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TITIAN'S VENUS ANADYOMENE AND THE CLOSE-UP FEMALE NUDE: ITS SOURCES AND CONTEXT

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ABSTRACT

TITIAN'S VENUS ANADYOMENE AND THE CLOSE-UP FEMALE NUDE: ITS SOURCES AND CONTEXT

By

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This essay explores the sources and context of Titian's Venus Anadyomene (c. 1520). As a three-quarter-length, close-up view of a solitary female nude, this painting is unique as a type in the Renaissance. What sources might have inspired such a rendering of a female nude? How might the work have spoken to the tastes and expectations of its artist, patron, and society? I propose that, in rendering the Venus, Titian drew on his knowledge of a number of contemporary sources including works by Giovanni Bellini, Giorgione, Antonio Lombardo, Marcantonio Raimondi, Michelangelo, his knowledge of antiquities, and also on other Renaissance genres of painting that depict women. These images of women all reflect a preoccupation with issues of beauty - an emphasis which relates to social and cultural attitudes predominating in sixteenth-century Venice. Finally I suggest that Alfonso d'Este commissioned Titian's Venus Anadyomene.

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INTRODUCTION

The Venus Anadyomene by Titian hangs in the National Gallery of Scotland in Edinburgh (Fig. 1). It measures 73.6 by 58.4 centimeters[1] and portrays the ancient Greek myth of the birth of Aphrodite, goddess of love. In The Nude, A Study in Ideal Form Kenneth Clark describes this oil painting as anticipating "the whole conception of the subject [the nude]....the female body with all its sensuous weight ... offered in isolation as an end in itself."[2]

Venus rises from the sea after her birth from the shell, an attribute of the goddess of love that floats in the sea to her right.[3] Bending forward, she wrings the water from her auburn hair. The predominantly deep blue background of sea and sky contrasts with the light rosy skin of the nude goddess. Earlier Renaissance artists such as Botticelli in Florence and Jacopo Bellini in Venice depicted this subject and had dealt in various ways with the

nude female form. The female nude is also a recurring theme in the work of many of Titian's contemporaries (Giovanni Bellini, Antonio Lombardo, Leonardo da Vinci, and Raphael), yet Titian's picture seems to be unique in its time. For the first time in Renaissance art, Titian depicts the female nude in a standing pose in isolation and yet as though close-up to the viewer, as she appears in three-quarter-length rather than full-length. Clark recognizes the uniqeness of Titian's rendering of Venus and states that "It would be interesting to know under what circumstances Titian conceived it."[4]

Scholars have generally recognized the importance of this painting in Titian's artistic career, and in the broader scope of Venetian Renaissance art history.[5] But to my knowledge, only one, Warren Tressider, in his unpublished dissertation, "Classicism in the Early Works of Titian" (1979), has discussed this painting at length. Tressider argues convincingly that the Venus is probably based in part on a figure in relief by the sculptor Antonio Lombardo.[6] The present study of the Venus Anadyomene proposes that Titian drew simultaneously from a number of sources including his master, Giovanni Bellini, and even Michelangelo no less than Antonio Lombardo.

Scholars have also raised questions concerning the original context of this work. The patron of the painting and the place where the work was originally hung remain unknown. Titian's subject -- a rather intimate and yet idealized depiction of a woman -- also brings up social issues. Where, and in what particular social setting would it have been appropriate to view such a depiction of a woman? What sorts of taste and expectation might such an image have gratified? In the following sections of this essay I will attempt to address these questions, first by looking at the place of the Venus in Titian's career and within his artistic circle, and then by suggesting what kind of significance this painting might have had in Renaissance society.

The following two sections attempt to determine the date of the painting and its relationship to other contemporary renderings of the subject. The third section examines the relationship of Titian's painting to other genres of the period that are concerned with the depiction of a beautiful woman, particularly the sensuous half-length image, which is the subject of a recent dissertation by Anne Junkerman. These genres reflect social attitudes of the time and thus, in turn, might shed some historical light on

Titian's Venus Anadyomene. The fourth and fifth sections address the question of the three-quarter-length view of Venus, offering a look at the painting's significant connection first to antique visual and literary sources, particularly to Pliny the Elder's account of a lost ancient painting of Venus by Apelles and, second, to a particular type of composition of both religious and secular images, which has been described as the "Dramatic Close-Up," and which frequently appeared in both Northern-European and Italian painting in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Finally, in section six, I will speculate on who might have been the patron of this work, and on where it might have originally been located.

Titian's Venus Anadyomene is a work that John Shearman would describe as having "a slow fuse."[7] Such a painting might require a person to return to it a number of times to fully comprehend it, and it will most likely comprise visual quotations or paraphrase other works of art as well as allusions to literary sources. The Venus Anadyomene is a work that reveals itself to us, the viewers, bit by bit, layer by layer, over time. We must return to it again and again. Thus, each section of this essay will examine and re-examine the Venus, each time from a different angle. We

will see that the significance of this painting lies in part in Titian's imaginative use of antique and contemporary sources in his creation of a new kind of image of the female nude, and in the capacity of this work to reflect artistic, social, and cultural attitudes of the time.

I. Dating the Venus Anadyomene

If one could understand the place of the Venus Anadyomene in the development of Titian's style, one might then begin to know the circumstances under which the painting was made. Although no Renaissance document specifically refers to this painting, art historians have nevertheless arrived at a consensus on an approximate date for the work: c. 1517-20.[8] Perhaps one can verify this by relating the painting to Panofsky's scheme of Titian's artistic development. He divides this development into six phases.[9] The first phase is characterized by a red and green color scheme, illustrated in Titian's early work, Sacred and Profane Love (1515) (Fig. 2).[10] In this composition the landscape consists of green trees and meadows, and the sky has a soft green glow. The dress of the woman on the left matches the color of the sky except for the contrasting red of her sleeves and the red robe that partially covers the otherwise nude woman opposite her. The second stage in Panofsky's scheme is characterized by a blue

and red color scheme, a scheme that is not apparent in any of the artist's later works. Panofsky states:

> In contrast to the first, still somewhat tentative phase, the second is an age of impassioned freedom and self-realization...the tension between light and color is resolved in favor of color. The grey shadows have disappeared. The chromatic harmony begins to be dominated by the chord of red and blue on the terrestrial plane...rather than the Giorgionesque red and green.[11]

Titian's Bacchus and Ariadne (Fig. 3) clearly illustrates this second phase. It was executed for the Duke Alfonso d'Este as part of the Camerino d'Alabastro and was finished c. 1520-23.[12] In this work Bacchus's brilliant red cape ruffles before a bright blue sky and counters Ariadne's red scarf, which is draped around her richly toned blue dress. The mountains along the horizon appear as blue silhouettes. This painting exemplifies the red and blue color scheme at its peak.

Panofsky then cites elements in Titian's later works, noting characteristics that have not appeared in the artist's second phase of development. There is a return to the red and green color scheme (seen in phase 1) in his third and fourth phases, and an incorporation of genre scenes into the background of compositions as, for example, in the Venus of Urbino, 1538 (Fig. 4). The tones of the

sheet and pillows that frame the reclining figure in this later painting match the dress of the clothed woman in Sacred and Profane Love, and the red mattresses are close in color to the dress of the woman in the background. Also this Venus is rendered in a provocative manner, for she engages the viewer with an inviting and direct glance, a frankness not seen earlier. This new sensuality becomes an important element of Titian's later style: the fifth phase in Panofsky's scheme.[13]

In this fifth phase Titian paints with comparatively loose, even expressionistic, brush strokes and tends to crowd his compositions more, as seen in his Diana and Acteon, 1556-59 (Fig. 5). Titian would seem, moreover, to have excluded the subject matter of Venus entirely from this final phase.[14]

The predominant color chord in the Venus Anadyomene is blue-pink, akin to the blue-red seen most decisively in Bacchus and Ariadne, and thus seems most closely connected in style to the second phase. Warren Tressider has noted, besides, a similarity between the Venus Anadyomene and a nude in the Bacchanal of the Andrians, another painting of that phase (Fig. 6). Both figures, in Tressider's opinion, typify the artist's classicism in the years of his early

maturity. At this point Titian breaks away from using ancient sculpture as models for his painting. In such works as the Bacchanal of 1520-24, Titian instead draws on a literary source: Philostratus's Imagines, a description, or ekphrasis, of an ancient painting -- either real or imagined -- of the same scene. This imaginative reference to a literary source as well as to visual models inspired a new freedom in Titian's art; his figures now appear as though liberated from the quite sculptural and defined tendency of his earlier works. They are more naturalistic and lively. Tressider suggests that this new freedom also appears in the Venus Anadyomene, and he notes that the composition was most likely intended as a recreation of one by the legendary painter Apelles, as described by Pliny Elder.[15] Other historians have recognized this apparent connection as I will point out in Section IV of this paper.

II. Contemporary Sources for the Venus Anadyomene

If this painting can thus be placed at least approximately within the chronological sequence of Titian's works, what were, then, the more particular circumstances under which Titian conceived it? One may argue that Titian, a genius painter in his own right, primarily drew upon his own individual creativity to conceive and paint such works as the Venus. However, one must also remember that Titian was not sequestered from the developing culture of Renaissance Italy. He worked within a rich social milieu that included artists and humanists, and their influential clients. His brilliant imagination also fed on the innovations of leading contemporary masters both inside and outside Venice. Panofsky states:

> One of the many things which makes Titian great is that his horizon was not limited to Venice or even North Italy. He learned what could be learned not only from the antique (as Jacopo Bellini and Montegna had done before him), but also from Dürer, from Raphael, from Michelangelo....[16]

It is possible, then, that Titian drew from a diversity

of sources in creating this new figure of the goddess. She appears to reflect a keen response to innovations of other sixteenth- century masters including Bellini, Giorgione, and Antonio Lombardo in the North, and Michelangelo in Central Italy.

One of the earliest and most profound influences on Titian was that of his master, Giovanni Bellini, who, before Titian, was the most respected painter in Venice.[17] Titian arrived in Venice at the age of eight and soon entered the workshop of Gentile Bellini. He soon became dissatisfied with the old-fashioned style of this master: its tight, meticulously rendered forms and compositions; he soon moved on to the studio of Giovanni Bellini.[18] To a greater extent than any other Venetian artist of the time, this master based his art on direct observation of the natural world. He achieved a new sense of light and color that transcended the careful outlinings and shadings of his contemporaries. Working in oil paint, Bellini often layered translucent color and glazes to create forms of unprecedented luminosity and softness.[19] In comparison to their Venetian contemporaries and predecessors, Bellini's figures appear as though "unfrozen;" they seem to breathe.

One of Bellini's latest works, <u>Lady at Her Toilet</u> of

1515 (Fig. 8), reflects his new sense of form and light. Her contours are soft, and the picture is unusual, perhaps unique for its time, as a type of depiction of the female nude.[20] She appears in three-quarter length view rather than in full-length.[21] She appears thus closer to the viewer than any previous rendering of the female nude. It is possible that Titian saw this work before he began to paint the Venus Anadyomene. Important similarities between Titian's Venus and his master's work are certainly worth consideration and will be addressed later in this thesis.[22]

By the first decade of the sixteenth century Titian had already left Bellini's workshop and had begun to work with Giorgione. Giorgione was also a former student of Giovanni's and six years Titian's senior. Titian first met this artist when they were both commissioned to paint the facades of the Fondaco del Tedeschi in 1508, a building which served as the German merchants' quarters in Venice. Unfortunately little remains of this project. Until 1961 one knew of the frescoes only through descriptions, the etchings by Piccini and Zanetti, and the discovery in 1937 of a portion of one of Giorgione's frescoes on the front of the Fondaco, facing onto the Grand Canal. In 1961 the Soprintendenza discovered extensive portions of Titian's

frescoes on the Fondaco's southern façade. From these remains and the eighteenth-century descriptions one may gain some notion of the original style of these paintings.[23]

Vasari describes Giorgione's figures on the Fondaco as "well-grouped...and there are in it heads and parts of figures very well painted, and most vivacious in colouring. In all that he did there he aimed at being faithful to nature."[24] In the surviving fragment by Giorgione a full-length nude is depicted frontally and in a contrapposto pose reminiscent of antique sculpture. One gets a glimpse of the master's advanced coloristic sensibility in this piece, which appears to progress even beyond the colorism in the late work of Giovanni Bellini. This fresco still has traces of different tints of red in an airy light space (Fig. 8). Terisio Pignatti relates this vibrant colorism to other works by Giorgione including The Three Philosophers (Fig. 32). In this painting the artist uses sfumato to soften edges and create subtlety in the definition of his forms.[25] The artist models his figures with soft, vibrant hues that blend harmoniously with the colors of the landscape behind them. This new chromatic consistency is apparent in his work during and after the Fondaco project. Johannes Wilde describes Giorgione's figures on the Fondaco as

> a new canon of the human figure, one that can hardly have been acquired without studying examples of antique art: figures with well articulated limbs and free movements, and with draperies of broad, natural forms, serving as a support as in ancient statuary.[26]

Giorgione was perhaps the first painter to have created full-length female nudes of large scale in action poses. This achievement of Giorgione's and also his emphasis on color, are recalled, however indirectly, in Titian's Venus Anadyomene. Rendered in soft pink hues, his goddess emerges from the waves with a sense of freedom that she owes in part to Giorgione's example. Venus's arms attend to her hair, and her solid torso bends forward with grace and ease.

