University
Microfilms
International

300 N. ZEEB RD., ANN ARBOR, MI 48106

Ledogar, Judith Wolfinger

DRESS AND NUDITY IN THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE FLORENTINE RENAISSANCE WOMAN

The University of North Carolina at Greensboro PH.D. 1982

University
Microfilms
International 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106

DRESS AND NUDITY IN THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE FLORENTINE RENAISSANCE WOMAN

by

Judith W. Ledogar

A Dissertation submitted to
the Faculty of the Graduate School at
The University of North Carolina at Greensboro
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

Greensboro
1982

Approved by

Lavina Franck
Dissertation Adviser

APPROVAL PAGE

This dissertation has been approved by the following committee of the Faculty of the Graduate School at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

Dissertation Adviser Lavinia Franck

Committee Members Roy Schantz

Joan Gregory

Billie G. Oakland

Eunice M. Deemer

March 16, 1982
Date of Acceptance by Committee

March 5, 1982
Date of Final Oral Examination

LEDOGAR, JUDITH WOLFINGER. Dress and Nudity in the Iconography
of the Florentine Renaissance Woman. (1982)
Directed by: Prof. Lavina Franck. 265 pp.

This study identifies and interprets the female iconographies of the Florentine Renaissance. Through the art of the Florentine Renaissance, this study shows the relationship of the female iconographies to the changing appearance of the Florentine Woman from about 1300 to 1550. The female form, nude and clothed, was used to personify man's changing interpretations of his universe.

Extensive research was done in the social history, philosophy, religion and fashions of the Florentine Renaissance. Over 800 photographs were taken of paintings and drawings of women of the Florentine Renaissance. Of these, 113 photographs were incorporated into this study. It became apparent that the iconographies depended not only upon the socio-psychological attitudes of Renaissance man, but also upon the techniques, media, insights and the genius of the artists who were communicating the messages.

The iconographies of woman during the Florentine Renaissance perpetuate the universal ideas of man. The paintings selected show a chronological progression from the impersonal iconography of the Queen of Heaven to the iconography of a warm and personal mother and from a teacher who shows man how to become civilized through the awakening of the senses, to a teacher who instructs man in the ways of sacred love so that he can arrive at a union with God. The changes in the iconographies were from abstract

idealism to humanistic idealism. The iconographies can be divided into the two categories of teacher-Eve-Venus and mother-Virgin-Venus. There is some overlapping, but the iconographies remain fairly distinct until the end of the Florentine Renaissance. The mother iconography is very clear and strong throughout the entire period culminating in the merger of human idealism and spiritual idealism in the Madonna del Granduca by Raphael.

The influence of the humanistic movement is pervasive, reaching its greatest acceleration during the neo-Platonic period under the guidance of Ficino. Botticelli's paintings express the philosophy of the Platonic Academy best. After 1500, there is a downward turn when the humanistic iconography of woman begins to lose its spiritual value and becomes plainly erotic. The message that the iconographies convey to us is that at the beginning of the Florentine Renaissance, the universe was beyond man's reach, and toward the end of the Florentine Renaissance, the universe was within man's reach.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation is dedicated to the memory of my parents, Karl and Irma Wolfinger who believed that learning is a lifetime process.

I wish to thank the members of my dissertation committee for their encouragement, kindness and personal help: Dr. Eunice Deemer, Prof. Lavina Franck, Dr. Joan Gregory, Dr. Billie Oakland and Dr. Roy Schantz. Special thanks is extended to Prof. Franck, chairman of the committee, who was never too busy to listen or to advise. Special thanks, also, to Dr. Schantz who directed me in the history research for two summers.

My gratitude is extended to my family without whose moral support this undertaking would never have come to fruition. Thanks to my two daughters, Leslie and Felicia, who did the proofreading, and a very special thanks to my husband, Raymond, for the countless hours that went into the photography both here in the States and abroad.

To all those wonderful people whom I used as sounding boards, thank you all.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

CHAPTER

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure Page

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to identify and interpret the female iconographies of the Florentine Renaissance and to show through the art of the Florentine Renaissance the relationship of the iconographies to the changing appearance of the Florentine woman from about 1300 to 1550.

As the artists of the Renaissance fulfilled their commissions by decorating the churches and homes of their patrons, they also revealed Renaissance Man's attitude towards his universe. The female form, nude or clothed, has been utilized in metaphorical representations by man to interpret the meaning of life. There is a need to investigate the relationship between existing historical data about the metaphors of women in the universe of man and how these female metaphors are depicted in visual iconographies.

This study includes an overview of the Florentine Renaissance from about 1300 to 1550. It identifies the traditional iconographies of women and examines the iconographies represented during the Florentine Renaissance. This study examines the theological and philosophical attitudes, beliefs, and superstitions about women in relation to the iconographies of Florentine Renaissance woman. It investigates how female anatomy in works of art was perceived and the role of nudity and clothing in depicting the female metaphors of the Florentine Renaissance. The works of art used for identification and interpretation of the iconographies of the Florentine Renaissance woman are by artists who were from Tuscany or who had painted while in Tuscany during the period from about 1300 to 1550. In addition to the reference made to Byzantine icons, major artists are included from Giotto to Michelangelo. Titian, although Venetian, is included because the Florentine Mannerist Style culminates in his work. This study is limited to the Florentine Renaissance period because it has been generally called the birthdate of our modern age.

The analysis and interpretations of the paintings are those of the author who also accepts responsibility for the interpretations of the iconographies, the summary and the recommendations of this study.

Definitions

The following are definitions of some terms that are relevant to this study.

Florentine Renaissance: The Florentine Renaissance encompasses the period from approximately 1300 to 1550. It occurs specifically in the city-state of Florence, Italy and generally in the surrounding province of Tuscany. Since Florence was a wealthy town, it was a mecca for artists, architects, and other craftsmen. Its rulers, merchants, and bankers imprinted their influence on Tuscany which included such towns as Siena, Assisi, Pistoia, Prato, and Pisa. In turn, Florence, an international banking and textile industrial center, was influenced by other states and countries with whom it did business.

Iconography: An iconography is a set of symbolic forms which becomes the personification of a specific idea. What we think about an iconography is inexorably related to what we feel about the whole universe.[1]

Symbology: Symbology is the art of expressing imaginative universals, which are presented by metaphors, in a concrete way. For example, a cube may present a metaphor of a stable form.[2]

Clothing: Clothing is the immediate environment of the human body. It is that which encloses space and gives outer expression to one's inner self.

Nudity: Nudity is the human form with the absence of covering. The question is that of degree, since the nude form may seem either covered or uncovered to the observer. The elements of appearance may also be intended to enhance nudity.

Dress: Dress is a man-fabricated covering for the human form which may be unstructured or fitted. The covering may be seamed or draped, tied, pinned or knotted.

Appearance: Appearance is comprised of the human nude form and human silhouette. Dress, adornment, mutilation, decorative painting, scarification, and deformation of the human body may be utilized to enhance appearance.

---

[1] E. H. Gombrich, Symbolic Images: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance (Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1978), pp. 125, 126, 128.

[2] Ibid., pp. 183-187.

Appearance is used to communicate rank, class, and wealth. During the Florentine Renaissance, the upper class resorted to sumptuary laws to prevent the lower classes from imitating their mode of dress. Real fashion began with the rise of the middle class, the development of the towns and the increase in bourgeoisie power.[3]

During the Florentine Renaissance, man began to question his universe and found himself worthy of study. In that anthropocentric era, the great names of humanism, from St. Francis, Petrarch, Dante, Giotto, through Michelangelo contributed to 250 years of intellectual, artistic and literary stimulation that climaxed with the High Renaissance. The focus shifted from Florence to Venice and then to Rome. As the Renaissance humanist continued to re-examine his existence in relation to his universe, his values and attitudes became more sophisticated. The popularization of the Tuscan dialect among the intelligentsia and later the invention of the printing press made the dissemination of information easier. The personification of ideas through the traditional iconographies of women underwent a transformation. The universal, unobtainable lady metamorphosed to an erotic, peasant woman.

This study illustrates how Renaissance man expressed his attitudes towards his universe through two progenitorial female metaphors which persisted throughout the evolution of the iconographies. The

---

[3] Anne Hollender, <u>Seeing Through Clothes</u> (New York: Viking Press, 1978), p. 362.

two metaphors are teacher and mother: the Virgin-Venus. Because of Renaissance man's interest in antiquity and manuscripts written in the original Latin, Greek and Hebrew and his belief in Pythagoras' thesis that man is the measure of all things, the iconographies of woman became humanized.

CHAPTER II

AN OVERVIEW OF THE FLORENTINE RENAISSANCE

The most significant feature of the Florentine Renaissance was its male solidarity.[4] It was literally a time for the Renaissance man--the wealthy, well-educated, egocentric man who discovered himself and did not find himself wanting. There was nothing he could not do, and he was superior to all things except, perhaps, God. As he saw it, it was a woman's privilege to be man's wife. Since woman looked at herself through man's eyes, she concurred.

These were unique times. Florence had become the center of culture in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and reached her zenith in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. The tremendous wealth, the changing social and political character of the times, the art patronage, the dominance of the Medici family, and a disenchantment with the Christian Church were factors which contributed in making the Florentine Renaissance both the most dazzling and the most sordid of all times.

The Founding of Florence

It has often been said that Tuscany is where the modern world originated.[5] This territory was at the crossroads for people

---

[4] Taped Lecture by David Herlihy, College in Tuscany and Umbria, Associated Harvard Alumni, 14 June 1981.

[5] Ibid., 8 June 1981.

journeying from Rome to Germany and from Rome to Paris. The towns in this territory were originally built by the Etruscans, hence the modern name of Tuscany. The Etruscan towns were built on hilltops as a means of defense. In order to interact with one another, the Etruscans built fine roads for human movement, communication and transportation.[6]

On top of one of these hills was the Etruscan town of Fiesole (Faesulae). In 187 B.C., at the foot of this same hill, the Roman town of Florence (Florentina) was established along the banks of the Arno River. Florence flourished as a Roman town and became an important center because the roads from every direction extended through the city. An abundant supply of water from the Arno River also contributed to the growth of the city.

Florence was invaded by the Goths, Byzantines and Lombards, all of whom contributed to the total destruction of Florence as a Roman city. Charlemagne was responsible for the reconstruction of Florence in the eighth century. Around 1100, the urban life of Florence revived, and by 1200, the economy of Florence was prosperous. It depended primarily on the banking and the artisan industries, but, in addition, a new important industry developed which was the finishing of woolen cloth. Florence was well on its way to becoming the financial and cultural capital of the western world.

---

[6] Ibid., 14 June 1981.

Urban Planning

The planning of urban Florence embodied the Renaissance ideal of diversity. Architecture reinforces the values of the people who create it. In the case of Florence, the total plan was harmonious, although there was a conscious attempt at variety. Civic buildings were not supposed to resemble church architecture or vice versa.[7] Even today, Florence is recognized by many as a fine-cut jewel along the Arno River (Figure 1).

