vittore Carpaccio, *Meeting of the Betrothed Couple and the Departure of the Pilgrims*, detail of two young men, 1495, Accademia, Venice.

Fig. 5.59 Ludovico Sforza on his Knees Together his Nephew Gian Galeazzo, Duke of Milan, fresco.

Fig. 5.60 Donato Bramante, *Double Portrait of Eraclito and Democrito* (erroneously titled), c. 1490-99, Brera, Milan.

Fig. 5.61 Pedro Berruguete, *The Duke Federico and his Son Guidobaldo*, 1400s, Galleria Nazionale, Urbino.
Fig. 5.62 Leone Leoni, *Cameo of Charles V and his son Philip II*, obverse, 1440, sardonyx mounted in gold, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Fig. 5.63 Attributed to Francesco di Giorgio Martini, *Federico Montefeltro facing his nephew Ottaviano Ubaldini della Carda*, 1482, soprapporta, Palazzo Ducale, Urbino.

Fig. 5.64 Filippo Lippi, *Annunciation with Two Donors*, detail, Palazzo Barberini, Rome.

Fig. 5.65 Lorenzo Lotto, *Double Portrait of Giovanni Agostino and Niccolò Torre*, detail, National Gallery, London.
Fig. 5.66 Jacopino del Conte, *Portrait of Paul II and Ottavio Farnese*, c. 1546, Palazzo Spada, Rome.

Fig. 5.67 Hans Holbein, *Double Portrait of Sir Thomas Godsalve and his Son John*, 1528, Gemäldegalerie, Dresden.

Fig. 5.68 Gentile Bellini, *Portrait of Mehemmed II*, 1480, National Gallery, London.
Fig. 5.69 Gentile Bellini, *Sultan Mehmet II and his son*, oil on panel, Private Collection, Switzerland.

Fig. 5.70 Jacopo de’ Barbari, *Double Portrait of Fra Luca Pacioli with Pupil*, c. 1495, Museo e Gallerie di Capodimonte, Naples.

Fig. 5.71 Tarocchi Master, *Serie E, Artisan, Ferrara*, 1455-65, Uffizi, Florence.

Fig. 5.72 Workshop of Pietro Lombardo, *Double Bust Relief*, c. 1495/1500, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.
Fig. 5.73 Attributed to Giorgione, *Giovanni Borgherini and His Tutor, Niccolo Leonico Tomeo*, National Gallery, Washington.

Fig. 5.74 Attributed to Giovanni Bellini, *Double Portrait with Master and Pupil*, location unknown.

Fig. 5.75 Tomaso Manzuoli, called Maso da San Friano, *Double Portrait*, 1556, oil on panel, Museo e Gallerie Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples.

Fig. 5.76 Maso da San Friano, *Double Portrait*, detail, Museo e Gallerie Nazionale di Capodimonte Naples.
Fig. 5.77 Vincenzo Catena, *Portrait of Two Gentlemen*, c. 1510, National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin.

Fig. 5.78 Girolamo da Carpi, *Double Portrait of Cardinal Ippolito de’ Medici and Monsignor Mario Bracci*, after 1532, National Gallery, London.

Fig. 5.79 Bartolomeo Passerotti, *Double Portrait of Cardinal Filippo Guastavilla and a Knight of St. Stephen*, c. 1574-75, previously Galleria Ciardelli, Florence.

Fig. 5.80 Sebastiano del Piombo, *Portrait of Ferry Carondelet with his Secretary*, 1510-12, oil on panel, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid.
Fig. 5.81 Titian, *Portrait of Georges d’Armagnac, Bishop of Rodez, with his Secretary Guillaume Philandrier*, 1536-9, oil on canvas, Collection of the Duke of Northumberland, Alnwick Castle, England [3351].

Fig. 5.82 Hans Holbein the Younger, *The Ambassadors*, 1533, oil on panel, National Gallery, London.

Fig. 5.83 Attributed to Giovanni Bellini, *Double Portrait of Two Venetian Gentlemen*, c. 1510, oil on canvas, Musee du Louvre, Paris.
Fig. 5.84 Vittore Belliniano, attributed to, *Double Portrait of Two Venetian Men in Furred Coats*, c. 1515, Gift of Ralph Lowell, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Fig. 5.85 Vittore Belliniano, *Portrait of Two Young Men*, c. 1515, oil on canvas, Edith A. and Percy S. Straus Collection, Museum of Fine Arts Houston [44.553].

Fig. 5.86 Sebastiano del Piombo, *Double Portrait of Verdelotto and Ubretto*, c. 1520, oil on canvas, Formerly Gemaldegalerie, Berlin, destroy in 1944 [152].