Titian painted the frescoes on the southern façade of the Fondaco. From prints and descriptions we know that a monochromatic frieze extended the length of this exterior and a series of figures in fictive architectural niches were painted beneath it. Above the main portal Titian painted the figure of Judith slaying Holophernes. A fresco of a nude woman, identified as Eve, was portrayed on the far end of the façade facing the Rialto Bridge and a figure of another woman, identified as Venus, matched her pose at the opposite end of the wall (Figs. 10, 11).[27]

Titian presumably studied Giorgione's frescoes during

his own work on the Fondaco. From the salvaged portions of Titian's paintings from the southern façade one recognizes this younger artist's application of Giorgione's colorism as demonstrated in the vibrant tones still apparent in his fresco of Judith. One also recognizes the naturalism and freedom of Judith's pose as she energetically raises her sword. Morassi (1956) also suggests a difference in style between these two artists that is evident in the Fondaco frescoes. Where, in his characteristic manner, Giorgione applied careful, meticulous strokes to his surface in his painting of the nude, Titian applied paint in thick dabs. There appears to be a new vitality and restlessness in Titian's figures, exemplified in Judith, that does not appear in Giorgione's peaceful, idealized renderings. Where Giorgione adheres to the spirit of classical antiquity in painting sculptural forms in contrapposto, Titian breaks from this mold to create figures, such as the Judith, that appear weighted and as if they are indeed of flesh and blood.[28]

One also sees these qualities in Titian's Venus Anadyomene. Like Giorgione, Titian exhibits an interest in the female form, seen in the Venus at the same time that she does not appear in contrapposto. Only her head is turned;

otherwise, her body leans forward, breaking out of the classical pose. She bathes herself and wrings the water from her hair in what seems like a natural, human gesture.

While he worked on the Fondaco dei Tedeschi, Titian accepted a number of other commissions. Charles Hope states that, from a young age, Titian actively sought patrons who were prominent in the public sphere. He began to work for Jacopo Pesaro, for example, as early as 1506. Pesaro was the leader of one of the most powerful families in Venice. It is also known that, as early as 1508, Titian accepted commissions from the Barbarigo family and, in 1514, he painted the famous work, Sacred and Profane Love, for a senior civil servant, Niccolò Aurelio.[29] Titian also took part in the redecoration of the Sala del Maggior Consiglio in the Palazzo Ducale and thereby established himself as one of the most important painters in Venice and, in 1516, he began to work for the Duke of Ferrara, Alfonso d'Este. The Duke commissioned Titian to paint the three famous Bacchanals between 1518 and 1524. He was one of the few patrons in Italy who took great interest in paintings based on subjects admired in antiquity.[30]

It is at Ferrara that Titian came into contact with works of still other renowned Venetians and, also, Central

Italian masters. Among these works the marble relief of Venus Anadyomene from the early sixteenth century by Antonio Lombardo (fig. 12) may have proved especially important to Titian when he began working on his painting of the same subject, as Tressider has already proposed. Perhaps Titian's Venus Anadyomene reflects this rendering of a female nude more than any other that he could have known. Lombardo's Venus is portrayed above an inscription which describes her pose: "NVDA VENUS MADIDAS EXPRIUT IMBRE BMV" of "Nude Venus rises from the sea and wrings her dripping tresses."[31] This relief (now in the Victoria and Albert Museum) was commissioned by Alfonso d'Este in the early 1500s for the Duke's Camerino di Marmo at Ferrara. This Venus is based, at least in part, on a description by Ovid of an antique gem.[32] In the early 1520s the Duke commissioned Titian to paint three Bacchanal scenes for his Camerino d'Alabastro. It is generally thought that this room was part of a five-apartment complex called the Via Coperta, which connected the Castello Estense with the rest of the Palazzo.[33] This particular room was located next door to the Camerino di Marmo. The younger artist probably came into contact with Lombardo's work during this period. A certain similarity of Titian's Venus Anadyomene to

Lombardo's relief would lend support to the dating of this picture to c. 1520, by which time Titian would presumably have seen this relief at Ferrara.

One recognizes general similarities between the two works in overall composition and in the artists' rendering of the nude female form. As in Titian's painting, Lombardo's figure appears in the foremost plane of his composition. She even challenges the frontal space as her right foot ventures out of the picture frame. Like Titian, Lombardo includes little else in his composition besides an indication of water and sky.

Most striking is the similarity between the two figures in the way that they wring water from "dripping tresses." In both works Venus bends to her left, and one hand is positioned above the other as they grasp a lock of hair. There are also similarities in the soft curves and voluptuous torsos of the nude forms. Indeed, Titian's Venus seems more closely related in pose to Lombardo's figure than to the nudes on the Fondaco.

The figure, then, was "intended" as Tressider suggests, "to be viewed by people who would not only appreciate the sculptor's achievement, but who at the same time could recall Ovid's lines."[34]

Images of the Venus Anadyomene often appear on ancient gems. Perhaps Lombardo was himself inspired by such a visual ancient source no less than by Ovid. Edgar Wind states, "From what is known of the frequent adaptation of large sculptural or pictorial images to the diminutive scale of ancient gems, coins, and terracottas, it would seem that conflations of a statuesque posture with an Aphrodite al Coquille must have originated in the minor arts."[35]

Tressider also proposes a possible link with an engraving of Venus by Marcantonio Raimondi of 1506 (Fig. 13). He argues:

> Before Antonio Lombardo entered the service of Alfonso d'Este, Marcantonio Raimondi signed and dated (1506) an engraving of a full length Venus Anadyomene which could have been the prototype of Antonio's version and which was possibly done in Venice. The greater harmony in the resolution of the position of the arms in Antonio's sculpture suggests that his is an improved version of Raimondi's. This in itself raises a problem because, from what is known of the engraver's working methods at this time, it is quite possible that he himself was utilizing another source which in all likelihood was antique. The question therefore arises as to whether Antonio used the same classical source as Raimondi or simply borrowed from his print. The fact that Antonio's figure is in reverse pose to Raimondi's print could be taken as support for his utilization of a common ancient source.[36]

Important similarities appear between the works of Raimondi and Lombardo that support much of Tressider's

argument. Rendered in reverse image to Marcantonio's Venus, Lombardo's figure shares with Raimondi's the contrapposto stance, with one knee relaxed, and about the same gesture of arms and hands. This gesture is not depicted in surviving ancient renderings of the subject. It first appears in Marcantonio's engraving. One might assume, then, that Antonio consciously borrowed from Marcantonio in his marble-relief figure.

Tressider acknowledges that Lombardo's Venus appears in reverse in relation to Marcantonio's. As Marcantonio's composition was inevitably reversed upon printing, his original drawing would have more closely matched the image of Lombardo's figure. Perhaps, therefore, as Tressider suggests, both masters worked originally from a common ancient source, or perhaps Lombardo saw Marcantonio's original drawing or reversed the engraving -- the possibilities go on and on. It is most likely, at any rate, that both renderings are derived at least indirectly from an ancient gem depicting Venus Anadyomene. One might then suggest that Titian's version was itself based on an antique source, perhaps the same one that could have inspired Lombardo and Marcantonio.[37] It is also noteworthy that Titian had already been exposed to ancient statuary in his

earliest years as an artist, when ye entered Gentile Bellini's workshop and then Giovanni Bellini's. Gentile Bellini is reported to have owned a Praxitilian figure of a Venus Anadyomene. Unfortunately, it has not survived, nor have sketches or drawings of it. No document refers specifically to this figure, other than a stanza in a poem by the fifteenth-century writer, Raffaele Zovenzone. Tressider translates this passage:

> Let the person who wishes to see the Paphian Venus
> With nude breasts in the ancient marble of Praxiteles
> Search the penthouse of Gentile Bellini, where it stands.
> But the image lives of itself.[38]

It is important to recognize also a distinct difference between Marcantonio's engraving and A. Lombardo's relief that Tressider does not mention; a difference that amounts to more than just a mechanical reversal. The figures differ from one another in the angle of the head in relationship to the torso. Marcantonio's figure looks <u>over</u> her right shoulder and <u>away</u> from the gesture of her arms while Lombardo's <u>Venus</u> looks <u>towards</u> the wringing motion of her hands. Turning her head this way, she appears to be listening to the sea rather than looking out over it as she does in the engraving. Perhaps one can explain this difference by using Tressider's argument that Lombardo's

form is an "improved" version of Raimondi's, that Lombardo wanted a greater "harmony in the resolution of the position of the arms" and, I might add, in the inclination of Venus's head. In Marcantonio's print the goddess interrupts the smooth contour of her form, as she breaks its curving line to gaze back over her shoulder. In Lombardo's relief, on the other hand, the goddess's inclining head continues the curve established in the rest of her body and thus harmoniously completes the arc of her form.

Although not mentioned by Tressider, this difference is yet more compelling when it recurs in Titian's Venus. It is most likely, although not demonstrated, that Titian became acquainted with Marcantonio's print as it was circulating in Venice. It is interesting that the gaze of Titian's figure mirrors more closely that of Marcantonio's Venus than that of Lombardo's. As in the print, Titian's goddess looks away from the gesture of her hands. I would argue that Titian's Venus Anadyomene can be understood as an improved version by comparison with both of these earlier renderings. Maintaining the direction of the focus of Marcantonio's figure, Titian also, at the same time, inclines the head of his Venus in a manner not unlike Lombardo's, allowing the head to complete the line of Venus's back and shoulder.

Furthermore, Titian differs with both Marcantonio and Lombardo in the positions of Venus's arms. The goddess's left arm crosses over her torso below her breast rather than above it, as in the earlier works. In this new position the arm falls comfortably into the hollow of Venus's front torso as she bends forward. Titian allows the gesture of Venus's left arm to ride with her torso rather than apart from it and thus he creates a more unified form. The figure's right arm also plays an important compositional role in this later piece as the gesture completes the arc established in the line of her back and inclining head. Titian's Venus seems to be listening and looking at the same time.

The figures of Marcantonio and Lombardo strive for contrapposto -- both appear to lean into one hip with one knee bent. In both the sculpture and the print the torso is twisted: the lower part and the legs confront the viewer while her upper part turns away to accommodate the motion of her arms. By contrast, the lower torso and legs of Titian's goddess move together in the same direction as her upper torso. Titian's Venus slips out of the contrappostal formula in favor of a more natural-seeming pose; she is not caught up in an aesthetic arrangement of limbs and torso; she moves forward, through the water, with unprecedented

ease and naturalness.

Titian's Venus Anadyomene is in a way closer, rather, to Giovanni Bellini's Lady at Her Toilette (Fig. 7). If Titian's Venus were to be seen in reverse, then a strong similarity would appear between the two pictures in the positioning of the figures' arms. Venus's right arm falls below her breast, as in Bellini's picture. Furthermore, the right arm is related to the head in the same way in both works. In the manner that Bellini's nude holds a mirror to her face, Titian's Venus reaches up to grasp a lock of her hair. In both figures the left arm continues and completes this upward curve.

As I suggested above, this earlier painting, by Titian's own master, and known as one of the first depictions of a three-quarter-length female nude in Renaissance Italy, was probably available to Titian before he began to work on the Venus Anadyomene. The young, intelligent Titian would have recognized its importance and presumably would have wanted to emulate this figure in some way in his own work. The strong similarity between Bellini's Lady and Titian's Venus supports the idea that Titian borrowed from his own master in rendering the Venus Anadyomene, no less than from Marcantonio or Antonio

Lombardo or an antique gem. Another possibility also suggests itself: that Bellini's Lady was itself meant to recall the classical Anadyomene that Bellini is known to have had in his possession. It seems, in any case, less and less likely that Titian had only one inspiration in mind for his new figure of Venus.

The three-quarter view and the three-quarter length of Titian's Venus are significant qualities not shared, however, by any of the previously discussed renderings. Might one then suggest that yet another image of the female nude entered into Titian's thinking on the Venus Anadyomene? It has been noted that Titian characteristically drew simultaneously from a number of sources that included the innovations of leading artists in central Italy and Germany as well as those of Venetian masters.[39] Lombardo, Marcantonio, Giovanni Bellini, and, very possibly, some classical fragments, are perhaps only a few among a number of possible sources for Titian's Venus Anadyomene.

Could not even Michelangelo have entered into Titian's thoughts concerning Venus? Creighton Gilbert has developed an interesting argument proposing the possible effect of Michelangelo on the earlier work of Titian.[40] I would like to summarize Gilbert's argument here, on the next several

pages, before going on to suggest a connection between the Venus Anadyomene and a memorable figure of Michelangelo's invention.

