CHASTITY AND INDIVIDUALITY IN THE RENAISSANCE:
LORENZO LOTTO'S LONDON PORTRAIT OF A WOMAN

By

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ABSTRACT

Lorenzo Lotto (ca. 1480-1555/6) made a significant contribution to the development of female Veneto portraiture with the execution of his Portrait of a Woman of ca. 1533 in the National Gallery, London. Here he gave brilliant expression to his unique gift of employing emblematic material to pinpoint the essential meaning of the sitter's presentation of him or herself. The portrait shows the sitter displaying three objects: a drawing, a cartellino bearing a Latin inscription, and a wallflower.

Chapter One is a summary of the literature on the portrait. While the theme of the Roman heroine Lucretia, conveyed by the drawing and the inscription — a quotation, as given by Livy, of Lucretia's final words — has at times been recognized as an allusion to the sitter's virtue, writers have focussed rather on aspects of the painting which seem to suggest that the sitter is, in fact, a woman of questionable virtue. Michael Jaffé's important suggestion, made in 1971, that the noblewoman is Lucrezia Valier, who married Benetto Pesaro in 1533, has not been fully explored.

Few studies on Renaissance portraiture have been written and literature on the Veneto and Venetian portrait is fragmentary. Chapter Two will provide a summary of elements characteristic of the Veneto portrait and the different types which were popular there in the years preceding the execution of Lotto's London portrait. As the concepts underlying the male and female portrait fundamentally differed, these two areas will be examined separately. The emblematic portrait was well-developed in the Veneto and Lotto made his chief contribution to portraiture in this area. With his series of life-size portraits of horizontal format, he combined a detailed
description of the sitter's environment with allegorical statements about the sitter's virtue. The two most important portraits of this group are the portrait which is the subject of this thesis and the portrait of the collector, Andrea Odoni. Odoni's pursuit of antiquity is defined by sculptures which appear to be natural to his environment but have been invested with symbolic meaning in order to play out a narrative about the sitter. This chapter will provide a background against which to evaluate the innovations of the London portrait.

Chapter Three will provide a summary of the roles which could be assumed by the Venetian noblewoman in sixteenth century Venice. Her most important function in society was wife and bearer of noble offspring, and as a result her valuation rested on her chastity, as in fidelity to her husband. An interesting side issue is also raised in this chapter. Within the context of Neoplatonic philosophy, women's importance rested in their beauty, which could assist men on their spiritual journey to truth. Finally, Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier*, of 1528, and its definition of a new role for women will be considered. For the first time in the Renaissance, it was unequivocally argued that it was appropriate for women to have intellectual attainments equal to those of men.

In Chapter Four, the principal motifs of Lotto's London portrait will be examined. Lucretia, the Roman heroine who committed suicide in order to preserve her honour after being raped was a popular figure in the sixteenth century, reflecting a general vogue for antique heroic figures. In connection with portraits, she was often emblematic of chastity and also had a special connection with marriage. Lotto's sitter employs the Lucretia emblems, the drawing and the inscription, to define her own status as a
modern heroic exemplar of wifely chastity. The theme of marriage is fur­
ther played out by other elements. A common association in Veneto female
allegorical portraiture was the flower and the bared breast. Drawing upon
this iconography, Lotto has employed the flower as a symbol of the sitter's
offering of love to her husband, and her bared upper body as an allusion to
her procreative role in marriage as well as to her virtue. Another impor­t­
ant level of meaning is embodied in the Lucretia emblems -- an allusion to
the sitter's cultural pursuits. The inscription defines the sitter as
having some knowledge of classical history and the drawing, the first to
appear in portraiture, may well have been executed by her.

Far from being a woman of unsound virtue, the sitter emerges as a
woman of outstanding virtue, characterized by ideals appropriate to the
Venetian noblewoman of her time. At the same time she conveys an individu­
ality unprecedented in female portraiture.
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Lorenzo Lotto's Portrait of a Woman in the National Gallery in London, has taken its identity from the drawing of the Roman heroine Lucretia prominently held and displayed by the sitter (Figure 1). The work is large by ordinary early sixteenth century standards for the portrait and unusual in its horizontal format. The portrait is painted on wood; its dimensions are 95 x 110 centimetres; the sitter is represented life-size. The painting appears to be in excellent condition, with the exception of some rubbing in certain areas, and appears not to have been cut.  

The sitter is shown standing in an interior setting. Facing away from her on the left is a chair, of which only the upper part is visible (Figure 4). On the right is a table covered with a red cloth on which lie two objects: a cutting of a yellow flower, and a cartellino (Figure 2) bearing the Latin inscription in Roman capitals: NEC VLLA IMPVDICA LV/CRETIAE EXEMPLO VIVET. This display is completed by the drawing of the Roman Lucretia which the sitter holds in her left hand, directly above the objects on the table (Figure 48).

The woman in the drawing is nude except for the drapery which she presses to her body in a Venus pudica gesture. Holding a dagger in her right hand, aimed at her heart, she gazes upward, open-mouthed. The pose of the nude and the style of the drawing are expressive, conveyed by the flowing, dishevelled hair, the forward bend of the torso, the uneven pressure of the loosely drawn curved lines, the rough, uneven hatching, and the chiaroscuro. The background of the drawing is a neutral gray and the figure appears to stand on an artificial base. The composition is framed by a pale, unmarked border.
The sitter gestures towards this display with her right hand. She tilts her head towards the table and at the same time gazes, unflinchingly, at the spectator, exhibiting a determination bordering on aggression and anger.

Her costume is elaborate and sumptuous. Her hair is covered by a balzo, here made up of a profusion of tiny imitation curls decorated with white bows. Her gown is of stripes of fabric, probably velvet and satin, a bright orange-red alternating with green. The bodice is tightly fitted and the skirt is gathered at the waist. Above the elbows, the sleeves balloon into huge puffs; below they are more tightly fitted. A diaphanous cloth covers her left shoulder and is attached at the corner of the bodice, then thrown over her left shoulder. The edge of the cloth is visible above her right shoulder and its tip, near her right elbow, falls onto and in front of the chair. Further details adding to the effect made by the dress include the stitching along the neckline of the bodice, the lacing of the front of the bodice, the tuck in the skirt below the waist, and the fur edging at the cuffs and at the slashes at the elbows, suggesting a fur lining to the garment. Into the front of her bodice has been tucked a gold quintuple chain with a pendant of gold putti and cornucopias set with rubies and sapphires, from which is suspended a single tear-shaped pearl (Figure 3). The placement of this elaborate jewel allows for an unobstructed view of the sitter's bare flesh, further emphasized by the pronounced décolletage which exposes most of her right shoulder as well as a large section of her upper chest. She wears a ring on the ring finger of her left hand, her only additional piece of jewellery.

The sitter's body is angled slightly away from the picture plane
towards the table. Her upper torso is twisted slightly back in the
direction of the spectator and tilted to the left. Her pose draws the
spectator's attention to the display on the right but at the same time
allows for full presentation of the details of her costume.

Colour and light are both dynamic elements in the painting. The few
colours - the green and orange-red of the dress, and the red of the table-
cloth - are bright and dissonant. The wall behind the sitter is a neutral
gray. The light from the upper right highlights the dress, picks out the
objects on the right, the sitter's face, and the expanse of her pale,
creamy chest. Above the chair, her shadow is cast on the wall, suggesting
that the light source is a doorway, or possibly a large window.

The provenance of Lotto's _Portrait of a Woman_ can be traced backwards,
beginning on July 15th, 1927, when the National Gallery in London purchased
it through Christie's. From 1855 it had been in the collection of R.S.
Holford, who had acquired it from the Scottish lord, Sir James Carnegie,
Lord Southesk, in whose possession the work was recorded in the previous
year. The work had presumably been purchased by Lord Southesk's father
from the Scottish art dealer, James Irvine, whose client he had been.
Correspondence has revealed that Irvine had purchased it from Abate Luigi
Celotti of Venice in November 1828 for his client Sir William Forbes, who
died before the portrait reached Edinburgh in 1830.

The earliest document to refer to the work appears to be an inventory
of October 1797 of approximately 190 paintings in the possession of the
Pesaro family at Ca' Pesaro, S. Stae. Among the works on the main floor of
the palace, hanging in the principal gallery which overlooked the Grand
Canal, was: "No. 39. Giorgione, bella copia. Donna con ritratto di
4.

Lucrezia in mano. 2:9 x 3:3. 88."\(^9\)

The link with the Pesaro family and the link with the Roman heroine Lucretia led Michael Jaffe in 1971 to hypothesize a possible identity for the sitter: that of Lucrezia Valier, who on January 19, 1933, married Benetto Pesaro of the S. Beneteto branch of the family. Jaffe's use of genealogy charts indicated that there was no other Pesaro daughter or daughter-in-law named Lucrezia who was of an age to be married around this time.\(^{10}\)

On the basis of this evidence, Jaffe has proposed that the work was commissioned in the sixteenth century by the Pesaro family at S. Benetto. In 1687, when this branch of the family became extinct, the work could well have been included among the family pictures which, it is known, passed into the hands of the Pesaro at S. Stae.\(^{11}\) Here it remained, Jaffe has suggested, along with others, until the 1797 inventory.

In the first half of the sixteenth century, the Pesaro family was wealthy and influential.\(^{12}\) Belonging to the branch at S. Benetto was Benedetto Pesaro who had been Captain General of the Venetian fleet and Procurator of San Marco. In 1501, he had been a candidate for the Dogeship,\(^{13}\) and later was immortalized by Titian in the *Madonna di Ca' Pesaro* in the Church of the Frari.\(^{14}\) His son Girolamo, father of Benetto who married Lucrezia Valier,\(^{15}\) succeeded him in the offices of Captain General and Procurator.\(^{16}\)

It should be noted that in the sixteenth century the Pesaro at S. Beneteto possessed a collection of paintings which had already achieved a certain fame by 1581 when Francesco Sansovino, in *Venetia Città Nobilissima*, described their collection as "una copiosa raccolta di
Eccellenti Pitture, cosi antiche, come moderne".\textsuperscript{17} An indication of the Pesaro interest in family portraits lies in the presence among these works, of two portraits of Benedetto and Girolamo by Pordenone.\textsuperscript{18}

The earliest attribution we have for the Lotto portrait, in the 1797 inventory, lists it, as has been noted, as "Giorgione, bella copia".\textsuperscript{19} In the nineteenth century, the work was considered to be by Giorgione, as evidenced by the correspondence of 1828-9 between Irvine and Celotti and its attribution to Giorgione in the exhibition at the British Institution in 1854.\textsuperscript{20} In 1871 Crowe and Cavalcaselle removed the portrait from Giorgione's oeuvre and re-attributed it to Lotto on stylistic grounds.\textsuperscript{21} In 1893, Morelli listed the portrait among Lotto's paintings.\textsuperscript{22}

The earliest art historical work to deal with Lotto's oeuvre as a whole was Bernard Berenson's monograph, first published in 1895.\textsuperscript{23} Accepting the Lotto attribution, he included comments about the London portrait. He was the first to propose a date for the work. On the evidence of style, he suggested 1528-33.\textsuperscript{24} His additional remarks were largely descriptive. He saw the sitter's expression as "discontended and morose". He identified the chair as a cradle.\textsuperscript{25} That same year, Gronau wrote a short interpretive comment on the painting, stating that the sitter wished to be represented in the role of the Roman Lucretia. He too mentioned the sitter's expression, referring to it as "strange, even annoying".\textsuperscript{26} Adolfo Venturi in 1901 included the portrait in his short survey of Lotto's oeuvre, principally remarking on the elegance of the costume and the luminous colours.\textsuperscript{27}

The purchase of the portrait, as a Lotto, by the National Gallery in 1927, gave rise to another flurry of criticism. The short discussions by
W.G. Constable and Sir Charles Holmes focussed upon what they saw as an ambiguity or contradiction within the work. Constable, after noting the presence of the drawing of the Roman Lucretia, provided a quotation of Lucretia's last words from Shakespeare's *Rape of Lucrece*:

"No, no," quoth she, "no dame hereafter living, By my excuse shall claim excuses giving."

For Constable, the sitter's attitude belied the theme of virtue:

Not, indeed, that Lotto's sitter suggests the moral stature of a Lucretia. Her protesting and resolute gesture is that of an actress, and is belied by the sensuous, highly-feminized atmosphere with which the painter has invested her. Possibly she is a Venetian great lady, more probably a model or light-o-love...

Holmes considered that Lotto was intentionally experimenting with the ambiguous. After calling her "a handsome and richly dressed lady", he addressed himself, like Constable, to the question of who the sitter really was:

...there is just that little uncertainty about her which entices us to all the mysteries of a detective story. Is our Lucrezia the portrait of a lady with a past? Or is she merely that disappointing thing, an allegory - ....

Further commentary appeared in 1953. Of the three monographs on Lotto published in that year, only Anna Banti's mentioned the portrait. As previous writers, she focussed on the demeanor of the sitter. Banti considered the woman in the portrait to be no match for the contemporary Venetian "belle" in portraits by Giorgione, Titian and Palma. A "subtle mischievousness, almost irony" conveyed by the sitter in her emulation of these other "belle", was at the same time undercut by an accumulation of details - the sitter's pose and defiant gesture, her manner of wearing her jewellery and of holding the drawing, as well as the colours:
Ecco una delle "belle" cinquecentesche, emula delle Laure, delle Flore, delle Violanti, ornatissima ed astratta: ma non dea, semmai idolo inquieto e tutto scatti, dalla posa di traverso allo sgrigioio quasi stridido delle sete, dal gioiello che scivola e pesa sul seno, al foglio col disegno allegorico, come crepitante, stretto e allontanato dallo mano sinistro, con un gesto di sfido più rustico che aulico e cittadino. L'accostamento stesso dei colori, quel mordere freddo del verde e del bianco sul rosso bruno, allega dolcemente e denuncia un misterioso scompenso, ben lontano dall'equilibrio placide e trionfante di Tiziano, dalla festa opulenta de Palma.

Even her beauty, Banti wrote, is punctuated by polemical intentions.\textsuperscript{31}

In 1955, Berenson's revised monograph on Lotto was published. On the Portrait, he largely repeated his comments of 1895, including a similar dating bracket.\textsuperscript{32} He noted, without indicating the source, that it has been proposed that the "so-called Lucretia...was meant as a pendant" to Lotto's Portrait of Andrea Odoni, a dated work of 1527, a proposal that he rejects as having been made "without any plausible reason".\textsuperscript{33} The drawing held by the sitter he described as "Titianesque". The article of furniture was now called a "Savonarola chair" instead of a cradle. His final comment is reminiscent of those of 1927: "One cannot help feeling that the artist was not persuaded of the lady's sincerity." Berenson does not elaborate on this point.

A reconsideration of the work was presented in 1959 by Cecil Gould in his entry on the portrait in his National Gallery Catalogue on the Venetian School.\textsuperscript{34} As Banti, Gould labelled the work A Lady as Lucretia. This is the title which has now become standard in the literature. Gould compared the painting with portraits which represent the sitter either in the costume of a classical figure, or with the attributes of a saint, citing Bronzino's Andrea Doria as Neptune and Sebastiano del Piombo's Lady as St. Agatha as examples. Gould was the first to raise the issue of a theme of
virtue, stating that the sitter was "asserting her virtue" by identifying with the Roman Lucretia, a "sentiment" present not only through the use of the drawing, but also by the sitter's pointing to the inscription. However, Gould, like other historians, remained unconvinced. He footnoted his discussion of virtue with a quote from Hamlet - "Methinks the lady doth protest too much" - and commented that though there is no evidence (since the sitter is unidentified) that the work "was painted to counteract the impugning of her virtue attention may be drawn to a comparable allegorical portrait of the seventeenth century - Van Dyck's Lady Venetia Digby as Prudence. Lady Venetia was notoriously imprudent."

As regards the dating, Gould brought into the discussion a new factor for consideration - the sitter's costume. An extensive analysis by Stella Mary Newton concluded that, on the basis of the style of the dress and the balzo, the work could be quite accurately dated to the year 1530 or 1531, though Newton extended the range from 1529 to 1533 for those who doubt the accuracy of dating portraits on the evidence of costume. This supports the range of bracket proposed by Berenson on the basis of style, and is consistent with Jaffe's proposal for the sitter's identity.

In early 1963, in his short catalogue of Lotto's oeuvre, Bianconi, like the early Berenson, considered the chair to be a cradle, the only other historian to identify it as such. Bianconi introduced a new element into the discussion - the meaning of the inscription. He pointed to Livy, 1, 58, as the source and provided a translation: "No woman shall lead a life of shame in future if she recalls Lucretia's example." Upon this rests, he stated, "the assumption that the sitter is a courtesan". He did not explain how the inscription enabled one to identify the sitter's occu-
pation. Furthermore, Bianconi's translation is inaccurate and hence misleading from an iconographic point of view.

By 1969, another inaccurate rendition had been put forth, one which appeared in National Gallery publications and elsewhere: "By Lucretia's example, let no violated woman live". In 1969, John Sparrow pointed out the error:

The words do not mean that henceforth no woman shall survive the loss of her honour; they mean that no woman who wishes to go on living after she has lost her honour will be able to appeal to Lucretia's case as precedent.

In spite of Sparrow's observation, National Gallery publications continued to furnish the incorrect translation as late as 1977; in 1979 Braham provided a rewording of essentially the same version. I suggest that an accurate translation of the phrase would read: "...no unchaste woman who wishes to go on living will be able to appeal to Lucretia as examplar."

In 1971, in the study by Jaffé previously discussed, costume was used as an aid to deciphering the iconography of the work. Jaffé suggested that the portrait was painted approximately one year after the sitter's marriage, "at the time of putting her hair up in sign that she was to be considered a married woman, no longer a young bride."

Alistair Smith, writing in 1973 in a National Gallery publication on Renaissance portraits in the collection, is the first to dwell on the theme of chastity and introduce the flower as an element for consideration. The sitter, he believed, as well as being a "living person" is also a "personification of virtue". The drawing of Lucretia, as well as probably alluding to the sitter's name, embodies the theme of virtue and the inscription "invokes" her example. This "elaborate demonstration of the
sitter's chastity", he explained by the "nosegay" - "evidence of a suitor's attentions", as it was "doubtless presented to her by an admirer." However, Smith returns to the question of the sitter's demeanor, and as the earlier male historians, seems to have been "seduced" by the sitter's presentation of herself.

Her exaggerated insistence...with her bold stare and non-too-discreet attire, serve to attract rather than repulse. The spectator seems almost dared to take his place in the empty chair. The lady, is quite simply, acting a part which displays an almost provocative chastity.

Smith makes a further comment of interest - that the sitter is displaying "her knowledge of antique literature", but does not develop the point.

Giordana Canova in 1975 was the first to attempt a full-scale interpretation using Jaffe's research as a point of departure. She began by noting the sitter's probable identity as Lucrezia Pesaro, married in 1533. She accepts Jaffe's viewing of the work as a marriage portrait, and concludes that the Roman Lucretia, as well as alluding to the sitter's name, is an allusion to conjugal fidelity.⁴⁴

In the same year, Flavio Caroli, in his monograph on Lotto, adopted the opposite extreme. His short comment on the London portrait appears to be based solely on Bianconi, for he makes the assumption that the sitter is a courtesan, a conclusion that, he states, is to be drawn from the inscription.⁴⁵

In 1977, Jaffe's conclusions were included in the book on the National Gallery by Homan Potterton. His brief comment summed up the main points of the previous literature, including the sitter's assertion of her virtue through the Lucretia emblems, and her apparently ambiguous manner of proclaiming it "which serves only to arouse our suspicions". Attempting to
reconcile these two extremes, he concluded that "the portrait is not without wit on the part of the painter and the sitter".46

In 1979, Mary E. Hazard incorporated Lotto's portrait into her discussion of the Roman Lucretia in Renaissance literature and art.47 Defining Lucretia as a well-known exemplum of womanly decorum and chastity, she set Lotto's portrait within the context of virtue. She considered that the work represented the sitter in the act of reading, and that the Roman Lucretia was to be understood here as an exemplum. She is the only writer to point out that the inscription is an adapted quote of Lucretia's final words.48

The picture that emerges from this review of the literature provides few definite conclusions about the iconography. The question of the sitter's virtue, carried through the Lucretia references, as opposed to what has been seen as the sitter's suggestive, inviting, or ambiguous presentation of herself remains unresolved. Nearly all scholars have focussed on one of these aspects, ignoring the other, or have acknowledged both without attempting to integrate them into a coherent, convincing analysis. Important aspects of the work have been touched on but not examined in terms of their contribution to the meaning of the work: the sitter's facial expression, the implications of the costume, the significance of the flower, and the meaning of the inscription.

This problem arises in part from lacunae in the literature. Lacking is a thorough examination of motifs of costume and the emblems, gesture and expression, as they occur within portraiture. Nor have scholars given serious attention to the context of the portrait within Lotto's oeuvre and within the area of contemporary Venetian and Veneto female portraiture.
This is a reflection of the general lack of literature on these two subjects, as well as the inadequate treatment of Venetian sixteenth century portraiture as a whole. Comments are generally fragmentary, inconclusive, and isolated from each other throughout periodicals, catalogue entries, monographs on a particular artist's oeuvre, and discussions and books on portraiture or Renaissance art in general. Further, female portraiture is rarely examined as distinct from male portraiture as it should be in light of the widely differing roles of and expectations for men and women. While a number of studies have been produced on Renaissance women, few attempts have been made to apply these conclusions in an interpretation of the female portrait and its various types, though female portraits are sometimes used to illustrate writers' points on the subject of women.

The attempts to examine Lotto's large portrait oeuvre as a unit and his own unique contribution to the development of the emblematic portrait remain summary and incomplete. In 1956, Berenson recognized Lotto's "psychological interest" in his sitters and his success in portraying facial expressions reflecting their "inner life". However, his chapter on the portraits solves few iconographic problems. Seidenberg's doctoral thesis on Lotto's portraits, published in 1964, is largely restricted to stylistic development. Galis's doctoral thesis of 1977 provides a much-needed chapter on a number of Lotto's emblematic portraits, but she does not deal with the London portrait.

A short general survey of contemporary Venetian and Veneto portraiture will provide a framework for an assessment of Lotto's conception of the emblematic portrait, both male and female, in the decade preceding his
London Portrait of a Woman. Following this, an outline of the role of Venetian women of the sixteenth century will provide the background against which to view salient elements of the London portrait. Within this context, an analysis of the individual motifs of the portrait will make possible some conclusions about its significance.
FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER ONE

1. Cecil Gould, National Gallery Catalogues: The Sixteenth Century Venetian School (London: William Clowes and Sons, Limited, 1959), p. 54, reports that the orange-red of the dress has been rubbed and retouched, as has the background but to a lesser extent than the flesh areas, particularly the neck and bosom where this has been extensive.