The walls and towers were not only used to defend the city but to define the perimeter of the city as well. They kept the townspeople in and foreigners out. The growth of the town was organic, that is, housing developed to meet the needs of the people. Florence was divided into quarters: Santo Spirito, Santo Croce, Santa Maria Novella, and San Giovanni. Each of these quarters was further divided into quarters or wards, making up a total of sixteen wards or districts. These ancestral districts were dominated by the great Florentine clans.

In the late medieval period, Florence grew up around the piazzas. The buildings were arranged around these open spaces rather than having spaces left over after the edifices were built. This planning was intentional. The piazzas were of utmost importance for public, human interaction. The town squares served as marketplaces. They also gave concrete evidence that the economy was no longer dominated

---

[7] Taped Lecture by Christine Smith, College in Tuscany and Umbria, Associated Harvard Alumni, 9 June 1981.

Fig. 1. Florence Today.

by the original settlers, the Magnates,[8] (Figure 2) but, instead, by the merchants and the guilds.

Immigration and Population

By 1250, a republican form of government emerged as Florence became one of the most influential cities in Europe. During the thirteenth century, there was spectacular growth in the population of Florence. Around 1300, the time of Dante and Giotto, Florence was the largest of all cities with a population of 120,000. Then came the mid-century banking failures, drought, and the Black Plague. The Black Plague of 1348 reduced the population to 60,000. By 1427, there were fewer than 40,000 people and the population remained at that level until 1480. From 1480 until 1555, the population increased to 56,000.[9]

Medieval Europe had been dominated by a peasant society, and the unit of labor was the family for economic as well as biological reasons. Adults who did not marry were forced to leave the rural environment, and consequently, they were drawn to the cities. In Tuscany, during the period from 1300 to 1550, one out of four people lived in the towns. This was a remarkably large proportion considering the problem of recruitment and generational replacement of the population.

---

[8] Herlihy taped lecture, 8 June 1981.

[9] Ibid., 15 June 1981.

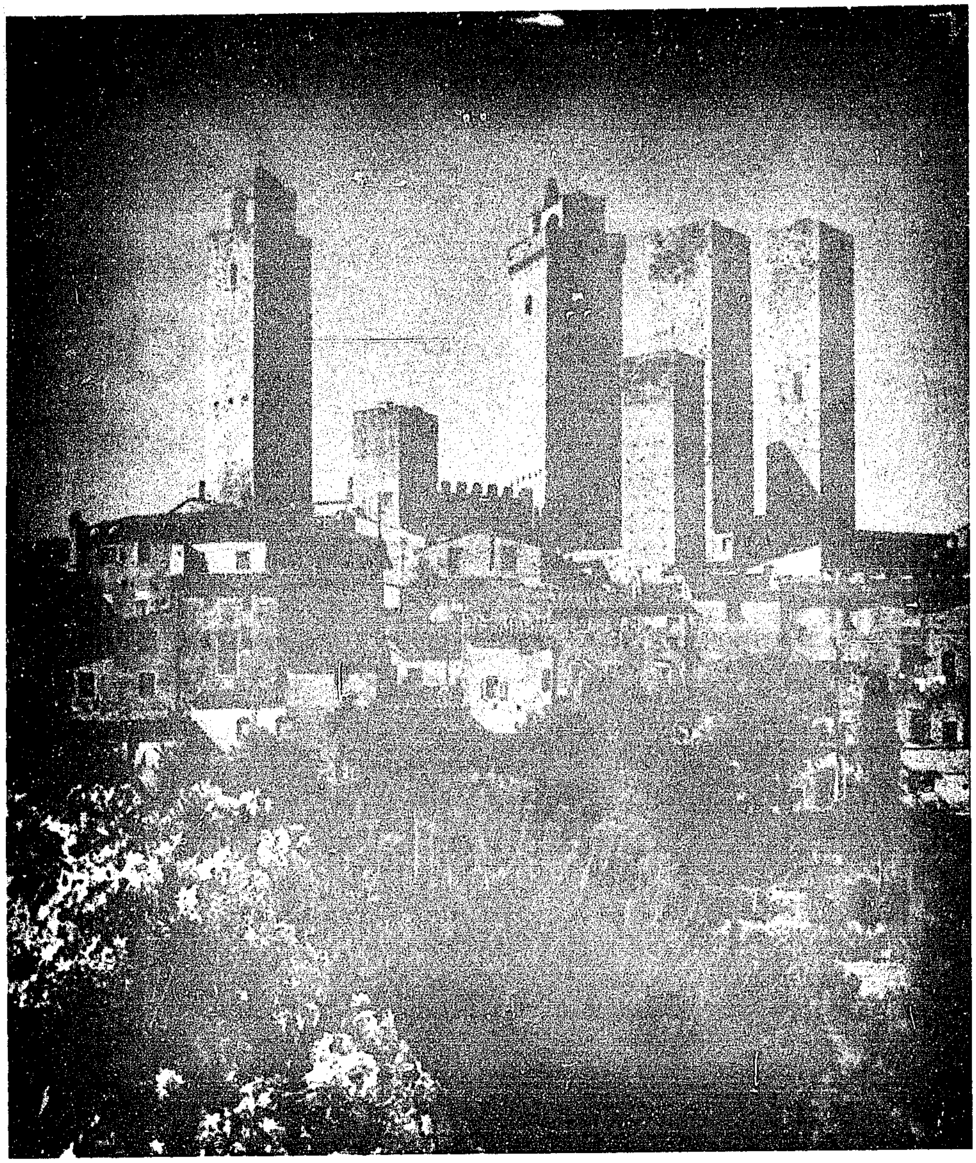


Fig. 2. The San Gimignano Towers of the Magnates.

Immigration tends to be selective, and the early Tuscan towns became communities of young men who became the skilled workers, such as the weavers, musicians, innkeepers and shoemakers. Young men became productive workers through years of apprenticeship at very low pay in guild workshops or in businesses. As a result, men in the cities tended to remain bachelors for an extraordinarily long period of time (Figure 3).

The towns attracted many other immigrants for diverse reasons. There were many urban widows. Since farm work required the cooperative energies of couples, farm widows were forced to give up their rural way of life to seek housing and protection in the cities.

The rich nobility came to the cities to seek social and political power and prestige. They believed that some of the wealth of the very rich was common wealth which had to be distributed among the very needy in a society. Therefore, the wealthy created urban distribution centers for charities. Such largesse, in turn, attracted the very poor. The waves of immigration to Florence resulted in innovative life styles and creative new ideas. Florence was a stimulating, though aleatory place to live. It was a lodestone for a core of young men with brilliance, vitality, and talent.[10]

The fifteenth-century Tuscans were great keepers of records, and that is one of the reasons so much is known about them. Herlihy said the Florentines avoided ambiguity and their methods were

---

[10] Ibid., 14 June 1981.

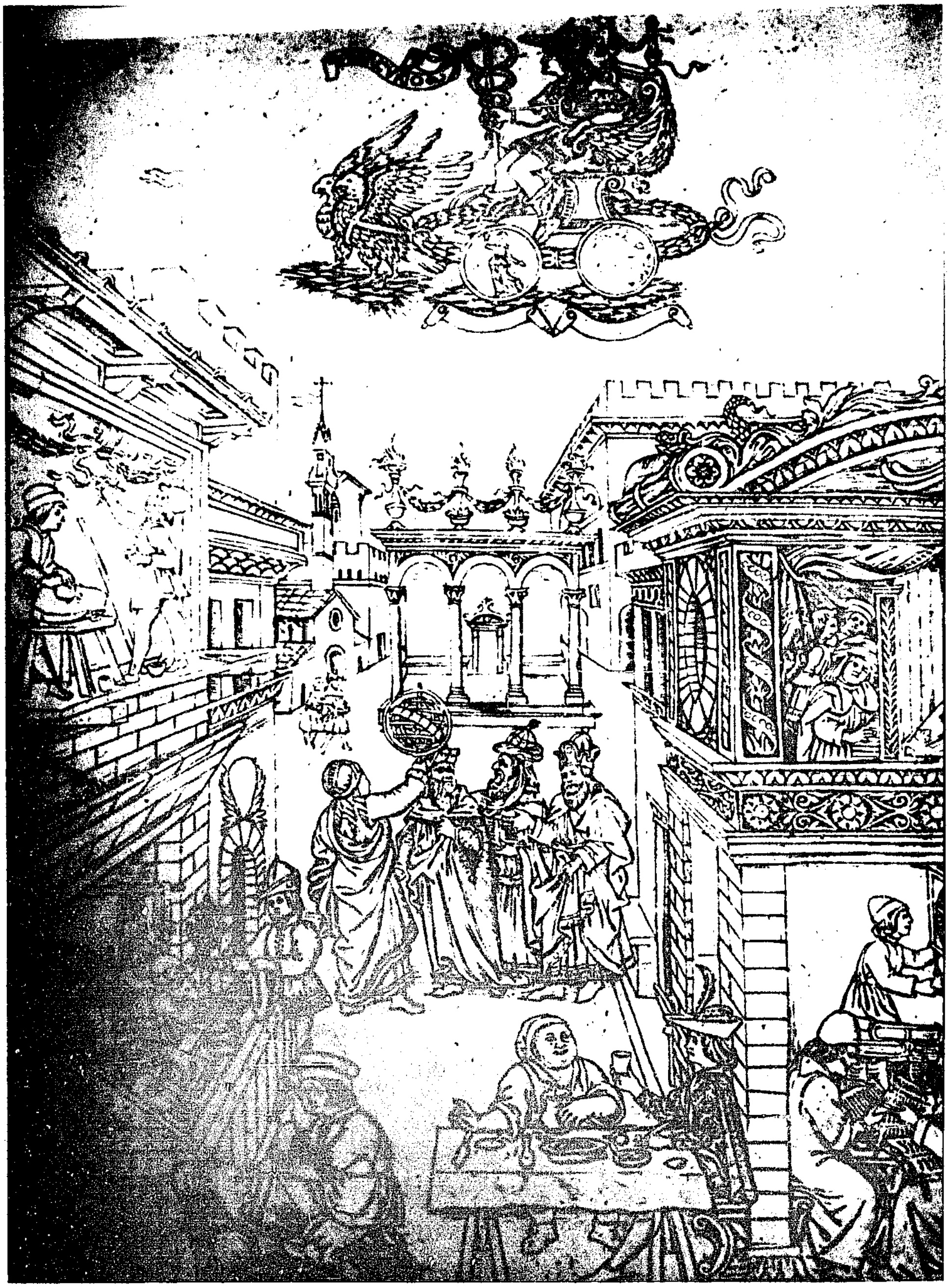


Fig. 3. Bottega. Engraving of 15th Century Craftsmen at their Workshops.

suitable to modern data processing.[11] They had a sense of realism, an affinity for facts, and a practical understanding of human natural resources. In order to marshal their fiscal resources, the first census was taken in Florence in 1427. In 1429, a system of birth registration was started since any man (no women) aspiring to public office had to prove he was born in Florence.