Gilbert adds onto a series of observations, initiated by Johannes Wilde in the 1950s, that many of Titian's figures seem to have been drawn from works by Michelangelo; Titian would present them in reverse, with slight alterations, and in his own, different, contexts. Gilbert specifically discusses a striking likeness, first noticed by Wilde, between a reversed photograph of Titian's Murder of a Wife of 1511 in the Scuola del Santo in Padua (Fig. 14) and Michelangelo's Eve in the Temptation scene on the Sistine ceiling.[41] He also recognizes similarities between the two figures in Titian's Sacred and Profane Love and reversed images of Michelangelo's Prophet Joel and the Delphic Sybil on the Sistine ceiling.[42]

Wilde was the first Renaissance art historian to draw such an unexpected comparison between Titian and Michelangelo and also the first to examine in depth this artist's use of reversal as an ingenious way of utilizing an established image. Gilbert states that "Reversals of poses from sources in the same artist's or another's work in this period are quite often noticed in passing, though no special

study seems to have been made."[43] It is noteworthy, for instance, that Castagno in his Passion scenes in Sant' Apollonia and Piero della Francesca at Arezzo and Monterechi employed cartoons in reverse.[44] Gilbert believes that this method of re-using cartoons was a practical device as it saved time and energy that would otherwise be spent making a separate sketch for every last figure.

Michelangelo himself used the technique in over eighty figures on the Sistine ceiling. For example, the series of Ignudi that begin near the entrance of the chapel start out as mirror images of each other. However, as they progress along the length of the ceiling, their gestures and expressions begin to digress more and more from their "mirror images." The symmetry between the pairs of Ignudi is not, as Gilbert explains, "mechanical."[45] He states that "The figures have precisely the same layout, but they differ all over in details, to an extent increasing with the distance from the entrance end."[46] Perhaps Michelangelo used a different cartoon for each form but it is more likely that he used the same cartoon twice in at least several instances, to establish the contours of the figures, and then subsequently filled in details. Gilbert favors this suggestion since, as previously stated, it would have been

more practical for Michelangelo to reverse cartoons in painting such images as the Ignudi, bypassing the laborious task of making a full-scale cartoon of every figure.[47]

Titian had access to drawings of Michelangelo's work on the ceiling through a number of sources in Venice, one being his friend, Sebastiano del Piombo. Sebastiano belonged to the same artistic and personal circle as Titian in Venice and thus it is likely that the two artists continued to communicate through letters when Sebastiano travelled to Rome in 1511 to paint the lunettes in Agostino Chigi's Farnesina.[48] At this time artists in Rome were making drawings based on Michelangelo's works and, in 1511, these drawings began to reflect specifically the Sistine ceiling. Gilbert suggests that Sebastiano probably wrote to Titian from Rome and sent him drawings after Michelangelo, most likely including sketches of the Sistine ceiling.[49] It can also be noted that Titian's Ferrarese patron, Alfonso d'Este, also visited Rome, and even saw the Sistine ceiling as it was in progress. He had the special privilege of going up onto the "bridge" to see the on-going work close at hand, and he may have brought back with him copies after the just-finished as well as projected scenes and figures.[50] It was at this time that Alfonso is supposed to have begged

Michelangelo for a sample of his work. Much later (c. 1530), Michelangelo did in fact paint a Leda and the Swan for the Duke although this work was never delivered.[51]

In the light of these observations by Gilbert and Wilde, is it possible that Titian had not only A. Lombardo's relief, Marcantonio's engraving, Bellini's Venus at her Toilette, and some antique examples in mind, but also a figure-in-reverse derived from Michelangelo? Among the significant differences that I pointed out between Titian's Venus and those by Lombardo and Marcantonio is a difference in pose: Titian's Venus breaks away from the established contrapposto stance frequently used in the Renaissance and apparent in both of Lombardo's and Marcantonio's depictions, and in thus taking exception to that pose, she appears, rather, to follow, in reverse, the unique example of Eve in Michelangelo's Expulsion scene (Fig. 15) on the Sistine ceiling. Like Titian's Venus, Michelangelo's Eve inclines her upper body forward as she cringes away from the angel in the Garden of Eden; and again like Titian's Venus, this Eve is also portrayed in three-quarter view and looking back over her shoulder.

There is also a similarity in the boxy torsos. Both the contours of Michelangelo's expelled Eve and Titian's

Venus appear almost rectangular in form, in a shape to which other Renaissance female nudes will seldom, if ever, conform - least of all, the voluptuous figures by A. Lombardo and Marcantonio. I would suggest, then, that the resemblance -- in reverse -- between Michelangelo's expelled Eve and Titian's bathing Venus is no accident.

In thus adducing such a variety of possible sources for Titian's Venus, I would nevertheless not describe this work as merely eclectic. It does not exactly copy from any one or two or three of these sources. It is an example, rather, of assimilation. Gombrich explains "assimilation" as a term often used when talking about the Renaissance Italian style all' antica. It refers to the artist's way of using antique visual sources in shaping his work. It does not refer to mere copying of these models but signifies a deeper understanding by the artist -- an incorporation of the content of the ancient pieces into a new, original work of art. He states: "The imitator must transform nectar into honey, as the body assimilates nourishment... Assimilation demands a degree of generalization. The artist must learn how to create a figure that embodies his idea of the classical style."[52] I suggest that Titian "assimilated" elements also from contemporary masters. The position of

the arms and hands of his Venus appears to be a combination of the gestures of Lombardo's Venus and Bellini's Lady, yet the shape and inclination of the torso of Titian's figure may well refer to Michelangelo's Eve. One does not see an exact replica of any of these figures but rather a profound understanding of the grace achieved in the gestures of Lombardo and Bellini's figures, and in the power of Eve's body reflected in its solid weighted form as her torso and legs move together in one direction.

"Assimilation" is closely connected in meaning to "imitation," which is another term often used in art historical discussions of the style all' antica and which seems to be of particular relevance to this analysis of Titian's Venus Anadyomene. John Shearman describes three methods of imitation, two of which seem to be closely connected to Titian's approach in painting the Venus. First, an artist might make visual references in his painting to an earlier source to encourage the viewers' comparison between two works of art. This manner of imitation functioned to deepen the meaning of a work of art by allusion. Its effectiveness relied on the audience's knowledge of the quoted source. Parmigianino, for example, based his Madonna of the Long Neck in part on Michelangelo's

Pietà. This comparison is essential to the power and meaning of Parmigianino's painting as the link foretells the death of Christ. The effectiveness of such a comparison relied on the viewer's ability to remember the Pietà.[53] One might recognize a similar sort of imitation at play in Titian's Venus if one relates it, as I would, to Michelangelo's Eve on the Sistine ceiling. Any figure of Eve is likely to evoke Venus - as well-known examples attest (by Masaccio, Ghiberti, J. della Quercia, and Dürer). Titian's painting has a particular poignancy in that it appears to draw this conventional allusion in reverse: this is not, as is usual, Eve-making-reference-to-Venus, but, rather, uniquely, Venus-making-reference-to-Eve - and, at that, the celestial Venus (she who was born miraculously of the sea) to the fallen Eve (she who was expelled from Paradise. The effectiveness of the "imitation" presented here would depend, of course, on the knowledgeability of a highly select audience, which might see a recollection of Eve on the Sistine ceiling as they viewed and contemplated the Venus Anadyomene.

Shearman describes another method of imitation as "imitation through emulation," where a work alludes not only to a previous source but to one that the source in turn had

imitated - an imitation of an imitation of an imitation. The painting or sculpture thus assumes a place in a line of works executed by established artists and, by so doing, declares its "lineage." To a certain degree, this younger artist rivals or "emulates" the work of his predecessors, thus asserting his abilities as a painter and his place among other renowned masters.[54] I might then describe Titian's Venus Anadyomene as "emulating" Lombardo's relief and Marcantonio's print, which in turn were possibly based on a common ancient source.

Such methods of imitation were commonly practiced du ring the Renaissance by artists employed at courts. By quoting elements of paintings or sculptures that were already in a patron's collection, the artist could make allusions in his work that were accessible to his immediate constituency. The artist could work in this manner in part out of self-interest, aiming to please his patrons and others of the court and to assert his place among the respected and established masters in that environment.[55]

Titian is known to have used imitation extensively in a number of his works such as the Bacchus and Ariadne, which Shearman describes as perhaps the "most deeply and broadly allusive of Titian's secular paintings."[56] This painting

not only offers visual references to works of antiquity and of Michelangelo, Raphael, Giovanni Bellini, and Alfonso d'Este's court painter Dosso, but Shearman also suggests possible connections to written descriptions of the subject by Philostratus, Pliny the Elder, Angelo Poliziano, Catullus and Ovid. Alfonso d'Este, who commissioned the Bacchus and Ariadne, deeply admired all of these artists and owned works by many of them. He also owned copies of many of the ancient and contemporary texts, which he kept in his extensive library. It is of no surprise that Titian was careful to incorporate such references into this work for the Duke. Shearman explains:

> Titian and Ariosto both assert their place in a great tradition. This intention, if we are right, most probably responds competitively -- Titian never responded in any other way -- to the expected setting of his work in the context of masterpieces by his former teacher Bellini, by Raphael, by the Ferrarese court painter Dosso, and probably by Michelangelo.[57]

As we have seen, the Venus Anadyomene contains numerous visual references. As previously stated, Titian assimilated what perhaps were in his eyes the most graceful, natural elements from former renderings of Venus into his own depiction of the goddess. Perhaps Titian's work displays an attempt to paint the most "perfect" of all pictures,

emulating works of renowned masters in an attempt to create an absolute image of idealized, celestial beauty. Titian probably created this work with a specific patron and context in mind, "a private patron with literary tastes"[58], as Tressider says -- certainly one from the upper echelons of society. He would have "imitated" visual and literary sources to which this audience had access -- they would probably have known of Lombardo's relief, Marcantonio's print, the work of Giovanni Bellini and Michelangelo, and, as will be demonstrated in Section IV, they were probably knowledgeable of classical literature.

Such an audience can be presumed to have been familiar with a well known story told in Antiquity, and again in the Renaissance, of Zeuxis and the Maidens of Croton, a story which provides an analogy to the making of Titian's Venus Anadyomene. In the tale, the ancient Greek painter Zeuxis, unable to find any woman beautiful enough to use as his model in painting Helen of Troy, resorted to combining the best qualities of five different models. This legend, first taken up by Cicero and Pliny the Elder grew in popularity in the Renaissance and was frequently referred to by artists and writers.[59] Palma Vecchio is thought to have selected the most beautiful features from a group of women for his

Dresden painting, Three Sisters. Writers such as Giangiorgio Trissino and Federigo Luigini quoted this story in their work. Luigini created word-portraits of ideal figures, not of real individuals. He combined characteristics of fictitious and historical figures to create idealized depictions of beautiful women. Mary Rogers suggests that such treatises were created for the pleasures of men to read together at social gatherings. She adds: "The art patronage equivalent to this would be an idealized nude ordered by a male patron, which might be presented as a contemporary woman, usually a courtesan, or a mythological figure, or an ambiguous blend of the two."[60]

This point is reinforced by the fact that the Zeuxian approach is used in other genres of Renaissance depictions of women -- specifically in female portraiture and in what Anne Junkerman defines as the sensuous half-length image.[61] These visual and literary images of women express, in any case, an overriding concern for female beauty. But why, then, this concern in the Renaissance? In search for an answer to this question, it is important to look at the social and cultural context of these paintings for, as Margaret Miles explains, "no pictorial subject is more determined by a complex web of cultural interests than

visual narrations of the female body."[62] What interests, then, anxieties, and needs of the artist, patron, and viewer were reflected in these images of female beauty? Through an analysis of the female portrait and the sensuous half-length image with these questions in mind, the significance of Titian's Venus as a Renaissance depiction of a beautiful, idealized woman should become better understood.

III. Titian's Venus Anadyomene: Connections with Female Portraiture and the Half-Length Sensuous Image

The method of "assimilating" various sources into a new and improved work comes into play in female portraiture in Renaissance Italy, in which the primary focus was on beauty. AS Elizabeth Cropper has shown in her article, "The Beauty of Women: Problems in the Rhetoric of Renaissance Portraits," artists attempted to create the most idealized, flattering depiction possible of a sitter while maintaining a recognizable likeness to her. Isabella d'Este, for example, is known to have commissioned a number of portraits of herself, and the humanist, Trissino, in his Dialogue, created another sort of portrait, a word-portrait (c. 1513), of her, in which he tried to resolve issues of idealized beauty with actual features of the Duchess. Junkerman summarizes:

> In the first part of the dialogue the physical attributes of the woman are described; the method is that of Zeuxis, from the enormously popular ancient

> story of the portrait of Helen recounted by Pliny and Cicero. The interlocutor descriptively gathers five women, all known to his listeners, for the purpose of creating a portrait of his as yet unnamed beauty. From these five women he selects the best features, coming in Zeuxian fashion, the hair of one with the eyes of another. In this way he achieves -- certainly in a Florentine rather than a Venetian mode -- a sketch, a disegno, and then, using Petrarch's influential catalogue of the attributes of Laura, he adds the colors. He then provides details of costume and setting. The finished portrait depicts an ideal -- but Bembo, who has been listening to the speaker create this verbal collage, suddenly recognizes the described woman and identifies her as Isabelle d'Este.[63]

It is important to see that methods of female portraiture in the Renaissance involved a different set of criteria that applied to male portraits. Where men almost always were realistically portrayed, women were idealized, with often (as we have seen in the case of Isabella d'Este) the "portraits" holding little resemblance to the real people. The beautiful woman provided a basis from which artists could address more general problems of depicting beauty in painting.[64] This value placed on the representation of female beauty is clearly illustrated in Castiglione's The Book of the Courtier where one story tells of Alexander the Great who commissioned his court painter Apelles to create a portrait of the emperor's favorite mistress, Campaspe. In Alexander's eyes, the final image

was so beautiful that he offered Campaspe to Apelles in return for the painting. Alexander believed that Apelles' image more closely matched concepts of ideal beauty than did the real person. "Alexander decided to give his mistress to the painter because the love inspired by beauty gives greater pleasure to the one who discerns it best."[65] Apelles was able to capture true beauty in his work, beauty that surpassed the image Alexander held in his heart of Campaspe herself.