2. Gould, Venetian School, p. 54, states that the "o" of "exemplo" seems to have originally been "m". However this is unlikely as the inscription is quoted from Livy, where the word is clearly "exemplo". See below, this chapter. It was read in 1871 as "exemplo" by J.A. Crowe and G.B. Cavalcaselle, A History of Painting in North Italy, 2nd Ed., (London: John Murray, 1912):3:43.

3. Stella Mary Newton identifies this as a tuck in "Lorenzo Lotto: Lucrezia," an unpublished paper in the National Gallery archives, n.d. A copy of this study was made available to me through the courtesy of the National Gallery. For discussion of Newton's conclusions, see below, this chapter.


5. Gould, Venetian School, p. 54.

6. Ibid.


8. Ibid., p. 701-2.


11. Jaffe's suggestion for the provenance in "Pesaro Family Portraits," p. 696 and 700-1 begins with Benetto Pesaro. From him the work would have passed to his son Gerolamo Melchiorre, born in 1536, to Lorenzo, born January 18, 1573, to Girolamo, born April 18, 1607, to another Lorenzo, born September 2, 1650 to Andrea, born July 28, 1673 but who died as a boy on January 22, 1687, ending this branch of the Pesaro family, the Pesaro at S. Benetto. From here the family pictures, including the Lotto, would have then passed to the head of the next senior surviving branch, Antonio Pesaro at S. Stae, who resided in the new palace built for his father Lunardo by Baldassare Longhena. From Antonio, the picture would have passed to his son Senator Lunardo and Continued....
then his grand-sons Francesco, Zuanne, and Piero, in whose possession the portrait was inventoried in 1797. That year, the provisional Municipality of Venice posted public notices that the goods of the eldest, Francesco, were to be confiscated, as he had been too friendly with the Austrian Empire.


13. Ibid., p. 151. For facts about Benedetto, see also p. 81, 82 and 131.


18. Ibid., According to Jaffé, "Pesaro Family Portraits," p. 702, no other record of these portraits has come to light and they appear to have left the Pesaro collection before the 1797 inventory.

19. See above, p. 4.


21. Painting in North Italy, 2nd ed. (London: John Murray, 1912): 3:43. Here the authors stated, "It displays the well-known smorphia and affectation of Lotto". Tancred Borenius added a note to this edition stating — as an annotation to the characterization of this work as "in the style of Lotto" — that "it may be confidently ascribed to him". Ibid., p. 430. Crowe and Cavalcaselle on p. 43 incorrectly describe the sitter as "seated in an armchair". Gould, Venetian School, p. 54, notes that Banti/Boschetto err in ascribing a Cariani attribution to Crowe and Cavalcaselle and maintaining that Morelli was the first to recognize the work as Lotto's. Nevertheless Piero Bianconi, All the Paintings of Lorenzo Lotto, trans. Paul Colacicchi (London: Oldbourne; Milan: Rizzoli Editore, 1963), 2:81-2; and Flavio Caroli Lorenzo Lotto (Florence: Edizioni d'arte il Fiorino, 1975), p. 222 repeat that the attribution to Lotto was made by Morelli.

23. This edition was included in the bibliography by Anna Banti and Antonio Boschetto, *Lorenzo Lotto* (Florence: Sansoni, 1953), p. 98.

24. Bernard Berenson, *Lorenzo Lotto: An Essay in Constructive Art Criticism*, rev. ed. (London: George Bell & Sons, 1901), p. 191. Here the author considers the pose of the head to suggest the Madonna of 1533 in Bergamo, then in the Lochis Collection and now in the Accademia Carrara. He notes that the style is more similar to the works of 1529-30, while the "look" recalls St. Catherine's in the *Santa Conversazione* of 1528 in Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

25. Ibid., p. 190.


27. Storia dell'arte italiana 9 La pittura del cinquecento Part 4 (Milan: Ulrico Hoepli, Editore Libraio della Real Casa, 1901; reprint ed., Nadln, Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint Ltd., 1929), p. 86-88. In connection with Lotto's portraits, Venturi here published a bust-length drawing of a woman, in the Oppenheimer Collection, London, whom he considered to be the same person, p. 87-8. Her costume is however dissimilar to that in Lotto's portrait. Another drawing has been published in connection with the portrait by Wilhelm Suida, "Einige Zeichnungen des Lorenzo Lotto," *Pantheon* 2 (1928): 531-3, esp. 531. This is a pen and ink sketch in Haarlem, Teyler Museum, of a woman in three-quarter length. The costume resembles that in the Lotto in style but not in details, nor is the pose similar. Suida's attribution of these drawings to Lotto has not been accepted by other scholars. For example neither drawing is included in Philip Pouncey, *Lotto disegnatore* (Vicenza: Neri Pozza Editore, 1965).


31. Ibid., p. 40.
that in 1955 it could not have been executed before 1529-30.

33. I have been unable to locate the original source of this suggestion.

34. *Venetian School*, p. 54-5.

35. Newton, "Lucrezia". The aspects of the costume which figure in her
dating are the style of the balzo of which a similar version is shown
in Bartolommeo Veneto's *Portrait of a Woman* of 1530, Lady Rosebery
collection, Mentmore; and the front of the lacing of the dress; the
décolletage; the break in the skirt, a tuck; and the shape and bulk of
the sleeves. Newton cites eighteen examples of costume in paintings
this paper under Newton's maiden name, Pearce.


37. This same translation is provided by Mary E. Hazard, "Renaissance
Aesthetic Values: 'Example', for Example," *Art Quarterly*, n.s., 2
(1979), p. 25.

38. Carlo Lucovico Ragghianti, ed., *National Gallery, London* (New York,
*National Gallery Illustrated General Catalogue* (London: Publications

39. *Visible Words: A Study of Inscriptions in and as Books and Works of
Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p. 80. This was con-
firmed by Dr. Elizabeth Bonghi, Classics Department, University of
British Columbia, August 1981. A similar meaning is provided in Livy,
The Early History of Rome, trans. Aubrey de Selincourt (Harmondsworth,
a precedent for unchaste women to escape what they deserve". Sparrow,
*Visible Words*, p. 80, suggests Boccaccio as a possible source for the
inscription although Livy's phrase corresponds more closely to
Lotto's. Livy wrote "....nec ulla deinde impudica Lucretiae exemplo
uiuet". Boccaccio's corresponding phrase in *De Mulieribus Claris*
reads, "...nec ulla deinceptis impudica Lucretiae vivet exemplo".
Lotto's inscription does not include Livy's "deinde".

Hudson, Ltd., 1977), p. 84.

41. Allan Braham, *The National Gallery Lends Italian Renaissance Portraits*
(Kettering, Northamptonshire: The George Press, 1979), p. 8, offers
his translation as, "According to the example of Lucretia no unchaste
woman should live".


44. Rodolfo Pallucchini, L'opera completa del Lotto, catalogue by Giordana Mariani Canova (Milan: Rizzoli Editore, 1975), p. 114. On p. 9 of this, Pallucchini calls the drawing a print - "una stampa". However all other writers who mention it call it a drawing. This includes Pouncy, Lotto disegnatore, p. 13.

45. Caroli, Lotto, p. 222.


48. See above, this chapter.


54. Diana Wronski Galis, "Lorenzo Lotto: A Study of His Career and Character, With Particular Emphasis on his Emblematic and Hieroglyphic Works," (Ph.D. dissertation, Bryn Mawr College, 1977), p. 190-258. She also includes a chapter on works which have been considered to be Lotto's self-portraits.
CHAPTER TWO
PORTRAITURE IN THE VENETO: MALE AND FEMALE

Introduction to the Sixteenth Century Portrait

By the sixteenth century, the independent portrait as a genre in Italy has developed significantly in form and content. While the principal motive behind its initial development in the fifteenth century had been the preservation of the individual's likeness for posterity, the sixteenth century focus was on the creation of an image of a 'living' person which would convey a sense of character and/or personality. Many more portraits were produced than before. The ratio of three to one in favour of male as opposed to female portraits remained, however, roughly constant. Patronage increased among the ruling classes and, in contrast to the fifteenth century, extended to the middle classes as well. The theoretical and practical aspects of the genre became a matter for consideration by theorists of art as well as artists. In 1549, Francisco de Hollanda completed the first treatise that dealt exclusively with portraiture, Da Tirar Polo Natural (On Taking Portraits from Life); the subject was the Italian portrait. Portraits were produced for both public and private display, and incorporated messages extending from the celebration of heads of state in their capacities as rulers to private statements about individuals.

Portraits were frequently acquired by individual collectors. Marcantonio Michiel, in his Notizie, listed many portraits in the possession of northern Italian collectors. The sitters were often family members and the works frequently served to commemorate the individual and/or the family. Portraits were used to decorate the home and were sometimes simply considered objects of beauty. One of the first cases where a portrait
appears to have been sold as a work of art rather than as a record of a particular individual is the Duke of Urbino's purchase of La Bella (Figure 25) from Titian in 1536.6

An important indication of this new interest in the portrait is the very large portrait collections which were being built by a number of people, including Cosimo de'Medici in Florence and Catherine de'Medici in France.7 The most famous collection belonged to the humanist Paolo Giovio, and included copies of canvasses and frescoes as well as original paintings — many by Titian. The inspiration behind Giovio's collection was apparently the theme, Petrarchian in origin, of the viri illustres.8 This theme had been developed in the fifteenth century within the framework of the painted series of modern-day heroes and legendary heroines — as in the frescoes by Andrea del Castagno executed for the Villa Carducci at Legnaia in 1448 — intended to awaken emotions ranging from civic pride to delight.9 Underlying this focus upon the modern viri illustres was the classically inspired belief that portraits of great men could function as moral exempla to others and, as such, excite men to virtue and good actions. Ludovico Dolce in L'Aretino: Dialogo della pittura, published in Venice in 1557, recounted the anecdote, along with similar ones, of Caesar so moved as a young man by a statue of Alexander that he was inspired to emulate him.10

By the early sixteenth century, the portrait had a status virtually equal to biography, and the two often came together. In 1546 Giovio published a catalogue, modelled on Varro's Imagines, containing biographical sketches of the people depicted in his collection.11 A further example is Vasari's use of portraits to illustrate his second edition of Le Vite in 1568.12
As a result of this increased demand for portraits, major artists devoted considerable time to their production and developed various means of characterizing their sitters. Statements about individuals became more varied as the portrait developed in response to the differing requirements of the patron. Sitters now wished to be shown in characteristic roles. Men were portrayed in their capacities as rulers, as members of the nobility, in terms of their occupations, and/or as adopting a persona which would project their virtue or an aspect of their inner life. Elements which had tended to remain inert in the fifteenth century — such as emblems, inscriptions, gestures, and expressions — were brought into an active interplay. As a result, the sixteenth century portrait took on a new complexity both in its underlying concepts and in the specific messages it conveyed.

While this integration of elements also occurred in the female portrait, the underlying concepts were more limited and the portraits themselves rarely embodied a complexity equal to that of male portraits. The usual concepts and characterizations applied to the female portrait grew out of the notions of woman as wife or beauty, and these were applied to the female court portrait, the aristocratic lady, as well as to emblematic and allegorical portraits.

The Portrait in the Veneto, 1520-1535

Venetians in particular commissioned family portraits. This had already been observed in the sixteenth century by Vasari who considered that they were particularly rich in ancestral portraits, an interest which may have been inspired by the Roman custom of acquiring ancestral portraits. This interest is further evidence by Michiel's accounts of
Venetian collections, as well as by his own which consisted mainly of portraits - two of himself and the remainder of family members. The Pesaro family has already been mentioned in this connection.

New ideas in portraiture were rapidly transmitted in Italy as well as between Italy and the north. However, certain elements were developed in the Veneto to a greater extent than elsewhere or in a way peculiar to the region, and were used in a variety of ways. Light became an active element in revealing personality and at times meaning. Costume was a way of providing biographical information about the sitter, and in addition -- especially in female portraiture -- added to the aesthetic appeal of the work. The portrayal of the sitter within a dramatic situation or narrative context was invented by Giorgione and Titian within the double or group portrait, and later developed within the single portrait. This narrative approach usually made use of biographical objects and/or emblematic content, as in works by Titian and Savoldo, but most importantly by Lotto. Patrons and artists (in the Veneto) had a particular interest in portraits which carried emblematic or allegorical content. Their original ideas in this area put the Veneto in the forefront of Italy for these types of statements. Glance and facial expression acquired symbolic as well as dramatic meaning. Lotto in particular introduced into the mainstream of Venetian painting the use of expression and glance to portray the sitter in terms of the psychology of a particular moment, characterized by an unusual emphasis on the individuality of the sitter and the immediacy of his or her presentation. The use of gesture in painting figures to make evident the inner workings of the mind at a given moment had been developed previously by Leonardo, who wrote in ca. 1505-1510, "In any process of communication,
the hands and arms should display the intention of the mind which moves them..." This became an important element of sixteenth century portraiture as a whole and in the Veneto was one of the principal means of characterizing the sitter in a given portrait. Lotto made particular use of dynamic gesture, and by combining this with an intense expression or glance on the part of his sitter -- often directed at the viewer -- he created a greater sense of interaction between the subject of the portrait and the spectator.

In female portraiture, Venetians in particular developed portrayals of feminine beauty. Sensuousness of texture, a characteristic feature of much Venetian painting in general, took on a particularly dynamic role within this context.

By the third decade of the sixteenth century, the principal artists active in portraiture in the Veneto were Titian, Palma Vecchio, and Lotto. Titian was the leading personality. Patronized by rulers and the ruling class, he succeeded in giving his portraits a sense of ideal presence by combining physiognomic likeness and abstract concepts reflecting the sitter's social position. During this time, Titian also made significant contributions to the development of the female portrait, often drawing on Giorgionesque imagery to create new allegorical types and new statements about beauty. Palma, a major figure in Venice of this period, as well as Bernardino Licinio and Paris Bordone, tended by the third decade to treat both male and female portraits in ways similar to, or growing out of the example of Titian. While as late as the 1520's, there was still in the Veneto a current of Giorgionismo -- a style which imitated Giorgione's literary themes and mood -- it was by this time episodic and confined to
portraits by Palma, and artists of lesser rank.\textsuperscript{20}

The chief exponent of the emblematic portrait was Lotto, who had spent his early years in the provinces.\textsuperscript{21} Living mostly in Bergamo from 1512 to 25,\textsuperscript{22} he absorbed Venetian influences at a distance. His approach, moreover, departed from traditional Venetian modes, and was often strongly marked by the influence of northern examples. Lotto shared with Giorgione an interest in his sitter's mood, though in his hands it had a completely different character -- marked, as already noted, by a psychological approach to the individual rather than a literary one. In contrast to Titian, Lotto's sitters are usually individualized rather than idealized.

By the end of the third decade, there was a major shift in the artistic situation in Venice. Titian had become increasingly involved in court circles and was patronized only by Venetian nobility of the highest rank. Giorgionismo was by this time non-existent.\textsuperscript{23} In 1529, Palma died. Artists of lesser importance moved to the foreground to fill the gap which was created. The principal figure was Lotto, who had arrived in Venice by December 1525.\textsuperscript{24} Of lesser standing was the Lombard, Girolamo Savoldo, strongly influenced by Lotto.

While artists no longer attempted to create a Giorgionesque mood, they did on occasion consciously adopt certain early motifs of both Giorgione and early Titian. Unlike Giorgione, however, they tended to portray the individual within the context of Venetian social roles rather than in terms of a literary ideal. A work that exemplifies this shift is Savoldo's Self-Portrait of ca. 1531-2 in the Louvre where he made use of his own image in contemporary costume in a work which, it has been argued, was designed to demonstrate the superiority of painting over sculpture. The reproduction
of his image from various angles, set up with mirrors, appears to be an adaptation of a motif from a lost painting by Giorgione to the realm of portraiture.

Although many of the above generalizations are descriptive of both male and female portraits, their character was markedly different. In my description of the main portrait "types" of the third decade in the Veneto and my assessment of Lotto's contribution to the development of the female portrait, I will examine those two areas separately.

The Male Portrait

It was believed in the sixteenth century that portraits of great men could function as moral exempla to inspire virtue and good actions in the viewer. This idea reached its fullest expression in the court or state portrait which in northern Italy was largely the invention of Titian. It showed the sitter in his official character, and beyond this, embodied abstract notions of power and leadership which attested to the nobility of his office. Titian gave early expression to these concepts in his first ruler portrait -- that of Alfonso d'Este, Marquess and Duke of Ferrara (Figure 6) of ca. 1523-6. The life-size standing image and three-quarter length format extending to the knees, unusual in portraiture until this decade, create a sense of grandeur, further emphasized by the sitter's bulk, which fills the picture. The arrangement of the arms conveys dignity - Alfonso resting his right arm on a cannon, alluding to his military leadership of Ferrara and his left on the hilt of his sword. Forcefulness of expression, energy and determination, characterize the nobility of the sitter and his office. Here, as in all Titian's portraits, his grasp of
form and idealizing of facial features and other details contributed to his success in portraying presence, confidence, and wholeness of personality.  

This visual conceptualization was equally adaptable to the portrayal of the Venetian male patrician. Before Titian became primarily involved in court circles, these were the prevailing subject for his portraits. This portrait "type" was often intended to embody the notion of the ideal Venetian gentleman, characterized by dignity and refinement, as well as an individual likeness. A related ideal had been described in detail by Baldassare Castiglione in his *Il Libro del Cortegiano*, published in Venice in 1528, within the framework of the Neoplatonic ideal of the perfect courtier. Among the manifold qualities and accomplishments required for the perfection of the role were proficiency at arms and sport; knowledge of, above all, letters, but also of music, art, and dancing; noble birth (preferably); and grace of carriage and countenance.

It would seem that Titian's *Man with a Glove* in the Louvre (Figure 5) of ca. 1520-22 was conceived within the same framework of ideals out of which Castiglione's treatise grew. The young sitter appears in every way to be a highly cultivated, noble gentleman. Parallel in conception to his ruler portraits, the patrician status of the sitter is integral to his persona. This is reflected in the natural and dignified ease of pose, showing a slight twist of the body, and the deliberately casual arrangement of the hands, one resting on the hilt of his sword and the other gracefully holding a glove. The sitter's expression is characterized by restraint and cultivation. His averted gaze separates him from the spectator, isolating him in his own ideal world of the picture. His social status is further characterized by his costume, a popular means (in portraiture in the
Veneto) of providing information about the sitter. Clothing in Venice had significance for Venetian men beyond fashion: what one wore was indicative of one's character as well as one's station. In public life political distinctions were expressed by costume - apparel worn was determined by the position occupied in the government. Costume changed again for private life. Black was generally considered to be the most dignified colour for clothing, and gloves, fairly rare in the sixteenth century, were a means in portraiture of indicating the sitter's high station.

Titian's *Man with a Glove* is brilliantly simple in design. Light functions to reveal a minimum of essentials: the face, emphasized by the white "V" of the shirt, the hands and gloves, and the pose. These few elements infuse the sitter with the 'essence' of the ideal gentleman and characterize him as an upper class gentleman of refinement.

Often introduced into the "upper class" gentleman portrait type were more specific, naturalistic, biographical allusions to the sitter's station in life. Such objects served to identify his occupation, to refer to an event in his life, or to define his special interests. One early example is Paris Bordone's *Portrait of a Doctor* (Figure 7) of ca. 1520, where the ideal character of the pose, features, and expression - including the averted gaze - demonstrate the influence of Titian. Here the sitter's profession is signalled by the book, inscribed *IPPOCRATES*, on which he rests his left hand, and further allusion to learning is provided by a smaller, uninscribed volume held in his right. The costume and the two books define the sitter not only as a patrician, but as a humanist.

A similar approach to the portrait was taken by Titian in his *Giulio Romano* (Figure 47), of ca. 1536, in London. Here the presentation of the...
sitter takes on a stronger narrative tone and more specific biographical information is provided by the ground plan - almost certainly of the sitter's own execution - which he holds up for inspection. The drawing not only characterizes Giulio Romano in his role as architect, but specifically alludes to his position as Court Architect to Frederico Gonzaga and refers to one of his particularly important projects - the Chiesa Palatina in Mantua. Unlike the Bordone where the books are simply held by the sitter as marks of his social role, the drawing in the Titian provides a focus for an active characterization. He is shown gesturing to it with his free hand, as if in conversation, and seems to catch the eye of an anonymous participant outside the picture.

While Giulio was not a patrician, the portrait could nevertheless be considered as a variant or an outgrowth of the type of the sitter characterized as a humanist. The sitter is presented in terms of his social status as an artist, a status which is glorified by the commemoration of his participation in an important court project. At the same time, Titian has brought out nobility in his characterization by the modelling and tilt of the head which certainly seem to define the artist as a figure of refinement.

Lotto also made contributions to the portrait type which defined the sitter's role in society. However, Lotto, in a departure from prevailing Venetian approaches, introduced a new trend -- emphasizing the sitter's own individuality, rather than an ideal conception of his role, and creating a sense of greater immediacy by the sitter's engagement with the spectator
through direct eye contact. These elements find expression in his Dominican Steward of 1526 (Figure 8), where the sitter is shown looking up from his action of writing, as if arrested in motion by the presence of the spectator. The objects on the desk - keys, ink-well, and account book - allude to his occupation and at the same time create the context of his natural environment to define his personality. The physiognomic detail and the careful depiction of natural objects are the results of early northern influences on Lotto's work. Lotto's use of light here recalls Titian's, picking out the essentials and perhaps more importantly, the late Giorgione's use of chiaroscuro, as in the San Diego Portrait of a Man, where the lighting partially reveals the sitter's personality but leaves much shrouded in mystery.

Emblems -- objects which were not 'natural' to the sitter's environment -- served as another means of providing information about the sitter. The emblem, a "visual representation of an idea or conception", allowed for an allusion to specific aspects of the sitter's persona, such as mood, thoughts, virtue or a specific, decisive life event: references which could not easily be made without symbolic imagery. Emblems could embody meaning on more than one level and could interrelate with each other or with other aspects of the painting to convey ideas of some complexity, thus creating an allegorical message about the sitter.