These early records reveal that the character of the economy placed a premium on human skills. The Florentines were truly efficient in recruiting the best legal, secretarial, financial, and artistic talents. The records also show how the political transition was made from rule under the guilds and the populo to patrimony under the great families. The munificence of the cultural patrimony was so extraordinary that it is difficult to conceive by today's standards.

The records further reveal that the economic burden was on the shoulders of the very young adults. There was an extreme waste of youth power and a low survival rate among the young. Infant mortality was enormously high. People were simply insensitive to the needs of children. The Balia, wet-nurses, were common and this limited the bonding between mother and child. There was no supervision of the Balia and even less of the children left in their care. Such lack of sensitivity produced adults with sanguinary behavior if they somehow managed to survive their childhood.

In the fifteenth century, the life expectancy was about thirty years. The age of entry into careers would, therefore, be quite low,

---

[11] Ibid., 18 June 1981.

and young people achieved prominence at a very early age. The Florentine period was noteworthy for those men who were able to achieve tremendous brilliance in a short length of time. This epoch was also marked by a lack of human restraint and a lack of wisdom which comes with time and age. Because of the rapid turnover of prominent and brilliant young people, Florence enjoyed the ambiance of novelty, new styles, and new viewpoints. This atmosphere changed in the sixteenth century when entrance into professions and the arts became more difficult as the population stabilized and matured.

From 1300 to 1550, Florence was a hazardous place in which to live. People lived side by side with death. It was accepted as a fact of life that death was caused by something other than nature. Women died of childbirth, and men died by assassination or in wars. Famines and plagues added to the uncertainties of life. This contributed to the superstitious beliefs and the fascination with astrology. The wheel of fortune was the symbol of the ups and downs of life, of birth and death.

There was a remarkably wide fluctuation in life expectancy over the period. Prior to 1300, the environment was relatively epidemic-free. People could have expected to live to the ripe old age of forty. By 1350, due to the Black Plague and other perils, life expectancy was cut in half to the age of twenty. In 1427, life expectancy climbed to 30 years and then to 40 years by 1550. These figures can be misleading because of the extraordinarily high death rate of children. For example, if a person survived all the hazards of childhood and made it to the age of 20, that person had a fairly good chance of survival for another 25 years. In Florence, the rich lived somewhat longer than the poor because of better diet and sanitary conditions. By the fifteenth century, women held a slight edge over men in longevity. This may be due to the number of widows who refused or were unable to remarry. Abstinence was the best contraceptive method known at the time.[12]

Women and Marriage

Not until the thirteenth century did the Christian Church succeed in taking over the institution of marriage. Polygamy was usual until then. The church promoted monogamy, indissoluable marriage, and the prohibition of incest, fornication, and adultery. The marriage ceremony itself became a sacrament only in 1439, and it was not until 1563 that the Catholic Church first made the presence of a priest mandatory for a valid and binding marriage.[13]

These facts make it evident that, whether or not such was the intention of the Christian Church, it took the leadership in giving women a security that never existed before then. It elevated women from being property to be used and tossed aside to being an equal half in a valid and binding contract that could not be broken at whim. The principles, promulgated by the Christian Church, carried

---

[12] Ibid.

[13] Lawrence Stone, The Family, Sex and Marriage: In England 1500-1800 (New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1979), p. 30.

weight with the masses because they were enforceable by the threat of excommunication and eternal damnation.

In Florence, no one married for love. The capriciousness of romance or passion in marriage was deliberately shunned. Marriages were considered social, political or economical alliances. The bride's father provided a generous dowry; otherwise it would have been virtually impossible for a girl to get a husband since marriage was strictly a business partnership.[14]

In analyzing the 1427 census of Florence, Herlihy discovered some interesting data about marriage that differed from what was generally assumed as true. For her first marriage, the city woman was, on the average, 17 1/2 years of age. At 15, she became marriageable, and if she were still unmarried by the age of 20, either she was consigned to a convent or she entered domestic service. On the other hand, a man did not marry until about 30 years of age, leaving a difference of more than 13 years between a man and woman at their first marriage. There were many older bachelors and widows but few spinsters (except for domestic servants, slaves, and nuns).

Since most men were neither in a financial position to do so, nor expected to marry before 30, and most women were pressured into marriage between 15 and 18, there were proportionately more marriageable maidens than available eligible men. The negotiating advantage

---

[14] Francis William Kent, Household and Lineage in Renaissance Florence (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), pp. 91-99.

of the families with daughters thus deteriorated, thereby creating a dowry inflation throughout the Florentine Renaissance.

During the period from 1300 to 1427, the economic function of upper-class women began to change. Peasant and artisan women were always economic assets since they were expected to be contributing workers in the household. On the other hand, the aristocratic city women lost their economic function and subsequently lost value as entities. This is another reason why they had to settle for unfavorable terms at high dowry costs to their families on the marriage market.[15]

The 1427 census data revealed that households in Florence were quite small. As many as 20 per cent of the households were only one-person domiciles consisting of bachelors or widows. The average size household had 3.8 people.[16] Such households could not be self-sustaining and, therefore, had to rely on outside ties for support. As a result, the people of these households cultivated social networks and a real effort was made to develop good manners in order to facilitate human interaction. Il Cortegiano, by Baldassare Castiglione, written in 1529, was a book on court etiquette that took Italy and Europe by storm. The cultivation of personal relations was one of the avenues of humanism. The conscious flowering of good manners

---

[15] Herlihy taped lecture, 14 June 1981.

[16] David Herlihy, The Family in Renaissance Italy (St. Louis: Forum Press, 1977), p. 4.

indicated a need to communicate with others outside the household. Friendship was a new human asset that was manifested during the Florentine Renaissance.

Phenomena unique to urban life were that the wealthy women tended to marry at a younger age than the poor and they tended to be more prolific in childbirth. More children of the wealthy survived and outnumbered the children of the poor. This was a contributory cause to the violence among the young aristocratic men. There was constant rivalry and killings among the young men of the upper classes.

Her wedding day was the low point of a Florentine woman's life. She left the domination of her father for the domination of her husband. The upper-class woman entered marriage at 13 to 15 years of age without any knowledge or experience in running a complicated household. It was up to her husband to teach her how he wished his house to be run. In addition, she could look forward to numerous pregnancies, and the fear of death by childbirth was constant. The high point in a woman's life came with the death of her husband. Since he may have been more than 13 years older than his wife, probably she would have become a fairly young widow. She might have been no more than 25 to 30 years old. The benefits she accrued with widowhood were many. Pregnancies ceased which led to the biological advantage of longevity. Her dowry was returned to her along with her inherited wealth. Finally, she was liberated from male domination.

Because of a newfound sense of freedom that the young aristocratic widows experienced, few of them remarried. This gave them time to develop themselves culturally. One of the prevailing qualities of the ladies was "charisma" which meant a divine and commanding personality. "Charisma" was the widow's key to power, and she learned to use it well.

The sizeable difference in age between husband and wife affected their roles as parents. The average ages of the parents was 40 years for the father and 26 years for the mother. The father was cast as the stern, authoritarian figure who lurked in the background with no direct influence upon the children. The mother, however, was closer to her children in age, often being little more than a child herself. Pictures of the Holy Family clearly illustrate this family situation. The elderly Joseph is in the background while girlish Mary is in the foreground cuddling her baby. Under these circumstances, the mother would have more influence over the children than would the father. According to Christian preachers of the day, the mothers spoiled their children and feminized their sons by teaching them good manners. "The gentlemen of the Renaissance and the culture of the age were fashioned to the tastes of women," says Herlihy.[17]

Famiglia

Basic to existence in the fifteenth century Florence was the "Famiglia." It was the cult of the clan and symbolized several concepts.[18] The Famiglia household was the principal property-owning

---

[17] Ibid., p. 10.

[18] Kent, Household and Lineage, p. 4, 5.

family group. Famiglia could also mean the small domestic group, the immediate family. Most of all it meant the "casa," the house to which a man belonged, such as The House of the Medici. The "casa" would be comprised of all the men who had the same surname.

Florentine society was patrilineal and so the father-son relationship was central to the meaning of life.[19] When the father died, the son literally took the father's place. This transfer was made clear in a letter that Marsillio Ficino had written to his brother in 1455, when he said that a son was a "mirror and image" of his father, and the house is "nothing other than the union of father with his sons in one residence, sufficiently provided with money and possessions for a good and honest life."[20]

A man belonged to several networks through marriage, friendship groups, business associates, intellectual coteries, religious confraternities, and political networks of "amici." In all cases his choice of associates, friends, or allies was influenced by his Famiglia, its history and its lineage. Even in the households presided over by widows, the patrilineage of the Famiglia was apparent. The nuclear households of Florence were in the Famiglia districts or wards, and so the people were always surrounded by family and allies. The Famiglia was a support system that kept the people

---

[19] Ibid., p. 295.

[20] Ibid., p. 47.

from feeling isolated. Whether bachelor, widow, or couple, the loyalty was to the Famiglia.[21]

The Medici Family

From 1434 and onward, the events of Florence and the influence of the powerful and rich banking family of Medici became intertwined. Originally, the Medicis also were immigrants from the country. Giovanni de Bicci founded and developed a sophisticated banking system of interlocking partnerships. When Giovanni died in 1428, he was the second wealthiest man in Florence. Cosimo the Elder, the son of Giovanni, was a great benefactor of literature and the arts and he was a personal friend to the leaders of Italy and Europe.

The Medicis held no legal titles. Their vast influence was built upon private and public favors. They spent enormous sums of money on public entertainment. Cosimo himself had a special interest in the arts of antiquity which he collected and stored in the Florentine monasteries.

Cosimo the Elder was the true founder of the Medici style. He was concerned with the overall stability of Florence and he cultivated the leaders of Milan and Naples. A wise man and a shrewd banker, Cosimo realized that peace was good for trade, and trade was good for banking. Until the death of Cosimo in 1456, there was relative peace and stability and the foreigners remained outside the walls of Florence. This period was a golden age for Florence, the age which

---

[21] Ibid., pp. 26, 29, 298.