The idea of being able to fully capture such beauty in painting was widely disputed among Renaissance artists and writers. Some argued that it was impossible to create a perfect image, as a woman's beauty included those inner parts of herself that could only be revealed over time. The representation of intrinsic beauty was simply beyond the painter's reach.[66]

It has also been suggested that the representation of female beauty was understood in the Renaissance as a metaphor for painting itself. By attempting to portray a most beautiful idealized depiction of a woman, the artist aimed to display his abilities to convey beauty and truth on the canvas. "...The portrait of a beautiful woman," Cropper explains, "belongs to a distinct discourse from

which the woman herself is necessarily absent. In portraying his mistress, it is the art of painting that the painter desires to possess, even as the poet embraces his own laurels."[67]

Anne Junkerman believes that "the beautiful woman was a cool abstraction that, in Venice at least, constituted a social role...."[68] Women in Venice -- more perhaps than in other cities in Italy -- were viewed primarily for their physical appearance; "At least on a public level the relationship between patrician women and men in Venice was constituted by a relationship between image and viewer."[69] Cultural and social circumstances of Venice, a city in which Titian lived and worked for his entire career, surely helped to shape the artist's and the patron's attitudes towards women.

One finds varying interpretations of the specific conditions of the Venetian Woman, although it is a commonplace that she held a marginal position in society outside of the male-dominated political and economic arena. The world of the proper upper-class Venetian woman -- the Patrician Woman -- was closely circumscribed, her main function being the maintenance of her family and home. When she was invited to participate in social events, her role

was primarily ornamental. As it was considered inappropriate to engage in public discourse, a Venetian patrician woman was recognized and admired at such events foremost on the merits of her appearance, on her physical beauty. Junkerman states, "The presence of women adorned an occasion and -- calculated in simple numbers -- served as an index of the expense and lavishness of an event."[70]

The early historian Charles Yriarte believed that it is hard to find any accomplished women in sixteenth-century Venice, and he offered a rather pessimistic view of their sheltered existence outside of the public sphere -- where silence and virtue were their most important qualities.[71] But modern historians such as James David, Patricia Labalme, and Stanley Chojnacki argue that, although women maintained a role on the periphery of the public circle and were excluded from governmental and economic affairs, they, particularly in the 1500s, assumed, a central place in the domestic sphere, specifically in family strategies. In this manner Venetian women experienced an ever growing and more powerful presence in society.[72] They achieved this because of the increasing importance of the dowry.[73]

Marriage among the patriciate in sixteenth-century Italy almost always involved a contract between the two

families. By providing a daughter with a good dowry, a family enabled her to marry well and to maintain the family's status. One third of the dowry was usually offered to her husband to invest as he wished. Yet, at least in Venice, the patrician wife was usually able to control the rest. With this money a wife could do as she wished, designating it for various children or investing some in the dowries for her daughters. There are documented cases in which mothers provided a sum of money for their daughters to use if they decided not to marry.[74] Chojnacki and Labalme argue that, with the increase in the value of a dowry, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Venetian Patrician woman achieved increasing autonomy and power in the family structure.[75]

Furthermore, there are records of Venetian women's participation in society. To begin, a young woman's wedding was considered a rite of passage from the private protected world of her childhood to a more social existence, as Chojnacki describes of "society and pleasures."[76] There are also numerous documented instances where the patrician woman participated in social gatherings. For example, in a gathering in a private home that accompanied the coronation of the Dogaressa Zilia Dandolo, the late sixteenth-century

commentator Sansovino describes young women dancing with each other until dawn for at least two nights in succession. He speaks of many of such festivities and also of those in which men and women danced together.[77] Sanudo says that the women's behavior at such events was very different from that of the patrician sheltered woman isolated in the confines of her home.[78]

Along with the dowry increase developed a growing emphasis on fashion which, by the end of the fifteenth century had reached a maximum in lavishness.[79] Female fashion was a highly debated and controversial topic in sixteenth-century Venice. Many contemporaries criticized such lavish expenditures on the outfitting of women, arguing that is was often at the cost of husbands and families. Historians suggest that patrician woman used fashion as a way to assert herself in a male-dominated culture who excluded her from all public affairs, civil, commercial, and intellectual. Thus, she asserted herself with the only means available to her -- her appearance. Women's appearances -- their beauty -- became, along with their control over a portion of their dowries, a source of their power.[80]

As Venetian women began to claim their power through

this visual expression, the government felt the effects of these practices. Junkerman states,

> The government was watchful to keep this role within the boundaries of "feminine" behavior. In particular it reacted against any threat of encroachment on male prerogatives. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Venetian women did seem to be acting with a new and potentially threatening boldness.[81]

The government reacted to this new found "boldness" by placing restrictions on the things women could wear. For example, new sumptuary laws were passed in the early sixteenth century, in part, placing limitations on the expenditures for young women's weddings. Young brides were not allowed to wear gold on their gowns for fear that it would imply too much lavishness and self-indulgence. Men attached moral issues to this frivolous behavior arguing that such self-enhancement and self-interest was morally corrupt. In sum, women used their economic independence not always for the sake of their husbands but in their own interests.[82]

Chojnacki and Labalme propose that the development of increased pictorial sensuality in the 1500s, seen in Titian's work and in many of his contemporaries, is a product of a developing consciousness of patrician women in their society, which was in turn reinforced by their

husbands. With the inflation of the dowry, men gained new respect for their wives. This was partly out of their own economic interests, and also out of a new appreciation for women's individuality as they began to express themselves more aggressively. Therefore, perhaps the increased sensuality in painting is calling attention to those women who were more free to express themselves visually and participate socially and also, at the same time, is a response of men to this enhanced female presence.[83]

This interpretation also allows a possible context for the Venus Anadyomene. This is a personage totally at ease with herself and her surroundings, and commanding in appearance. The goddess breaks out of any established pose and moves with apparent ease and confidence. For the first time in Renaissance art, one sees a nude figure of only three-quarter length, which in a way only enhances her presence, as she appears closer-up to the viewer than would a full-length figure.

Junkerman also recognizes increased pictorial sensuality in Venetian painting during the first part of sixteenth century, and raises some important questions concerning the social conditions that may have supported this new emphasis. In contrast to Chojnacki and Labalme,

she believes that we simply do not have enough evidence to suggest that Venetian patrician women were actually gaining more autonomy and power in their families as a result of increases in their dowries. Did the dowry inflation instead work only to reaffirm the importance of paternal lineage and the patriarchal system? A marriage agreement was decided and carried out by the men of a woman's natal and conjugal families and thus operated in their interests. These women's circumstances were almost always decided for them. To what extent, then, would women have played a determining role in such alliances? "Surely the women could contribute significantly to inter-family harmony, but one suspects that male expectations of such solidarity already existed on a firm footing, supported by a strong sense of mutual obligations and a keen awareness of extended relationships within various clans."[84] Where Chojnacki suggests that a woman had some control over her dowry, and thus perhaps used it as "psychological leverage" in her family, Junkerman also argues that in many cases it is "hard to gauge"[85] to what extent a woman actually had control over this inheritance and to what degree she accepted her position of subjugation and allowed her husband to invest the sum as he saw fit.

Along with Chojnacki and Labalme, Junkerman recognizes the lavish, splendid presence of patrician women in Venice in the sixteenth century and its possible connection to an increased emphasis on female beauty and sensuality in painting. However, she identifies another phenomenon that was specific to Venice in the sixteenth century and that possibly had an effect on the portrayal of woman by artists and writers: the rise of the courtesan.

The rise of this new class of women resulted from the "restructuring of styles of prostitution in Venice."[86] Junkerman suggests that the increasing cultivation of Renaissance society brought about the need for a new type of woman in Venice who could provide not only sexual favors but interesting discourse. The courtesan filled this role. They were known to have participated fully in salon life, perhaps singing or playing music for a male audience or publicly taking part in conversations.[87] They held a place in society distinct from the patrician lady, in a sense, acting as her antithesis.

It is interesting that the courtesan but not the patrician lady was recognized and documented for her achievements in the public sphere. Molmenti acknowledged that the courtesan appeared more prominently than the "many

virtuous ladies who passed their days in the honorable repose of the domestic circle."[88] One cannot help but recognize the paradox, between what was considered the immoral acts of courtesan and a recognition of her public accomplishments.[89] She committed "unchaste" acts by engaging in public discourse, participating in activities of the salon and maintaining a strong public presence yet, at the same time, was recognized for her admirable achievements as a singer, dancer, or musician.

Junkerman suggests that the rise of the courtesan in Venice "resulted from the frustrations of talented women who accepted the new lifestyle as the only means to self-expression;"[90] yet it is also important to realize that the social position of such women was never really chosen since most were born into this life. If a woman was not born into nobility, this option provided one of the few ways that she could make a living and lead a good life, at least for awhile. Since beauty, youth, and desirability were directly linked to the success of these women, by their late thirties they usually lost many of their clients and found it difficult to make a living. The famous courtesan-poet, Veronica Franco, born to a mother who was an impoverished courtesan, had little choice but to enter this life herself.

She was forced to support her mother with her own income, and then by her mid-forties, found herself poverty-stricken.[91]

Perhaps, then, increased sensuality in paintings of women also had much to do with the phenomenon of the courtesan in Venice. These talented women achieved a public recognition in an otherwise male-dominated sphere.[92] In return, Venetian men turned to, among other things, visual representations such as, perhaps, the Venus under discussion. This argument is well defined by Margaret Miles. She states that one must recognize that paintings, for the most part, were painted and bought by men and thus must reflect, to a certain degree, their interests and needs. Further, she says that "patriarchal cultures, in spite of their many dissimilarities, share a common need to preserve male control that is thought of simply as 'order.' A central component of maintaining and reproducing social order is the management of women, and a powerful strategy for controlling women is their public representation."[93] If this proposition is accepted, the portrayal of female beauty in images provided a means for this culture to deal with issues of developing female power. An image of a beautiful, sensual woman (whether it was a portrait or mythological

representation) was possessible, manageable, and thus reassuring.

Junkerman specifically relates the rise of the courtesan to the establishment of a particular type of painting in early sixteenth-century Venice: the sensuous half-length image. It assumes a place between the fully clothed portrait-figure and the full-length female nude.

Junkerman defines this type by a specific set of characteristics. The female figure is always presented in close-up view. Her sensuous body fills the frame of the composition. She wears a simple white garment, loosened at the neckline to reveal, or almost reveal, one breast. The clothing is often identified as a camicia, a standard undergarment in Renaissance dress. It usually appears in disarray. The figure is often partially concealed by a robe and is portrayed in a dark undefined setting. This dark, ambiguous background has the effect of projecting the half-length forward onto the picture plane, challenging the space between image and viewer. The sensuous half-length is not intended for public spectacle but for private view as she is rendered in an intimate and suggestive state of dishabille. She appears neither fully dressed nor nude. Her hair is loosened but not completely unbound. She presents the

viewer with a set of paradoxes. Her gaze is at the same time seductive and distant. Her sensuality is real and enticing yet at the same time the figure maintains space from the viewer by her ambiguous and idealized presence. She is not a portrait of any specific person, but rather an idealized depiction of female beauty.[94] This type shares important characteristics with Titian's rendering of a close-up, beautiful female nude that are worth consideration here.

Junkerman argues that Titian's Flora (1520-22), (Fig.18) is one of the most articulate examples of the sensuous half-length genre. Again, one sees a close-up and intimate portrayal of a female form. Her white camicia stands out from the dark, ambiguous background, drawing focus to its many loose folds and neckline. The diagonal established in the neckline is, perhaps, the compositional focus of the painting. It extends to the line of Flora's neck, the hair upon her shoulder, and the fingers that hold her robe and camicia, as Junkerman suggests, "gently impel the viewer's attention to the partly visible breast."[95] The painting resonates with paradox. The half-length is revealed, yet simultaneously covered by the action of her left hand. Flora's gaze is suggestive rather than direct.