By the third decade the principal practitioner of the emblematic or allegorical portrait in the Veneto was Lotto. An allegorical portrait type that had been popular earlier in the century had shown the sitter in the guise of a saint, as in Giovanni Bellini's Fra Teodoro as St. Dominic, in the National Gallery, London, or a Biblical figure, as in Giorgione's
Self-Portrait as David.\textsuperscript{46} For the male sitter, this type seems generally to have fallen into disuse by ca. 1530.\textsuperscript{47} Lotto's emblematic portraits had a markedly different character. His use of the emblem seems to have grown out of early exposure to a pattern set by Cranach's \textit{Portrait of Johannes Cuspinian},\textsuperscript{48} where the sitter's spiritual, intellectual, and humanist orientation is defined by numerous symbols in the landscape background as well as by certain accessories, in this case by the book he holds. The sitter's expression, here the upward gaze, is charged with meaning, iconographically integrating him into this complex network of interrelated symbols.\textsuperscript{49} The development of a psychological unity between emblem and sitter was introduced into the Veneto portrait tradition\textsuperscript{50} by Lotto, possibly as early as 1505 in his \textit{Portrait of Bishop Bernardo de' Rossi}. The determined gaze here may well reflect the Bishop's resolution to conquer vice through cultural pursuits — which for the Renaissance man meant virtue — a choice allegorized on the cover to the portrait, and directly related to events in his life.\textsuperscript{51}

Lotto's interest in and use of emblematic content was later significantly developed through the commissions he received in 1523 and 1524 for the \textit{intarsie} of the choir of Sta. Maria Maggiore in Bergamo. These consisted of a series of histories from the Old Testament, each of which was to be accompanied by a \textit{coperto} in which Lotto interpreted, by means of complex emblematic statements, the principal theme of the Biblical story and pinpointed its meaning — usually, as Galis has shown, from a moralizing point of view.\textsuperscript{52}

The use of the emblem to convey a moralizing message, often a statement about the sitter's virtue, and the integration between the emblems and
the sitter's psychological condition or mood is characteristic of Lotto's emblematic portraits. He employed this approach to create what might be termed "allegorical narratives", one of his fundamental contributions to portraiture in the Veneto.

One theme he treated in this way was marriage. Two double marriage portraits, showing man and wife, were executed by Lotto in the 1520's. The first, _Antonio Marsilio and his Bride_ of 1523 in the Prado announces (Figure 13) the sitter's marriage by showing the husband placing the ring on his bride's finger. The event is further characterized by emblems: the laurel in the background, symbolic of marriage and marital virtues, and Cupid, who places a yoke on the couple's shoulders. The theme makes use of a visual play on the Latin word _coniugium_ - the couple are married, that is, united _con iugo_, with a yoke. However, the weight of the yoke rests entirely upon Antonio's shoulders to whom Cupid directs a gleeful and perhaps rather mischievous smile, suggesting that it is upon his shoulders that the burdens of marriage will fall, an idea possibly inspired by Petrarch's _De remediis utriusque Fortunae_. The integration between the symbolism and the sitter's mood takes an ironic twist as Antonio, lost in sentimental reverie, appears unaware of his burden. While mood in portraiture had been developed by Giorgione, in Lotto's hands it is no longer poetic but becomes a means of characterizing the individual at a particular, decisive life moment.

In the second double marriage portrait, the _Married Couple with Squirrel_, in Leningrad, of ca. 1523–4 (Figure 14), the theme is the marriage bond and the particular roles of husband and wife within it. The interlocking gestures of the couple and the _cartellino_ held by the husband
bearing the words HOMO NUM/QUAM ("man never") signifies the indissolubility of the marriage bond and may be explained by a passage from the marriage ceremony, spoken when the couple joined hands, "What God has joined together, let no man put asunder". The animals define the virtues appropriate to the roles of the couple. The husband's attribute, the squirrel, symbolizes "cleverness and mental agility", appropriate to him as head of the marriage. The dog held by the wife is a common symbol of marital fidelity, and defines her particular virtue. The windblown trees seen in the landscape through the window represent the winds of fortuna, and it is within this context that the couple, particularly the husband who is seated nearest the window, must exercise their appropriate virtues. Galis considers that an element of humour is present in the work through the depiction of the squirrel as asleep, indicating in her opinion, that the husband's "wits are out". The gaze of the sitters, especially the husband's - clearly directed toward the viewer - and the formalized poses of the sitters - turned towards the spectator rather than emphasizing the intimacy between them - draw the spectator into the dialogue and underscore this as a work which presents the viewer with a message.

As well as symbolizing virtue or characterizing a situation, the emblem was also a means of defining the sitter's mood or thoughts at a particular time. In this sense, it could be considered as their visual embodiment. This was also developed by Lotto, and can be illustrated by his life-size three-quarter length Man in Black with a Skull, of ca. 1530, (in the Borghese Gallery in Rome) (Figure 12).58 The emblems, a tiny skull surrounded by pink rose petals and tiny white flowers, rest beneath the sitter's right hand on a table. Whether or not Galis is correct that the
meaning of the painting is disease (indicated by the presence in the landscape of St. George, a plague saint),\textsuperscript{59} the message is certainly sombre in tone, with the skull probably alluding to death and the rose petals to the passage of time. This theme is echoed in the posture and expression of the sitter. His pose and the tilt of his head betray a lack of confidence; his expression is sad and reflective, as if meditating on the themes whose visual equivalent we see in the emblems. Unlike Titian's subjects, the sitter does not inhabit an ideal world inaccessible to the spectator. The sitter here again gazes at the viewer, as if inviting him to participate in a similar meditation.

A more direct means of defining the sitter's mood or thoughts was the inscription. In Andrea Ravagero of ca. 1520 (Figure 10), by an imitator of Lotto, the inscription functions as a kind of a \textit{cri de coeur}. Out of the rape plant which the sitter holds (a visual pun on his name) appears a scroll above his head proclaiming in large letters \textit{SE IO PENSO NO DORMO} (If I think I don't sleep).\textsuperscript{60} The sitter's melancholic pose, his head resting on his hand, also alludes to thought and meditation. A second example of a similar use of the inscription is Moretto's \textit{Young Humanist} in London of ca. 1530 (Figure 9). The lavishly dressed young sitter is surrounded by objects alluding to his humanist interests. Here the sitter also adopts a melancholic pose, his head resting on his hand as he gazes unseeingly into the distance. His mood or thoughts are defined by a Greek inscription - the language providing a further allusion to his humanistic pursuits - which when translated reads: "Alas, I desire too much".\textsuperscript{61}

Lotto's most outstanding contribution to the development of the emblematic portrait was the invention of a new type of allegorical statement
which he realized in his series of large, life-size, three-quarter length portraits of horizontal format painted between 1525 and 1533. This format was highly unusual for the single portrait and may well have been Lotto's own invention. It allowed for the opening up of space on either side of the sitter, providing room for a freedom of gesture on the part of the sitter and a detailed description of the sitter's environment. The settings are naturalistic and include biographical objects. Emblems are also included, and convey an allegorical statement about the sitter focussed on virtue.

One of the first in this series was his Young Gentleman in his Study of ca. 1526-7 (Figure 11) in the Accademia in Venice.\textsuperscript{62} The objects natural to his environment are depicted in great detail, but that the message is allegorically indicated by the 'unnatural' appearance of scattered rose petals and a lizard or chameleon on the table. Whether these emblems allude to a passing love affair\textsuperscript{63} or the passage of time,\textsuperscript{64} the sitter's recourse is the pursuit of learning,\textsuperscript{65} as indicated by his turning to a large volume open on the table in front of him.

The theme of virtue, learning, and cultural pursuits formed throughout Lotto's life a subject for many of his emblematic portraits. This was the theme of one of his first portrait essays, as in the portrait of Bishop Bernardo de' Rossi complete with emblematic cover discussed above. This theme is intricately developed in another work belonging to the large horizontal series, his Andrea Odoni of 1527 in Hampton Court\textsuperscript{66} (Figure 15), one of Lotto's greatest achievements in portraiture. Because this work is, I believe, closely related in conception to Lotto's London Portrait of a Woman, I will examine it here in some detail.

Andrea Odoni was well known in Venice as a collector. He is shown
surrounded by six antique fragments and a seventh which he offers to the spectator, as well as a book, coins, and several other objects. It has been shown that these particular items did not form a part of the contents of his collection, which was described in detail by Michiel in 1532. It has therefore been concluded that on one level the portrait serves to characterize Odoni as a collector per se, without allusion to the works he possessed. It has also been concluded that the sculptures could not have been arranged in reality the way they are in the painting. This 'quasi-literal' approach to reality has been adopted in order to allow for the allegorical message to be played out by the symbolism of the fragments.

While the references embodied in the individual fragments have been discussed, the full meaning of the allegory remains unclear. The significance for the sitter of the statuette of Diana of Ephesus, which he offers to the spectator, remains a mystery, though it is known that in the Renaissance she was a symbol of earth.

The nude female torso and the large head of the emperor Hadrian, shoved unnaturally up under the table may allude to vice; and two Hercules statues framing Odoni - Hercules and Anteus on the left, and Hercules resting after his labours on the right -- almost certainly allude to the sitter's virtue.

The playing out of the message in the form of antique sculpture is highly significant. The use of sculpture appears to be a Venetian or North Italian invention and its use in portraits is rare until this time. Just as classical writings were considered to furnish exempla for virtuous and heroic conduct, so too, by the sixteenth century, it was felt that art could also provide moral exempla. Here it is classical art - the
collection itself - which provides the model for, and the expression of, the sitter's conduct. The value of collecting antiquities is spelled out, and the collection itself is defined by its content, as a carrier of the sitter's virtue.

As in Lotto's other emblematic portraits, expression and gesture are integral to the meaning of the Odoni portrait. Lotto has worked to provide a profound sense of the sitter's inner life, the dimensions of which have been elevated to a level of greater seriousness and intensity than before. Odoni's expression is profoundly reflective and is echoed by the gesture of the left hand on the breast, an assertion of his sincerity. I believe that the meaning of this gesture functions, as the sculptures, on more than one level. It is an assertion of his identity in his pursuit of antiquity and of his choice of virtue through the pursuit of collecting. Serious reflection is a part of the sitter's humanist role, hence his thoughtful expression. The meaning, both of his collection arranged around him and of his role as a collector, is summed up by the proffered statuette. By his direct eye contact with the spectator, and the offering first of his collection and then of himself as a model collector, he directly invites the spectator to consider at one and the same time his role, the meaning of his collection, the activity of collecting — and to choose the path of virtue for himself. The light functions as an important interpretive device, picking out the key areas of the work: the sculptures, and the sitter's gesture and expression.

Lotto's originality in this work lies in his tight integration and interplay between biography and emblem, gesture and expression, and compositional devices of arrangement of motifs and light to create the sitter's
presentation of his persona at a given moment, as well as in the dynamic relationship between the sitter both as ideal and as an individual who is able to 'speak' directly to the spectator. While Titian's sitters, as exempla of their types, are intended to inspire the viewer through a glimpse into a world of ideal concepts, Lotto's sitters, even when embodying an ideal as in the Odoni, seek more actively through their individuality and uniqueness to elicit a response from the spectator, reaching out to his world as much as they are participants in their own.

The Female Portrait

Two important factors in the Veneto conception of the female portrait were the general preoccupation in Venice with love and female beauty and the ideal of woman as wife. Either and sometimes both of these found expression in most female portrait types. Beyond this, women were rarely characterized in terms of social roles. Female virtue was an important component in the female allegorical portrait, as it was in the male, and was often conveyed by classical motifs and themes. The attitude to antiquity here was however more fanciful than in the male emblematic portrait but at the same time served to define the sitter's sexual and/or biological role within marriage and the virtues appropriate to it, the principal one being her chastity.

As one might expect, there were significantly less female court portraits than male. As a male 'type', the court portrait was intended to convey notions of leadership. The equivalent female type was characterized primarily by sumptuousness of costume, as an allusion to the sitter's high status, and often also by beauty.

Titian's Laura dei Dianti, Duchess of Alfonso d'Este and mother of his
two sons, painted ca. 1523-5 (Figure 17), makes use of the life-size three-quarter length format. This allowed for the display of the sitter's costume to maximum advantage, and here allowed for the inclusion of a richly dressed little slave. Both the highly sumptuous costume and slave make clear the sitter's high station, and simultaneously set off her beauty. Her facial features are idealized and her eyes are averted and slightly cast down. Her presentation as an object to be admired for her status and her beauty is underscored by the awed, admiring gaze of the slave.

The importance of the role of beauty in the female court portrait is well documented in the case of Isabella d'Este, who commissioned a number of portraits of herself. She was generally displeased with the results — one, she complained, made her look too fat. Giulio Romano's solution, in his portrait of ca. 1524 in Hampton Court, lay in a careful depiction of her elaborately cut velvet dress rather than attention to her facial features. The one which seemed to please Isabella the most was an idealized work by Titian based on an earlier portrait done in her youth (Figure 18). Titian's idealization of the sitter seems to have made it the most successful in her eyes — in her pleasure Isabella doubted whether she had been as beautiful at that age as the portrait made her seem.

While the aristocratic gentleman was understood in terms of the ideal of refinement, with a number of elements in the portrait working in harmony to convey an ideal concept of his social class, the status of the aristocratic lady was characterized almost entirely by costume, which also connoted her role as wife. In Venice, costume was a mark of status for women as well as men. While on the whole Renaissance women were advised to dress
simply (in order not to appear to be attracting men), women in Venice dressed lavishly as the accounts of visitors and the many unsuccessful attempts to legislate moderation in dress show. This custom was in harmony with the dress requirements for upper class women whose apparel was intended to define not just her own status, but more importantly in the Renaissance view, her husband's. Francesco Barbaro advised that the well-born (woman) should not dress meanly if able to dress better since moderate adornment reveals the husband's rank, wealth, and position and less than that serves as a derogation to him.

Women were also expected to wear jewels for similar reasons. Giovanni Caldiera considered it among a husband's duties to give his wife "valuable jewels, which are not only beautiful in themselves but also bring honour upon the household." 

Costume as a result is an important element in female portraiture in the Veneto. By the third decade -- and particularly around 1530 -- sitters are frequently shown in sumptuous dresses, finely worked balzi, jewellery, and often gloves, a further indication of wealth for women as well as men (Figure 20). The importance of costume in female portraiture in the Veneto is strikingly illustrated in a work by Bartolommeo Veneto, in the National Gallery of Canada in Ottawa (Figure 19). X-rays have shown that the sitter's costume has been repainted, particularly the balzo and the camicia, while her face has remained unaltered. The present costume conforms to the style of clothing worn ca. 1525-30 while the one beneath is that of ca. 1522. It would seem that the sitter wished her portrait to show her wearing the latest fashion. The focus on costume as an essential element in female portraiture is confirmed by Lotto's assessment of the value of his portrait of Antonio Marsilio and his Bride (Figure 13) in
terms of the care he had taken in imitating the bride's elaborate costume and jewellery.  

Female 'costume' portraits of this period usually make it clear that the sitter is a married woman. The wearing of the balzo reflects the sixteenth century custom for married women of wearing their hair up, and often covered. The balzo appears within the context of marriage in Lotto's two double marriage portraits - Marsilio and his Bride (Figure 13) and Married Couple with a Squirrel (Figure 14), as well in Licinio's large horizontal Woman with a Portrait of her Husband of ca. 1530 (Figure 41).

The faces of most of these aristocratic women appear inexpressive, prosaic, and restrained (Figure 19). This may be explained by the expectations for wives. They were admonished to be at all times silent, restrained, and obedient to their husbands. Bartolommeo Veneto's portrait (Figure 19) also makes use of a pose for the arms folded at the waist which had been standard for female portraits in the fifteenth and at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Rules for decorum in carriage for women advised, in the words of a fifteenth century girl's manual: "Whether you are standing still or walking, your right hand must always rest upon your left, in front of you at the level of your girdle". Leonardo had also considered that women, in history painting, should be represented "in modest attitudes...their arms closely folded.." , the pose he had used for the Mona Lisa. In Venice, Titian had freed to a certain extent the representation of gesture in female portraits. As in Laura dei Dianti (Figure 17), the sitter could now appear with her arms by her sides or resting on some object, as in male portraits. By 1532, Licinio showed the female
sitter in a 'male' pose (Figure 20): her right hand placed on her hip and leaning on a plinth, holding a pair of gloves in her left hand. Her expression, however, still shows a prosaic restraint.

The aristocratic lady - or wife, as she invariably was - was rarely further characterized. Not until ca. 1530 do portraits appear of aristocratic women holding biographical objects. The examples are limited in number, and the objects seem to be restricted to small unidentified books. One is Licinio's portrait of a woman in the Prado shown in three-quarter length holding a partially open book in her right hand and gesturing as if in speech with her left hand (Figure 42).89

Another female portrait type lying, it might be said, on the verge of portraiture, was that of the beautiful woman in beautiful clothes portrayed not to preserve her likeness as an individual, but to display her beauty for its own sake. The type seems to have appeared in Venice by the second decade of the century. One example is La Violante, of ca. 1520 in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, attributed to Palma. The sitter is the visual embodiment of an ideal of womanly beauty as described in, for example, Bembo's Gli Asolani.90 Titian's La Bella of ca. 1536 in the Pitti Palace in Florence (Figure 25) no longer seems to be even the visualization of a Neoplatonic ideal. Her beauty is more obviously voluptuous. Even in 1536 her identity was considered of minor interest, as evidenced by the Duke of Urbino's reference to the picture when he expressed a desire to purchase it: "il ritratto di quella donna che ha la veste azzura".91

Female allegorical portraiture had been developed in Venice in the first decade of the sixteenth century by Giorgione in such works as Laura (Figure 38) and Col Tempo as well as by his followers, and the early Titian
(Figure 33). It remained popular throughout the century. Various types of female allegorical portraits were developed by a number of artists.

One type particularly popular in Venice was the sitter in the guise of a saint, the purpose of which was often to associate the sitter's virtue with that of a particular saint by the inclusion of the saint's emblem. As in Pietro degli Ingannati's Portrait of a Lady as a Virgin Martyr of ca. 1530 in Portland (Figure 22), where the martyr's palm may be taken as alluding to the lady's virginity, the sitters were nearly always shown in contemporary costume. A second important example of this type by Savoldo shows the influence of Lotto in the use of the large horizontal format. His Lady as St. Margaret of ca. 1530 in the Capitoline Gallery in Rome (Figure 21) shows the sitter in fancy costume, with a dragon chained to her waist in imitation of St. Margaret. The allusion to this saint is probably not intended so much as a statement on the sitter's virtue, but rather as an allusion to St. Margaret in her capacity as patron saint of childbirth. The sitter holds a small book, probably a prayer book. Although she does not seem to be pregnant, she is probably meant to be seen as praying to the saint for the future safe delivery of a child. This work shows further influence of Lotto in the serious, pensive, unidealized expression of the sitter.

A second allegorical type was the sitter in the guise of a classical figure. In Venice this seems to have been restricted to the female portrait. Both Titian's Flora of ca. 1520-2 in the Pitti Palace in Florence (Figure 23) and Palma's Lady as Flora of ca. 1520 in the National Gallery in London (Figure 24) show the sitter in the guise of the Roman goddess, offering flowers. Further classicizing imagery includes the costume.
Both sitters wear camicie - the sixteenth century undergarment, which was also used for costuming nymphs, goddesses, and female characters in classical Roman comedies. A further antique motif is the revealing of one breast, already used by Giorgione in the Laura. Titian's Flora blends perfectly a classicizing restraint and idealized beauty with a provocative pose and gesture and a sensuous interpretation of textures and colours. This sensuous approach to the female in portraits was justified by the philosophy of Neoplatonic love, which saw sensuous appreciation of earthly beauty as a step to the appreciation of true spiritual beauty.

Palma's Flora exhibits more individualized facial features. Related to this work are his female figures shown half-length, dressed in camicie, who reveal one breast, and on one occasion both breasts. These works have been traditionally considered to represent courtesans, of which there was a large population in Venice, though the evidence upon which this rests remains inconclusive. This will be discussed further in Chapter 4.

While artists generally applied different principles to portraits of men and women, Lotto applied certain principles to the female portrait which he had also used for the male. These include a portrayal of the sitter's psychology or frame of mind at a particular moment and a coordination between this aspect and the meaning of the work as a whole. In these works emblems also pinpoint the meaning of the sitter's look and gestures. Early examples of this approach occur in the two double marriage portraits by Lotto which have been discussed above. In the Leningrad Married Couple (Figure 14), the female sitter, it will be remembered, holds a little dog as a symbol of marital fidelity. Its meaning is echoed by the placement of her right arm on her husband's. In Antonio Marsilio and his Bride (Figure
13), the wife is characterized in her attitude towards her marriage at the
moment by her faint self-satisfied smile and the tilt of her head in the
direction of her husband.

These principles are further developed in Lotto's emblematic Lucina
Brembate of 1523 (Figures 26 and 27) in the Accademia Carrara in Bergamo.
A waxing crescent moon in a night landscape alludes to the sitter's given
name through a kind of rebus - a device used by Leonardo in his Ginevra di'
Benci of 1475 where the branches of juniper make reference to the name
Ginevra, and perhaps by Giorgione in his Laura where the laurel may allude
to her name. In the Bergamo portrait, between the horns of the moon LUNA,
are placed the letters 'CI' which together spell the sitter's given name
LUCINA. The moon, however, embodies significance beyond its punning
allusion. Lucina was also the Roman goddess of childbirth, an aspect of
the goddess Juno-Lucina; in classical times she was invoked by women in
childbirth. Like Diana, with whom she was later assimilated, she was asso­
ciated with the moon. In the Fasti, Ovid wrote:

When in the tenth circuit the moon was renewing her horns, the
husband was suddenly made a father and the wife a mother. Thanks
to Lucina! This name, goddess, though didst take from the sacred
grove (lucus) or because with thee is the fount of light (lucis).
Gracious Lucina, spare, I pray, woman with child, and gently lift
the ripe burden from the womb.

The theme recalls Savoldo's Lady as St. Margaret. Perhaps here the sitter
is pregnant, or hoping for the future conception of a child.

Lucina wears a proud, self-satisfied smile. This has elicited a num­
ber of derogatory remarks from writers, who have seen her as "vain, proud,
and smug". However, I consider that her expression is not intended to
imply vanity but rather is an expression of her pride in her role as child­
bearer and her preoccupation with her hopes for a forthcoming child. This
is another example where the emblem establishes a context for interpreting the sitter's expression.