Herlihy calls the Florentine Age of "The Godfather," because Cosimo intentionally cultivated the support of his fellow citizens as well as those in foreign centers.[22]

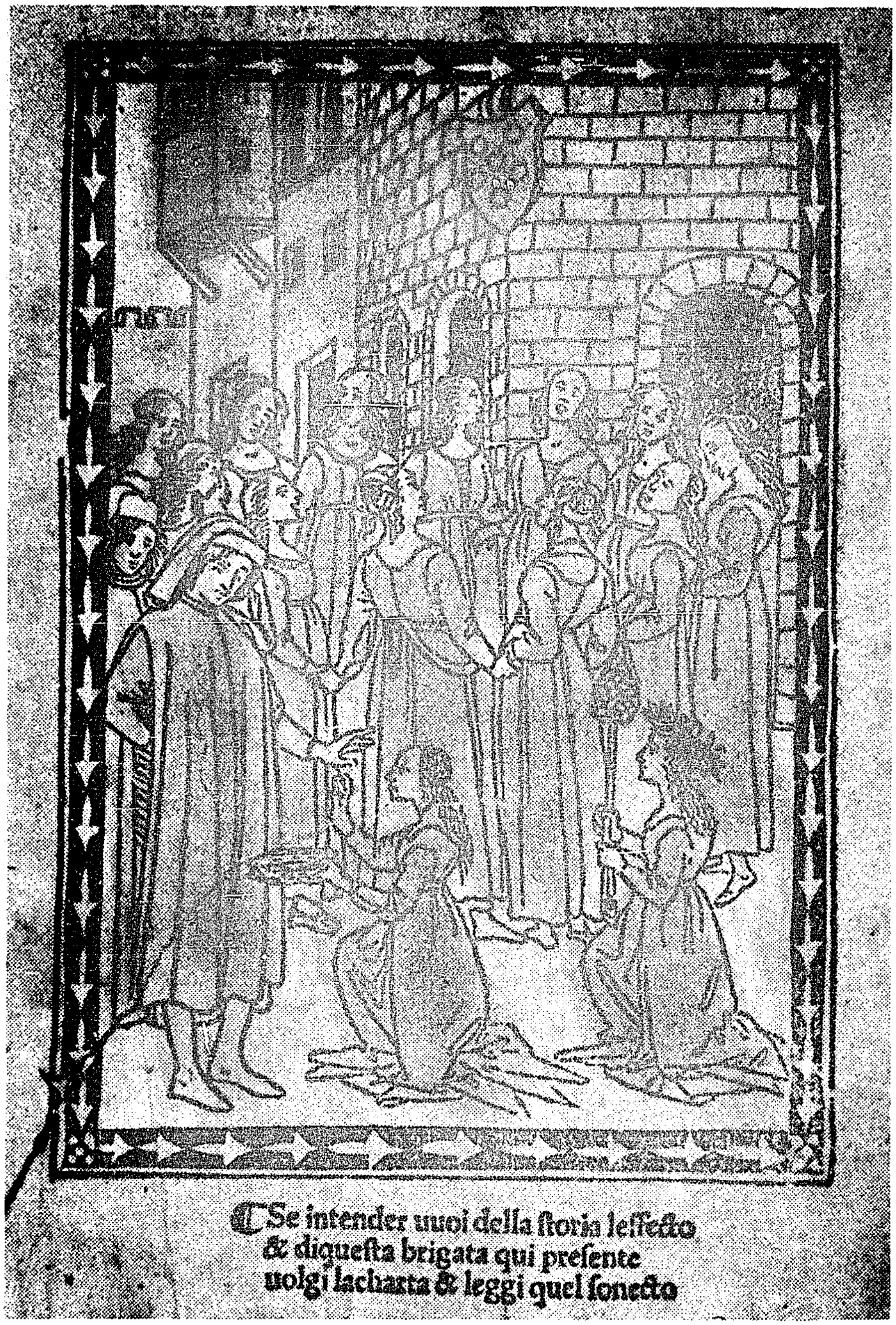
Cosimo was succeeded by his son, Piero the Gouty, whose two-year reign as head of the Medici family and fortune was uneventful. Piero was followed by his son, Lorenzo the Magnificent, who was a distinguished poet, a judicious politician and a patron of the arts (Figure 4). Lorenzo became truly the cultural leader of Florence and the European world.

When Lorenzo died in 1492, his son, Piero, ruled for two years. Under him, the alliance with Milan broke down and the French Charles VIII was invited into Tuscany in 1494. The Florentine population rose up against Piero and expelled the Medici family and their friends.

The republican government was restored from 1494 to 1498. During this time, Savonarola, the Dominican monk, spoke out in behalf of the poor (Figure 5). Savonarola saw himself as the leader of a religious revival and a force in the purification of the Christian Church. Under his influence, Florence held a "burning of the vanities" in which Botticelli, among others, burned his "lewd and lascivious" paintings. Pope Alexander VI finally excommunicated Savonarola, and the people of Florence burned Savonarola at the stake in the Piazza della Signora in 1498 (Figure 6).

---

[22] Herlihy taped lecture, 15 June 1981.



¶Se intender uuoi della ſtoria leſſecto
& diqueſta brigata qui preſente
uolgi lacharta & leggi quel ſonecto

Fig. 4. Frontpiece to Lorenzo di Medici's Book of Poems.

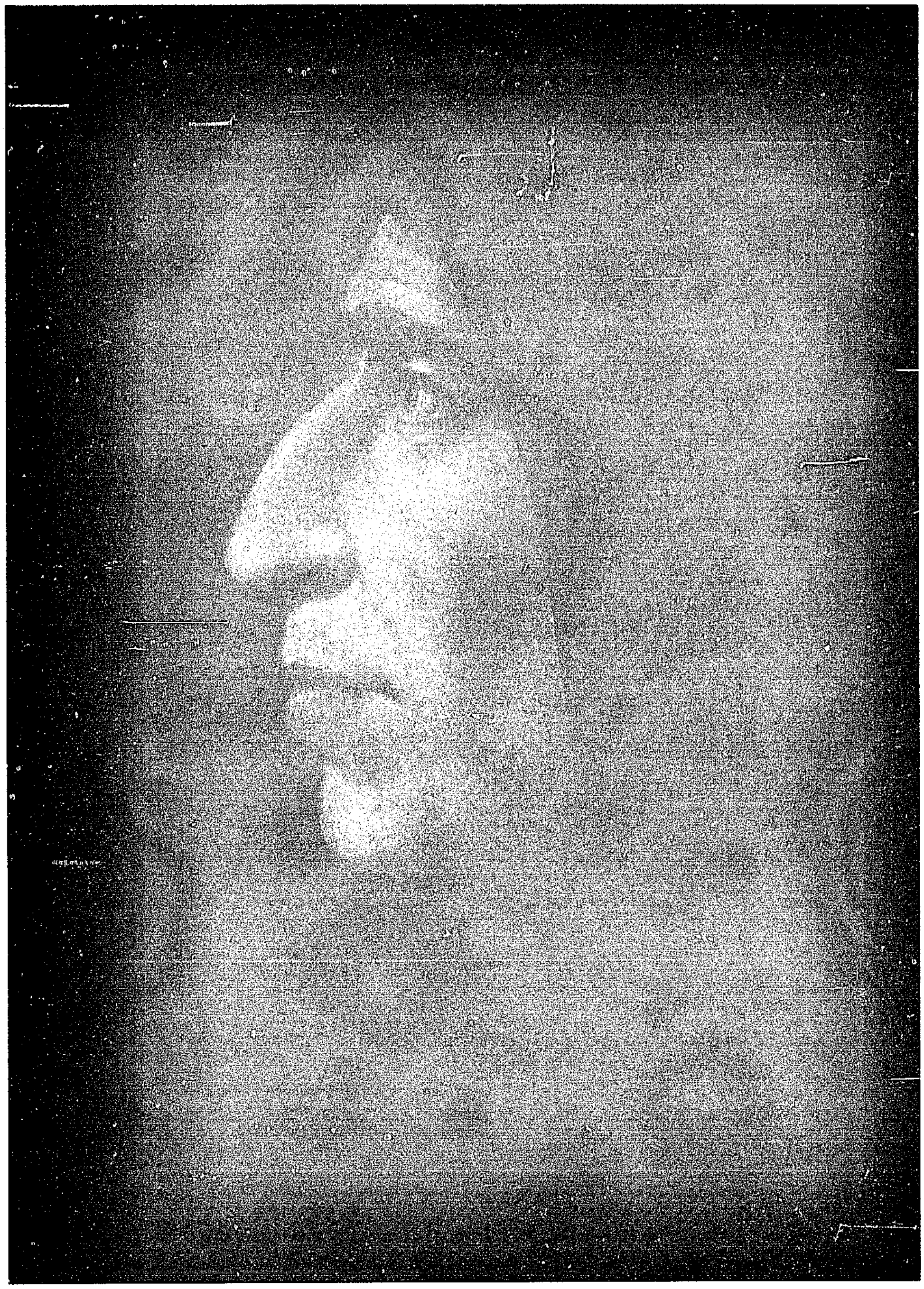


Fig. 5. Savonarola.

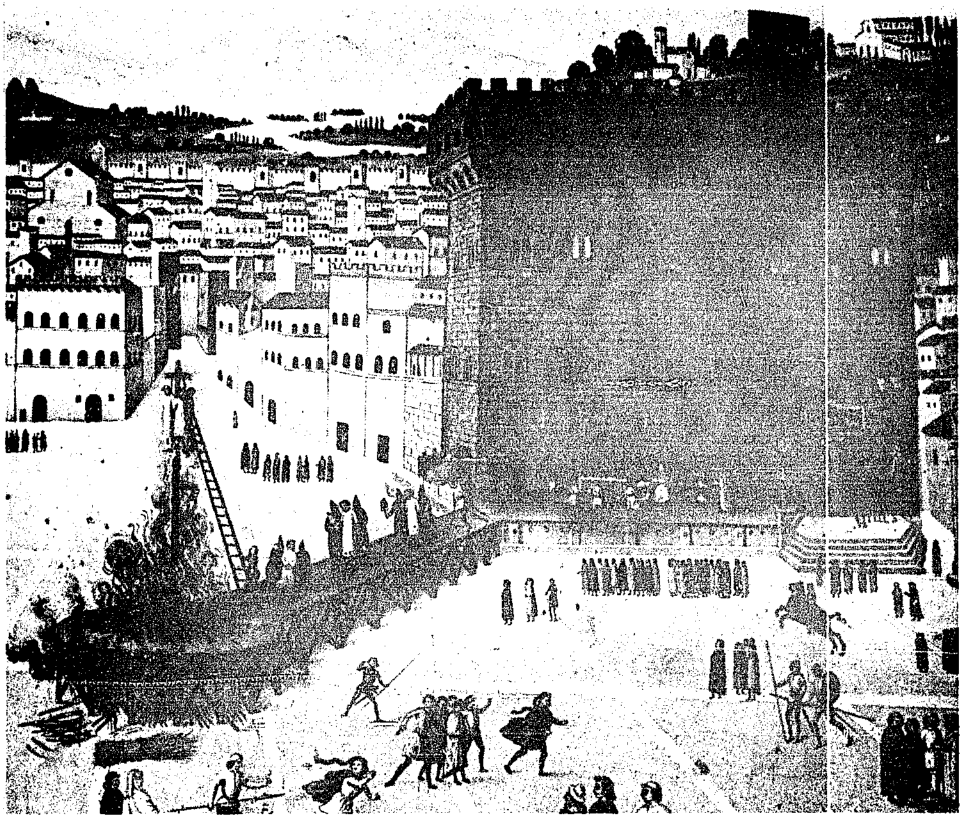


Fig. 6. The Burning of Savonarola.