She both challenges the viewer's space in her close-up presentation while maintaining a distance in her anonymous and classicizing form.

Junkerman argues that the half-length sensuous image, in all of its paradoxes, is closely related to the rise of the courtesan. As the courtesan does not fit into an established category of women in sixteenth-century Venice she straddles social lines so the sensuous half-length image fits into no other category of Renaissance painting that depicts women -- she assumes a place of her own between the formal portrait and the full-length nude. She forms a third type.[96]

This third category of painting displays important similarities to Titian's Venus Anadyomene. Most significantly, both compositions involve a solitary, sensuous female figure with a mythological reference, in close-up view. Both Flora and Venus fill their respective picture frames, leaving room for little else. Flora is painted from the waist up and the Venus appears three-quarter-length, the lower portion of her legs concealed beneath the waves. It is intriguing that Titian chose to portray his Venus Anadyomene in this new way. Before this three-quarter length, close-up image, no such depiction of

Venus appears in the Renaissance. Bellini's Lady at her Toilette (while not specifically a Venus Celestias) comes the closest to this type. Other renderings appear either full length and standing, such as Botticelli's Venus Rising from the Sea (Fig. 19) and Raphael's nudes (Figs. 20, 21); or full-length and reclining seen in Giorgione's Dresden Venus and practically all other depictions of the theme by Titian. The choice to depict a female nude in such a partial view is indeed unique.

These close-up, partial, and highly sensual depictions of a solitary woman indicate a feeling of privacy and intimacy between image and viewer that the full-length nudes cannot offer. The full-length nudes maintain a physical distance between themselves and their audience, by appearing further away from the viewer. There is less space between either Venus Anadyomene by Titian or his Flora and their viewers. Furthermore, there are no distractions from the intensity of this direct relationship. The audience of either picture focuses solely on the women's sensuous appearance.

Privately located, such images would have belonged in art collections -- stored in closets and taken out for display -- or would have contributed to decorations for

bedrooms.[97] It is the intimate, private qualities of Titian's Venus Anadyomene, in her close-up, nude, and solitary depiction that will remind one most of his Flora. Both pictures seem intended for a limited audience -- perhaps only one or two people at a time.

Significant differences between the Venus Anadyomene and Flora are also worth consideration, however. Where in the Venus Anadyomene one sees a bit of sea behind the figure, the background of Flora offers nothing but the darkness that typically sets off figures of her kind. In the Venus, then, the viewer sees a figure in a definite setting. The figure's identity is confirmed by this indication of environment and particularly by the shell that floats beside her in the waves. There is no question but that this is Venus Rising from the Sea. The identity of the figure in the half-length image is, by comparison, ambiguous. Where historians have suggested she is Flora (because of the flowers she holds)[98], there is really nothing in the composition that specifically confirms this. She appears mysteriously and without attribute in front of an undefined background without attribute. I might further add that the state of Flora's dishabille is itself much less defined than the clear state of nudity of Titian's Venus.

Flora's camicia falls off her shoulder nearly revealing one breast. She is somewhere on the borderline between nude and clothed. On the other hand, one sees no ambiguity or paradox in Titian's Goddess of Love. Her nudity is proclaimed. It is forthrightly sensuous. Although it has some affinity to the "courtesan" image, this painting belongs apparently in another genre.

To sum up: the Venus Anadyomene seems to assume a place between the half-length sensuous image and the full length nude. By comparison with the half-length figure, she does not appear as close to the viewer, nor as cropped; by comparison with the full-length figure (either standing or reclining) she does not appear as removed from the viewer. She maintains a sense of intimacy and privacy, and yet a lso, at the same time, some distance from whomever may look at the picture. This distance is confirmed, moreover, by her clear, straightforward identity as a goddess: indeed the Celestial Venus, the one born miraculously of the sea. Where the more sensuous half-length depiction lends a possibility of access for the viewer, the Venus suggests no such potential. She maintains a place of her own. It is as if, in rendering this female nude, Titian has created a fourth genre of image depicting a woman -- neither a full-

length nude, nor a portrait, nor a sensuous half-length.

One is left with questions about the specific social attitudes that helped to shape such an image as Titian's Venus Anadyomene. She is indeed sensuous, beautiful, and bold, and, at the same time, idealized, silent, and possessible. Perhaps her qualities can be attributed in part to a reaction of the artist and, or, patron to the increased autonomy of patrician women (as suggested by Chojnacki and Labalme), or to women's developing public expression through fashion, or, finally, to the rise of the courtesan. But the uniqueness of this painting as a type of image makes it less amenable to such explanations than either the full-length nudes or the sensuous half-lengths would appear to be. It is clear that Titian had a keen understanding of those other types of images depicting women. He is known to have painted prolifically in those other genres. Why might he, then, have painted his Venus Anadyomene in three-quarter length view, and thus situated it outside of the established genres, making it one-of-a-kind? The question of the three-quarter length view of the Venus Anadyomene has been addressed by a number of historians, Warren Tressider, Harold Wethey, Edmund Pillsbury, Allessandro Ballarin among others.[99] As I

suggested earlier in this essay, they have consistently looked for answers in classical sources. At this point it seems appropriate to reexamine Titian's enthusiasm for ancient objects and texts.

IV. The Apelles Connection and Other Antique Sources

Earlier in this thesis, possible antique sources were mentioned for Titian's Venus Anadyomene, including an ancient gem in the Duke Alfonso d'Este's collection at Ferrara. It has been suggested that Lombardo and Marcantonio both drew from this classical model in rendering their versions of the Venus Anadyomene. It is likely that Titian also knew of this ancient source. As previously stated, Titian was also exposed to ancient statuary from his early years in Gentile Bellini's studio and then in the workshop of Giovanni Bellini, including, in Gentile's possession, an ancient marble figure of a Venus Anadyomene.

By the time he worked on the Venus Titian had been introduced to ancient texts that were being printed in his time in Italian translation mostly in Venice, making them ever more accessible. Titian worked for patrons who were educated and well read in the classics. [100]

It is most likely that, through any of these patrons, Titian knew the Historia Naturalis by Pliny the Elder.

This thirty-six volume work was originally written in the first century A.D. As early as 1476 an Italian translation of this work was published in Venice, to be followed by other printings and editions.[101] By the late 15th century most any well-educated Italian could have read Pliny's account of the art of classical antiquity.[102] Since a great deal of classical sculpture and painting did not survive to the Renaissance, these chapters were extremely important in preserving the memory of these masterpieces.[103]

Two passages from Pliny's volumes seem particularly relevant to the Venus Anadyomene. In his section on marble sculpture Pliny describes two statues of Venus by Praxiteles.[104] This account was well known in the Renaissance to humanists and presumably to artists as well. Pliny tells the often-cited story about the two different Venuses by Praxiteles:

> He had offered two statues of Aphrodite for sale at the same time, the second being a draped figure, which for that reason was preferred by the people of Kos with whom lay the first choice; the price of the two figures was the same, but they flattered themselves they were giving proof of a severe modesty. The rejected statue which was bought by the people of Knidos, enjoys an immeasurably greater reputation. King Nikomedes subsequently wished to buy it from them, offering to discharge the whole of their public debt, which was enormous.... They showed their wisdom, for by this statue Praxiteles made Knidos illustrious. It stands in a small shrine, open all around so that the statue,

> which was made, as is believed, under the direct inspiration of the goddess, can be seen from every side....[105]

The contrast between the two Venuses was taken up, in turn, in a Neoplatonic sense by Marcilio Ficino in the second half of the fifteenth century. As the founder and leader of the Platonic Academy in Florence, under the protection of Cosimo de Medici, Ficino translated Plato, Plotinus, and other ancient philosophers into Latin, wrote commentaries on these writings, and thus made them accessible to the educated public.[106] Ficino's commentary on Plato's Symposium was published for the first time in Italy in 1469. It inspired many artists and poets such as Michelangelo and Pietro Bembo.[107] The Idea of Love, Panofsky explains, is "the very axis of Ficino's philosophy." It is the force which causes goodness and beauty and is symbolized by two forms -- the Twin Venuses. The "Venus Celestias" the daughter of Uranus, resides in the highest supercelestial zone of the universe. She embodies "Caritas," the link between the human mind and God. This Venus owns no earthly belongings as she is connected only to divine realms. She is often depicted nude. The "Venus Naturalis" maintains a place below the "Venus Celestias" in Ficino's hierarchical

system of the universe and is therefore less perfect. She remains closer to man's position in the universe and to natural things and makes their beauty accessible to human perception and imagination. She links the supercelestial realms with earth. Ficino believes in the goodness of each goddess as they express two different forms of love -- divine and human, and a human being can find each within his own soul.[108] It has been argued that Titian's Sacred and Profane Love (Fig. 2) illustrates the difference between these two symbols. The woman on the left depicts "Venus Naturalis." She is adorned with material things -- a wedding gown and gloves -- that associate her with the world, where the woman to her right is nude. This "Venus Celestias" holds a vase with the Flame of Heaven in her left hand and raises it towards the sky. The left half of the landscape is also different from the right half. One sees a contemporary setting behind the "Venus Naturalis" with a castle and various figures and animals. The scene on the right resembles the idealized landscape of Giorgione in his Sleeping Venus. A church appears underneath a Giorgionesque sky, further evoking the divine realm. Wethey states in his discussion on the Sacred and Profane Love, that "no one doubts that the nude with the flaming lamp is Venus,

generally thought to be the 'Celestial Venus' of Marsilio Ficino."[109] The Venus appears again, nude. In Titian's Venus Anadyomene the very subject of the picture, the Birth of Venus indicates the goddess in her celestial aspect. Panofsky further supports the suggestion that Titian was exposed to the ideas of Ficino through his circle of friends and patrons: "The Renaissance was well acquainted with the fact that Praxiteles had made two famous statues of Venus, one draped, the other nude...friends of Isabella d'Este were great authorities on 'Platonic Love'."[110] Isabella d'Este was the sister of Alfonso d'Este, a great patron of Titian. Thus Titian was presumably well aware of Neoplatonic ideas at the time he painted the Venus Anadyomene; by this time both Isabella and Alfonso had become clients of his.

The second passage of Pliny's History worth considering is from his account of painting in ancient times. In this section he describes the Aphrodite Rising from the Sea by the renowned classical painter, Apelles. Apelles of Kos was considered the best of the classical painters, the one who came the closest to rendering truth and perfection in his works.[111] Thus it would not be surprising if Titian took much interest in the artist's painting of Aphrodite and recalled it in his own rendering of Venus. Pliny states:

> His [Apelles'] Aphrodite rising from the sea was dedicated by the god Augustus in the temple of his father Caesar....[she was], like other works of the kind, at once eclipsed yet rendered famous by the Greek epigrams written in her praise. When the lower portion was damaged no one could be found to restore it, and thus the very injury redounded to the glory of the artist.[112]

Here, as others have pointed out, may lie the explanation of Titian's odd choice of a three-quarter length view. A number of historians have suggested that in rendering his own Venus, Titian felt that even he could not replace the section of Apelles' painting that had been destroyed.[113]

Tressider suggests another possible source for the Venus that matches her three-quarter length view. He relates the painting to a group of figures in Medieval manuscripts.[114] Tressider describes these figures as nude and bathing in the sea. Some appear half-length and wringing water from their hair. Others appear in three-quarter length view. I would add to Tressider's findings a group of mosaics and reliefs from the first century B.C. that again depict Venus essentially in this way.[115] Of particular interest is the subject matter of a Pompeiian mosaic in which Venus appears to be swimming in waves (Fig. 22). She floats on her shell and is assisted by two winged putti. Both are waist deep in water. The

viewer sees only three-quarters of the goddess's body. The lower portion of her legs is immersed in the waves. Other nudes appear in the mosaic, bathing themselves in the sea. For example, to Venus's left, a nude appears waist deep in the waves while Venus dries herself with a towel. Although this particular mosaic was not accessible to Titian (Pompeii was uncovered for the first time in the eighteenth-century) one cannot help wonder, given this distinct similarity, if Titian had access to similar Roman depictions from other places. There was, for example, a fascinating ancient relief from a portal to a bath at Ephesus, where a nude Venus rises from the sea, three-quarters of her body appearing above the waves (Fig. 23). The Ephesian example would presumably not have been known to Titian either, but it may well be of a rather common type that somehow found its way to his attention.