Lotto's *Portrait of a Woman* in London is his principal statement in the area of female portraiture. Before attempting a detailed iconographic analysis of its motifs, and an assessment of its contribution to the development of the female allegorical portrait, a short outline of the role of the Venetian noblewoman in Venice will bring into focus a number of issues which will be raised in the discussion of the portrait.
FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER TWO


2. This was a bias noted as occurring in donor, individual, and group portraits in Italy. Linda Nochlin and Anne Sutherland Harris, Women Artists: 1550-1950 (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art; New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), p. 25.


6. Pope-Hennessy, Portrait, p. 144. A second similar example may have been Charles V's desire to purchase Titian's Portrait of the Duke of Ferrara of 1520-25, for his own collection, on the basis of Titian's own statement of its exceptional quality, even though the sitter was not exactly his friend. Johannes Wilde, Venetian Art from Bellini to Titian (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), p. 244. The work is in New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

7. Other portrait collections were those of William IV of Hesse, Ferdinand of Tyrol, Lord Lumley, and Maria of Hungary. Marianna Jenkins, The State Portrait: Its Origin and Evolution (New York: College Art Association of America in conjunction with the Art Bulletin, 1947), p. 5-6. The size of some of these collections was enormous as, for example, that of Catherine de' Medici, which included 341. Encyclopedia of World Art (1966), s.v. "Portraiture" and "Museums and Collections".

8. Encyclopedia of World Art, s.v. "Museums and Collections" and "Historiography".

10. Mark W. Roskill, Dolce's "Aretino" and Venetian Art Theory of the Cinquecento (New York: New York University Press, 1968), p. 112 and 113. This is followed by an anecdote concerning Quintius Fabius and Publius Scipio who, when they beheld the statues of their ancestors, "felt themselves on fire to show their worth...the flame in the souls of these men...grew high when they remembered illustrious deeds, nor did it subside until with their own acts of prowess they had equalled that ancestral glory. So...images of the upright and the virtuous excite mankind to virtue and good deeds".

11. Encyclopedia of World Art, s.v. "Historiography".

12. Ibid.


21. Lotto spent his early years, 1498-1508, largely in Treviso. He was however peripatetic most of his life, and in 1509, made a visit to Rome where Raphael had an important influence on his style. The most recent chronology for Lotto's life is in Pogetto and Zampetti, Lotto nelle Marche, p. 554-561. For further documentation, see Pallucchini and Canova, L'Opera completa, p. 83-5. See also Lotto's own account book for 1538 and the following years: Il libro di spese diverse, ed. Pietro Zampetti (Venice/Rome: Istituto per la collaborazione culturale, 1969).

22. Because of Lotto's artistic contribution in Bergamo, the city became the second major artistic centre of the Veneto, after Venice. For useful comments on the Bergamask artistic milieu, see Pogetto and Zampetti, Lotto nelle Marche, p. 21-3; Pietro Zampetti, "Titiano e Lotto", Tiziano e il manierismo Europeo, ed. Rodolfo Pallucchini

Continued....

23. Freedberg, Painting in Italy, p. 164.

24. In a letter Lotto wrote from Venice on February 7, 1526, he stated that he was there on December 20, 1525. Diana Wronski Galis, Lorenzo Lotto: A Study of his Career and Character, with Particular Emphasis on his Emblematic and Hieroglyphic Works (Ph.D. dissertation, Bryn Mawr College, 1977), p. 467. Based on stylistic evidence, it has been considered likely that Lotto visited Venice during his Bergamask years. Bernard Berenson, Lorenzo Lotto (London: Phaidon Press, 1956), p. 31-2; S.J. Freedberg, Painting in Italy, p. 304. It is generally accepted that Lotto was born in Venice. For this, see Galis, "Lotto," p. 1-13.


27. The dates for Titian's portraits throughout this thesis have been taken from Harold Wethey, The Paintings of Titian, 2 The Portraits (London: Phaidon, 1971), unless otherwise indicated.

28. Its dimensions are 127 x 98.4 cm. Titian earlier employed the three quarter-length format of life-size for La Schiavona in 1511, a work in the National Gallery, London.


30. For Titian's portraits, see also Wilde, Venetian Art, pp. 212 ff.


32. For this work, see also Wethey, The Portraits, p. 118.

33. The portrait most frequently cited as being the embodiment of the ideal Courtier is Raphael's Portrait of Baldassare Castiglione of ca. 1514-5 in the Louvre, Paris. S.J. Freedberg, Painting of the High Renaissance in Rome and Florence (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961):1:331-5 considers Titian to have been the source of inspiration for this portrait.

34. Robert Finlay, Politics in Renaissance Venice (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1980), p. 23-24 and 26. Castiglione writes in The Courtier on p. 122-3 "I wish our Courtier to be neat and dainty in his attire, and observe a certain modest elegance...He ought to consider what appearance he wishes to have and what manner of man he wishes to be taken for, and dress accordingly; and see to it that his attire aid him to be so regarded even by those who do not hear him speak or see him do anything whatever".
35. Ibid., p. 121-2.

36. Jenkins, State Portrait, p. 20, quoting Henri Hymens, Antonio Moro, son Oeuvre et son Temps (Brussels, 1919), p. 75. Castiglione mentions gloves and the manner in which they should be worn, so as to best show off the hands, if they are "delicate and beautiful." The Courtier, p. 66.


40. Ibid., p. 174.

41. Treviso, Pinacoteca Civica, signed and dated "Laurentius Lotus 1526" (78 x 68 cm). The sitter is generally considered to be a Dominican of the monastery of SS. Giovanni e Paolo in Venice where Lotto resided from January to July of 1526. Pallucchini/Canova, L'opera completa, p. 108.

42. For the influence of Durer on Lotto, see Terisio Pignatti, "The Relationship Between German and Venetian Painting in the Late Quattrocento and Early Cinquecento," Renaissance Venice, ed. John Hale (London: Faber & Faber, 1973), p. 244-73.

43. For this work, see Terisio Pignatti, Giorgione (London: Faber & Faber, 1971), p. 110-111.

44. Encyclopedia of World Art, s.v. "Emblems and Insignia".

45. Fra Teodoro da Urbino was a member of the community of SS. Giovanni e Paolo in Venice in 1514 and his name appears in large letters on the canvas. He holds a lily, the emblem of St. Dominic and the saint's name is inscribed on the copy of the rule he holds in his left hand. Pope-Hennessey, Portrait, p. 239.

46. The work is first mentioned by Vasari and is known through an engraving by Wenceslaus Hollar. A possible fragment of the work is located in Brunswick, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum. Ibid.

47. The only male portrait I have found of this date of the sitter as a saint is one Berenson attributes to Lotto of a Man as St. Wenceslas which he dates ca. 1530. Berenson, Lotto (1956), p. 94. For another later example, see Lotto's Portrait of a Man as St. Peter Martyr, Cambridge, Fogg Art Museum of 1548 or 1549. Pallucchini/Canova, L'opera completa, p. 119 and 120.

49. Koepplin, Cuspinian, p. 177-84.

50. The portrait is located in Naples, Pinacoteca, and the Allegorical Cover in Washington, National Gallery of Art, Kress Collection. The allegory makes extensive use of classical symbolism and is based on the choice of Hercules, with the right side symbolizing vice and the left virtue. De'Rossi's choice to pursue virtue through learning is indicated by a putto on the left who gathers up a compass, square, and flute, symbolic of cultural pursuits which for the Renaissance man meant virtue. For a more detailed interpretation of the cover and the inscription which was originally on the back, see Fern Rusk Shapley, Paintings from the Samuel H. Kress Collection, 2, Italian Schools: XV- XVI Century (London: Phaidon Press, 1968), p. 157-8; and Guy de Tervarent, Attributs et Symboles dans l'Art profane: 1450-1600 (Geneva: Librarie E. Droz, 1958), p. 390.

51. Berenson, Lotto, p. 3. For biographical details about de'Rossi, see p. 1-2.

52. "Lotto'', p. 89-189.


54. Signed and dated on the yoke and the right hand of Cupid: "L. Lotus pictor 1523'' (71 x 84 cm) For this work see Galis, "Lotto,''' p. 234-6; and Fletcher, "Michiel,''' p. 459-60.

55. For laurel as a symbol of marriage in this and other works, see Egon Verheyen, "Die Sinnghalt von Giorgiones Laura', Pantheon 26(1968): 220-27.


57. Its dimensions are 98 x 118 cm. A preparatory sketch for this work is in Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. My summary of the iconography of this painting is based on Galis's interpretation in "Lotto,''' p. 237-241.

58. Its dimensions are 118 x 105 cm.

59. Galis, "Lotto,''' p. 230-33. for the question of whether this is a self-portrait, p. 266-9 and 413-4.


61. For this work, located in the National Gallery, see Smith, Renaissance Portraits, p. 37. The translation of the inscription is quoted from the National Gallery Illustrated General Catalogue, 1973.

62. Its dimensions are 98 x 116 cm. The earliest in this group by Lotto seems to be his portrait of a Man on a Terrace of 1525 in Cleveland, Ohio.
63. For this interpretation, see Luigi Coletti, "Un ritratto di Lorenzo Lotto", L'Arte 33(1930): 467-70.


65. Ibid.

66. The portrait is signed on the lower left corner: "Laurentius lotus/1527". Its dimensions are 103 x 117 cm. In 1532, Michiel reported that this work hung in Odoni's house in a room along with two other paintings -- one by Titian and the other by Palma. Williamson, Anonimo, p. 99.


68. Williamson, Anonimo, p. 96-102.


70. Pope-Hennessy, Portrait, p. 228.

71. For a summary of these and a new interpretation, see Galis, "Lotto," p. 226-9 and 378-9.

72. The statuette was identified by Pope-Hennessy, Portrait, p. 231, following, it seems, the suggestion of Burckhardt. Diana of Ephesus formed part of the base of the throne of Philosophy on the ceiling of the Stanza della Segnatura, a work which Lotto must have seen when he was in Rome, working in the Vatican.

73. Larsson, "Odoni," p. 27-30. Larsson states that La Schiavona may have been the first.

74. Jenkins, State Portrait, p. 4.

75. In 1644, John Bulwer called this gesture "conscientur affirmo", and interpreted it in the following way: "To lay the hand open to our heart using a kind of bowing gesture is a garb wherein we affirm a thing or call God to witness a truth, and so we seem as if we would openly exhibit unto sense the testimony of our conscience or take a tacit oath, putting in security that no mental reservation doth basely divorce our words and meaning, but that all is truth that we now protest unto". James W. Cleary, ed., Chirologia: or the Natural Language of the Hand, and Chiromania: or the Art of Manual Rhetoric (Carbondale & Edwardsville: University of Illinois Press, 1974), p. 74. This gesture was fairly common in sixteenth century portraiture. In Pietro Degli Ingannati's Portrait of a Lady as a Virgin Martyr the sitter employs the same gesture as an allusion to virtue (Figure 22). Sometimes it alludes to marital fidelity. For this, see below ch. 4.
76. Its dimensions are 119 x 93 cm. For this work, see Wethey, The Portraits, p. 92-3.


89. For this work, see Adolfo Venturi, Storia dell'arte italiana 9 La pittura del Cinquecento, part 3 (Milan: Ulrico Hoepli, Editore Libraio della Real Casa, 1929; Nedln, Leichtenstein: Kraus Reprint Ltd.), p. 476.

90 See below, ch. 3.

91. Wilde, Venetian Art, p. 248. See also Pope-Hennessy, Portrait, p. 144.

93. For this work, see Shapley, Kress Collection, p. 175. Its dimensions are 52.7 x 46.3 cm.

94. Its dimensions are 91 x 123 cm.


97. For example, see Freedberg, Painting in Italy, p. 162-4.

98. For the courtesan in Venice, see Julius Held, "Flora, Goddess and Courtesan," Essays in Honour of Erwin Panofsky, ed. Millard Meiss (New York: New York University Press, 1971):1: 374-94, esp. 213-6. Venice is said to have had nearly 12,000 prostitutes in 1500 of a total population of 100,000. The "courtesan" belonged to a high class of prostitute and a still loftier group was that of the "honoured courtesan". "Many of these 'honoured courtesans' dressed elegantly, lived in sumptuous quarters, and could recite poetry and play the lute...They seem to have catered to both wealthy foreigners and Venetian patricians." James C. Davis, A Venetian Family and its Fortune, 1500-1900: The Donà and the Conservation of their Wealth (Philadelphia: Independence Square, 1975), p. 105.

99. For this and for the sitter's identity, see Galis, "Lotto," p. 291-2.


102. Galis, "Lotto," 292-3. On p. 223-5, she argues that the portrait is a momento mori or vanitas picture, a warning that there is no security in the clothes, furs and jewels the sitter wears. However, as elegance of costume was such a common element of female portraits, I cannot agree with her conclusions.
CHAPTER THREE
THE RENAISSANCE NOBLEWOMAN OF VENICE

The Renaissance Woman

Jacob Burckhardt was the first to state in 1860 that Renaissance women enjoyed equality with men. Though this view has gained wide acceptance, it has been disproved by a number of recent studies which have reevaluated Renaissance woman's role in society. One important landmark is Ruth Kelso's Doctrine for the Lady of the Renaissance of 1956 which clearly reveals this role as subordinate to that of the Renaissance male. In 1977, Kelly-Gadol went a step further, showing that historically Renaissance noblewomen as a group experienced a contraction of political, social, and sexual options, previously available to her medieval counterpart.

Under the Feudal system, patriarchal marriage commanded by the Church did not conflict with the exercise of active political roles by women. Women had legal rights to inherit property — both ordinary fiefs and vast collections of counties — and exercise in their own right the accompanying Seignorial powers. During the absence of their husbands, the lady also resided over the court.

The medieval ideals of courtly love, though contradicting the ideals of marriage and the Church, provided the structure for love relationships between men and women, and themes for the great love literature of the age. Love as an ideal was infused with the Christian notion of passion, directed to the lover rather than to God, and found expression physically and emotionally in sexual love, the goal of which was ecstasy. This necessarily took place outside of marriage as the Church defined the function of sex.
within marriage to be solely the procreation of children. Women, like men, actively participated in the practices of courtly love. While the knight served his Lady and made every effort to please her, so too women could and did express their feelings, actively seeking union with their lovers and ecstasy. Women also contributed to the literature of courtly love, both as patrons in the courts and as writers.  

The ideals of courtly love did not conflict with the dominant political feudal values. Adultery posed no threat as marriages were contracted to create political alliances, and the practice of primogeniture determined the right of inheritance of the eldest son. Once an heir was established, illegitimate children posed no threat to the claims of inheritance.

Courtly love, which flourished outside the institution of patriarchal marriage, owed its possibility as well as its model to the dominant political institution of feudal Europe that permitted actual vassal homage be paid to women.

During the Renaissance, with the rise of autonomous city states, the nobility no longer held Seigniorial power and the principal social unit became, at all levels of society, the family. In all of Europe, throughout society there was an elevation of the pleasures of life in the nuclear family... More intimate bonds of affection (within the family) challenged courtly ideals, allegiance to consortia and medieval aristocratic eroticaism...The nuclear family became a quintessential element of man's humanitas...The family was the focus of man's moral life and women and children served to sustain and enrich the earthly pilgrimage.

In the fifteenth century a number of treatises on marriage and the family were produced. In Florence, Alberti's *Il Libri della Famiglia* written before 1441, described an ideal family within the context of Florentine civic humanism. In Venice, Francesco Barbaro's *De re uxoria*, composed in 1415-16, dealt specifically with marriage, defending the
privilege and purity of noble families. Giovanni Caldiera's *De veneta iconomia* of 1463-4, also concerned with the Venetian nobility, set forth in ideal terms the relation between individual, family, and state, arguing that "the individual is not self-sufficient but is fulfilled, first in the family, and ultimately in the state." All three works view woman's role as ideally confined to marriage, within which she is subordinate to her husband and bearing of children is her primary function.

The medieval ideals of courtly love were not compatible with Renaissance ideology of the family. In the early Renaissance, new ideals of love were described: Dante's love for Beatrice and Petrarch's for Laura were spiritual and allegorical in nature rather than physical, and centered on the poets' own feelings, not their lovers'. This shift to the male view was accompanied by the placement of women in a role of powerless and passive, chaste and beautiful object, whose function was either to inspire the male with valour, as Petrarchian mistress, or elevate him to a spiritual level of experience. In the second half of the fifteenth century, the philosophy of Neoplatonic love was formulated, where woman's role was defined in terms of her beauty, which would assist men on their journey to spiritual enlightenment. Even the principal function of Castiglione's accomplished ideal Court Lady was to please, flatter, and charm the Courtier, and the motive behind her formation was to inspire him to be graceful, pleasing, brave, and to perform gallant deeds of chivalry. The condition of Renaissance noblewoman - confinement within the family, reinforced by an ideology which excluded her from active participation in matters of love outside the family - has been aptly summed up by Kelly-Gadol in her observation that Renaissance women experienced a "Renaissance of
chastity". Nowhere was this more true than in Venice.

Women in Venice

As other European societies, Venice was male-dominated. The traditions from which she drew her laws and customs, the Roman and Germanic, were patriarchal; she inevitably followed their lead. The Great Council, Venice's governing body, was made up of a ruling class whose right to membership was based on descent through the male line. A series of legislative measures at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth centuries closed the patriciate to all but those families represented in the government in the 1290's. By the age of twenty-five, and sometimes earlier, every male patrician became a member of the Great Council. It was impossible for a cittadino (middle class citizen) to earn or buy his way into it.

Women were barred from active participation in the political life of the Republic. The destiny of a Venetian noblewoman was, without exception, marriage (frequently followed later by widowhood, as most wives were considerably younger than their husbands), or the convent. This reality was reflected in the writing of Caldiera who wrote that matrimony was "the first and most important of the conditions of woman in society".

Instrumentally women played an important political role through marriage. Marriages were always arranged, usually by the parents, and the betrothed pair did not see each other before the marriage was contracted. By means of marriages, political and business alliances were formed or cemented between the families of the upper class. Women
figured prominently in their families' social strategy, representing an important means of improvement, or at least maintenance, of their families' social and economic status through marriage ties.\textsuperscript{16}

In Venice, the family was "at the heart of Venetian politics".\textsuperscript{17} It did not just imply the nuclear, or even the extended family (which could include in addition to the nuclear family, sisters, brothers, uncles, aunts, nephews, nieces, and/or grandparents, living under one roof), but even quite distant family connections. Family members shared in the successes and failures, favour of lack of it, of both near and distant relatives, "whether fellow clan members or in-laws".\textsuperscript{18} The Great Council was made up of networks of families linked by blood, marriage, and membership in the same clan. Political and business considerations thus figured prominently in the choice of a wife (or husband).

Valuation of patrician women as suitable wives rested on a number of other factors as well. Wealth was an important consideration.\textsuperscript{19} While all nobles had equal political rights, only the most wealthy actually played leading roles in the government —

- those who could afford an imposing palace in the city, a villa on the mainland, and a staff of many servants and gondoliers — as well as the expense of serving as governors in subject cities or ambassadors in major European capitals.\textsuperscript{20}

Wealth was also necessary to provide an education suitable for the more powerful political positions.\textsuperscript{21} A bride's dowry, sometimes extremely large (attested to by laws passed, attempting, unsuccessfully to limit the amount), could be of considerable financial aid.\textsuperscript{22} While a bride's dowry was considered to be her share in the patrimony\textsuperscript{23} and was to be returned to her on her husband's death, there were no laws limiting her husband's use of it.\textsuperscript{24}
Youth was also an important factor in the choice of a bride. In an age of high infant mortality, a wife would need an early start to produce sufficient children to ensure the survival of a male heir. Physical beauty may have been another consideration. A low marriage rate coupled with a high pool of marriageable brides may have made it fairly easy for parents to find an attractive spouse for their son. Unattractive girls were less likely to marry. In a girl's middle teens, the parents decided whether she was to marry, or stay permanently in the convent as a nun.\textsuperscript{25}

Of equal, if not greater consideration in the choice of a wife, was nobility. The ideal wife was of noble birth; a stigma was attached to marriage with a non-noble woman.\textsuperscript{26} Though an infrequent practice, a nobleman could, however, legally marry a middle class woman (but not a peasant or servant) without losing his noble status, -- his wife would then be admitted to the nobility. A noblewoman, on the other hand, would lose hers if she married a non-noble man. By the sixteenth century it became necessary to provide witnesses to vouchsafe for the nobility of the bride.\textsuperscript{27} The purpose of these restrictions was, of course, to preserve the noble lineage, on which a very high value was placed. As Francesco Barbaro stated in \textit{De re uxoria}, "For the sake of posterity, one should marry a noblewoman; for the best fruit produces the best seed".\textsuperscript{28}

Thus women's primary social role became biological - the bearing of noble offspring, particularly male, who would be worthy members of the Venetian patriciate. According to Barbaro
The primary end of marriage...is the procreation of noble descendents capable of bettering and ruling society. The preservation of patrician families, alone capable of supplying men to lead the republic, becomes an imperative as clear as the preservation of the state itself.  

Women's part in the social structure of Venetian patrician society became, on the one hand, that of a passive link in a chain extending outwards in space, uniting noble families and clans, and on the other, connecting through time, patricians of the present with their noble ancestors of the past and their future noble offspring.

This ideological focus on women's biological role and her exclusion from activities outside of marriage led to a general definition and valuation of women in sexual terms. For example, Caldiera's description of the alternative states to matrimony for women constitute the categories of virgins or widows in convents, virgins before marriage, widows not in convents, and prostitutes (whom he fully condemns). This contrasts to his social valuation of men, which rested upon their social functions as politicians, husbands or religious.  

This notion of women was of far greater concern to male writers and theorists than her important non-sexual functions of management of the household (children, servants, and slaves), the entertainment of visitors, and the early raising and training of children. As a woman's highest function within marriage was considered to be biological, her most necessary virtue was naturally one which would protect the effective exercise of this function. A woman's chastity (or lack of it) became the key factor upon which her valuation rested.

To no group was female chastity more important than the ruling class in Venice, where all sons of patrician men were heir to patrician status. Unlike other parts of Europe, Venice made infrequent use of primogeniture,
thus all sons were heir to portions of their father's estate. In 1242 a law had been passed which stated that "henceforth all brothers shall have equal share of their father's good"; from this time nearly every nobleman's will ends with the statement that the balance of his lands and houses are to be left in equal shares to his sons or nephews. There was clearly no place for illegitimate children within this framework.