Fig. 5.87 Bartolomeo Passerotti, attributed to, *Double Portrait of Two Musicians*, c. 1570, oil on canvas, Capitoline Museum, Rome [70].
Fig. 5.88 Raphael, *Self-Portrait with a Friend*, 1520, oil on canvas, Musée du Louvre, Paris

Fig. 5.89 Gherardo, pl 89, sup. 43, fol. 78, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence.

Fig. 5.90 Francesco di Antonio del Chierico, manuscript, Valencia.

Fig. 5.91 Francesco di Antonio del Chierico, manuscript, Vatican.
Fig. 5.92 Circle of Mantegna, *Dedication Page of Writer Handing Manuscript to Jacopo Antonio Marcello*, in Strabo’s *Geography*, translated by Guarino, Bibliothèque Rochehude, Albi [4].

Fig. 5.93 Filippino Lippi, *Double Portrait of Piero del Publiese and Filippino Lippi*, c. 1486, oil on panel, The Simon Guggenheim Memorial Collection, Denver Art Museum, Denver, Colorado [1955.88].

Fig. 5.94 Filippino Lippi, *Saints Peter and Paul Before the Consul*, detail, 1471-72, Brancacci Chapel, Santa Maria del Carmine, Florence.

Fig. 5.95 Filippino Lippi, *Apparition of the Virgin to St. Bernard*, 1486, oil on panel, Church of Badia, Florence.
Fig. 5.96 Filippino Lippi, *Saints Peter and Paul Before the Consul*, detail, 1471-72, Brancacci Chapel, Santa Maria del Carmine, Florence.

Fig. 5.97 Attributed to Giorgione, *Double Portrait of a Young Patrician Holding a Seville Orange with Another man in the Background*, c. 1502, oil on canvas, Palazzo Venezia, Rome.

Fig. 5.98 Italian artist, *Game of Chess*, in Frate Jacopo da Cessole, *Opera nuova nella quale se insegna il vero regimento della uomini et delle donne di qualunque grado, stato, e condition esser si voglia: Composta per lo Reverendissimo Padre Frate Giacobo da Cessole del ordine di predicatori sopra il giuoco del Scacchi, Intitulata costume delle uomini, et efficai delle nobili, nuovamente stampata* (Venice: Francesco di Alesandro Bindoni et Mapheo Pasini Compagni, 1534).
Fig. 5.99 Paris Bordone, *The Chess Players*, 1550-55, oil on canvas, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.

Fig. 5.100 Anthonius Mor, *Two Men Playing a Game of Checkers*, c. 1520, Utrecht.

Fig. 5.101 Lodovico Carracci, *Chessplayers*, location unknown.

Fig. 5.102 Bartolomeo Passerotti, *Butcher’s Shop*, c. 1582-83, Galleria nazionale d’arte antica, Palazzo Barberini, Rome.
Fig. 5.103 Luca Signorelli, *Deeds of the Antichrist*, detail of lower left corner, 1499-1502, fresco, San Brizio Chapel (once called the Cappella Nuovo), Cathedral, Orvieto.

Fig. 5.104 Luca Signorelli, *Deeds of the Antichrist*, detail of double portrait of Fra Angelico and Signorelli, 1499-1502, fresco, San Brizio Chapel (once called the Cappella Nuovo), Cathedral, Orvieto.

Fig. 5.105 Francesco Salviati, *The Visitation*, San Giovanni Decollato, Rome.

Fig. 5.106 Francesco Salviati, *The Visitation*, detail of two men in left corner, San Giovanni Decollato, Rome.
Fig. 5.107 Daniel Hopfer, *Double Portrait of Pope Leo X and Giuliano de’ Medici,*

Fig. 5.108 Monogrammist CB, *Double Portrait of Charles I and Ferdinand I,* Radierung.

Fig. 5.109 Italian-Spanish School, *Cardinals Alessandro and Odoardo Farnese,* 1600, Il Gesù, Rome.
Fig. 5.110 Giorgio Vasari and Stradano, Sala del Clementino, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence.

Fig. 5.111 Giorgio Vasari and Stradano, Double Portrait of Clement VII and Charles V, sopraporta (above doorway), c. 1556-62, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence.

Fig. 5.112 Giorgio Vasari and Stradano, Double Portrait of Francis I and Clement VII (Medici), sopraporta (above doorway), c. 1556-62, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence.
Fig. 5.113 Tintoretto, *Double Portraits of Doges*, late sixteenth century, frieze, Sala del Gran Consiglio, Palazzo Ducale, Venice.

Fig. 5.114 Attributed to Domenico Tintoretto, *Double Portrait of Doge Antonio Grimani and Andrea Gritti*, c. 1580-90, Sala del Gran Maggiore, Palazzo Ducale, Venice.