A partial view of Venus is also portrayed in a Coptic relief from Ahnas, Cairo (Fig. 24).[116] Venus is identified in this version by the shell behind her. Stylized waves conceal the lower portion of her legs. It seems, then, that the three-quarter length view of Venus

in Titian's painting is not without precedent among surviving visual examples, and it is possible that some such examples were available for the artist to view first hand. Perhaps it was not only Pliny's description of Apelles Venus Anadyomene that inspired Titian to create his subject in three-quarter length view. Perhaps he also knew of an ancient Roman example of the type seen in the Pompeiian mosaic and used it, as well, along with the other possible sources for the figure that I have discussed above.[117]

One must also remember that Roman sculptures, too, provided Titian with visual sources for his painting and thus perhaps for the Venus Anadyomene. Wethey describes a Roman statue of a goddess wringing and arranging her hair nonchalantly (Figs. 25, 26). He states that the "three-quarter length and the inclined body of Titian's Venus imply inspiration from such figures."[118] It was not uncommon to see sculptures that consisted of a torso with its legs or arms missing. Perhaps the "Praxitilean" model owned by Gentile Bellini would have been one of these. Titian was perhaps influenced by the broken appearance or "three-quarter length" views of such

statues.

Thus, one might conclude that in the painting of his Venus Titian was inspired both by visual and literary sources from classical antiquity. The apparent connection with Pliny's account of Apelles painting of the same subject is especially convincing. Yet one is still left with the fact that although Titian's Venus reflects qualities of both antique and contemporary models, it remains one-of-a-kind within the Italian Renaissance.

V. The Venus Anadyomene and the Dramatic Close-Up Image

The unique combination of qualities displayed in this Venus Anadyomene leads one to look at yet another type of image. Popular in both the Italian and Northern Renaissance by the end of the fifteenth century, it is a type that Titian would have encountered in Venice. Sixten Ringbom defines this genre as the Dramatic Close-Up Half Length Devotional Image.[119] Pictures of this type were often called devocim or divotione.[120] Particularly popular in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, they were used, along with rosaries or prayer books, to assist in private devotions.

These paintings are usually small in size and usually include one or at most a few figures in the composition. They often depict a scene or moment from the Gospel narrative,[121] and yet look something like portraits, as the figures appear in one-half to three-quarter length, and thus

close up to the viewer. There is little background in these paintings. The primary focus is on the figures. The result is a direct and personal relationship with the viewer (Figs. 27, 28, 29). Titian's Tribute Money, 1516, (Fig. 30) is one of the finest examples.

This type of composition also became utilized for secular scenes by the early sixteenth century, and again with the idea of bringing the viewer close up to the subject of the picture, and inducing meditation. Titian's Concert (Pitti Palace) is an example. WIth the popular example of the dramatic close-up on his mind, together with the well-known story of the ancient Venus whose lower portion was missing, Titian could have expected a receptive audience for his picture of Venus -- in three-quarter length -- rising from the sea.

VI. In Search for a Specific Context for the Venus Anadyomene

As previously stated, no document has been found directly referring to the commission of Titian's Venus Anadyomene. Perhaps no document ever existed. Given the fairly small size of the work, perhaps a verbal agreement between artist and patron might have sufficed.

"Ready-made" art seems to have been very popular in both the Italian and Northern Renaissance. Peter Burke points out the importance of the art market in the sixteenth century. It is known for example that Isabella d'Este wished to buy a number of works of art second-hand. In 1510 she specifically wrote to a Venetian merchant:

> We are informed that among the stuff and effects of the painter Zorgo of Castelfranco there exists a picture of a night [una note], very beautiful and singular; if so it might be, we desire to possess it and we therefore ask you, in company with Lorenzo da Pavia and any other who has judgement and understanding, to see whether it is a really fine thing and if you find it such, to go to work...to obtain this picture for me, settling the price and giving me notice of it."[122]

Ottaviano de Medici is also known to have bought two paintings by Andrea del Sarto which had been originally commissioned by someone else.[123]

Charles Hope argues that such interchanges between patron and artist, or buyer and seller as it were, contributed to a new attitude of acquiring works of art in the sixteenth century. In many cases, a value of a work depended not so much on its specific content but primarily on the reputation of the artist. A patron such as Isabella d'Este or her brother, Alfonso, would have been primarily concerned with obtaining works by great masters and not so much with exact content. Hope explains:

> Something of this attitude is reflected in Alfonso's original scheme for his camerino, in which he planned to include side by side, paintings by the foremost representations of the different Italian Schools of Art -- Bellini from Venice, Fra Bartolommeo from Florence and Raphael from Rome. In the event, he was prepared to accept changes in the actual choice of subjects without apparent demur.[124]

Therefore, an established artist often was given freedom to create works that were based primarily on his own artistic inclinations, following, perhaps, loose guidelines on subject matter. It is known from documents that Titian worked in this manner with at least some of his patrons,

including Alfonso d'Este. In the early 1520s he specifically wrote to the Duke:

> [I am] convinced that the greatness of art amongst the ancients was due to the assistance they received from great princes content to leave to the painter the credit and renown derived from their ingenuity in commissioning pictures...I shall, after all, have done no more than give shape to that which received its spirit -- the most essential part, from your excellency.[125]

Burke argues that the change in balance between patron and artist was part of a growing new material culture in Renaissance Italy. He terms the new culture as one of "conspicuous consumption" in which "nobles built to sustain the honor of the house and to make their rival envious. The house (especially its facade and its contents formed part of a family's 'front,' the setting and the stage props for the long-playing drama in which their status was displayed."[126]

Sixteenth-century noble families collected material objects: antiques, furniture, bronzes, coins, and paintings, of high value as a way of displaying their wealth and prestige. Such collections of a high class patron were usually concentrated in a few rooms of a palace. Huse explains:

> They [palaces] were not museums in the modern sense but contained far more paintings, figures, utensils, and ornaments than normally made up the furnishings of an

> aristocratic house. The essential parts of a collection were concentrated in relatively few rooms of a palace, but these rooms were also lived in, and important items of the collection could be found in rooms used almost exclusively by the master of the house, such as the bedrooms."[127]

Having valuable objects in one's possessions again provided a way of affirming the owner's social status.

It is impossible to say with exact certainty whether Titian's Venus Anadyomene was part of such a collection. It is documented for the first time in an inventory in the late seventeenth century of the collection of Queen Christina of Sweden.[128]

Tressider again seems to come the closest to suggesting a context for Titian's painting, stating that it was probably commissioned by an educated patron with "literary taste,"[130] yet, he takes this discussion no further. Charles Hope, however, helps in narrowing down the possibilities. He observes that few of Titian's patrons took great interest in mythological subject matters and, furthermore, in the female nude:

> ... only two of the artist's major patrons, Alfonso d'Este and Philip II showed a marked enthusiasm for such paintings; and in Philip's case this was combined with an equally strong interest in religious subjects. But Federigo Gonzaga and Charles V each acquired only one work by Titian showing a female nude, and Francesco Maria della Rovere none at all.[130]

Although Federigo Gonzaga commissioned some work of Titian as early as 1523, Hope states that all early projects were either portraits or devotional images. Titian likely would not have created a mythological work for him until much later, in the 1530s. Alfonso d'Este, was the only patron of those mentioned that commissioned work from Titian during the late 1510s and early 1520s, the period suggested in Section I for the Venus Anadyomene. It was at that time that Titian worked on the three mythological paintings for the Duke's Camerino d'Alabastro; the Worship of Venus (1518-19), the Andrians (1523-25), and Bacchus and Ariadne (c.1520-23). Wethey recognizes a stylistic connection between these mythological scenes and the Venus, arguing "The mastery of form in rendering the ideal nude body [in the Venus] is that of a mature artist, who had reached the phase of the Ferrara mythological figures."[131]

There were five rooms in the Camerini sopra li volti in Piazzetta dal Castello alle Camare Nove, each with elaborate gilded ceilings. The Camerino d'Alabastro was located between what has been thought to be the Duke's bedroom at the north end of the Via Coperta and the Camera del Poggiuolo. The Duke's chamber contained nine ceiling

paintings and a frieze of landscapes by Dosso Dossi.[132]

The inventory of the Camerino d'Alabastro is far from complete. The entire room was dismantled in 1598. Not one of the pictures removed shortly after by Cardinal Aldobrandini was recorded. Many of these paintings, including the three mythological scenes by Titian, were taken to Rome in the early seventeenth century. It is of interest that Queen Christina of Sweden travelled to Rome in the mid-1600s[133] and purchased a number of works for her collection including Titian's Venus And Adonis.[134] Perhaps it was here that she also came upon Titian's Venus Anadyomene. One cannot help but wonder why the Venus Anadyomene appears along with this other work by Titian in her inventory. Perhaps it had travelled to Rome from Ferrara in 1598.

Unfortunately, there is only scattered documentation of Titian's commissions at Ferrara. Through letters of Tibaldi, we know that his first project consisted of The Worship of Venus, on which Titian worked until mid-January of 1520. The Bacchus and Ariadne was sent to Ferrara in 1523 where the artist also worked from mid-April to late June 1524 and from early December 1524 to mid-February of 1525.[135] The purpose of these trips has not been documented

although Tebaldi records that during this time, Titian completed three projects all worth 100 ducati. Hope suggests that two of these paintings were portraits of Alfonso and the Duke's mistress, Laura de'Dianti, and perhaps that a third was a portrait of Ercole, Alfonso's son. It is also noteworthy that the Venus, about the same size as the portrait, also could have fit into the price range mentioned by Tebaldi. Not one of the smaller pictures, nor the Bacchanal scenes appear in the Duke's Inventory. Hope further suggests that Titian possibly could have worked on Bellini's Feast of the Gods during this time although it is more likely that this was completed on his next visit to Ferrara in 1529.[136]

One might easily imagine that the Duke of Ferrara desired the Venus Anadyomene for his collection. It is a beautiful painting, depicting a female nude and a mythological subject. Again one might suggest that in such a case, the exact content of the painting would not have been of primary importance for the Duke, whose focus was likely directed towards the acquisition of another beautiful work by Titian. One remembers that Titian was given a great deal of creative freedom in working for the Duke of Ferrara. It is also possible (although given the patron-artist

relationship between Alfonso and Titian) not as likely, that the Duke would have purchased the work already made.

But where would the Venus Anadyomene have been displayed at Ferrara? One might remember in the preceding discussion of the half-length sensuous female nude, that a close-up, beautiful and sensual depiction of a woman in dishabille would likely have been viewed in private quarters, and one can say the same for Titian's Venus. It may well not have appeared on a wall in the Camerino d'Alabastro, a more public and formal space. One might also remember Huse's explanation that the "Dramatic Close-up" image, as it began to move away from only religious subjects, began to appear as part of the interior decoration of palaces, either in studies, bedrooms, or closets. Perhaps this was also the case for Titian's Venus.

Perhaps, then, the Venus Anadyomene was commissioned for another room among the Duke's Camerini sopra de volti. Interestingly, there was a bedroom attached to the Camerino d'Alabastro that contained a bath.[137] One might suggest that the Venus was painted for part of the interior decoration of this room. Gronau mentions a letter from Titian to the Duke in 1517 in which the artist states: "As for your 'Bath' your most illustrious lordship has demanded, I have not forgotten

it, but am working at it daily and when you wish to see it I will send it to you without delay."[138] Gronau suggests that this letter referred to the Venus Anadyomene. Perhaps the "bath" mentioned in the letter refers to the bath in the bedchamber mentioned above or to another private room in the Duke's palace.

As a follow-up to Gronau's suggestion, I would offer one other. It is noteworthy that the dimensions of the Venus Anadyomene are almost identical to those of a painting by Titian that originally was located in the room next to the Camerino d'Alabastro; his Tribute Money (75 X 56 cm), one of the great masterpieces of the "Dramatic Close-up" (Fig. 30). This painting was designed to fit the interior side of a cabinet door.[139] Although this work is actually a panel painting, it was very common in Venice and neighboring areas like Ferrara, to use canvas as a support.[140] One might see this, for example, in the nine ceiling paintings in the bed chamber of the Camerini sopra de volti. As the Venus Anadyomene is almost the same in size and shape as the Tribute Money, so this mythological painting on canvas could have found its way, too, onto the back of a cabinet door -- but in a room likely still more private than the Camerino

d'Alabastro and most likely for the benefit of only the most privileged of viewers.

VI. CONCLUSION

One is left uncertain as to the exact function of Titian's Venus Anadyomene. Evidence supports the idea that it was commissioned by Alfonso d'Este for some chamber of his home at Ferrara. It most likely would have hung in a private setting, such as a bagno, and perhaps on the inner face of a cabinet door. The painting seems to typify the mature style that Titian achieved in the great mythological paintings originally placed in Alfonso's Camerino d'Alabastro. It shows full awareness of achievements of Bellini, Giorgione, and Antonio Lombardo as well as of Michelangelo in the Sistine ceiling. It also reflects the artist's knowledge of antiquities, and his knowledge of concepts of beauty known through classical writers. This knowledge is reflected here in this one unique form, this three-quarter-length female nude seen against blue sea and sky. Through the exquisitely balanced tensions created in this form, the graceful curve of Venus's torso and head, the gesture of arms, her attentive gaze over her shoulder, told

through soft glowing Venetian colore, Titian declares, in a most eloquent manner, his love of physical beauty.