Virtue for Women: Chastity

Barbaro stated that virtue in a wife was to be even more highly prized than noble birth. He believed that, "Virtue...alone suffices to make a spouse desirable even if all other qualities are lacking" for its "purity purifies the race". Through her virtue, the wife was expected to set an example for other family members. According to Barbaro,

her virtue inspires all other members of the family who follow her example as citizens follow their rulers' and soldiers follow their generals'. The diligence, frugality, and dignity of the wife inspires and instructs the family and renders it honest; and without the experience of ancestral virtues the city's leaders could not justly rule the republic.

Thus the virtue of the wife was believed to contribute to the fineness of the stock. Among the many virtues expected of her were obedience and fidelity to her husband; diligence, prudence, and frugality in the care of the household; and piety. The key component of her virtue was, however, chastity. This meant virginity upon marriage (though in practice men could and did marry widows) and sexual fidelity to her husband in thought, word, and deed. The importance of chastity for the Renaissance woman, particularly the Venetian noblewoman, cannot be overemphasized. From a plethora of contemporary passages where authors stress the importance of female chastity, I quote from Alberti's *della Famiglia*, where Gianozzo relates to
Lionardo the advice he gave to his wife:

My dear wife...You should realize that...nothing is so important for yourself, so acceptable to God, so pleasing to me and precious in the sight of your children as your chastity. The woman's character is the jewel of her family; the mother's purity has always been a part of the dowry she passes on to her daughters; her purity has always far outweighed her beauty. A beautiful face is praised, but unchaste eyes make it ugly through men's scorn...Unchastity angers God, and you know that God punishes nothing so severely in women as he does this lack. 

Female chastity not only meant absence of adultery and adulterous thoughts, but was also to characterize the behaviour of wife and husband towards each other. Trotto's advice was typical, where he instructed that a wife was never to pass the bounds of sweetness or approach lasciviousness (with her husband), or she will arouse suspicion, harm him, and lose his love. Even in her most secret caresses she ought to be true to her reputation and not offer herself to her husband like a bold prostitute. It is for her to remain bound to show restraint as a chaste wife.

In turn, a husband was to be chaste in his behaviour towards his wife. He was not to treat her as a lover or mistress but was to exhibit restraint. This was an opinion shared even by writers who felt that "unhampered, natural pleasure" was one of the benefits of married life. Husband and wife were expected to love each other. As theorists saw it, this did not mean a romantic or passionate attachment, "but something akin to an amalgam of Christian charity and the virtues of chastity and endurance". Alberti called it "conjugal friendship". Bembo, in Book Two of Gli Asolani, first published in Venice in 1505 considered that marriage and within it sex were natural results of a love which he defined as "...a natural affection of our minds and therefore necessary, sober, reasonable, and good."

This love he felt brought about procreation: "Unless love joined two separate bodies formed to generate their like, nothing would be conceived or
while the principal purpose of sexual relations within marriage was unanimously considered to be procreation, beyond this husband and wife had duties to please and satisfy each other to prevent the temptation of adultery. Underlying these views may have been the notion that the solidarity of marriage could not be reinforced by a romantic or passionate love, by nature intractable and prone to change, as it could by a love which had grown out of friendship and reason. As marriages in the upper class were contracted on the basis of practical considerations, marriage as an end to love was not in any event a practicability for the nobility.

The notion of female chastity also extended to a wife's reputation outside the home, which was of equal if not greater importance to her behaviour within it. While for a man honour referred to excellency and virtue in many things, for a woman it rested entirely upon her chastity. A woman's reputation was highly fragile, as stated by Castiglione in *Libro del Cortegiano* through Cardinal Bibbiena:

....we ourselves (men) have set a rule that a dissolute life in us is not a vice, or fault, or disgrace, while in women it means such utter opprobrium and shame that any woman of whom ill is once spoken is disgraced forever, whether what is said be calumny or not. Therefore, since even to speak of women's honour runs the risk of doing them grave offense, I say that we ought to refrain from this...

To safeguard their chastity and preserve them from seduction by young men, young girls were sent to convents just before puberty. Women were advised to be modest, gentle, restrained, and dignified in conduct; their speech and gestures were to be controlled and measured; their eyes were to be cast down, so as not to meet the gaze of men. Alberti wrote, "a shameless gesture or an act of incontinence in an instant renders her (a woman's) appearance vile".
To argue the importance of female chastity, writers and theorists looked to ancient Roman laws and customs for further justification of their views. Caldiera, for example, recalls the Romans in his argument on the dangers of adultery, an offense for Roman wives legally punishable by death as was the drinking of wine which, it was believed, could lead to adultery. In classical Rome too the double-standard prevailed — men could not be similarly punished for the same behaviour. In keeping with the Venetian practice of recalling classical heroes as models for personal conduct, heroines suitable as models for female as well as male conduct were recalled. Of these, the most popular in the sixteenth century was the Roman Lucretia who committed suicide in order to preserve her virtue, a subject which will be discussed further in Chapter Four.

Chaste and monogamous marriage commanded now by both church and state was necessary to maintain the solidarity of the family, and hence the state. A contrast to the medieval aristocratic lady, the Renaissance noblewoman was now, nearly universally, rendered dependent upon husband, marriage, and family for definition. The Renaissance lady, through her acceptance of these patriarchal values, lost the possibilities for self-expression and exercise of power which had been available to her medieval counterpart.

Neoplatonic Love

Supplementing the confinement of women within marriage was the humanist philosophy of Neoplatonic love. Non-sexual and spiritual in nature, it did not contradict the practical requirements of marriage and female chastity. By the sixteenth century, the philosophy of Neoplatonism was, according to Panofsky, as inescapable as psychoanalysis is today. During this
period, the "terms 'love' and 'beauty' were not only taken seriously but dominated the thought and conversation of the intellectual and social élite." 51

Neoplatonic love was initiated by Marsilio Ficino in Florence in the sixth decade of the fifteenth century, with the publication of his commentary of Plato's Symposium. For Ficino, the love described by Socrates, "a philosophical ideal built upon the Greek conception of heroic friendship" between two males, 52 became the framework for defining love between the sexes or, more precisely, a model for the attitude which the male was to have towards his lady. This view of love enjoyed immense popularity in court circles and was introduced into Venice by the publication there of the Venetian Pietro Bembo's Gli Asolani in 1505. This literary work was immensely popular. It was reprinted at least seven times before 1530 when it was revised and republished. 53 It became the prototype for the later Tratti d'amore (courtly love treatises) 54 of which more were produced in the first half of the sixteenth century than in any other period in history. 55 In 1528, Castiglione restated Bembo's philosophy in Il Cortegiano where the subject of Neoplatonic love forms the climax of the work.

Gli Asolani and Il Cortegiano are similar in that the female participants of the dialogues contribute nothing to the formation of ideas. Love and all other subjects are considered solely from the male viewpoint, by the male participants, consistently throughout both works. Male ideas and feelings alone are discussed. In contrast, the females form the background, drawing out the males in their conversation.

In Bembo's Gli Asolani, each of the three principal (male) speakers sets forth his own view of love. The first, Perottino, describes its
sorrows and disappointments. The second, Gismondo, describes love as a natural and civilizing influence, which rests in the senses of sight and hearing. The praise of sight introduces a description of the physical ideal of womanly beauty, a type long since established by Petrarch, which persists in later Renaissance treatises, and also finds expression in painting, including female portraiture.

The third speaker, Lavinello, through his encounter with a hermit, sets love within a Neoplatonic context: love of earthly objects, including women, is to be understood at its best as a step in the spiritual progress towards the apprehension of supreme beauty. Lavinello tells how the hermit exhorted him not to enjoy earthly objects for themselves:

...virtuous love is not merely desire of beauty...but desire of true beauty, which is not of that human and mortal kind which fades, but is immortal and divine, and yet these beauties which you praise may lift us to it, provided that we regard them in the proper way...

...all beauties which exist outside of the divine, eternal beauty are derived from it, and when our minds perceive these secondary beauties, they are pleased and gladly study them as likenesses and sparks of it, but they are never wholly satisfied with them because they yearn for that divine, eternal loveliness...

The end of Book Four of II Cortegiano repeats this same view of Neoplatonic love. Castiglione's mouthpiece here is appropriately Pietro Bembo, who goes on to praise a sensuous appreciation of beauty:

But to speak of the beauty we have in mind, namely, that only which is seen in the human person and especially in the face, and which prompts the ardent desire we call love, we will say that it is an effluence of the divine goodness...it agreeably attracts the eyes of men to itself, and entering through them, impresses itself upon the soul, and moves and delights it throughout with a new sweetness; and by kindling it, inspires it with a desire of itself.
At this point the lover has a choice. If he tries to unite himself physically with the object of his desire and possess her, he will remain unsatisfied. If, however, he recognizes this desire for beauty as a step toward the attainment of the true love of beauty, he will begin a spiritual ascension. It is decided that the older courtier makes a better lover than the younger, who tends to be misguided by sense. The older Courtier is to leave "this sensual desire behind as the lowest rung of that ladder by which we ascend to true love". The perfect Courtier is to:

...keep aloof from the blind judgement of sense, and with his eyes enjoy the radiance of his Lady, her grace, her amorous sparkle, the smiles, the manners and all the other pleasant ornaments of her beauty. Likewise with his hearing let him enjoy the sweetness of her voice, the modulation of her words...Thus, he will feed his soul on the sweetest food by means of these two senses- which partake little of the corporeal, and are reasons ministers - without passing to any unchaste appetite through desire for the body.

Physical beauty in the female form is to be appreciated within a spiritual context -- as a stimulus to sensuous desire, the lowest rung of the ladder leading upwards to true love.

The question at the end of Book Four is posed whether women also are capable of the divine love described, confirming the obvious, that the discussion has been about men. The answer is, however, postponed until the following day, not included in the dialogue. The question is not a serious practical or philosophical one, but a literary device to provide a nostalgic ending to the work.

No philosophy contributed more to the development of the definition of woman as a passive, beautiful object whose function was to be seen and contemplated. By requiring and justifying the sublimation of (male) sexual desire into a "glorification, even sanctification of the erotic and
aesthetic experience," Neoplatonic love further reinforced the ideal of chastity for women.

While the rise of humanism widened the intellectual scope for men and provided them with new avenues for expression, women's "Renaissance of chastity" reinforced the constriction of similar possibilities for women. Renaissance ideology about women, written by men, and entirely permeated by male values if written by women, re-defined women's role, and it was here that "the relation of the sexes assumed its modern form".

Education and "IL Libro del Cortegiano"

Equal education for men and women, at least for the upper classes, has often been referred to as one of the achievements of the Renaissance, an idea which, once again originated with Burckhardt. Evidence for this rests upon the Italian Renaissance women who were noted for their outstanding humanist learning and achievements, most of whom began to emerge in the last twenty years of the fifteenth century.

One of the earliest of the Renaissance female humanists was Maddalena Scrovegni, a noblewoman of Padua. In 1389 Antonio Loschi, a Milanese nobleman, wrote a poetic tribute to her, the Domus pudicitie, his personal response to her, written out of admiration and respect for her learning. King considers that this work "constitutes one of the early steps by which was defined the figure of the learned woman of the Italian Renaissance."

Though Loschi admires Scrovegni for her learning, the principal theme of the poem is his praise for one virtue in particular: her chastity. In his poem she becomes its very embodiment. Loschi's poetic imagination transforms the learned Maddalena seated in her study into the "analagous
figure of chastity seated in her Temple". The key points upon which the male view of the learned woman rest are the associations of chastity with power, on the one hand, and chastity with intelligence on the other. The notion of chastity as powerful is conveyed by associations of it with military strength - chastity is "rigid, stern, imposing", "aggressive, belligerent and virile". At the same time chastity is associated with intelligence - her Temple is the site of her intellectual activities. These associations, King has argued, became typical of the male vision of the learned woman of the Renaissance, a vision which later finds literary expression in the male eulogies of Isotta Nogarola, and Cassandra Fidele.68

The learned Renaissance woman was, however, the exception rather than the rule. Renaissance women having a humanist education came almost universally from Florence or certain northern Italian city states such as Milan, Ferrara, Mantua, and Urbino. Venice was not among them.69

For a wealthy young Venetian patrician male, a humanist education was designed to prepare him for an active role in government life. The state university of Padua, for which the ginnasio (a high school founded in 1470) was usually the preparatory stage,70 was attended by a large proportion of the youth of the old Venetian houses".71

No community attached so great importance to the liberal education of the scions of its ruling class as Venice, and careful training in classics, mathematics, and the arts of drawing was incumbent on all who were looking to official service.72

A Venetian noblewoman, on the other hand, did not attend either school or university.73 Her education was designed to prepare her for marriage, and began at home with lessons in spinning and needlework, universal activities of Renaissance women, of both the upper and middle classes.74 Later,
during puberty, she would have received an education in the convent, though it was not like that of her male counterpart. Generally the standard of education in convents during the Renaissance was low, as they were cut off from the mainstream of intellectual life, the university. While it has been considered that Venetian girls "learnt nothing outside the routine of home duties" and were "allowed to read nothing", it is possible that they did have opportunities to pursue some studies in the convent. Pietro Bembo in his letters of 1539-42 to his daughter in the convent at Padua referred to her "maestro" (teacher) and her study of letters with him, an activity which Bembo encouraged. She also had an opportunity to learn to play a musical instrument, though Bembo counselled her against this, saying that it would require years of study and she would probably fail in the end. Her "maestro" may well have been associated with the university of Padua, and other patrician girls must have had similar educational opportunities. However, Venice in the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth centuries, unlike Mantua, Urbino, or Florence, does not seem to have boasted a single prominent, highly educated Venetian noblewoman, a fact supporting the likelihood that in general the standard of education for girls was low.

Humanist treatises dealing with education rarely considered the possibility of humanist studies for girls. It is mentioned neither by Alberti in his _della Famiglia_ nor Barbaro in _De re Uxoría_. Lionardo Bruni, Chancellor of Florence, in his treatise _De Studiis e Literis_ of ca. 1429, was first in the Renaissance to argue that certain humanist studies should form an integral part of a girl's education. Women's education, the subject of the entire work, is defended on moral grounds. Though Bruni
imposed restrictions on subjects appropriate for girls (excluding arithmetic, astronomy, geometry, and rhetoric), he considered that they should study ancient literature. A necessary prerequisite for this was a knowledge of Latin. As other humanists, Bruni believed that:

The foundation of all true learning must be laid in the sound and thorough knowledge of Latin: which implies study marked by a broad spirit, accurate scholarship, and careful attention to details. Unless this solid basis be secured it is useless to attempt to rear an enduring edifice. Without it the great monuments of literature are unintelligible.

Within the realm of ancient literature, which included history, oratory, and poetry, history he considered to be the most profitable area of study for girls, because it allowed for an understanding of the past, provided foresight for the future, and furnished a store of examples of moral precepts. Bruni, implying that women's minds possessed a limitation which men's did not, believed that women could read history with the greatest expectation of success because it is easy to learn presenting no subtlety and raising no question, consisting wholly in the narration of the simplest matters of fact which, once grasped by the kind of mind under consideration are fixed in the memory for good. Authors he named as appropriate for this study were Livy, as well as Sallust, Curtius, and Julius Caesar.

While Bruni's treatise marks an important contribution to the development of education for women, it was not until the publication of Il Libro del Cortegiano in 1528 that a Renaissance ideal was set forth which advocated equal education for men and women. One entire chapter of the work was devoted to the formation of the Court Lady, modelled upon an ideal female member of an aristocratic household such as the Court in Urbino, where it was composed and set.

The fashioning of the Court Lady was based in part on the premise that women's intellectual capacities were equal to men's. On this the speaker
Guiliano de'Medici said:

I say that women can understand all the things men can understand and the intellect of a woman can penetrate wherever a man's can.\textsuperscript{88}

Her intellectual attainments were thus to be the same as the Courtier's, as stated by Guiliano:

...I would have her know that which these gentlemen wished the Courtier to know...And to repeat briefly a part of what has already been said, I wish this Lady to have a knowledge of letters, of music, of painting...\textsuperscript{89}

The intellectual accomplishments of the Courtier, discussed earlier in the dialogue were here applied to the Court Lady as well. On letters for the Courtier, the importance of Latin and classical literature, including history, had been emphasized:

I would have him more than passably learned in letters, at least in those studies which we call the humanities. Let him be conversant not only with the Latin language, but with the Greek as well, because of the abundance and variety of things that are so divinely written therein. Let him be versed in the poets, as well as the orators and historians, and let him be practiced also in writing verse and prose...\textsuperscript{90}

Important also for the Courtier, and hence the Court Lady, were drawing and painting.

...I would discuss another matter which I consider to be of great importance and which I think must therefore in no way be neglected by our Courtier: and this is a knowledge of how to draw and an acquaintance with the art of painting itself.\textsuperscript{91}

While opening up possible avenues of activity for women, and defining a role which was, in Castiglione's view, to take precedence over that of wife,\textsuperscript{92} the ideal Court Lady was nevertheless set within limits which did not fundamentally contradict male Renaissance values. Her definition rested upon her relationship to the Courtier, as the wife's did to her husband. While the profession of the Courtier was to be arms,\textsuperscript{93} and his
chief aim was
to win for himself, by means of the accomplishments ascribed to him...the favour and mind of the Prince whom he serves that he may be able to tell him the truth about everything he needs to know...\(^94\)

The function of the Court Lady was to inspire, perfect and adorn the Courtier. She was to

be able to entertain graciously every kind of man with agreeable and comely conversation suited to the time and place and to the station of the person with whom she speaks, joining to serene and modest manners, and to that comeliness that ought to inform all her actions, a quick vivacity of spirit whereby she will show herself a stranger to all boorishness; but with such a kind manner as to cause her to be thought no less chaste, prudent, and gentle than she is agreeable and witty, and discreet...\(^95\)

Her intellectual accomplishments were to assist her in this, inspiring her with virtue, so that she would be worthy of "being honoured".\(^96\) Beauty for her was considered important\(^97\) and chastity remained essential.\(^98\) The relationships of Court Lady to Courtier, and Courtier to Prince reflected the social and political structure of wife to husband, and family to state.\(^99\) Equality of education was not meant to imply social equality.

Il Cortegiano was an immensely popular work in the sixteenth century, during which time over thirty editions were produced in Italy, France, England and Spain. Its influence on "social behaviour and educational theory extended far beyond the Renaissance courts where it originated, to all lesser noble families and all successful merchants wealthy enough to emulate that way of life". In spite of the limitations set for women, Castiglione made it proper, fashionable, even praiseworthy for women to engage in a wide range of artistic, musical, and literary pursuits.\(^100\) By the time of the Venetian Ludovico Dolce's discussion on education for women in his Dialogo di M. Ludovico Dolce della institution delle donne,
published in Venice in 1545, he advocated not only a knowledge of Latin and classical authors, as well as Petrarch, Dante, and Bembo, but also Il Cortegiano from which could be learned "all the virtues and good chaste habits which belong to a gentlewoman".101


6. Ibid., p. 149.


10. Ibid., p. 22.


14. Ibid., p. 17; James Cushman Davis, The Decline of the Venetian Nobility as a Ruling Class (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1962), p. 18. Here he points out the only important exception made by the Great Council until the middle of the seventeenth century the ennoblement in 1381 of thirty men who had fought well or contributed money to the cause of the Republic during the war of Chioggia against Genoa.


18. Ibid.


20. Ibid., p. 52.

21. Ibid.


23. Ibid., p. 578.

24. In the thirteenth century, laws were passed requiring the husband to render an account to his wife on his use of her dowry. An unfaithful wife forfeited her dowry. (Beard, Women as a Force, p. 230-1.) In addition to their dowry, women sometimes had additional assets from inheritances and bequests, and even real estate and commercial investment. (Chojnacki, "Dowries and Kinsmen," p. 586). Women could not, however, inherit houses. (Davis, A Venetian Family, p. 91-2). Chojnacki, "Patrician Women" and "Dowries and Kinsmen" has shown that women exerted a considerable economic force in cementing ties between families. While men favoured male kin in their wills, women tended to divide their bequests evenly between natal and marital kin, and among their natal kin they favoured women over men. Ibid., p. 180-5.

26. Ibid., p. 103.


29. Ibid., p. 35.


33. For a description of the virtues required for the wife, see Kelso, *The Lady*, chs. 3 and 4.

34. Alberti, *Della Famiglia*, p. 213.


36. Ibid., p. 87-88.


38. *Della Famiglia*, p. 98.

39. Pietro Bembo, *Gli Asolani*, Trans. Rudolf B. Gottfried (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1934), p. 100, 110 and 112. This view of love was not only described as the foundation of marriage and sex but as "...the generator and preserver of all creatures, and the foundation of all civic usages, family and civic life, laws, friendship, and all the arts and amenities by which man has excelled the brutes." N.A. Robb, *Neoplatonism of the Italian Renaissance* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1935), p. 81.


41. Ibid., p. 166.

42. Marriage as an end to love is a relationship made by Castiglione. In the formation of the ideal Court Lady, the speaker says: "...I think love, as you are now speaking of it, is proper only for unmarried women; for when this love cannot lead to marriage, the lady is ever bound to feel the remorse and sting that is caused by illicit things, and risks staining that reputation for chastity which is so important to her." *The Courtier*, p. 262.


47. Della Famiglia, p. 213.


57. "...her comely hair, more like gold than anything else...is parted straight down the middle of her lovely scalp and wound in many curls behind, but falling on either side of the temples in two flowing locks...the calmness of her forehead, whose glad expanse reveals unerring honesty, the large black eyes which mingle gravity with native charm...the tender cheeks...in their more vivid colouring they sometimes vie with morning roses...the little mouth below...her snowy bosom", Ibid., p. 116-117.


61. See Robb, *Neoplatonism*, for the relationship between Neoplatonic love in Bembo's *Asolani* and Castiglione's *Courtier*. 

63. Ibid., p. 347.


68. Ibid., p. 105-8.

69. In Ferrara, Mantua and Urbino, the courts played an important role in the lives of the ruling families and were patrons of the arts and "chief centres of higher humanist teaching." William Harrison Woodward, *Studies in Education During the Age of the Renaissance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), p. 261. A daughter of such a family received a sound and thorough humanist education, usually from private tutors, and often in preparation for marriage to a member of a similar ruling family, where she would be expected to participate in the life of the court. Examples of such women are Isabella and Beatrice d'Este. This did not apply in most parts of Italy. Ibid., p. 206, and 266-7; Monroe, *Cyclopedia*, v. 5, p. 155.