Vasari said the time of Lorenzo the Magnificent was "truly the Golden Age for men of Genius."[23] With the death of Lorenzo in 1492, the bright star of Florentine Renaissance culture began to wane. Florence gave us the Early Renaissance of the arts. Venice added the brilliant colors and oriental flavor. Rome took and used the genius of Florence and built St. Peter's Cathedral.

In 1513, the Medicis returned triumphant, but the reign shifted to another Medici line. Lorenzo's son, Giovanni, became Pope Leo X, and Ferdinand I, a cousin, reigned in Florence. In 1530, Florence became a principate. The great banking family of Florence became a family of princes and ruled by divine right. They ultimately became the dukes. The successors of Ferdinand I were responsible for the decline of this magnificent city and eventually power was transferred to the house of Lorraine.[24]

Patronage

The Tuscan towns became important centers of private patronage which lent support toward the new humanism. There evolved a kind of ethic of affluence under which the very wealthy felt a moral obligation to support the town charities and services as well as to undergird the arts and humanities. The men who made Florence the most dynamic and intellectually creative city of Europe were the bankers, the practical-minded merchants, and the politicians. It was they

---

[23] Harry Levin, The Myth of the Golden Age in the Renaissance (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 39.

[24] Ted Smart and David Gibbon, Art Masterpieces of Florence (New York: Crescent Books, 1979), n.p.

who were the patrons of the arts. They encouraged the immigration of artists and scholars to Florence.

When Florence was governed as a commune, the citizens financed the building of churches in the Florentine Romanesque style through banking and tax collections. Guild patronage was at its height between 1375 to 1425. Thereafter, the role of the private patron expanded, and the arts became more exclusive.[25] A symbolic example of this change is the architecture of the Medici Palace which was the first one to be built around a spacious inner courtyard. Prior to its erection, homes were built with semi-forecourts open to the street. The change in architecture was evidence of the change in attitude. A new concept of family privacy and elitism developed, and distinctions were made between domestic and civic duties.[26]

At the beginning of the Florentine Renaissance period, the town was prospering as a leading textile manufacturer. The wealthy merchants of Florence were organized into seven great guilds called the "Arti Maggori." Until 1350, the most important of them was the wool finishing guild, the "Calimala." During the fourteenth century, the wool-manufacturing guild, the "Lana," gained greater power than the "Calimala." Throughout the fourteenth century, the "Calimala" was the foundation on which the prosperity of Florence rested.

---

[25] Stanley Chodorow, ed., The Other Side of Western Civilization, (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1979), p. 347.

[26] J. R. Hale, Florence and the Medici: The Pattern of Control (Great Britain: Thames and Hudson, 1977), p. 50.

The silk guild, the "Seta," expanded in the fifteenth century as wool manufacturing began to decline because popular taste shifted from woolen cloth to silk brocade.[27] The fourth great guild with the most concentration of wealth was the bankers', the "Cambio," and the most important client of the Florentine bankers was the papacy. The merchants of Florence, Siena, and Lucca acted as agents of the papacy. They collected the tithes from other countries and conveyed them to Italy, and they soon gained control of the entire banking business. Through diplomatic acumen and loans granted to the royalty and nobility of other countries, the Sienese and Florentine bankers gained distinguished positions on foreign soil. Through respect, they commanded a lucrative trading business, especially with the Court of England and with the Orient. With wealth came patronage.[28]

The Medici bankers represented the "Lana," "Seta," and "Cambio" Guilds. Lorenzo the Magnificent was a member of all three guilds. At the same time, he was clever enough to gain the reputation of being a friend to the lesser guilds.

As patronage through the patriciate guilds waned in the early part of the fifteenth century, the important families took over the support of Florentine Arts. At the core of this patronage was the cult of Famiglia. Art and literature were supported not merely to

---

[27] Roy F. Willis, Western Civilization: An Urban Perspective (Lexington: D. C. Heath and Company, 1977), pp. 492, 493.

[28] L. G. Deruisseau, "Dress Fashion of the Italian Renaissance," Ciba Review (January 1939):613.

beautify the environment or to function as an educational medium, but basically to preserve the memory of the family for posterity. The compulsion to make the family eternal satisfied both the religious and the secular inclinations of the wealthy families.

Around 1400, the concept of realistic portraiture, both in paintings and busts, was conceived which answered the need of members of the great families to keep alive the memory of themselves among their kinsmen. Vasari observed that the death masks that were produced by the workshop of Verrocchio were in "every house in Florence, above the hearths, doors, windows, and cornices . . . so well made and natural that they appear alive."[29]

In the thirteenth century, the Catholic Church permitted the burial of laymen within the churches. Consequently, a number of mendicant churches were constructed in Italy that included private chapels and tombs with extravagant decorations. Kent remarks that "the cult of the clan and the Catholic cult of the dead here met as one."[30] With the rise of portraiture, fine realistic portraits were sculpted and placed on tombs as well as painted in the frescoes on chapel walls.

Of the surviving paintings in Florence, fine examples of Famiglia portraiture are the frescoes by Ghirlandaio for Giovanni Tornabuoni. The frescoes show 22 men, all of whom belonged to that ancient

---

[29] Kent, Household and Lineage, pp. 100-110.

[30] Ibid., p. 280.

magnate family. They have been called the thank offerings for family blessings and a prayer in effigy for intercession in favor of continued prosperous fertility. The frescoes make apparent the dynastic pride of the Florentine Famiglia. In 1450, Matteo Palmieri wrote that the family was a timeless continuum "of ancestors and of the living, and of those who by grace are to come. Men desire sons, grandsons, and descendants, to attain immortality in their seed."[31]

The massive patronage of the arts not only served the ego of the clan members, but also suggested to the public the greatness of the Famiglia. Their patronage of art, architecture, and sculpture gave them an opportunity to show the world the Famiglia's piety, wealth, and accomplishments.[32]

Social Problems

This era was not without its social repercussions. Because of the necessity for males to delay marriage, men, at the height of their sexuality, were deprived of a legitimate sexual outlet. Shakespeare's "Romeo and Juliet" describes perfectly the sexual tension and the intense emotional conditions. There were unmarried males as old as 30 years of age with no family responsibilities. Situations often deteriorated into rowdiness at the very least, but more likely into riots and murder. Characteristic of the age was the proliferation

---

[31] Ibid., p. 252.

[32] Ibid., pp. 279, 280.

of "dirty stories" such as those written by Boccaccio. Erotic tension sought its outlet not only in prostitution but even degenerated toward homosexuality. Tuscan homosexuality was more characteristic than lechery. Courtesans were present in Florence, but they did not flourish as well there as they did in Rome and Venice. It was often said at the time that Florentine mothers needn't worry about their daughters being deflowered as much as they had to protect their sons.[33]

The period from 1300 to 1550, was one of continuous inflation. This situation was due to overriding costs of warfare with neighboring city-states. By the fourteenth century, war became technically efficient and expensive and required the services of professional soldiers, the condotierri. Towns had to borrow money for increased expenditures. Even in those days, there was something called "deficit spending." A permanent public debt resulted in a fiscal policy which favored the families of the wealthy. In emergencies, the wealthy individuals were forced to lend Florence money with interest. The consequence of all this was that the distribution of wealth was such that one-third of the population had no money, whereas the 10 wealthiest families were as wealthy as the other two-thirds of the families put together.[34]

There was little contentment in the textile and related industries of Florence. The first recorded strike in history was in 1245

---

[33] Herlihy taped lectures, 14 and 18 June 1981.

[34] Ibid.

among the weavers. In 1378, the largest strike in Florence occurred among the carders and washers who were known as the "Ciompi" because of the wooden shoes they wore.

In 1492, America was discovered which eventually led to the decline of the mercantile states of Italy. Trade shifted from East to West as Spain, England and France were stimulated by further exploration in the New World.[35]

In facing the ultimate realities of every day life, woman was born to bear children, preferably male heirs. This was a precarious occupation considering the perils of childbirth during the Florentine Renaissance period. "Motherhood" had little meaning since the mother-child bonding was limited, but "mother" had an extremely strong connotation in the iconography of women. The significance of the "mother" iconography will be developed in succeeding chapters.

---

[35] Carolyn G. Bradley, Western World Costume (New York: Appleton-Century Crofts, 1954), p. 155.

CHAPTER III

THE GENERATIVE IDEAS FOR THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE FLORENTINE RENAISSANCE WOMAN

In the Florentine Renaissance, the male roles tended to be those of politician, religious leader, philosopher, warrior, and merchant, but the female roles tended to be teacher and mother. The conduct associated with each of these roles was patterned and tended toward male dominance including a double standard in sexual license. Women were dominated first by their fathers and then by their husbands in order to maintain clan or kinship rights and control over the reproductive powers of the female. These provisions favored the male progeny.[36]

Iconographies are personifications of universal abstractions, and the personifications are assigned certain attributes of form, character, and sex. An allegory is a series of symbolic actions taken by the personifications. The allegories of the Florentine Renaissance are male oriented in which female personifications have been given specific roles.

Renaissance man's perspective of the universe brought mankind into the modern age. Although Renaissance man found his lust for

---

[36] Felix M. Kiesing, Cultural Anthropology (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962), pp. 251-275.

woman perplexing and woman's fecundity mysterious, he was able to develop the humanistic female iconography of spiritual and divine love. As he researched the past, he found similarities between pagan accounts and Christian accounts of the creation of man, paradise, demigods, and the virgin birth. Evidence to prove or disprove those accounts do not exist and have been the subject of continuous controversy. There are similarities between the stories of the Christian tradition and those of a much earlier tradition, and they illustrate man's eternal need for spiritual fulfillment.

Renaissance artists thought that the Greeks of the Golden Age were the most artistic people in history. Michelangelo deemed it the highest compliment when his sculpture was compared favorably with those of the Greeks. The neo-Platonists of the Renaissance believed that the Golden Age of Athens was the greatest of all civilizations. They even called Florence the Italian Athens.

During the Florentine Renaissance period, the interest in antiquity left its indelible mark on the proliferation of iconographies of woman as teacher and mother. The Greek and the Roman gods and goddesses all possessed human frailties, but they also possessed eternal life. These concepts are important considerations in terms of the humanization of iconographies of the Virgin Mary and little Jesus and in the complex process by which Venus was superimposed on the image of the Virgin Mary.

During the Medieval period, man looked upon his time on earth as the test period, the short time of trials and tribulations for him to endure on his way to heaven. During the Florentine Renaissance, a cultural pluralism existed from which emerged different western life styles. As the cult of other-worldness waned, the cult of human individualism grew. There was an awakening of man's potential creative power and a sensitivity toward God, the universe, nature, and divine beauty. This creative awakening is apparent in the changes and development of the iconographies of woman during the Florentine Renaissance period.