As we have seen, this preoccupation with physical beauty permeates all other types of Italian Renaissance painting depicting women, and it is taken up in the thinking of the period about, and by, women. Not just his own, personal proclivities, but the social and cultural life of the time prompted Titian into creating this exceptionally beautiful image. Perhaps such pictures as the Venus Anadyomene, together with other paintings of the period that depict the beautiful female form, reflects in part a developing consciousness and self-confidence of the patrician woman as she asserted herself more in the social sphere, and, also, men's concessions to and reinforcement of this developing power. Or, perhaps as Junkerman suggests, they signify a response by Renaissance society to anxieties over the increasing presence of women in society, in particular the courtesan.

Titian's Venus Anadyomene, shares important characteristics with the half-length type and other depictions of woman in the sixteenth century and yet, at the same time, is like none of them. As a type she is unique -- perhaps originating in a personal request from Alfonso

d'Este -- and the picture itself is still, of course, a product of the painter's unique genius. It is a fascinating painting that still poses unanswered questions.

ENDNOTES

1. Alessandro Ballarin, Titian (London, 1968), 38.

2. Kenneth Clark, The Nude. A Study in Ideal Form (Washington DC, 1956), 127.

3. Edmund Pillsbury, "The Rebirth of Venus," Art News LXXXII (April 1983), 110; Marion Lawrence, "The Birth of Venus in Roman Art," , Essays in the History of Art Presented to Rudolf Wittkower ed. Douglas Fraser, Howard Hibbard & Milton J. Lewine (London: Phaidon Press, 1967), 10. There appear to be two legends of the Venus Anadyomene. Hesiod recounts that Venus was born from the genitals of Uranos. Cronos threw the genitals of Uranos into the sea, and their foam produced the Venus Anadyomene. This Venus is of the Celestias type, and does not have a mother. "Mother" is very close in meaning to "matier" which signifies earthly qualities. This type of Venus has no earthly belongings, as she resides between God and the supercelestial realms of the universe.(Hesiod, Theog., 188, as cited by Lawrence.) Refer to Section IV of this thesis for further discussion. On the other hand, Plautus, Tibullus, and Pompeius Festus described Venus born from the shell. (Plautus, Rud., III, 3, 43; Tibullus, III, iii, 34; Festus, III, 23; all as cited by Lawrence.) One may gather that Titian depicted this version in the painting, as the shell has been included to the goddess's right in the composition.

4. Clark, The Nude. A Study in Ideal Form, 127.

5. Harold Wethey, The Paintings of Titian: III The Mythological and Historical Paintings (London: Phaidon Press, 1975), 27; Ballarin, Titian, 38; Pillsbury, "The Rebirth of Venus," 110.

6. Warren Tressider, "The Classicism of the Early Works of Titian: Its Sources and Character" Volumes I and II (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1979), 271.

7. John Shearman, Only Connect: Art and the Spectator in the Italian Renaissance, The A. W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts 37 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 258.

8. Ballarin, Titian; Clark The Nude. A Study in Ideal Form.

9. Erwin Panofsky, Problems in Titian, Mostly Iconographic (New York: New York University Press, 1969), 19.

10. Charles Hope, Titian (London: Jupiter Books, 1980), 2.

11. Panofsky, Problems in Titian, 20.

12. Ibid., 5.

13. Ibid., 20.

14. Ibid., 20.

15. Tressider, "The Classicism of the Early Works of Titian," 273.

16. Panofsky, Problems in Titian, 13.

17. Rona Goffen. Giovanni Bellini (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 2.

18. Ibid., 4.

19. David Allen Brown, "Bellini and Titian," Titian Prince of Painters (exhibition catalogue) (Venice: Marsilio Editori, 1990), 57.

20. Hope, Titian, 30.

21. Goffen, Giovanni Bellini, 16.

22. Another painting of particular interest is Giovanni's Feast of the Gods (Fig. 7) which was executed in 1514 for Alfonso d'Este's Camerino d'Alabastro. It is thought that Titian, himself, finished the painting. (Hope, Titian, 54.) Here, again, attention is paid to the female nude. This is seen specifically in the lower right hand corner of the painting. A woman reclines against a tree as her gown falls away to reveal her torso.

23. Terisio Pignatti, "Giorgione and Titian," Titian Prince of Painters (exhibition catalogue) (Venice: Marsilio Editori, 1990), 68.

24. Giorgio Vasari, Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors and Architects (transl. Gaston Du C. De Vere) (London: Philip Lee Warner, 1912-1915), vol IX, 1.

25. Giorgione's influence extends beyond these frescoes. The Sleeping Venus (1510-1511) (Fig. 24) is another example of Giorgione's rendering a full length nude woman in a new way. She is the first completely nude figure to be presented in a landscape. It is thought that Titian helped Giorgione in this painting, he is said to have painted the landscape part. His specific contributions are unclear as the styles of the two artists have so much in common; however it is generally believed that Titian is responsible for the drapery. (Hope, Titian, 10.)

26. Johannes Wilde, Venetian Art from Bellini to Titian (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 79.

27. "Frescoes from the Fondaco dei Tedeschi," Titian Prince of Painters (exhibition catalogue) (Venice: Marsilio Editori, 1990), 135.

28. Ibid., 138.

29. Charles Hope, "Titian and His Patrons," Titian Prince of Painters (exhibition catalogue) (Venice: Marsilio Editori, 1990), 77.

30. Ibid., 78.

31. Copy of label of Antonio Lombardo's Venus Anadyomene, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, provided by the Museum in 1992; Ovid, Ars Amatoria, iii. 224.

32. Tressider, "The Classicism of the Early Work," 90.

33. Hope, "Titian and His Patrons," 80.

34. Copy of label of Lombardo's Venus Anadyomene, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, provided by the Museum in 1992. The placement of Titian's Bacchanal paintings in Alfonso d'Este's palace has been a controversial topic among several art historians. In his article, "The Camerino d'Alabastro. A Reconsideration of the Evidence," Bacchanals by Titian and Rubens (symposium in the National Museum, Stockholm, 18-19 Mars 1987), ed. G. Cavalli-Bjorkmann (Stockholm: Nationalmusei Skriftserie, 1987), Charles Hope believes that the pictures formed part of the interior decoration of the Camerino d'Alabastro, the north-east room in the Via Coperta adjacent to the Camerino di Marmo. Beverly Louise Browne generally agrees with Hope, yet Dana Goodgal believes that these paintings were located in another Camerino d'Alabastro.

35. Edgar Wind, Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance, (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1967), 264.

36. Tressider, "The Classicism of the Early Works," 91.

37. Ibid., 91.

38. Ibid., 35. The original Italian version of the poem appears in Zovenzona, Carmi, p. 109, no. 135:

> "In Venerum Gentilis Bellini. Qui
> Paphiam nudis Venerem vidisse papillis
> optet in antiquo marmore Praxiteles
> Bellini pluteum Gentilis quaerat, ubi
> stans, trunca licet membris, vivit
> imago suis."

39. Erwin Panofsky, Problems in Interpretation, 13.

40. Creighton Gilbert, "Some Findings on Early Works of Titian," Art Bulletin LXII (March 1980), 36-72.

41. Ibid., 37.

42. Ibid., 45.

43. Ernst Gombrich, Norm and Form (London: Phaidon Press, 1966), 95, also mentions such a phenomenon in the Renaissance.

44. Gilbert, "Some Findings," 38. Kenneth Clark, Piero della Francesca, London, 1951.

45. Gilbert, "Some Findings," 45.

46. Ibid., 46.

47. Ibid., 48.

48. Ibid., 48. Documented by Vasari and others.

49. Ibid., 44.

50. Harold Wethey, op. cit., 23.

51. Johannes Wilde, Venetian Art from Bellini to Titian (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).

52. Gombrich, Norm and Form, 126.

53. Shearman, John. Only Connect..., 250. Imitation could also be used to aid an artist in painting or sculpting difficult poses. Instead of attempting to pose a complicated set of actions in a studio, the artist often found it easier to copy similar groupings and movements already captured in classical models. Cf. Gombrich, Norm and Form, 95.

54. Ibid., 246.

55. Ibid., 246.

56. Ibid., 252.

57. Ibid., 258. Shearman points out elements in Titian's Bacchus and Ariadne that were perhaps drawn from written texts. Pliny the Elder in Historia Naturalis (XXXV. 99) gives a brief account of a painting of Bacchus and Ariadne by Aristides. Descriptions are also found in Poliziano's Le Stanze of the late 1470s; Catullus, Carmina xiv. 50-75, 251-64, and Ovid's Ars Amatora i. 525-64. For a full discussion of the relationship of these texts to Titian's painting, see Shearman, Only Connect . . ., 255-256.

58. Tressider, "Classicism in the Early Works," 269.

59. Mary Rogers, "The Decorum of Women's Beauty: Trissino, Firenzuola, Luigini and the Representation of Women in Sixteenth-Century Painting," (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1988), 50.

60. Mary Rogers, "The Decorum of Women's Beauty," 54.

61. Anne Christine Junkerman, "Bellissima Donna: An Interdisciplinary Study of Venetian Sensual Half-Length Images of the Early Sixteenth Century," (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1988), 57.

62. Margaret Miles, "The Virgin's One Bare Breast: Female Nudity and Religious Meaning in Tuscan Early Renaissance Culture," Female Body in Western Culture: Contemporary Perspectives ed. Susan Suleiman (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1986), 195. In this article, Miles analyzes Quattrocento paintings of the Nursing Virgin, relating them to texts, to other genres of painting, and to social and economic conditions resulting from the plague that hit Italy in the fourteenth century.

63. Junkerman, "Bellissima Donna," 122.

64. Elizabeth Cropper, "The Beauty of Women: Problems in the Rhetoric of Renaissance Portraiture," Rewriting the Renaissance: The Discoveries of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe ed. Margaret Ferguson, Maureen Quilligan, and Nancy Vickers,(Chicago, 1986), 180-81.

65. Ibid., 181.

66. Ibid., 181.

67. Ibid., 191.

68. Junkerman, "Bellissima Donna," 430.

69. Ibid., 290.

70. Ibid., 229.

71. Charles Yriarte, La Vie d'un patrician de Venise au XVI Siècle, Paris, s.d., 1874. More recently Ruth Kelso describes this subjugation of women in sixteenth-century Italy. She seems to base many of her assumptions on prescriptions made by a number of sixteenth-century commentators such as Trotto and Barbaro. Trotto states (as translated by Kelso):

> The wise wife never contradicts, even if right, never opposes, disputes, blames, interrupts, or answers back if chided. Silence is a great preserver of love in husbands, who thus are not plagued by idle words but are listened to reverently when they wish to speak.

[Ruth Kelso, Doctrine for the Lady of the Renaissance (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1956), 26.]

72. James Davis, A Venetian Family and Its Fortune 1500-1900 (Philadelphia, 1975); Patricia Labalme, "Women's Roles in Early Modern Venice: An Exceptional Case," Beyond Their Sex: Learned Women of the European Past ed. Patricia Labalme,(New York, 1981) 129-52; Stanley Chojnacki, "La posizione della donna a Venezia nel Cinquencento," Tiziano e Venezia: Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Venezia, 1976 (Vicenza: N. Pozza, 1980), transl. Kate Ross, 65-70.

73. Chojnacki, "La posizione della donna a Venezia," 69; Labalme, "Women's Roles in Early Modern Venice," 132.

74. Stanley Chojnacki, "The Most Serious Duty: Motherhood,

Gender, and Patrician Culture in Renaissance Venice." Refiguring Woman: Perspectives on Gender and the Italian Renaissance ed. Marilyn Migiel and Juliana Schiesari (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1991), 137-138.

75. This inflation of the dowry has also been documented in other Italian cities in the early Renaissance. It would also be interesting to study its effects on the position and autonomy of women in families outside of Venice. See Diane Owen Hughes, "From Brideprice to Dowry in Mediterranean Europe," Journal of Family History, 262-296.

76. Stanley Chojnacki, "La posizione della donna a Venezia nel Cinquencento," 69.

77. Ibid., 5. Sansovino, Venetia citta nobilissima, 414-415, as cited by Chojnacki.

78. Mario Sanudo, I diarri, ed. R. Ralin et. al., (Venezia, 1879-1903), XXIX, c. 547, as cited by Stanley Chojnacki in "La posizione della donna," 65.

79. Chojnacki, "La posizione della donna," 65. On a trip to Venice in 1494, the Milanese canon Pietro Casolo recounted his observations on female fashion:

> Their women appear to me to be small for the most part, because if they were not, they would not wear shoes -- otherwise called pianelle -- as high as they do. For in truth I saw some pairs of them sold, and also for sale, that were at least half a Milanese braccio in height. They were so high indeed that when they wear them, some women appear giants; and certain also are not safe from falling as they walk, unless they are well supported by their slaves. As to the adornment of their heads, they wear their hair so much curled over their eyes that, at first sight, they appear rather men than women. The greater part is false hair; and this I know for certain because I saw quantities of it on poles, sold by peasants in the Piazza San Marco.... These Venetian women, especially the pretty ones, try as much as possible in public to

> show their chests -- I mean the breasts and shoulders -- so much so, that several times when I saw them I marvelled that their clothes did no fall off their backs. Those who can afford it, and also those who cannot, dress very splendidly, and have magnificent jewels and pearls in the trimming around their collars. They wear many rings on their fingers with great balass rubies and diamonds. I said also those who cannot afford it, because I was told that many of them hire these things. They paint their faces a great deal, and also the other parts they show, in order to appear more beautiful...these Venetian women, both high and low, have the pleasure of being seen and looked at; they are not afraid of the fleas biting them, and therefore they are in no great hurry to cover themselves if a man comes upon them unexpectedly. (translated by Junkerman, "Bellissima Donna," 197-98).