71. Ibid., p. 7.

72. Ibid., p. 216.

73. Ibid. p. 206 and 266-7; Monroe, *Cyclopedia*, v. 5, p. 155.

74. Kelso, *The Lady*, p. 44.


79. The renowned Venetian poet and humanist Cassandra Fidele (ca. 1465-1558), though born in Venice, was not of patrician status, as her parents were of noble Milanese origin. Biographie Universelle (Michaud) ancienne et moderne, Nouvelle Edition (Paris: Madame C. Desplaces; Leipzig Brockhaus, n.d.) v. 13, p. 478-479; Catherine B. Avery, ed., The New Century Italian Renaissance Encyclopedia (New York: Meredith Corporation, 1972), p. 378. She was educated by private tutors. Monroe, Cyclopedia, v. 5, p. 799. Similarly, the famous poet, Gaspara Stampa (1520-1554), born in Padua, was from a Milanese family. Biographie Universelle v. 40, p. 137.

80. According to Woodward, Education, p. 266 the idea of equal education for girls had no following in Venice.

81. Ibid., p. 205. The motive behind his treatise was the defense of a humanist education in general. Kelso, The Lady, p. 69-70. See also Monroe, Cyclopedia, v. 5, p. 154 and 155.


83. Ibid., p. 34; Kelso, The Lady, p. 70.

84. Ibid.

85. Ibid.

86. Canaan, Education, p. 34-5; Kelso, The Lady, p. 70.


89. Castiglione, The Courtier, p. 211. See p. 210 for the restrictions placed on the Court Lady's activities.

90. Ibid., p. 70.

91. Ibid., p. 77.

92. Ibid., p. 207 and 209.

93. Ibid., p. 32.

94. Ibid., p. 289.

95. Ibid., p. 205-7.

96. Ibid., p. 212.

97. "...beauty is more necessary to her than to the Courtier, for truly that woman lacks much who lacks beauty". Ibid., p. 206.
98. Ibid., p. 240-1.


CHAPTER FOUR
LOTTO'S PORTRAIT OF A WOMAN

The London Portrait of a Woman (Figure 1) is the last in Lotto's series of life-size portraits of horizontal format. As in the case of the others, the horizontal format allows for space on either side of the sitter, providing room for details of the environment and emblematic material. It is my aim in this chapter to examine these details and to explore their meaning in terms of the portrait as a whole.

The Lucretia Theme: The Drawing and The Inscription

In the London portrait, the sitter draws the viewer's attention to a constellation of three items on the right: a drawing, a cartellino bearing a Latin inscription, and a flower. Lotto's sitter employs the Lucretia emblems, the drawing and the inscription -- to define her own status as a modern heroic exemplar of wifely chastity. The sitter engages the viewer's attention by means of direct eye contact, and her pointing gesture then directs this attention in particular to the cartellino displayed on the table and to the drawing held up for view in her left hand.

The most obvious and simple function that suggests itself for the use of the Lucretia motif is to allude to the sitter's given name. In this respect the work can be associated with the long-established tradition in female portraiture, discussed in Chapter Two, for suggesting sitters' names by means of visual puns. In this case, the sitter's name is not only implied by the subject of the drawing, but it is printed within the inscription as "Lucretia", the Latin spelling for the Italian name Lucrezia. However, the heavy emphasis placed upon the Lucretia theme here implies a more complex meaning, and requires more exploration.
Before further discussion of the sitter's personal use of the Lucretia imagery in the London portrait, the significance of Lucretia in the Renaissance as a figure of heroic virtue must be brought into focus. A secondary association is the special connection of Lucretia with marriage. The incorporation of Lucretia into portraiture illustrates how particular kinds of emblematic material could be incorporated into the private sphere of the sitter in order to make both a personal and corporate statement.

Lucretia was well known in the Renaissance as a Roman historical figure from the accounts of Ovid and Livy.¹ The following is a short summary of her story.

One day, while the Romans were laying siege to Ardea, the young Roman princes, sons of Tarquin the Proud, were drinking in the quarters of Sextus Tarquinius. With them was Collatinus, son of Egerius. The young men began to boast about their wives until Collatinus cried that his was incomparably superior. Together they rode to Rome to find out how their wives were occupying their time. Those of the royal princes were found enjoying themselves in great luxury, while Collatinus's wife, Lucretia, was discovered hard at work spinning, surrounded by her maid-servants. Hence she won the contest of wifely virtue. The young men dined at Collatinus's house during which time Sextus was so taken by Lucretia's beauty and proven virtue, that he became determined to debauch her. A few days later he returned there alone and was hospitably received. Having been escorted to the guest-chamber, he waited until all were asleep, then drew his sword, and entered Lucretia's room, demanding that she submit to him. Under the threat of death she refused. Upon his final threat that he would then place her dead body next to that of a dead slave, so it would appear that she had been
caught in adultery with a servant, she yielded. After his departure, Lucretia wrote to her father in Rome and her husband in Ardea, urging them to come at once. Upon their arrival, Lucretia recounted the tragic incident and asked for a solemn promise that Sextus be punished.

Lucretia was determined to die though her husband and father tried to dissuade her, arguing that she was innocent and Sextus alone was guilty. She replied, "...I am innocent of fault, but I will take my punishment. Henceforth, no unchaste woman who wishes to go on living will be able to appeal to Lucretia as exemplar." With these words, she drew a knife from under her robe, drove it into her heart, and died. Lucretia's last words make her, in effect, an exemplar of chastity.

Lucretia's status as a figure of heroic virtue in the Renaissance is evident from her context in literature. In the late thirteenth century, Dante included her in the citadel along with other pagan heroes, including Aristotle, Plato, and Socrates, in the fourth Canto of the *Inferno*. Later Petrarch in "The Triumph of Chastity" placed Lucretia, along with Penelope, first of the women in the forefront of truest honour among the host of holy women. Boccaccio recounted her story in his *De Claris Mulieribus*, the purpose of which was to instruct the reader on virtue and vice. Here, in his short biography, he introduced her as "...the outstanding model of Roman chastity and sacred glory of ancient virtue", and in conclusion he wrote, "She cleansed her shame harshly, and for this reason she should be exalted with worthy praise for her chastity, which can never be sufficiently lauded." By the 1530's, Ariosto in his *Orlando Furioso* could be confident that his readers would recognize his reference to Lucretia without actually mentioning her by name. Lucretia was also held in high esteem out-
side of Italy: her story was told by Chaucer in *The Legend of Good Women* and Shakespeare in his epic poem, *The Rape of Lucrece.*

In art, the theme of Lucretia in her role as a Roman heroine enjoyed considerable popularity in the early sixteenth century. As Wolfgang Stechow has suggested, this may have been brought about by Leo X's passion for an antique statue believed to represent Lucretia found in Rome ca. 1500. Stechow suggested that it was the Pope's enthusiasm for this piece that brought about its popularity for the type of the single, full-length standing Lucretia, as in Marcantonio Raimondi's engraving of 1510-11 (Figure 28). Here, as in the vast majority of sixteenth century representations, she is shown in her final moments, pointing a dagger towards herself. An inscription on the lower left of this work emphasizes her classical (though not Roman) origin and her heroic stature. The inscription, in Greek, reads: "It is better to die than live in dishonour". A somewhat later engraving by Enea Vico, after a lost work by Parmigianino, again makes clear her heroic stature by an Italian inscription, a creative paraphrase of her final words.

Venice had its own well-developed interest in heroic antique figures. This was possibly an expression of Venetian desire to emulate in political and military life deeds of Roman courage and heroism in service of the state. This interest found expression in a series of relief sculptures of 1510-16, attributed to Antonio Lombardo, of heroes and heroines from antique history and myth, which have in common the "theme of heroic sacrifice and suffering". The popularity of the group is evidenced by the fact that a number of versions of each figure were carved. Lucretia was one in the series (Figure 29). She is shown full-length in heroic nudity,
looking upward in expression of her virtue. The slight forward bend and
twist of her torso and her furrowed brow express suffering and anguish.
Her right arm is broken but originally she would have held a dagger. A
Latin inscription beneath makes clear the particular nature of her heroic
stature: CASTIS EXEMPLAR VXORIBUS\textsuperscript{15} (chaste exemplar for wives).

Lucretia in her role as classical heroine was also portrayed in
Germany, where she was selected ca. 1500 as one of three pagan women,
coordinated with three Christian and three Jewish heroines in a series
invented to compliment the nine heroes.\textsuperscript{16} This group was again illustrated
in woodcut by Hans Burgkmair in 1519.\textsuperscript{17}

The general popularity of the Lucretia theme in the sixteenth century
is evident from the many paintings showing her in half-length or full-
length, dressed, partially dressed, or nude. Usually she is alone holding
a dagger but a second type includes her husband and father as well.
Various types were executed by artists from Italy and the North\textsuperscript{18} including
the major Venetian artists of the early sixteenth century — Giorgione,
Titian, Palma\textsuperscript{19} and Lotto. In nearly every case, the reason for the
commission is unknown.

While the existence of some of these must reflect the taste for
antique heroines, there was at least one example where a document connected
Lucretia and marriage. Lotto's account book records a no longer extant
version, commissioned in 1540, as one of two "ornamenti di noce", the other
being a male portrait.\textsuperscript{20} Lucretia in the context of marriage undoubtedly
alludes to chastity — the virtue for which she received particular praise
from Boccaccio and Petrarch. While Lotto's entry indicates that she could
have been associated with male as well as female chastity, a more usual
connection seems to have been with wifely chastity. Lucretia's connections with marriage and wifely chastity go back to the fifteenth century when she was a popular subject for paintings on cassone. Here her story was represented in narrative scenes, or she appeared as a single figure with other classical heroines. Schubring lists at least fifteen such chests, including one by Botticelli. Later she appeared as a character on a float which greeted Lucrezia Borgia on her way to her wedding in Ferrara. Her image must have had a similar connotation as model of wifely virtue, when it appeared, unaccompanied by an inscription, on the frontispiece of Juan Luis Vives' text on the instruction of women, as education for women in the Renaissance was designed to prepare them for their role as wives. Chaucer called Lucretia "the veray wif". The important Venetian example of the Lombardo relief has already been mentioned, where the Latin inscription defines her status as an exemplar of chastity for wives.

Lucretia was also incorporated into the context of portraiture. In the North she appears on the verso of at least three sixteenth century portraits. In 1529, Barthel Bruyn painted her image (Figure 30) on the back of Ursula Sudermann (Figure 31), a companion portrait to one of her husband, Melchior von Rolinxwerth. The portrait pair commemorates the sitters' marriage and Lucretia must be emblematic of marital chastity. A similar meaning is implied by her appearance on the verso of Jan van Scorel's half-length Portrait of a Man in Berlin, where the sitter places his hand on his breast in a gesture which has been described elsewhere in portraiture as indicating fidelity or "marital faith". Lucretia on the verso of Jan Gossart's Portrait of a Gentleman probably has a similar connotation.
Later in Venice, Jacopo Tintoretto made different use of the image of Lucretia in his Venetian Gentleman of 1553-5 (Figure 32). Here the sitter is shown resting his hand on a sculpture of Lucretia as an allusion to his antiquarian and cultural pursuits.29

Lotto's London portrait (Figure 1) seems to have been the first portrait to include an image of Lucretia directly within its format. The drawing of the heroine displayed by the sitter (Figure 48) shows her full-length, looking upward and about to plunge a dagger into her breast. Her almost complete nudity and the sense of suffering she conveys by the slight forward bend and twist of her torso, reinforced by her flowing hair and dishevelled drapery, suggest a link with the heroine theme as conceived in the Venetian Lucretia relief of 1510-16 (Figure 29).

The drawing represents a moment in the story simultaneous to that of the inscription. Directly beneath the drawing on the table, the casually unfolded cartellino displays in handsome Roman capitals a quotation of Lucretia's final words as stated in Livy — the words that made her an exemplar of chastity. The inscription and this particular image of Lucretia together indicate that in this context Lucretia is to be understood as a heroic exemplar of chastity.

At this point it is necessary to pause and look more closely at the disposition of the sitter's hands. The precise meaning that the Lucretia theme has for the sitter is precisely clarified by the sitter's gesture. The drawing is displayed in her left hand, held rather high, above the table. At the same time, the pointing action of her right hand calls attention to objects set on the table, and seems in particular to be directed toward the contents of the cartellino. The gesture of her right
hand is not a simple pointing gesture — one in which the index finger projects from a hand contracted into a fist — termed *indico* by John Bulwer, writing in 1644. It is rather, it would appear, a thrusting forward gesture exhibiting unfolded fingers and an open hand, which as Bulwer puts it, "affords a familiar force to any plain continued speech or uniform discourse." The sitter's gesture is, I believe, indicative of speech.

The inscription in the narrative of the painting is shown to us as a phrase "spoken" by the sitter. The words to which she points constitute her lines. John Sparrow wrote about the inscription in this painting, "...the text is not simply a title or a comment or an appendix: its message is a part of the picture." I would go further and say that here it is the focal point of the narrative, and functions as the clue to the central meaning of the portrait. As discussed in Chapter Two, an inscription in a portrait of this period has direct bearing on the way in which we are intended to understand the sitter's presentation of him or herself. Lotto, as we have seen, had a particular genius for using the emblem to give visual expression to the sitter's thoughts, and define the meaning of his or her presentation. It must be remembered that there are very good reasons to believe that in Lotto's London portrait the sitter's given name is Lucrezia. The words of the inscription take on their full meaning within the portrait only when they are understood as applying equally to the sitter — the Italian Lucrezia — as well as to the Roman heroine. The full implication of the inscription emerges only when it is understood as directly characterizing, in a similar way, the Italian woman Lucrezia and her Roman counterpart. The inscription reads: NEC VLLA IMPVDICA LVCRETIAE EXEMPLE VIVET, that is, "No unchaste woman who wishes to go on living will
be able to appeal to Lucretia as exemplar". The Italian Lucrezia, by speaking these lines, defines her own status, not just as a chaste woman, but as an exemplar of chastity. Like her Roman counterpart, she herself sets no example for unchaste women. The omission of the word "deinde", meaning "henceforth," included in the original phrase from Livy, is significant: as the sitter Lucrezia has been preceded historically in her role as exemplar by the Roman Lucretia, it would make little sense for her to repeat the word "henceforth".

The drawing, in one way, may be understood as an illustration of the text. In addition it echoes the sitter's presentation of herself. The Roman Lucretia's open mouth indicates that she, like the sitter, is shown speaking her lines. The Roman Lucretia's assertion of her virtue, conveyed by her anguished pose, her *Venus pudica* gesture, indicating modesty, and the dramatic pointing of the dagger to her heart is echoed in the sitter's assertion of her virtue through her dramatic presentation of the Lucretia theme, her emphatic gestures, and bold, unflinching gaze.

As the sitter presents the viewer with the Roman exemplar of chastity, Lucretia, the portrait as a whole, on a life-size colourful scale, presents the "modern" exemplar of chastity, the Venetian Lucrezia. The essence of the sitter's characterization is defined by the antique imagery of the Lucretia emblems.

In conception, the portrait is paralleled by Titian's *La Schiavona* of ca. 1511 (Figure 33) where a profile relief *all'antica* of the sitter included in the portrait characterizes the function of her contemporary image: by the relief's own historical reach into the past, it suggests the future preservation of the sitter's effigy.
As Lucretia is often, and especially in connection with portraiture, a symbol of wifely chastity and conjugal fidelity and as, in addition, female emblematic portraits frequently include allusions to conjugal fidelity, she almost certainly embodies this meaning here. It is to be remembered that chastity, while important for all women, was above all the virtue of wives as it was justified on the grounds of the preservation of the purity of offspring. For these reasons, the Lucretia emblems are almost certainly a allusion to marriage and the sitter's role as wife.

In Lotto's London portrait, the theme of the sitter's status as a "modern" heroic exemplar of chastity is further played out and given additional nuances of meaning through contemporary Venetian imagery. These include the flower, and aspects of the sitter's costume.

The Wallflower

Beneath the inscription on the table in the foreground is the cutting of a yellow flower. Its prominent placement on the right in close proximity to the Lucretia emblems, and in the area to which the sitter wishes to draw our attention, indicates that it too is intended to embody an important significance for our understanding of the sitter's presentation. Here for the first time the species is identified as a wallflower. Its Italian name is "violacciocca".

Before analyzing the particular use of the wallflower in the London portrait, I will provide as a background a short survey of the use of the flower in portraits of the fifteenth and sixteenth century in Italy and the North. While they were generally in portraits emblematic of marriage or betrothal, in Veneto female portraiture they seem to have embodied a more
specific allusion to sexual love and were invariably associated with imagery focussing on the breast area.

The most usual species of flower in portraits was the carnation or its variant, the pink. In the Netherlands, the carnation was associated with marriage through a custom where the bride, on her wedding day, would wear a concealed carnation and the groom would search her in order to find it.\textsuperscript{35} This was also a practice in Germany, as we know from a description of the marriage in 1477 of Marie de Bourgogne and Maximilian of Austria.\textsuperscript{36} It must have been as a result of this association, that the carnation and the pink became symbols of engagement or marriage in portraits of betrothed or newlyweds.\textsuperscript{37} The flower was usually but not always held in the sitter's hand.

Some early examples of such portraits are fifteenth century Flemish works. These include the \textit{Man with a Pink} by an imitator of Van Eyck\textsuperscript{38} and Hans Memline's \textit{Young Fiancée}, the left half of a diptych showing a young woman gazing to the right, holding a pink in a gesture of offering. The right half portrays her fiancé in the guise of a dark stallion, who in turn looks in her direction.\textsuperscript{39}

In the first half of the sixteenth century, German portraits frequently include carnations; in most cases the context lends further support to the idea that it is emblematic of marriage. Anna Cuspinian holds a carnation in Cranach's famous marriage portrait of her of 1502, a pendant to that of her husband, Johannes Cuspinian. Barthel Bruyn painted twenty-one portraits between 1517 and 1555 in which the sitters, usually women, hold carnations.\textsuperscript{40} Among these is the portrait of Ursula Rolinxwerth (Figure 31) discussed already in connection with the image of Lucretia on
the verso. As this work, many of these are paired with portraits of the sitters' spouses. Another example is Holbein's *Georg Giesze* of 1532, where the carnations, an allusion to his engagement, appear in a glass vase on the table as a natural part of the setting.41

Other species of flower also alluded to marriage or betrothal. Dürer employed the eryngium as a symbol of betrothal,42 and the Master of Frankfurt's *Married Couple* of 1496 shows the wife offering her husband an unidentified flower.43

The appearance of flowers in fifteenth century Italian portraits may well have been a result of northern influence. The earliest Italian example where the sitter holds flowers seems to be Verrocchio's sculpted portrait *Bust of a Lady* in the Bargello, Florence, a Florentine work of 1475-80 (Figure 34),44 a period of influx of Flemish influence on Italian portraiture. With her left hand, the sitter presses to her heart a small bouquet. The sitter's identity has never been ascertained,45 nor have the flowers been discussed. They almost certainly allude to marriage.46 This hypothesis is reinforced by the sitter's gesture which pledges fidelity.47 The placement of the flowers on the sitter's heart in conjunction with this gesture seems to be unprecedented and may well indicate that they are intended to symbolize the sitter's love for her husband.48

Flowers appear again held by the female sitters in two Florentine portraits of the 1480's. In *Costanza Caetani*, from the School of Domenico-Chirlandaio (Figure 35), the flowers are set within the context of marriage by the Latin inscription on the left: GHOS /TANZA / DEMED/ICIS IO/ANFRA/ NCISC/HVS D/OMINI/FRAND/ICI DE / GHAE/TANIS / VXOR. Costanza de'Medici married Giovan-Francesco di Benedetto Caetani before 1489 and this work
must be commemorative of the occasion. A compositionally and almost certainly iconographically related work is the portrait of a Young Woman in Forlì attributed to Lorenzo di Credi, where the sitter arranges a bouquet in a bowl on a table in front of her, probably again in allusion to marriage.

The carnation as a symbol of matrimony made its appearance in northern Italy by around 1490 with Lorenzo Costa's Gozzadini portrait diptych of a married couple, where it is held by the male sitter. The symbolism of the carnation must also have been known in Venice, as evidenced by Andrea Solari's Portrait of a Gentleman holding a pink, executed in the 1490's during his Venetian period.

Flowers were also used as emblems in sixteenth century Veneto female portraits. One striking element about these works, in contrast to the portraits so far discussed, is their invariable association between flowers and highly sensuous imagery. Up until ca. 1530, nearly all Venetian female portraits which include flowers show the sitter revealing one or both breasts, or at least strongly emphasizing the breast area.

Possibly the earliest sixteenth century example is Tullio Lombardo's Double Portrait relief in Venice (Figure 36) of a couple, where a tiny stylized flower appears between the bare breasts of the female. The principal subject of this ideal portrait is, according to Sarah Wilk, "the Venetian nostalgia for lost ancient civilization." The precedents for this compositional arrangement lie, as Wilk has shown, in northern double marriage portraits and Roman grave portraits of husband and wife. The couple is shown turned slightly towards each other. Wilk has suggested that here the flower and the motif of the bare breasts may both be intended
as allusions to love. The placement of the flower between the bare breasts of the female sitter and the slight twist of her torso in the direction of the male would seem to suggest that the flower alludes to a love that would find expression in a physical union between the couple.

Bartolommeo Veneto's *Young Bride as Flora* of ca. 1506 shows the sitter proffering a mixed bouquet (Figure 39). Both Panofsky and Verheyen have argued that the sitter is a young bride, as she is wearing a wreath of myrtle, *myrtus coniugalis*, symbol of everlasting love and conjugal fidelity, on her veil, and that she is shown in the guise of Flora, indicated by the flowers. The bouquet associates the image with the by now well-established tradition of alluding to marriage by means of flowers. However, the classicizing connection with Flora, Roman goddess of flowers, suggests a new iconographical reference which creates an association between flowers, Flora, and sexual union. Ovid's account of the Flora legend includes the transformation of Chloris into Flora which occurred when she was embraced by Zephyr, at which time flowers spilled from her lips. The image of the bare breast in this context further suggests a connection between flowers and sexual love. As Panofsky wrote, "...the mythological image which the portrait is meant to evoke is...that of Flora, the happy wife of Zephyr, who proudly proclaims that her marriage bed is never disturbed by any dissension." The flowers symbolize here the young bride's offering of love to her husband. This is lent further support by the inclusion in the bouquet of a daisy, called in Italian a *margherita*, almost certainly an allusion to St. Margaret, patron saint of childbirth.