The Religious Iconography of the Florentine Renaissance Woman

Symbolism is a universal form of communication. It cuts across all cultures and all social classes. Man uses symbology in religion as an aid in orienting himself to his existing situation. The western Christian movement grew out of both an oriental religious system and a Roman legal system in which the symbology for guilt and salvation are emphasized. It is a male-dominated religion which centers on a divine father-son relationship. The primary iconography of the Christian Church is that of the Lord-God who is the paternal guiding force. God is the creator of crime and punishment as well as the creator of free will. God caused man to be expelled from Paradise into a complex civilization and forced man to distinguish between right and wrong. When man makes a wrong choice, he discovers that God can be wrathful as well as merciful. The path on the journey through life is strewn with the need to make value judgments.

The iconography that is secondary to that of the Lord-God is the maternal matrix from which man came and to which man seeks to return. During the medieval age, the cult of the Virgin Mary and the cult of courtly love were so strong that the maternal matrix displaced the Lord-God as the primary iconography of the Christian Church. Courtly love was pure love, love for love's sake. The rules of the game were to disassociate material gain from the pursuit of the lady in question. Since women were either wives or in training to become wives, and marriage was for dynastic and business purposes, the goal of courtly love was the conquest of another man's wife. In practical terms, adultery was a crime and a sin, but in fantasy, courtly love elevated the status of women. Simultaneously, the adoration of the Virgin Mary was in vogue and this encouraged the adoration and idealization of women in general. In reality, however, Mary's immaculate conception precluded her as a role model for womanhood. Mary was too pure for woman to emulate, although every man expected his wife to be chaste and virtuous.

It was stipulated by the medieval Christian Church that all who wished eternal life must enter heaven in the state of pure self and without conflict. This condition of pure being was essentially adopted from Eastern mysticism. Erickson believes that the Church was so efficient in promoting the reality of hell that it made a nightmare out of the existing world.[37] Life was so frightening that

---

[37] Erik H. Erikson, Young Man Luther (New York: W. W. Norton, 1962), pp. 263-267.

the mystics contemplated death as the only means to eternal peace. Since there was no peace or happiness on earth, the mystics sought "a simple stillness" and "an eternal silence."[38]

Although there were numerous theologians who were instrumental in developing the iconography of woman, the three most responsible for man's attitude toward the Florentine Renaissance woman were St. Paul, St. Thomas Acquinas, and St. Francis. Many of the theological beliefs about women were derived from St. Paul. The invectives against women made by the Church Fathers were justified by misogynistic interpretations of the Pauline Letters. St. Thomas looked to Aristotle for his intellectualizations on the condition of women. St. Francis, on the other hand, had little to say about women, but he was the guiding force in counteracting the intellectual elitism of Scholasticism. He created an atmosphere that encouraged emotional expression which was carried on by his followers. This opened the way for the neo-Platonic school of philosophy and the humanization of the iconography of woman.

St. Paul was a product of the two traditions, the Eastern one in which women were created for male pleasure, and the Roman tradition of "Patria Potestas," paternal authority, upon which Canon Law is based. Out of this tradition developed the Christian dual position of women.[39] Woman must cover her head as a sign of

---

[38] Alice Kemp-Welch, Of Six Mediaeval Women (Williamstown, Mass.: Corner House Publishers, 1972), p. 28.

[39] Winifred Holtby, Women and a Changing Civilization (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1935), pp. 22-25.

subjection and she must not speak at public meetings. Paul's letter to the Ephesians admonishes husbands and wives: "Wives, be subject to your husbands as to the Lord; for the man is head of the woman, "Vir caput est mulieris," as Christ is head of the Church."[40]

Thomistic-Christian Aristotelianism made a strong impression on the reasoning used by the church intellectuals[41] which synthesized Aristotle with Christianity with the account of the creation of women in Genesis 1: 26-27 and 2: 22-23 and concluded that the female is an incomplete or defective male.

The Christian theologians pondered the question of whether or not woman was in the image of God. According to Aquinas, man was made in the image of God, but woman was made in the image of man since she was created "ex viro propter virum," from the body of man.[42] Therefore, it is by grace and not by nature that woman is in God's image. Man was the "beginning and end of woman, as God is the beginning and end of every creature."[43] The conclusion was that for the good of mankind, those who are of inferior nature

---

[40] Ephesians 5:21-22.

[41] Franklin Le Van Baumer, ed., Main Currents of Western Thought (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978), p. 51. The Thomist synthesis did not become truly authoritative for Catholics until the sixteenth century.

[42] Ian Maclean, The Renaissance Notion of Woman (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1980), p. 13.

[43] Frances Gies and Joseph Gies, Women in the Middle Ages (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1980), p. 41.

must be governed by those of superior nature. Since woman is frail in "both vigor of the soul and strength of body, (she is) by nature subject to man, in whom reason predominates."[44] This theory permeated even the neo-Platonic iconographies of woman, since the depiction of the ideal woman was unrelated to the social and legal realities of woman's life in the Florentine Renaissance.

Eve

The Eden myth of the Old Testament explains the origin of death. In the Christian tradition, however, the concept of man's inherent sinfulness and the need for salvation is reaffirmed. In the allegory of man's expulsion from an idyllic environment (Eden or Paradise) into an urban environment, woman, who is accused of being responsible for man's "fall," is the teacher who helps him to adjust to the realities of life. The idyllic life has the positive qualities of charming simplicity and leisure while urban life has the negative qualities of corruption, disease, and drudgery. Through the loss of his innocence, man is given knowledge. Florentine man was an urbanite who looked to antiquity for representations of the idyllic life.

The moralistic writings of the Church Fathers led to the iconography of Eve as representing original sin. They linked original sin to the archaic practice of "churching" because they were still

---

[44] Barbara W. Tuchman, A Distant Mirror: The Calamitous Fourteenth Century (New York: Ballentine Books, 1979), p. 214.

mystified by female physiology. The Eastern influence of the Judaic Law still prevailed during the Florentine Renaissance. "Churching" is the doctrine of uncleanliness and purification and it governs the concepts of sex, marriage and maternity.[45] Woman was considered unclean when she menstruated and after childbirth. Even that which she touched during these periods became unclean and possibly harmful to man. This was a common mystical belief. Clothing or possessions take on the owner's personality by acquiring the smells and spirit of that person. Therefore, if someone else touched these things, the spirit of the owner would invade the body of the one who touched the possessions.

In Christianity, "churching" disqualified women from taking communion, from touching sacred vessels and it also excluded them from sacred places during the unclean periods. The Scholastics linked original sin with menstruation. Women were symbolically unclean and therefore, sinful. Women had to cover their heads in church because they had to bear the burden of shame for the sin of the first mother, Eve, and to cover up their inferiority. Besides, offensive display of female hair would arouse lustful desires and unclean thoughts in the men who attended church.[46]

There are a number of ancient stories about who was the original Adam. At first, man and woman were undivided, that is to say,

---

[45] Holtby, Women and a Changing Civilization, p. 19.

[46] Maclean, The Renaissance Notion of Woman, p. 17.

Adam was originally androgynous (Figure 7). The theory that Adam was androgynous and that his female half was separated from him while in a deep sleep, held strong appeal for the neo-Platonic philosophers, because it implied that God was also androgynous. Renaissance physiologists, however, considered hermaphrodites to be monsters. This Adam was the ideal, the perfect man who was to come to earth at the period of redemption. This ideal man never did appear on earth. The Adam of the Bible was the Adam of Genesis who was fashioned from dust and the immaterial spirit. Adam of Genesis became the ancestor of the human race. Inherent in Adam was the polarity of the material and the immaterial. In the context of the male-dominated Bible, the Lord-God is placed in the female role of giving birth to Adam by mixing a pre-existent soul with the clay of earth. Inherent in Adam is Eve, his dormant senses. The Lord-God took a rib from Man and fashioned it into Woman. Woman became the personification of sensuality and was named Eve. Man said, "This one at last is bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh. This one shall be called Woman for from Man she was taken."[47]

The serpent is often depicted with the head of a female (Figure 8). Before the encounter with the serpent in the Tree of Knowledge, both Adam and Eve were naked, but felt no shame since their perceptual senses lay dormant. They were leading an idyllic life in Paradise. Eve, the woman, saw that the tree was beautiful

---

[47] Gunther W. Plaut, The Torah, Genesis: A Modern Commentary (New York: Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1974), pp. xviii and 19.

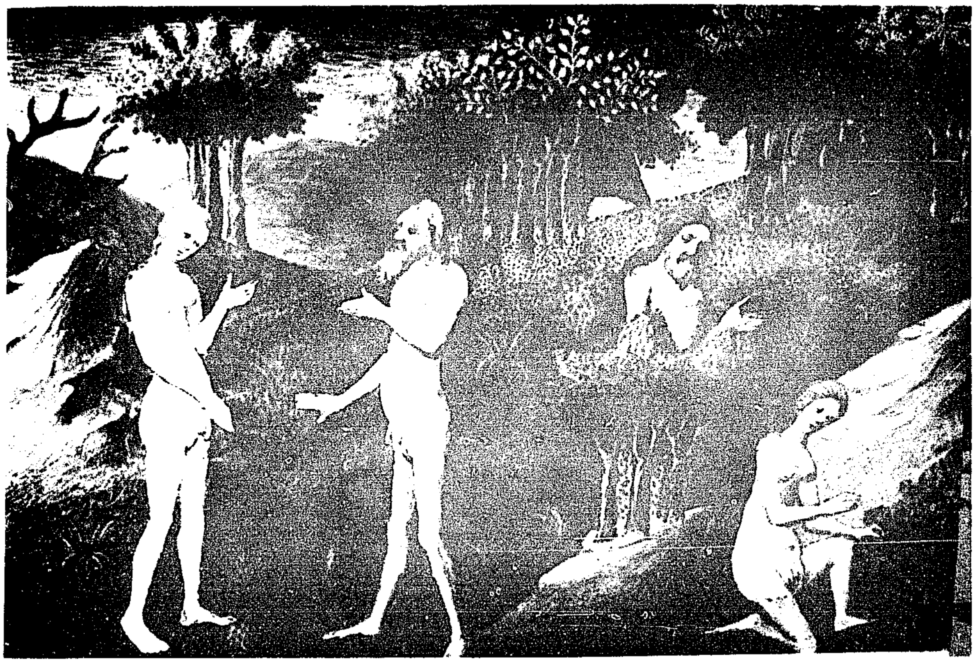


Fig. 7. 13th Century Miniature. Adam and Eve as hermaphrodites.