80. Junkerman, "Bellissima Donna," 141; Chojnacki, "La posizione della Donna,"; Labalme, "The Roles of Women in Early Modern Venice."

81. Junkerman, "Bellissima Donna," 286.

82. Ibid., 216. In his Dialogo di tutte le cose notabili, 9r., Sansovino describes as follows (as translated by Junkerman, 215):

> The costume of the women in the past has always been varied and diverse, just as their fickle minds are varied and diverse, because now they are modest, now lascivious, now pompous, now frugal. And it is true that all ages have conceded to women more license in the manner of adorning themselves than to men. And surely this has not been without cause, for it is appropriate that they accompany the grace of their dear beauty with the elegance of adornments and rich fabrics. But the license was so great and had grown to such an extreme level that our Senators agreed to restrain such unbridled will with laws.

83. Chojnacki, "Le posizione della donna," 68.

84. Junkerman, "Bellissima Donna," 190.

85. Ibid., 189.

86. Ibid., 313.

87. Ibid., 314. This rise also resulted in part because of an increased number of young bachelors in Venice. This resulted from the marriage system in which a family, concerned about keeping their wealth consolidated, often let only one of their sons marry. The family's inheritance, thus would not be dissipated among many family branches. Courtesans were visited by these unmarried young men and even men of nobility such as Alfonso d'Este.

88. Pompeo Molmenti, Venice: Its Individual Growth from the Earliest Beginnings to the Fall of the Republic Transl. Horatio Brown, (Chicago, 1907), 288.

89. Junkerman, "Bellissima Donna," 302.

90. Ibid., 316.

91. Margaret Rosenthal, The Honest Courtesan: Veronica Franco: Citizen and Writer in Sixteenth-Century Venice (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 15.

92. Veronica Franco herself passionately attempts to persuade a mother to not allow her daughter to become a courtesan stating that she would "kill in one blow not only a soul but also your own honour and that of your daughter...you can do nothing worse in life..than to force the body into such servitude...To give oneself in prey to so many to risk being despoiled, robbed or killed...." See Georgina Masson, Courtesans of the Italian Renaissance (London: Secker and Warburg, 1975), 165.

93. Margaret Miles, Carnal Knowing: Female Nakedness and Religious Meaning in the Christian West, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989), 167.

94. Junkerman, "Bellissima Donna," 23-24.

95. Ibid., 359.

96. Ibid., 362.

97. Norbert Huse and Wolfgang Wolters, The Art of Renaissance Venice: Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting, 1460-1590 transl. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990), 259.

98. For a discussion on the identification of Flora, see J.S. Held, "Flora, Goddess and Courtesan," Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky, ed. M. Meiss (New York, 1961), 210-218.

99. Wethey, The Paintings of Titian, 27; Pillsbury, "The Rebirth of Venus," 109; Tressider, "Classicism in the Early Work of Titian," 272.

100. Hope, "Titian and His Patrons," 80.

101. Ruth Wedgwood Kennedy, "Apelles Redivivus," Essays in Memory of Karl Lehmann ed. Lucy Freeman Sandler, (New York: Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 1964), 162.

102. Pliny the Elder, Historia Naturalis Volumes 33 - 36 transl. K.J. Blake (Chicago: Argonaut Publishers, 1968).

103. Wethey, The Paintings of Titian, 27.

104. Pliny the Elder, Historia Naturalis, 195.

105. Ibid., 195.

106. Paul Oscar Kristeller, The Philosophy of Marsilio Ficino transl. Virginia Cineunt,(New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), 13.

107. Ibid., 146.

108. Ficino, Commentary on Plato's Symposium on Love, 53-54, transl. with introduction and notes by Sears

Jayne (Dallas: Spring Publications, Inc., 1985), 53-54.

109. Wethey, The Paintings of Titian, 21.

110. Panofsky, Problems in Titian. Mostly Iconographic, 153.

111. Pliny the Elder, Historia Naturalis, 129.

112. Ibid., 159.

113. Tressider, "The Classicism of the Early Works of Titian," 272; Wethey, The Paintings of Titian; Webster Smith, Michigan State University; Pillsbury, "The Rebirth of Venus," 109; Kennedy,"Apelles Redivivus," 162.

114. Tressider, "The Classicism of the Early Works of Titian," 129. Images of these figures are reproduced in Erwin Panofsky, Renaissance and Renascence in Western Art 2nd ed. (Stockholm: Almquist and Wiksell, 1965), Fig. 58.

115. Reproduced in Marion Lawrence, "The Birth of Venus in Roman Art," Essays in the History of Art Presented to Rudolf Wittkower ed. Douglas Fraser, Howard Hibbard, and Milton J. Lewine (London: Phaidon Press, 1967), Fig. 7.

116. Reproduced in Marion Lawrence, "The Birth of Venus," Fig. 18.

117. Comprehensive documentation of all antique works available to Renaissance artists is being compiled by the Getty Museum. Until it is available to the public, such questions must be left unanswered.

118. Wethey, The Paintings of Titian, 27.

119. Sixten Ringbom, Icon to Narrative: The Rise of the Dramatic Close-up in Fifteenth-Century Devotional Painting (Acta Academiae Aboensis, Ser. A, Humaniora, XXXI:2)(Abo: Abo Akademi, 1965).

120. Huse, Venetian Art and Architecture, 190.

121. Ibid., 190.

122. Peter Burke, The Italian Renaissance: Culture and Society in Italy (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), 118.

123. Ibid., 121.

124. Hope, "Problems of Interpretation in Titian's Erotic Paintings," 113.

125. Burke, The Italian Renaissance: Culture and Society in Italy, 103. Originally stated in Crowe and Cavalcasaller, 1881, 181.

126. Ibid., 140.

127. Huse, Venetian Art and Architecture, 259.

128. Sven Stolpe, Christina of Sweden ed. Sir Alec Randall, (London: Burnes and Oates, 1960), 149.

129. Tressider, "Classicism in the Early Work of Titian," 269.

130. Hope, "Problems of Interpretation in Titian's Erotic Paintings," 27.

131. Wethey, The Paintings of Titian, 27. The large mythological works, including the previously discussed painting, Feast of the Gods, were all completed for the Camerino d'Alabastro. This information was found in the inventory of the Estense property in Ferrara. Summarized in Charles Hope, "The Camerini d'Alabastro of Alfonso d'Este-I," Burlington Magazine, CXIII (1971), 641.

132. Hope, "The Camerini d'Alabastro," 642.

133. Wethey, The Paintings of Titian, 31.

134. Venturi, 1928, as cited by Hope, "The Camerini d'Alabastro," 26.

135. Asmo, Canino, vol. labelled "1522 -- Cantina" inscribed "1522 Zornale de la Canipa" fol. 61, pp. LXIII-LXV.), as cited by Hope in "The Camerini d'Alabastro," 26.

136. Hope, "The Camerini d'Alabastro," 26.

137. From Label of the Venus Anadyomene at the National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, proof for 1993 published catalogue.

138. Hope, "The Camerini d'Alabastro," 642.

139. Gilbert, "Some Findings on the Early Work of Titian," 63.

140. Jean Cadogan, Eleanor Lamont Cunningham Curator of European Painting, Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, CT.

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FIGURES

Figure 1. Venus Anadyomene, Titian c. 1520, National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh (73.6 x 58.4 cm)

Figure 2. Sacred and Profane Love, Titian, 1515, Borghese Gallery, Rome.

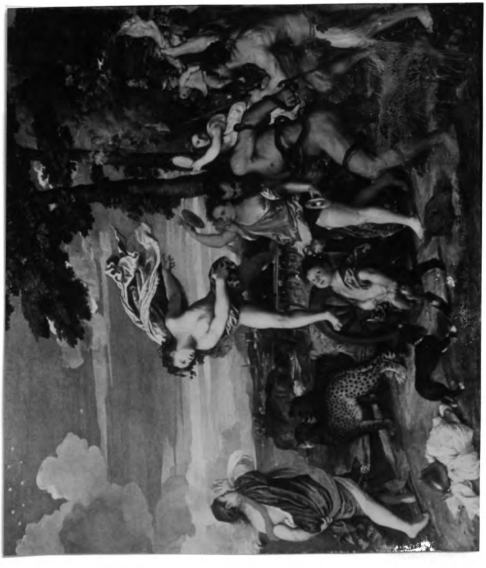

Figure 3. Bacchus and Ariadne, Titian, c. 1520-23, National Gallery, London.

Figure 4. Venus of Urbino, Titian, 1538, Uffizi, Florence.

Figure 5. Diana and Acteon, Titian, 1556-59, National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh.

Figure 6. Bacchanal of the Adrians, Titian, c. 1525, Prado, Madrid.

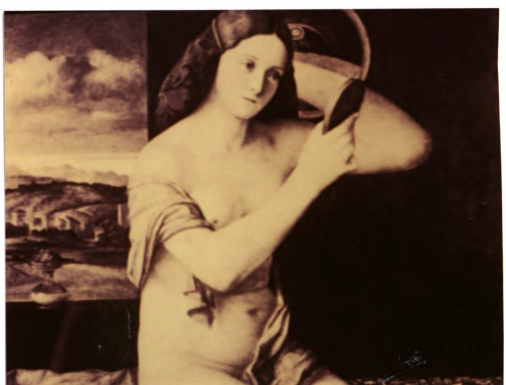

Figure 7. Lady at Her Toilette, Giovanni Bellini, 1515, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

Figure 8A. Drawing after Zanetti, 1760; Giorgione's Nude on the Fondaco del Tedeschi, c. 1508.

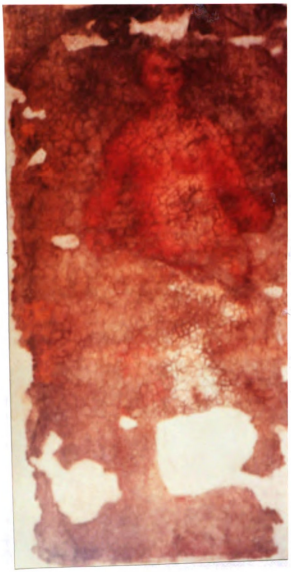

Figure 8B. Giorgione's Nude on the Fondaco del Teceschi, c. 1508, Ca d'Oro.

Figure 9A. Drawing after Zanetti, 1760; Titian's Judith on the Fondaco del Tedeschi, c. 1508.

Figure 9B. Judith, Titian, c. 1508, figure on the southern façade of the Fondaco del Tedeschi.

Figure 10. Eve, by Titian, c. 1508 (print by Jacopo Piccino) for the southern façade of the Fondaco del Tedeschi.

Figure 11. Venus, by Titian, c. 1508 (print by François Mole) for the southern façade of the Fondaco del Tedeschi.

Figure 12. Venus Anadyomene, Antonio Lombardo, early sixteenth century, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Figure 13. Venus Anadyomene, Marcantonio Raimondi, 1506.

Figure 14. Murder of a Wife, Titian, c. 1511, Scuola del Santo, Padua.

Figure 15. The Temptation and Expulsion, Michelangelo, c. 1510, Sistene Chapel, Rome.

Figure 16. Prophet Joel, Michelangelo, c. 1510, Sistine Chapel, Rome.

Figure 17. Delphic Sibyle, Michelangelo, c. 1510, Sistine Chapel, Rome.

Figure 18. Flora, Titian, c. 1520-22, Uffizi, Florence.

Figure 19. Venus Rising From the Sea, Botticelli, after 1482, Uffizi, Florence.

Figure 20. Raphael's sketch after Leonardo's Leda and the Swan.

Figure 21. Etching after Raphael's Venus, Marcantonio Raimondi.

Figure 22. Pompeiian Mosaic of Venus, first century B.C.

Figure 23. Portal of Bath at Ephesus, c. 323 B.C.

Figure 24. Coptic Relief of Venus, Ahnas, Cairo.

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Figure 25. Venus Anadyomene, Roman School, Museo Vaticano, Rome.

Figure 26. Crouching Venus, Roman School, Naples.

Figure 27. Visitation, so-called Hortulus Master, fifteenth century, Munich.

Figure 28. Coronation of the Virgin, Book of Hours, Simon Marmion, British Museum.

Figure 29. Carrying the Cross, so-called Hortulus Master, fifteenth century, Munich.

Figure 30. Tribute Money, Titian, 1516, Dresden.

Figure 31. _Sleeping Venus_, Giorgione, c. 1510-11, Staatliche Gemaldegalerie, Dresden.

Figure 32. The Three Philosophers, Giorgione, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.