Bouquets are later proffered by Titian's *Flora* (Figure 23) of ca. 1520-22, and by Palma's *Lady as Flora* (Figure 24). In both these
cases, the flowers are again associated with the bared breast. Julius Held has argued that these works allude to Flora in her role as courtesan. However, in light of the earlier choice of Flora as the guise for a young bride, it is reasonable to consider that the works may well be marriage allegories, as Verheyen considered them to be. Additional support for this lies in the presence of roses in Titian's Flora. Roses were an attribute of the terrestrial Venus in Titian's Sacred and Profane Love, who also wears a myrtle wreath symbolizing the lasting and legitimate joys of marriage. In Titian's Flora, the appearance of the flowers in the sitter's hand held in a gesture of offering, her revealed breast, and her apparent engagement of eye contact with an anonymous participant located to the lower left of the picture seem to indicate that they symbolize an offering of sexual love. A similar interpretation may be applied to Palma's Lady as Flora.

The flower was later set clearly within the context of marriage by Alciati with the publication of his highly influential Emblemata. In the 1534 edition, his emblem "In Fidem Uxoriam", includes an illustration of a married couple where the woman holds a flower in her hand.

Lotto's London portrait appears to be the only portrait to include the species wallflower (Figure 2) and it is likely that this choice has a particular significance.

The wallflower in the Renaissance was symbolic of earthly or divine love. The origins of its meaning in two classical legends indicate a particular association with sexual love. The first tells how the Ionic nymphs offered Ion a chaplet of wallflowers before he spent the night with them. The second concerns Jupiter and Io. In order to have sexual relations with
Io and remain undiscovered by his wife Juno, Jupiter changed Io into a cow. On this occasion the earth brought forth wallflowers to congratulate Jupiter for his success and to please Io.66

In the London portrait, the flower is placed on the table directly beneath the inscription and the drawing, unlike most portraits where flowers are held in the sitter's hand. Its location here, at a distance from the sitter and as an element in the cluster of emblematic objects on the right, suggests a possible iconographic association with the Lucretia emblems. This is lent support by the wallflower's Italian name, "violacciocca", which may be meant, further, to suggest a pun on the word "violare", to violate. Can it be that on one level the wallflower is intended as a pun to allude to the rape of Lucretia?67

As the drawing and the inscription, the wallflower also has an important significance for the sitter, as it is one of the three items to which she wishes to draw our attention. Its full meaning emerges by association with the flower symbolism in Venetian female portraits, and through the wallflower's particular context in classical legend. It is highly likely that the wallflower symbolizes the sitter's own offering of sexual love. That this offering occurs within marriage is indicated by the Lucretia emblems which define the sitter as exemplar of chastity. The wallflower must symbolize her offering of love to her husband.

The London portrait is further related to earlier Veneto female "flower" portraits by the association of the flower with sensuous imagery alluding to the breast area. The pronounced décolletage, revealing the broad expanse of the sitter's bosom, is also an important element of the work. This will receive further discussion below.
The Costume

The details of the sitter's highly elaborate costume provide the viewer with additional information about the sitter. Among these are the definition of her status as a member of the patrician class. Certain details of the costume provide further allusions to her married state.

The elegance and detail of the sitter's costume (Figure 1) is unsurpassed in contemporary female "costume" portraits. The richness of the colours; the elaborate and finely worked detail in the alternation of the differing fabrics, the stitching of the bodice, the front lacing, and the tuck in the skirt indicate the care which has gone into the sewing of this sumptuous dress. The decoration of the balzo with a mass of imitation curls and ribbons is also unique and unusually elaborate. The ultimate statement on the elegance of the costume is the gold pendant (Figure 3), unparalleled in contemporary portraits in its size, finely worked detail, and number of stones with which it is set - two rubies and three sapphires - and in addition a tear-shaped pearl. There can be no doubt that one function of the sitter's costume is to present her as the wife of a member of a wealthy family of patrician status.

Two details of the costume allude directly to her married state. One is her balzo. As I have pointed out in Chapter Two, the balzo was commonly worn by married women and can be taken as a sign of woman's married status, by reference to other female portraits where the sitters are clearly married.

The second detail is the ring the sitter wears on the ring finger of her left hand, barely visible beneath the crumpled corner of the drawing held in the same hand. That it was customary for a married woman of the
Veneto to wear her wedding ring on this finger at this time can be shown by reference to Lotto's *Antonio Marsilio and his Bride* (Figure 13) where the husband places the ring on the equivalent finger on the bride's left hand. Further evidence for this lies in portrayals of the mystic marriage of St. Catherine where the Christ child is shown placing a ring on the same finger of St. Catherine's left hand. One of several such examples by Lotto is the *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine* of 1523 in the Accademia Carrara, Bergamo.\(^{68}\)

**The Bared Breast**

Another important aspect of the sitter's costume, and of the painting as a whole, is the pronounced décolletage. The imagery of the décolletage and the sensuousness of the sitter's revealed upper torso, especially in conjunction with her resolute gesture and expression, has as I have shown in Chapter One, elicited more comments from historians writing on the portrait than any other element in the painting, and has led them to doubt the sincerity of her declaration of her virtue. This motif clearly requires closer examination.

According to accounts of sixteenth century visitors to Venice, women's clothes there were consistently less modest than those in other parts of Italy.\(^{69}\) The popularity of the décolletage in Venice is further evidenced by its appearance in numerous portraits of similar date. Three such examples are Licinio's *Woman with a Portrait of her Husband* (Figure 41), *Woman with a Book*, (Figure 42), and his portrait of *A Lady* of 1532 (Figure 20). While the décolletage in itself cannot be called indiscreet, neither these works, nor others exhibiting a low-cut contemporary dress, emphasize the breast area to the same degree as Lotto's London portrait.
Here the décolletage reveals an uninterrupted expanse of bare flesh, reminiscent in style of the "luminous, enamelled sensuality"\(^{70}\) of Palma's female half-lengths of the previous decade. Its whiteness and smoothness is heightened by the light from the upper right which seems to draw the viewer's attention in particular to the sitter's chest. The brightness of this area is further emphasized by its contrast with the section of shadow immediately above, around the sitter's neck. The almost unnatural twist of her upper body and right shoulder in the direction of the viewer emphasizes her nearly fully revealed right shoulder. This twist combined with the apparent weight of the right puff of her sleeve conveys the impression that the right side of the dress is almost falling off.

The artist's intent to give a particular emphasis to this section of the painting is further borne out by two elements of the manner in which the costume is worn, which are unique in female portraits of this period and which would normally cover a part of the sitter's chest: the chain and veil.

The odd placement of the chain and pendant is not paralleled in any other female portrait. All other sitters who wear chains exhibit them hanging around the neck (Figures 20 and 41), or sometimes tied at the waist as belts. That this arrangement in itself is not an indication of indiscreet or suggestive attire is clear from the similar way in which St. Catherine of Alexandria wears her chain tucked into her bodice in Lotto's altarpiece of ca. 1529 in Vienna.\(^{71}\)

The second deviation in Lotto's portrait is the arrangement of the cloth or veil, attached to the upper left of the bodice. It covers the sitter's left shoulder and falls down and across her back. The edge is
visible above her right shoulder and beside her right elbow, where it falls onto and in front of the back of the chair (Figure 4). According to Elizabeth Birbari on fifteenth century Italian costume, "The veil or kerchief, or scarf was an important item in the feminine wardrobe...it could be worn either on the head or over the shoulders". In the sixteenth century, diaphanous veils are often worn by the Virgin and saints in contemporary Venetian costume, modestly covering both shoulders. The veil is, however, rare in female "costume" portraits of the 1520's and 1530's, though veils similar to that worn by Lotto's sitter do appear in several earlier Venetian examples: Titian's La Schiavona (Figure 33), the Young Lady in Modena attributed to Cariani (Figure 40), and a woman in Cariani's Young Men and Women of the Albani Family of 1519, in the possession of Conte Roncalli in Bergamo. In each of these three cases the veil is attached to the upper left of the bodice but rather than falling down the back, it is brought around the sitter's back and draped over the right shoulder, modestly covering a part of the sitter's upper chest. Titian's Laura dei Dianti (Figure 17) wears a different version of the veil, but it too covers a part of the breast area otherwise laid bare by the sitter's décolletage.

The manner in which Lotto's sitter wears both her pendant and her veil clearly departs from the norm and is not casual but calculated. This manipulation of the costume, which has the effect of allowing not only for a clear view of, but for a strong emphasis on the breast area, is, I believe, a conscious modification of the motif of the single bared breast in earlier Venetian marriage portraits (Figure 39), or the baring of both breasts, as in Tullio's Venice relief (Figure 36). Lotto's purpose in drawing the viewer's attention to the sitter's breast area is to indicate that it has
iconographic significance. This hypothesis is lent further support by the portrait's association, through the combined imagery of the flower and the sensuous allusion to the breast, with the earlier Tullio relief and the "Flora" allegories by Bartolommeo (Figure 39), Titian (Figure 23), and Palma (Figure 24). These works are further related to each other through their common theme of revealing an aspect of the sitter, normally concealed. The "bared breast" in the London portrait, by association with these works and by the definition of its context within the portrait as marriage, must have a similar iconographic meaning to that of the bared breast in related portrait marriage allegories.

In order to understand the breast symbolism in the Lotto, the meaning of the bared breast in female Veneto marriage portraiture must be defined.

The work which set the motif of the bared breast in the foreground for the Venetian allegorical female portrait seems to have been Giorgione's Laura of 1506 (Figure 38). Originally shown in three-quarter length, including both hands, the sitter may still be seen holding open one side of her red fur-lined cloak to reveal her right breast. Its soft, sensuous texture is brought out and emphasized by the light falling from the upper left. Verheyen has convincingly argued that the laurel branches behind the sitter are emblematic of marriage and marital virtue. Here, as in Bartolommeo Veneto's Young Bride as Flora, where the myrtle wreath signifies conjugal fidelity, the bared breast is set within the context of marriage.

The bared breast in portraits has usually been considered to have sexual connotations. It has frequently been a factor in historians' identification of the sitters in these works as courtesans, of which there was a large population in Venice, famous for their wealth and beauty, and often
for their learning.  Both Laura and Bartolommeo's Bride as Flora were at one time thought to represent courtesans. G.F. Hartlaub in 1954, supported he stated by Berenson, considered the bared breast in sixteenth century Venetian portraits to be in itself a sign of this. Julius Held in 1961 employed the bared breasts, loosened garments, and gestures of offering in Titian's Flora and Palma's Lady as Flora as evidence to lend support to his argument that the works alluded to Flora in her role as courtesan. Lotto's London portrait is thus further related to these works through a similar problem in the literature concerning it - historians' conclusions that the sitter's prominent and sensuous display of her body is a sign of her lack of virtue. This notion concerning these portrait types is often reinforced, writers consider, by their own personal responses to these sitters. For example Held considered that Hans Tietze's remark was justified, that upon looking at certain portraits of women from Tintoretto's workshop, "one is tempted to ask for their names, possibly even addresses." However, since the only concrete evidence suggests that in at least two cases the bared breast was linked with marriage, it must be considered within this context.

That the bared breast has a sexual connotation in these works is lent support by its association with the flower symbolism, alluding to love, and in Lotto's London portrait, specifically sexual love. Verheyen thought the bared breast represented the wife's relationship to her husband, characterized by voluptas both in the Bartolommeo Young Bride as Flora and in Laura. Panofsky implied similarly that in the Bartolommeo, it alluded to "sexual abandon." However, since women's principal role within marriage was to bear offspring, and the principal function of sex
within marriage was considered to be procreation, the imagery of the bared breast in the context of marriage suggests an association with the theme developed in Venetian art in the early years of the sixteenth century where the nude female was portrayed as a symbol of the "generative force of nature".

Sheard has argued that the nude female in the Widner Orpheus represents Venus in her capacity as Venus physiza: the female generative force of nature. Another related example is Giorgione’s Sleeping Venus which has been interpreted as a Venus Genetrix, in her capacity as ancestress of the Marcello family, and brought into connection with the epithet "to the all-bearing" or "parent of all".

The theme of fertility and the female reproductive aspect of creation was also a theme given expression by Leonardo in one of his largest panels -- the now lost Leda and the Swan begun in ca. 1504, known through copies by his Milanese followers, such as Cesare de Sesto's in Wilton House, painted between 1507 and 1510. The theme of fertility and procreation is conveyed by the nude Leda's embrace of the swan and the two sets of twins hatching from two eggs at her feet, as well as the lush landscape of grasses, plants, and flowers. This same principle seems to have found expression in the Flora half-lengths by Leonardo's followers, after a lost design by Leonardo. As goddess of flowers, Flora was linked with fertility and conception. These half-length Floras are shown nude or partially nude, holding flowers. One example of ca. 1510 in the Hermitage in Leningrad is by the Milanese Francesco Melzi. The reproductive force of nature is strongly suggested by the plants and flowers overgrowing the rocky landscape within which the young woman is seated, as well as her left
breast, revealed by the open corner of her blouse. The nude breast must allude to her procreative role as *mater florum*.\(^9\) She holds flowers in both hands and gazes with loving attention at the columbine in her right.

This principle may well have been incorporated into specific portraits, such as Titian's *Flora* or Palma's *Lady as Flora*, thus associating the individual woman with procreation, and alluding to her role in marriage as bearer of offspring. It could also have been applied to the earlier *Young Bride as Flora*, by Bartolommeo Veneto, an artist who had contacts with Milan.

The notions of love and procreation, and procreation and marriage were brought together a number of times in Book Two of Bembo's immensely popular *Gli Asolani*. The love described here was a natural instinct moving along the path of reason; this love brings forth children; it should endure a lifetime.\(^9\) *Gli Asolani* has been considered to be particularly close in its lyricism and romance to the painting of Giorgione,\(^9\) the artist who set the motif of the bared breast in the foreground for Venetian allegorical marriage portraits with the execution of *Laura*.

The bared breast in Venetian and Veneto female marriage portraiture, I consider, is a reduction of the female nude as symbolic of the generative force of nature and, as such, symbolizes the wife's sexual and biological role within marriage, characterized by love and procreation. In Lotto's London portrait, I believe the same meaning is intended through the unusual emphasis placed on the sitter's breast area.

In the London portrait, the inclusion of the unusually large pendant set with four stones including one large square ruby juxtaposed with the breast area further associates the portrait with the generative force of
nature theme as conceived within female half-lengths. Melzi's Flora exhibits a large square ruby attached to her blouse and set between her breasts. Bartolommeo's young bride as Flora also wears a pendant set with jewels. A similar juxtaposition of bared breast and jewel occurs in Dosso Dossi's Nymph and Satyr in the Pitti Gallery in Florence, showing two half-length figures. The nymph's fur cloak falls to reveal her breast and a jewel hanging from a pendant which she touches lightly with her hand.

The odd placement of the pendant in Lotto's portrait is not only an element in revealing the breast area but at the same time calls attention to the pendant itself and its subject matter, which echoes the theme of love. The pendant shows two amoretti, attendants of Cupid in secular paintings, flanking the large ruby, turned towards each other with hands joined, symbolic of union in love. Each one raises a leg to rest a foot on two small sapphires, placed on top of vegetation growing out of two gold cornucopiae, an allusion to the fruits this love will bring.

The bared breast was also a classical motif. It appears frequently in a number of female themes in both antiquity and the sixteenth century. In classical times it was employed for representations of Venus Genetrix, as well as for chaste figures such as Diana, Amazons, and wives on Roman sarcophagi. In the sixteenth century it was often a motif used for chaste and virtuous women such as Diana, Judith, and Lucretia as in the Raimondi engraving (Figure 28). The bared breast was also employed for Minerva, a symbol of chastity in the Reconciliation of Minerva and Cupid, in California, by Dosso Dossi after an engraving by Raimondi, which has been argued to symbolize charity. The bared breast in these examples is clearly connected with virtue.
Within allegorical marriage portraits, the bared breast, by its association with antiquity and with virtue, specifically chastity, defines the biological and sexual aspects of the wife's role as virtuous, a meaning which must also be embodied in the Lotto "bared breast".

The theme of wife as childbearer, as we have seen, had already been treated by Lotto in his *Lucina Brembate* of 1523 where the crescent moon symbolizes Lucina, Roman goddess of childbirth, and by Savoldo in his *Lady as St. Margaret* of ca. 1530 where the dragon alludes to St. Margaret, patron saint of childbirth. The brilliance of Lotto's portrait here lies in his incorporation of the emblematic "bared breast" imagery of earlier Venetian marriage allegories, into a representation of the sitter in contemporary costume. This fusion allowed for a simultaneous allusion to, on the one hand, all the most important aspects of the wife's role as it was then understood, connecting through the breast imagery procreation, sex, love, fidelity, and chastity; and definition on the other hand of the sitter's role within Venetian society, through her sumptuous costume, as a wealthy member of the nobility. The sitter's biological and sexual role is here not only set within marriage, but also within the Venetian state structure, defining her role as bearer of noble offspring.

**The Colours of the Costume**

"As colour this is one of Lotto's most dazzling pictures", Berenson wrote in 1956. The brightest colours -- the orange-red and green of the dress -- are intensified by their repeated contrast with each other through the alternating stripes and by the shimmering highlights cast by the light from the upper right. They are further set off by the neutral gray of the
background and the grayish-white of the elaborate balzo.

Striped dresses are extremely unusual in sixteenth century Venetian painting and no other comparable example seems to exist in portraiture. This is also the only portrait in which the sitter wears a white balzo. In the Renaissance specific meanings were often attached to specific colours. As the sitter's costume embodies symbolic significance in other respects, it is probable that these particular colours were chosen and emphasized in order to convey additional symbolic meaning about the sitter. One possible interpretation is that they were to underscore further the sitter's status as an ideal woman by clothing her in the colours of faith, hope and charity, those that Beatrice wore in Dante's vision of her in the *Purgatorio*. Here Dante described her as

...olive-crowned o'er veil of white,
Clothed in the colour of a living flame,
Under a mantle green....

Unlike the Virgin and saints in religious paintings, married women in contemporary costume in Renaissance portraits are rarely shown wearing veils on their heads, nor were mantles an item of contemporary female costume. As we have seen it would, however, be entirely in keeping with the rich symbolism of this portrait and of Lotto's approach to portraiture in general for such a symbolic allusion to have been incorporated into the natural features of the costume.

The Chair

On the left of Lotto's London portrait is a chair, of which only the upper section is visible (Figure 4). It is a typical Renaissance chair, made of curved wooden slats which interlock at the base of the seat and
curve outwards and down to form legs. In portraits, fragments of such chairs are often visible and serve to convey a sense of the environment.

In the Lotto, the placement and depiction of the chair is unique. Chairs in other portraits are either occupied by the sitter or, if the sitter is standing, are placed immediately behind, facing towards him or her, as in Lotto's Agostino and Nicolò della Torre of 1515 in the National Gallery, London, where a chair arm is visible behind the standing Agostino. In no other example is one shown with its back to the sitter as in the Lotto Portrait of a Woman. Even more striking is its unusual prominence — it is set clearly in the foreground and occupies over one third of the horizontal width of the painting.

To the modern viewer, the chair appears at first sight to be a cradle, a fact borne out by Berenson's identification of it as such in 1895, an observation he corrected fifty years later. This same identification was preferred by Bianconi in 1963. This perception is an illusion created by the portrayal of only its upper part, omitting the base of the seat and the ends of the arms, leaving the object's precise dimensions up to the viewer's imagination. It is possible that Lotto intended this arrangement as a disguised allusion to a cradle, and as such it would be a further development within the painting of the theme of procreation, alluding specifically to the sitter's hope for a forthcoming child. An additional clue in support of this may be the visual connection between the veil and the chair: the veil's tip falls onto the chair's back, a further odd element in the work. This imagery could be calculated to indicate a link between the "bared breast" imagery and the chair or disguised cradle. The specific interest in the theme of childbirth in contemporary paintings has already
been discussed.

Lotto made use of a comparable approach to symbolism in his Lucina Brembate where the moon is a natural feature of the landscape background, but its principal function is to carry symbolic meaning. Similarly in his Odoni portrait, sculpture is a natural part of the sitter's environment but the particular sculptures depart from reality in content, in order to play out a narrative about the sitter's virtue.

While cradles belonging to the nobility were almost certainly more lavish than this -- Venetian houses were noted for their lavish furnishings and decorations -- wooden cradles sometimes appear in religious paintings, as in Lotto's Nativity of ca. 1527-8 in the Pinacoteca in Siena. It is possible that the patron of Lotto's London portrait and the members of his (or her) family would have understood the arrangement of the chair as an allusion to a cradle.

Cultural Pursuits

It has already been noted in the introduction that a suggestion had been made, according to Berenson, that Lotto's portrait was executed as a pendant to his portrait of Andrea Odoni of 1527. Though the evidence suggests that their execution was separated by a number of years, I believe that these works are related in conception in the type of symbolism they use and in the message conveyed. In the Odoni portrait the sitter is characterized by the emblematic material - the sculptures - on two levels: first in his social role as collector, and second in terms of a narrative played out by the subject matter of the sculpture. In the London portrait, I consider that the Latin inscription and the drawing not only define the sitter's virtue -- her heroic status as exemplar of wifely chastity -- but
serve simultaneously to present her as a woman engaged in cultural pursuits.

Lotto's London portrait is the only female portrait of this date to refer to a classical figure by means of a direct quote from classical literature. Further, the drawing is the only image of the Roman Lucretia which is accompanied by a quotation from Livy.

Latin inscriptions are extremely rare in female portraits of this period: no other contemporary Venetian examples seem to exist. Though Moretto da Brescia in his so-called Salome of ca. 1530 in the Museo Civico in Brescia, characterized his sitter by means of a Latin inscription on a parapet,\(^{100}\) it is, in contrast to Lotto's portrait, a comment about the sitter, not a statement spoken by her. Though the source of the inscription in the Moretto is unidentified, it does not appear to be classical. Precedents exist for Latin inscriptions from classical literature to eulogize the sitter's virtue in fifteenth century female portraits. One example is Domenico Ghirlandaio's Giovanna degli Abizzi in Lugano where the quotation, an epitaph from Martial, appears on a cartellino in the background.\(^{101}\) However, this is again a comment about the sitter. The choice of a Latin inscription and the quotation from Livy is, I believe, significant in itself. As the sitter is shown "speaking" these lines, it is reasonable to suppose that she is meant to be seen as understanding them and being aware of their source. She is, I believe, characterized by the inscription not only as an exemplar of virtue, but as a woman who can read Latin and has some knowledge of classical history.