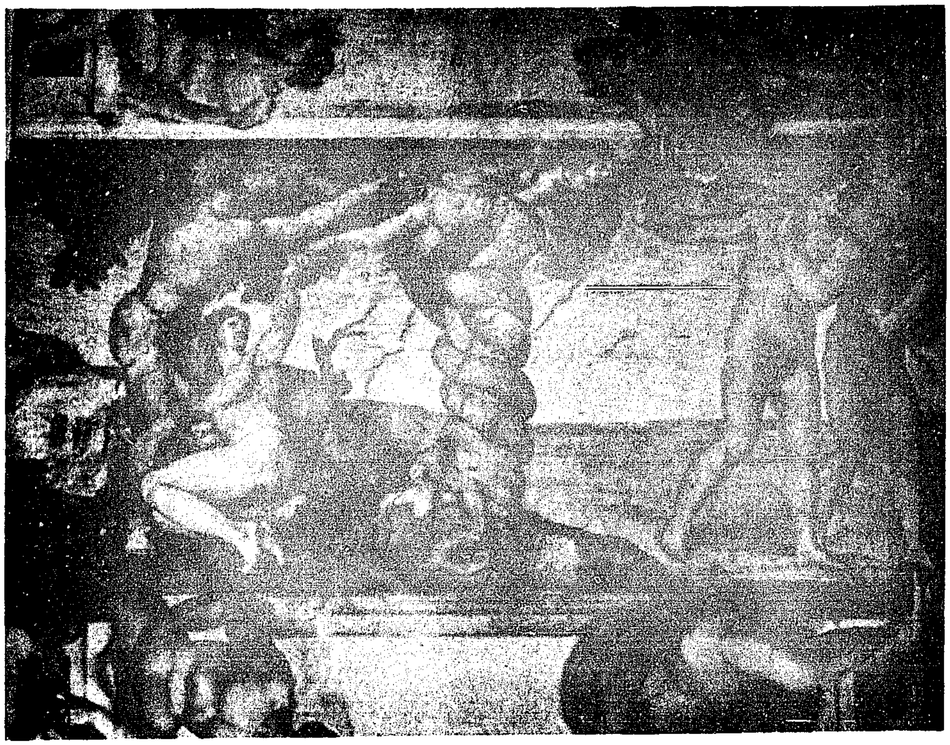


Fig. 8. Michelangelo. The Temptation and Expulsion from Eden, Sistine Chapel Ceiling. The serpant with head and torso of woman.

and the fruit tasted good. In this role, woman was the teacher, giving knowledge to man. Man lost his innocence by tasting knowledge. All of man's senses were awakened and his mind was stimulated. He was given the power to discern good from evil and had the potential to know as much as God. At the same time, he was limited by his mortal, clay origins.[48] For teaching Adam to use his senses, woman had to pay the price. The Lord-God said to her, "I will make most severe your pangs in childbearing; in pain shall you bear children. Yet, your urge shall be for your husband, and he shall rule over you."[49] Then the Lord-God made garments of skins for Adam and his wife, Eve (Figure 9).

In another interpretation of Genesis, there are two trees, the Tree of Life and the Tree of Knowledge. In this interpretation, the Lord-God was overcome with human feelings of anxiety and He said, "Man has become like one of us, knowing good and bad. If man stretches out his hand to take the fruit from the Tree of Life and eat, he will also live forever!"[50] Overwhelmed by the thought, the Lord-God banished them from the Garden of Eden, and Adam had to learn the meaning of work.

Since man had the potential of free will, he then knew the difference between good and evil. He had the power of choice,

---

[48] Actually, the Lord used Eve as an instrument of learning.

[49] Plaut, The Torah, Genesis, p. 31.

[50] Ibid., p. 32.

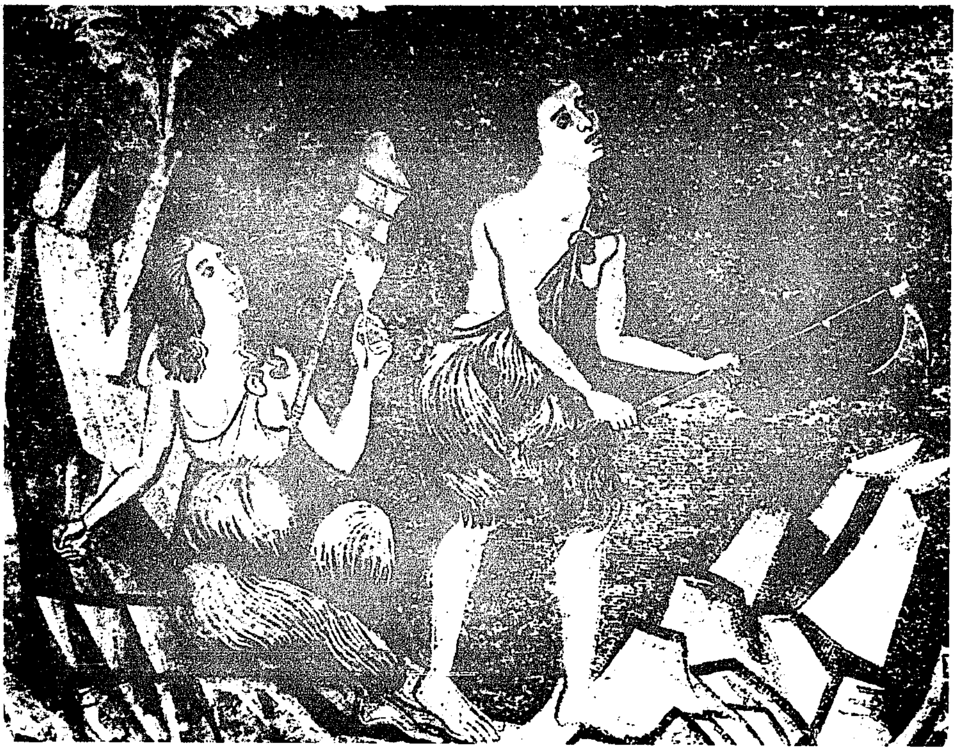


Fig. 9. Adam and Eve. 13th Century. Mankind's first "furs."

that is, the power to make value judgments. To choose evil is to sin. Christian tradition taught that since Adam transgressed, and since he was the father of the human race, all his progeny are inherently sinful. This was called the "Fall of Man" by the Christian Fathers and what is meant by original sin. Man's redemption could come only through Jesus Christ. Faith in Christ was necessary to be saved from original sin.[51]

To the Augustinians, this whole episode had sexual symbology. Knowledge was interpreted as carnal knowledge, since once Adam and Eve ate the fruit from the Tree of (Sexual) Knowledge, Adam became sensually aware of the sexual difference between man and woman (Figure 10). Guilt overcame him, whereupon the Lord-God clothed them with the skins. The symbology also represents man's journey through life--from innocent childhood to adulthood--from dependency on the father-figure to cutting the ties and making one's own living.

Although man was made mortal, he also had the unique ability to contemplate his own death. This led him to search for spiritual immortality. A common metaphor is the eating or drinking of a sacred substance that would bring eternal youth or immortality to man. The Christian sacrament alludes to this metaphor.[52]

---

[51] Ibid., pp. 31, 32, 34.

[52] Ibid., pp. 35, 36.

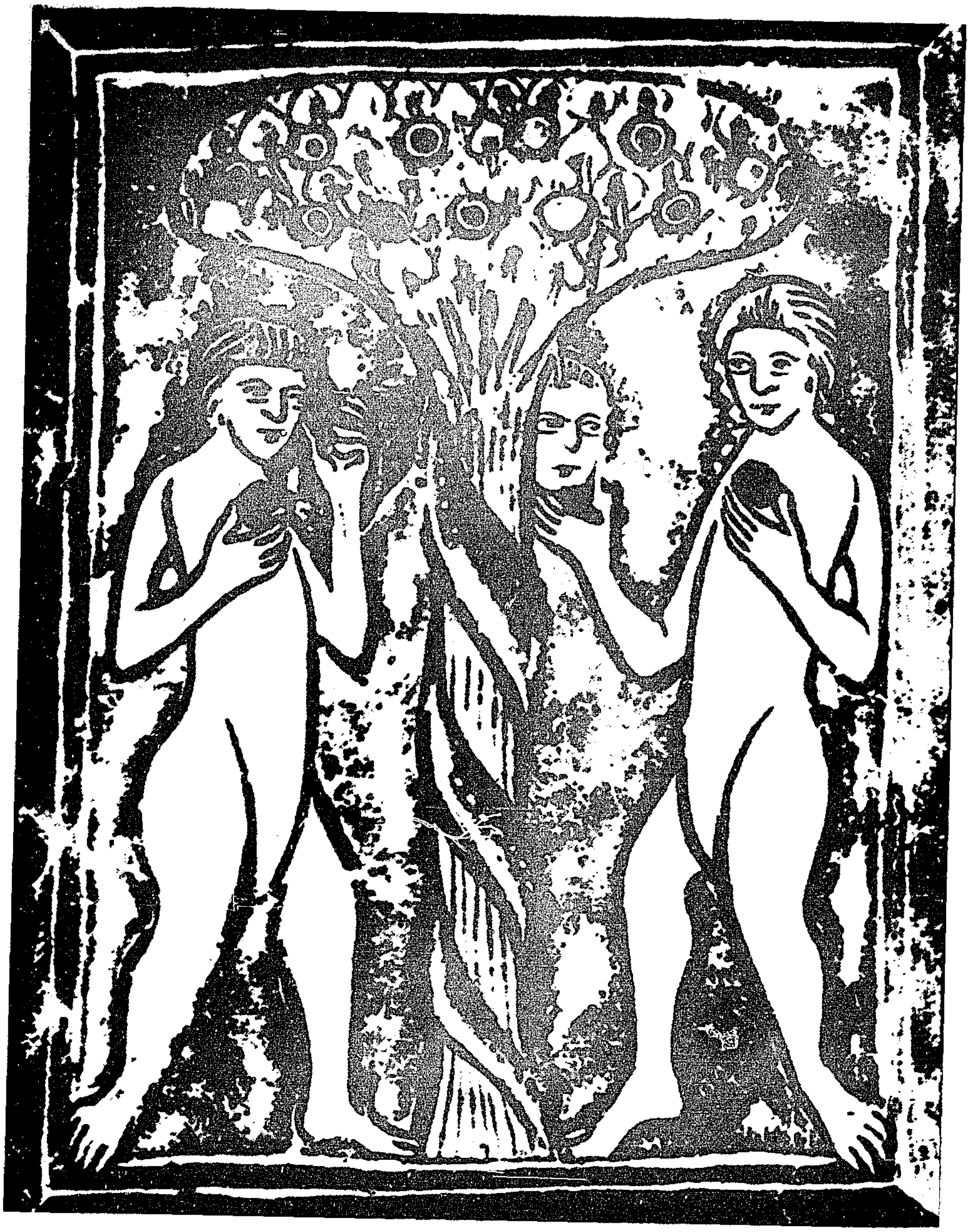


Fig. 10. 14th Century Woodcut. Adam and Eve before they ate from the Tree of Knowledge and became sensually aware of sexual differences.