It has already been noted that the theme of virtue and cultural pursuits was frequently treated by Lotto in his emblematic portraits, examples
being the Allegorical Cover for his Bishop Bernardo de' Rossi of 1505, Young Gentleman in his Study of ca. 1526-7 and the Odoni portrait. Later in the 1540's, Lotto developed similar themes in A Man Aged Thirty-Seven, in the Doria, Rome, and A Man With Symbols, in the Museum of Art, El Paso, where allusions to the sitters' learning are conveyed entirely through emblems.102

It has been shown in Chapter Two, that the theme of virtue and cultural pursuits is usually restricted to male portraits. This occasion for Lotto to portray a female sitter as learned may have been brought about by the publication of Il Cortegiano in 1528, the work that made it praiseworthy and fashionable for women to engage in intellectual pursuits. The London portrait could well have been painted in response to the beginning of this new trend. The choice of Latin and classical history to demonstrate the sitter's learning may well reflect Bruni's argument that these were among the most suitable areas of study for women.103

It was, in fact, after 1528 that portraits of women reading began to appear. Savoldo's Lady as St. Margaret of ca. 1530 (Figure 21) holds an open prayer book. A double portrait of ca. 1530 by an imitator of Lotto (Figure 44) shows a woman reading under the guidance of her husband.104 In ca. 1530, Licinio painted his Woman With a Book (Figure 42) where the sitter appears to be in conversation, engaging eye contact with an anonymous participant outside the picture and displaying the same "speaking" gesture employed in Lotto's London portrait. In ca. 1529 in Florence Andrea del Sarto painted a portrait of a girl holding and gesturing to an open volume of Petrarch (Figure 43). Around the same time, Andrea executed a drawing of a lady gazing upward and holding in her lap a large open volume.105 The engagement of women in literary activities was a new
subject for female portraiture.

As the inscription embodies significance beyond the emblematic association with the Roman Lucretia, it is necessary to pose the question whether the drawing has significance as a drawing, apart from its theme.

Drawing in portraits are new in this period, and in male portraits they invariably had a biographical significance as drawings, apart from their subject. In three portraits they served to characterize the sitters' activities as artists. Titian's portrait of *Giulio Romano* of ca. 1536 (Figure 47), already discussed in Chapter Two, shows the artist holding up for view a ground plan for the *Chiesa Palatina* in Mantua, characterizing him in his role as architect. A later example is Licinio's group *Portrait of an Artist and his Pupils* (Figure 45) where two students are shown, chalk in hand, drawing statuettes under the guidance of their teachers. The statuettes and activity of drawing define the setting as a studio and the emphasis is on the actual execution of drawings in the training of an artist. The third portrait of an artist is Florentine — Baccio Bandinelli's *Self Portrait* of ca. 1540 in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston, (Figure 46), where the sitter supports a large highly finished drawing in sanguine of Hercules and Cacus, to which he gestures with his right hand. His authorship of the drawing is indicated by the red chalk held in his left with which he produced it. While the chalk emphasizes the activity of drawing, the size and prominence of the drawing, its careful finish, and its heroic subject matter (which has not been successfully linked to any of the artist's projects) indicates the importance of the drawing itself.

However, the earliest sitters for portraits which include drawings
were not artists. Pontormo's *Alessandro de'Medici* of 1534 shows the Duke of Florence drawing. Leo Steinberg has related the patron's choice to be thus shown to the description in *Il Cortegiano* of the Perfect Courtier to whom drawing was considered to be an appropriate activity. The subject of the drawing, the head of a woman, is however important. Alessandro gave this portrait of himself to Taddea Malaspina, and Steinberg argues that he is being shown in "an action that reveals his mind". It indicates to the viewer, Taddea, "that he has eyes only for her".\(^{108}\)

Lotto's London portrait is the earliest portrait where the sitter holds a drawing. Like Pontormo's *Alessandro*, the image of Lucretia serves to reveal the sitter's thoughts, as discussed earlier in this chapter. In light of the new focus upon drawings in portraits as references to the activity and the object itself - I consider that as an object, apart from its themé, it is here too intended to have meaning.

This is reinforced by the fact that art in portraits — which at this time was usually sculpture — has significance in itself. The sculpture in the Odoni portrait has already been discussed in this regard, where it characterizes the sitter as a collector. In female portraits too, art had significance in itself. In *La Schiavona* by Titian (Figure 33), the sculpture, a relief *all'antica* — conveys a message, previously mentioned, concerning the endurance of art through time.

As drawings in all other contemporary portraits allude to an activity of the sitter, I would like to pose the question whether Lotto's Lucrezia in being presented as the author of her drawing. Castiglione in 1528 included drawing (and even painting) in his list of accomplishments for the
ideal Court Lady, and stressed that her intellectual accomplishments were to equal those of the ideal Courtier. Young male Venetians were taught how to draw as part of a humanist education. If the Court Lady provided the stimulus for presenting the sitter as having a knowledge of classical literature, the case may be the same with the drawing. While it is extremely unlikely that the sitter is an artist, it is worth noting that two of the earliest women artists were members of the nobility. The Cremonese Amilcare Anguissola sent two daughters to learn painting in the house of Bernardino Campi in 1546, and in Venice Titian instructed the grand-daughter of his friend, Paolo di Ponte — Irene di Spilimbergo (1539-59) — in painting.

It may be argued that in three of the four other examples of portraits with drawings, an important element is the chalk, specifically defining the sitter's activity. However, the conventions for the female portrait of a woman as wife did not allow for statements that were not predominantly concerned with marriage. The sitter in the London portrait, I believe, is presented as learned, engaged in cultural pursuits, but this is to be understood as supplementing and even reinforcing her role as wife. To show the sitter engaged in drawing would be to emphasize this activity at the expense of her more important role, as it was understood, within the family. Even to show men engaged in characteristic activities was relatively new.

The sitter, I believe, is being presented as a woman who engages in cultural pursuits — pursuits which have been defined by Castiglione as appropriate to the ideal woman. In the London portrait they are further signs of the sitter's virtue. Like the sculptures in the Odoni portrait,
the drawing and the inscription function both on the literal, biographical level, as well as on a symbolic one, to play out a narrative about the sitter's virtue.

The Expression

The sitter's bold gaze, directed unflinchingly at the spectator, exhibits a determination bordering on aggression and anger. It is unprecedented and unparalleled in female portraiture.

It has already been shown that a characteristic element of Lotto's emblematic portraits is his coordination between the emblematic content and the sitter's expression and pose, an element which he had already applied to the female portrait in Lucina Brembate. The sitter's expression in the London portrait is, I believe, an attempt to characterize her psychological state at the moment as virtuous, especially chaste.

Virtue for women in the Renaissance, particularly in the case of the learned woman, was often described metaphorically, employing language normally characteristic of military activity. The example of Antonio Loschi's Domus Pudicitie of 1389, has already been mentioned in Chapter Three where the learned Maddalena Scrovegni as Chastity was described in terms of military and masculine strength, characterized as "aggressive, bellicose" and "virile". As stated earlier, this was typical of the Renaissance male view of the learned woman. Another female figure in literature associating female chastity and male strength is Bradamente, the chief heroine of Ariosto's Orlando Furioso. As fictitious ancestress of the house of Este she was necessarily chaste, but she was characterized in terms of military strength and prowess. A military metaphor was also
applied to the role of the Venetian wife by Francesco Barbaro in his description of her virtue within the family:

...her virtue inspires all other members of the family to follow her example as citizens follow their rulers' and soldiers follow their generals'...  

The characterization is eminently appropriate to her status as heroic exemplar of wifely chastity.

Conclusion

As we have seen, Lotto's Portrait of a Woman synthesizes a number of elements from different types of both male and female portrait as conceived in the Veneto. Lotto's achievement here lies in his creation of a statement about a woman who is the embodiment of the ideals that were considered appropriate to a Venetian noblewoman of this particular time, and which is simultaneously a forceful and dynamic expression of the sitter's own individuality as a person.

The work may well have been commissioned as a marriage portrait. The sitter's identity as a member of the Pesaro family however must remain in doubt: as the Pesaro were collectors, demonstrated by Sansovino's account of their collection of paintings in Ca' Benetto in 1581, as well as by the large collection in the possession of the S. Stae branch in 1797, the painting could have been acquired by the family at any time between the execution of the work in ca. 1533 and the end of the eighteenth century. On the other hand, in favour of the hypothesis that the sitter is Lucrezia Pesaro is the family's interest in portraits of family members. The large size of Lotto's London portrait, its dynamic quality, and the iconographic richness with which Lotto has invested it indicate that this must have been a major commission. The occasion of the marriage of Lucrezia Valier and
Benetto Pesaro was an important event. Benetto's eldest brother, Nicolo, had died unmarried in 1527. Neither his next eldest brother nor his younger were married. The production of an heir must have been of concern to the "eminent noblemen of the Casa Pesaro" as Dolce called them, including to Gerolamo Pesaro, Procurator of San Marco and once Captain of the Venetian fleet, who was still alive in 1533. Gerolamo, whose portrait still hung in the family Palazzo at S. Benetto in 1581 could well have been the stimulus behind the commission of such a work. With the marriage of his son Benetto and Lucrezia Valier rested the hopes for the continuation of the line of this branch of the family. If indeed the sitter in the London portrait is Lucrezia Pesaro, this occasion would explain the emphasis in the portrait on the themes of virtue, chastity and reproduction.

A further link between the portrait and the Pesaro at S. Benetto is suggested by their documented interest in Roman themes. Marino Sanudo, for example, specifically mentions on February 14, 1514, the presentation of Plautus's comedy *Miles Gloriosus* at the Pesaro Palazzo, a highlight of the season, attended by "molti gentiluomini e dame, riccamente vestite." The inclusion of the Roman Lucretia directly within the format of this portrait, apparently the first such example in portraiture, must have been specified by the patron. The Pesaro interest in antiquity makes them likely candidates for requesting such a theme.

However, Lotto's brilliance here lies beyond the synthesis of varying traditional and contemporary portrait elements and the inclusion of an antique heroine. His emphasis on the sitter's own individuality as a person is unprecedented in female portraits. His approach to the sitter
here parallels that he used for the male sitter, as may be demonstrated by the comparison between this work and his Andrea Odoni. In each case the sitter's role in society is defined by biographical objects set within a detailed environment. This environment and other natural features such as the costume in the London work and the sculptures in the Odoni have been invested with symbolic allusions that make both portraits come alive and shimmer before the viewer as he "reads" it, suggesting varying nuances of meaning by the placement of the objects in the composition and their relationship to the spectator. The sense of individuality of the sitters themselves is brought out by the relationship Lotto creates between the objects and the sitter, defined by gesture and expression. Lotto understands his sitters through an apparent penetration of their minds and it is the sitter's consciousness at a particular moment that he seeks to convey. This is combined with an invitation extended to the viewer to participate in the sitter's own thoughts by gesture and direct eye contact.

With the execution of Andrea Odoni and the London portrait, Lotto reached the high point in his career as a portrait artist, achieving a perfect balance between the sitter as an embodiment of an ideal, and the expression of an individual personality within a naturalistic setting. After this point, his portraits become less ambitious and far-reaching in their range of reference. It may be that Lotto's achievement in the London portrait in terms of the female portrait type does not find its true successor until some hundred years later.
FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER FOUR


2. My summary is based on Livy's version of the story.


5. Petrarch wrote:

   "I could not fairly celebrate in rhyme,
   Nor could Calliope and the Muses all,
   The host of holy women who were there;
   But I will tell of some in the forefront
   Of truest honour; and among them all
   Lucretia and Penelope were first....."


7. Ibid., p. 101 and 103. the Florentine Colaccio Salutati wrote two rhetorical exercises about Lucretia - the first concerned with her father's and husband's attempt to persuade her to abandon her suicide, and the second with Lucretia's decision to uphold its necessity. Stechow, "Lucretiae Statua," p. 116.


9. There are a few deviations from this interpretation of Lucretia. St. Augustine in The City of God (Bk. I, Ch. 19) "condemns Lucretia's killing, by suicide, of a chaste woman. Machiavelli cites Lucretia among his examples of "How Women have brought about the Downfall of States" because the Tarquins were deprived of their power after the King's son had raped her. Machiavelli...cautions rulers, therefore, Continued....


15. Ibid.


18. Early sixteenth century Italian examples were executed by Sodoma, Francia, Giolfino, Puligo, Parmigianino, Bramantino, Giampietro. Northern artists who painted Lucretia include Dürer, Jacopo de'Barbari, Lucas Cranach, Joos van Cleve, Lucas van Leyden and the Master of St. Sang. A number of these artists executed more than one version.

Palma also executed two versions of Lucretia, both half-lengths. For these see Wethey, *Mythological Paintings*, p. 219; and Giovanni Mariacher, *Palma il Vecchio* (Milan: Bramante Editrice, 1968), p. 72.


23. Ibid.

24. In the Legend of Lucrece, Part 5 of *The Legend of Good Women*, line 1686.


28. Private Collection. For an illustration, see Max Friedlander, *Early Netherlandish Painting 8 Jan Gossart and Bernart van Orley*, trans. Heinz Nordon (Leyden: A.W. Sijthoff; Brussels: La Connaissance, 1972), Figure 60.


31. Ibid., p. 174. Here Bulwer describes this gesture as follows: "The gentle and well-ordered hand, thrown forth by a moderate projection, the fingers unfolding themselves in the motion and
the shoulders a little slackened affords a familiar force to any plain continued speech or uniform discourse, and much graceth any matter that requires to be handled with a more lofty style, which we would fain fully present in a more gorgeous excess of words.

The comeliness of this action (which best suits with them who remove and shift their standing) appears herein, that by this emanation of the arm and delivery of gesture, speech is so well pronounced and poured forth that it seems to flow out of the hand."

34. I owe this identification to David A. Tarrant, Botanical Gardens, University of British Columbia, June 1981. The flower's Latin name is matthiola incana.
37. Ibid., p. 233-6; D'Ancona, Botanical Symbolism, p. 81.
39. Ibid., p. 349 and 507. It is usual in diptychs and portrait pairs of couples for the female sitter to be on the right or sinister side. Panofsky considers that here it is natural for her to occupy the dexter side "in view of the fact that she was not yet the donor's wife; in the guise of a stallion, he looks up to his beloved as he would look, in human form, to the Madonna."
40. Westhoff-Krummacher, Barthel Bruyn, illustrates all these portraits.
43. The theme of marriage is further spelled out by various other objects, including bread and wine, which refer to the sacramental and ritualistic aspects of marriage. Berthold Hinz, "Studien zur Geschichte des Ehepaarbildnisses, Mährbürger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft 19(1974), p. 163.


46. I know of no fifteenth century Italian portraits where the flower clearly does not indicate marriage or betrothal. In all cases where there is evidence for its meaning, it points to one of these two.

47. See above, this chapter.

48. A relationship has been postulated between a Leonardo drawing in Windsor Castle (no. 12558) of female hands and those of the Verrocchio bust. It has also been suggested that this drawing was a study for Leonardo's Portrait of Ginevra di'Benci, of which the lower section was truncated and must have originally included the hands and arms. Leonardo's drawing of hands includes one which is in a position as if folded over the breast area. Between the thumb and index finger is the stem of a plant, quite possibly of a flower. It is possible that Ginevra originally held a flower in her hand, or some other symbol of her marriage in 1475. For the relationship between the drawing and the bust on the one hand, and the painting on the other, see Kenneth Clark and Carlo Pedretti, The Drawings of Leonardo da Vinci in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen at Windsor Castle (London: Phaidon, 1968), v. 1, p. 10405.


50. In the Pinacoteca. The sitter was once considered to be Caterina Sforza but Regoli has pointed out that her costume is Florentine. Lorenzo di Credi, p. 130. For this work and a colour reproduction see Ibid., p. 130-131 and plate II.
51. These portraits are filled with symbols that allude to marriage. The works represent Alessandro di Bernardo Cozzadini and his wife Donna Canonici, both from Ferrara, and can be found in the Robert Lehman Collection, New York. For these, see George Szabo, The Robert Lehman Collection (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1975), p. 57-8.

52. Davies, National Gallery Catalogues, p. 381.

53. This work, located in the Ca' d'Oro, Venice, has been dated as early as the 1490's and as late as the 1520's. Sarah Wilk, "Tullio Lombardo's 'Double-Portrait' Reliefs," Marsyas 14(1969), p. 67-86, esp. 67.

54. Ibid., p. 82.

55. Ibid., p. 19-77. According to Wilk, there is no precedent in either of these traditions for the bared breasts of the woman.


60. For this work, see Wethey, The Mythological Works, p. 154-5.

61. For this work, see Giovanni Mariacher, Palma il Vecchio (Milan: Bramante Editrice, 1968), p. 74.


66. D'Ancona, Botanical Symbolism, p. 402. The first legend is told by Nicander of Colophon, Georgica, fragment 74, lines 2-8, and the second is from Virgil, Eclogae, 2.18.
67. That Tarquin's rape of Lucretia could in the sixteenth century be considered a form of "love" is evidenced by its inclusion in Book One of *Gli Asolani* by Bembo, as an example of the sorrows brought about by love. The speaker Perrottino refers to this as Tarquin's "passion" for Lucretia, p. 26.

68. Other examples by Lotto include *Madonna and Child with Saints John the Baptist and Catherine of Alexandria*, Costa di Mezzate (Bergamo), Palma Camozzi, dated 1522; *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine*, Munich, Alte Pinakothek, ca. 1506-8. In the *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine* in Rome, National Gallery, dated 1524, St. Catherine already wears her ring on the same finger.


71. *Madonna and Child with Saints Catherine of Alexandria and James the Greater and an Angel*, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.


74. I have found no other examples.


82. Ibid., p. 212.
85. See above, chapter 3.
88. Ibid. Also Held, "Flora," p. 203.
89. The original attribution to Melzi has been confirmed through x-rays which revealed traces of Melzi's signature in Greek letters in the lower right corner. Fahy, Leonardo, p. 43.
90. Ibid., p. 50. Held, "Flora," p. 206 considers that this is the meaning of the bared breast in Flora pictures.
91. Bembo, Asolani, p. 99-100, 110, 112. Also see above, chapter 3.
93. For an illustration and catalogue entry on this work, see Felton Gibbons, Dosso and Battista Dossi, Court Painters at Ferrara (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1968), p. 175-6, pl. 21.
94. For the revealed breast in antiquity, see Margarete Bieber, Ancient Copies: Contributions to the History of Greek and Roman Art (New York: New York University Press, 1977), p. 59 and 63. See Figure 215 for a sarcophagus showing a husband and wife with a bared breast.
96. Lotto, p. 99.


100. This work and the inscription are discussed by Verheyen, *Laura*, p. 222; and Sparrow, *Inscriptions*, p. 78.


103. See above, chapter 3 for women's education.

104. For this work, see Mariette van Hall, "Messer Marsilio and his Bride," *Connoisseur* 192(1976), p. 292-7, esp. 294.


110. Ibid., p. 182. For other details of her life see Wethey, The Portraits, p. 178. He includes a portrait of her executed by Gian Paolo Pace and Titian of ca. 1560, located in Washington, National Gallery of Art.


112. See above, chapter 1.


Fig. 1. Lorenzo Lotto, Portrait of a Woman

Fig. 2. Inscription and Wallflower, detail of Lotto's Portrait of a Woman
Fig. 3. Jewelled Pendant, detail of Lotto's Portrait of a Woman

Fig. 4. Chair and Veil, detail of Lotto's Portrait of a Woman
Fig. 5. Titian, *Man With a Glove*

Fig. 6. Titian, *Alfonso I d'Este, Marquess and Duke of Ferrara.*
Fig. 7. Paris Bordone,  
Portrait of a Doctor.

Fig. 8. Lorenzo Lotto,  
Dominican Steward.
Fig. 9. Moretto da Brescia, *Young Humanist*.

Fig. 10. *Imitator of Lotto, Andrea Ravagero*. 
Fig. 11. Lorenzo Lotto, Young Gentleman in his Study.

Fig. 12. Lorenzo Lotto, Man in Black With a Skull.
Fig. 13. Lorenzo Lotto, Antonio Marsilio and his Bride.

Fig. 14. Lorenzo Lotto, Married Couple With Squirrel.
Fig. 15. Lorenzo Lotto, Andrea Odoni.

Fig. 16. Herculus and Diana of Ephesus, detail of Lotto's Andrea Odoni.
Fig. 17. Titian, Laura dei Dianti.

Fig. 18. Titian, Isabella d'Este.
Fig. 19. Bartolommeo Veneto, Young Woman.

Fig. 20. Bernardino Licinio, A Lady.
Fig. 21. Girolamo Savoldo, Lady as St. Margaret.

Fig. 22. Pietro degli Ingannati, Portrait of a Lady as a Virgin Martyr.
Fig. 23. Titian, Flora.

Fig. 24. Palma il Vecchio, Lady as Flora.
Fig. 25. Titian, La Bella.
Fig. 26. Crescent Moon, detail of Lotto's Lucina Brembate.

Fig. 27. Lorenzo Lotto, Lucina Brembate.
Fig. 28. Marcantonio Raimondi, Lucretia, Engraving.

Fig. 29. Attributed to Antonio Lombardo, Lucretia, relief.
Fig. 30. Barthel Bruyn, Lucretia, verso of Ursula Rolinxwerth.

Fig. 31. Barthel Bruyn, Ursula (Sudermann) Rolinxwerth.
Fig. 32. Jacopo Tintoretto, A Venetian Gentleman With a Sculpture of Lucretia.
Fig. 33. Titian, La Schiavona.
Fig. 34. Verrocchio, Bust of a Lady.

Fig. 35. School of Domenico Ghirlandaio, Costanza Caetani.
Fig. 36. Tullio Lombardo, Double Portrait, relief.

Fig. 37. Alciata, Emblemata, "In fidem uxoriam".
Fig. 38. Giorgione, Laura.

Fig. 39. Bartolommeo Veneto, Young Bride as Flora.
Fig. 40. Attributed to Cariani, Young Lady.
Fig. 41. Bernardino Licinio, Woman With a Portrait of her Husband.
Fig. 42. Bernardino Licinio, Woman With a Book.

Fig. 43. Andrea del Sarto, Girl Holding a Volume of Petrarch.
Fig. 44. Imitator of Lotto, *Wife Reading Under the Guidance of Her Husband.*
Fig. 45. Bernardino Licinio, An Artist and His Pupils.

Fig. 46. Baccio Bandinelli, Self-Portrait.
Fig. 47. Titian, Giulio Romano.

Fig. 48. Drawing of Lucretia, detail of Lotto's Portrait of a Woman.
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