The Virgin Mary

In the allegory of the four seasons, woman takes on the personification of Mother Earth or the Virgin Mother. In the spring, the plowman furrows the virgin earth and broadcasts his seed. There is growth during the summer, and the earth bears her fruit which is then harvested. In winter, the earth is barren and dead. In the spring, the earth is fertile once again. An illustration of this ancient mother iconography is the Minoan one which flourished on the isle of Crete in the years 3000 B.C. to 1500 B.C. This was the earliest high civilization of Europe. The Minoan snake goddess, with bare breasts and flounced skirt, seems to be a Mother Goddess who could renew life[53] (Figure 11). The snake was significant to the Minoans because of its ability to shed its skin. The snake represented the Minoan belief in a resurrected god. The earth goddess, or great mother goddess brings forth fruit which is harvested. The harvest is represented by a divine infant or demigod. As winter comes, the people mourn the death of the young god, and as spring arrives, life renews itself and the people celebrate the resurrection of their god.

The cult of the Virgin Mary, or Marianism, is the Christian belief in the superiority of the feminine spirit. This iconography can be traced back to the Mother Earth Goddess tradition. This metaphor spread throughout the Mediterranean from Italy to Spain.

---

[53] Joseph Judge, "Minoans and Mycenaeans, Sea Kings of the Aegean," National Geographic, February 1978, pp. 146, 150, 151, 167.

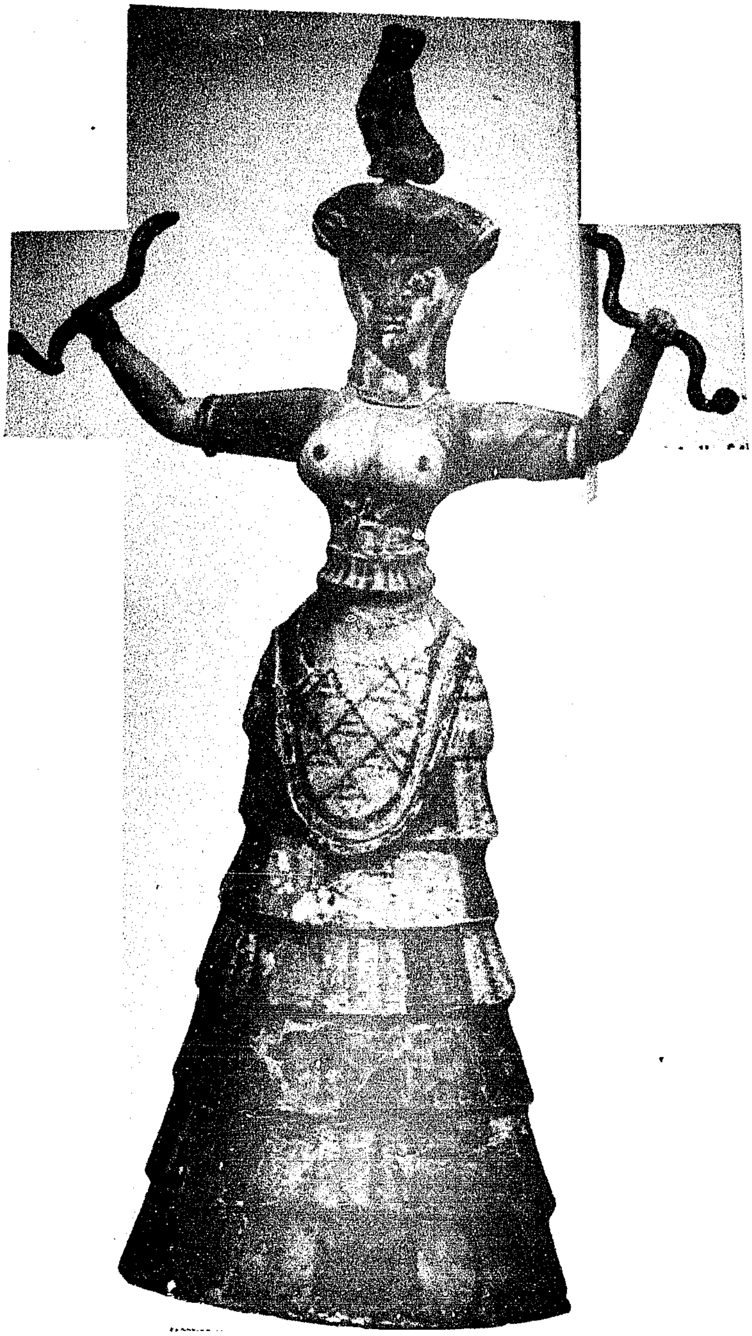


Fig. 11. The Minoan Snake Goddess.

In the allegory of the four seasons, man sows his seeds in the furrows of Mother Earth. Although she may be barren without man's seeds, she is a goddess and possesses eternal life. It is she who bears the fruit, a son, who is a demigod (half man, half goddess). When he dies (the harvesting of the fruit), the mother grieves for her dying son. This "Mater Dolorosa," "Mother of Sorrows," metaphor is found in the New Testament story of the death, lamentation and resurrection of Jesus Christ (Figure 12).

Marianism became the special veneration of the Virgin Mary when she was pronounced the Mother of God at the Council of Ephesus in A.D. 431. The creation of two poles emerged: that of the masculine, father-son, and that of the feminine, Mary, Mother of God. The ideal characteristics of the Virgin Mary are semidivinity, moral superiority, and spiritual strength with an infinite capacity for humility and sacrifice. The iconography of the Mother of God engendered a reverence for the maternal aspect of womanhood that is shared by mother goddesses, Mary, and all women.[54]

Mary was venerated as a Mother Goddess, and miracles were attributed to her by the common people. She was depicted as the supreme protectress of mankind, the unapproachable Queen of Heaven. Mary was also given redemptive powers. She was the second Eve and the instrument of salvation. Eve was condemned to human suffering and pain in childbirth. Mary, who was semidivine, gave birth to

---

[54] Ann Pescatello, ed., Female and Male in Latin America (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1973), pp. 91-99.

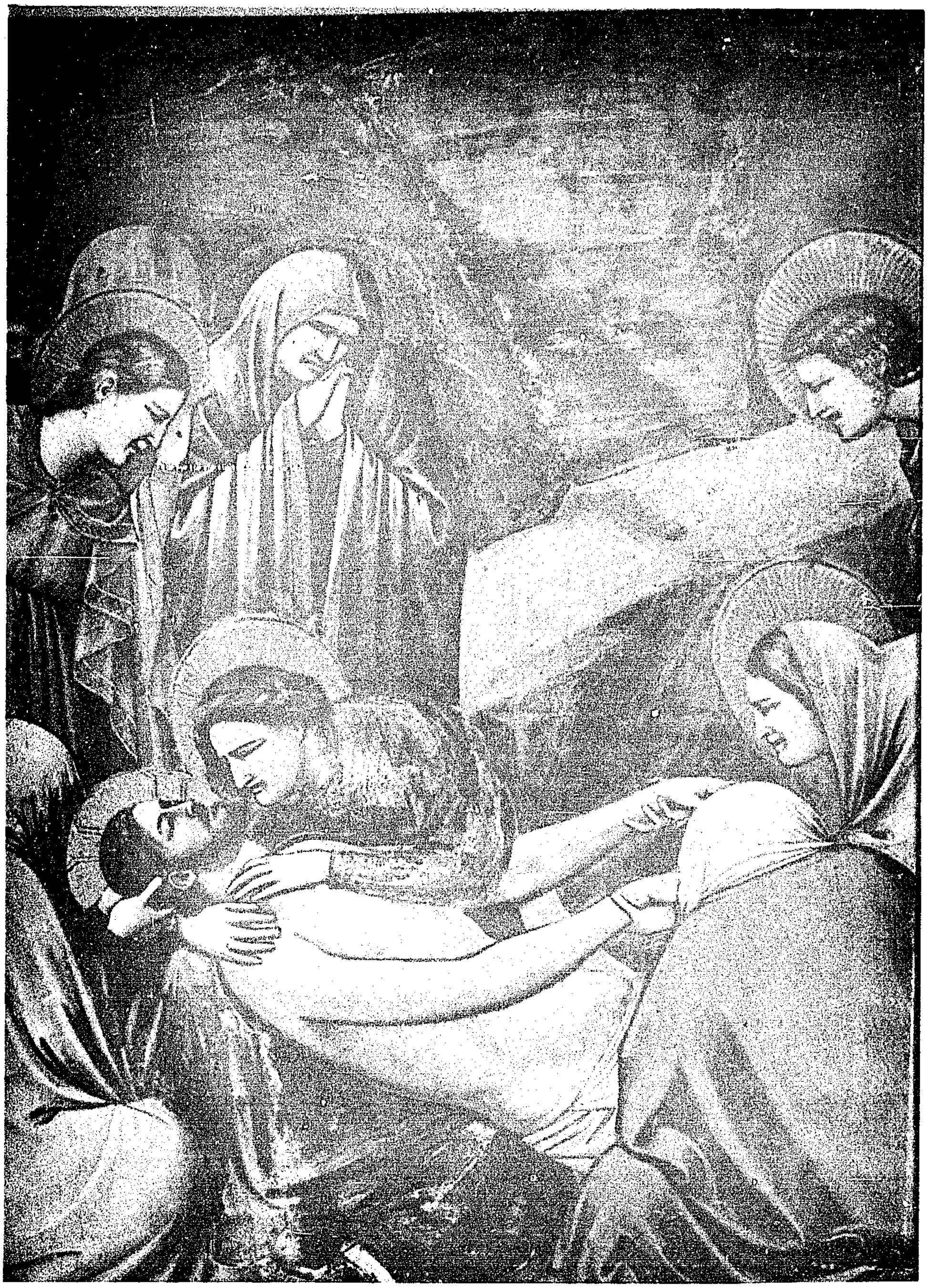


Fig. 12. Giotto. c. 1305. The Lamentation. Fresco detail.

Jesus, the Savior, without pain and suffering. Mary's suffering only began at the death, not the birth of her son. In this role, the characteristics of Marianism are compassion, charity, devoutness, and the capacity to suffer deeply. At the same time, Mary is like no other woman can ever hope to be. According to St. Peter Canisius, Mary was unique because she was a virgin, but not sterile, made fruitful by God, bearing a son, but uncorrupted by man, a virgin who nursed her son, conceived a savior, gave birth to God without pain, but nevertheless a virgin. She is unique. Her relationship to women is that of unattainable perfection in the same way that Christ is a model to men. Essentially, it was her virginity that was stressed by the Catholic writers. Virginity was the greatest gift a maiden could bring to her husband. Once married, a Florentine wife was also expected to develop the virtues of humility, silence, obedience, mortification, modesty, and prudence.[55]

With the dawn of the Florentine Renaissance, Mary became the mother who could intercede with her son, the stern master (Figure 13). Then, the veneration of Mary evolved into divine and spiritual love which in turn became divine and spiritual love for women. The lady of noble birth was idealized by the humanists (Figure 14). The iconography was humanized further into a peasant girl (Figure 15). Finally, in the Mannerist school, a full-blown Venus lay superincumbent on the throne of sacred love (Figure 16). Sensuality

---

[55] Maclean, The Renaissance Notion of Woman, p. 23.

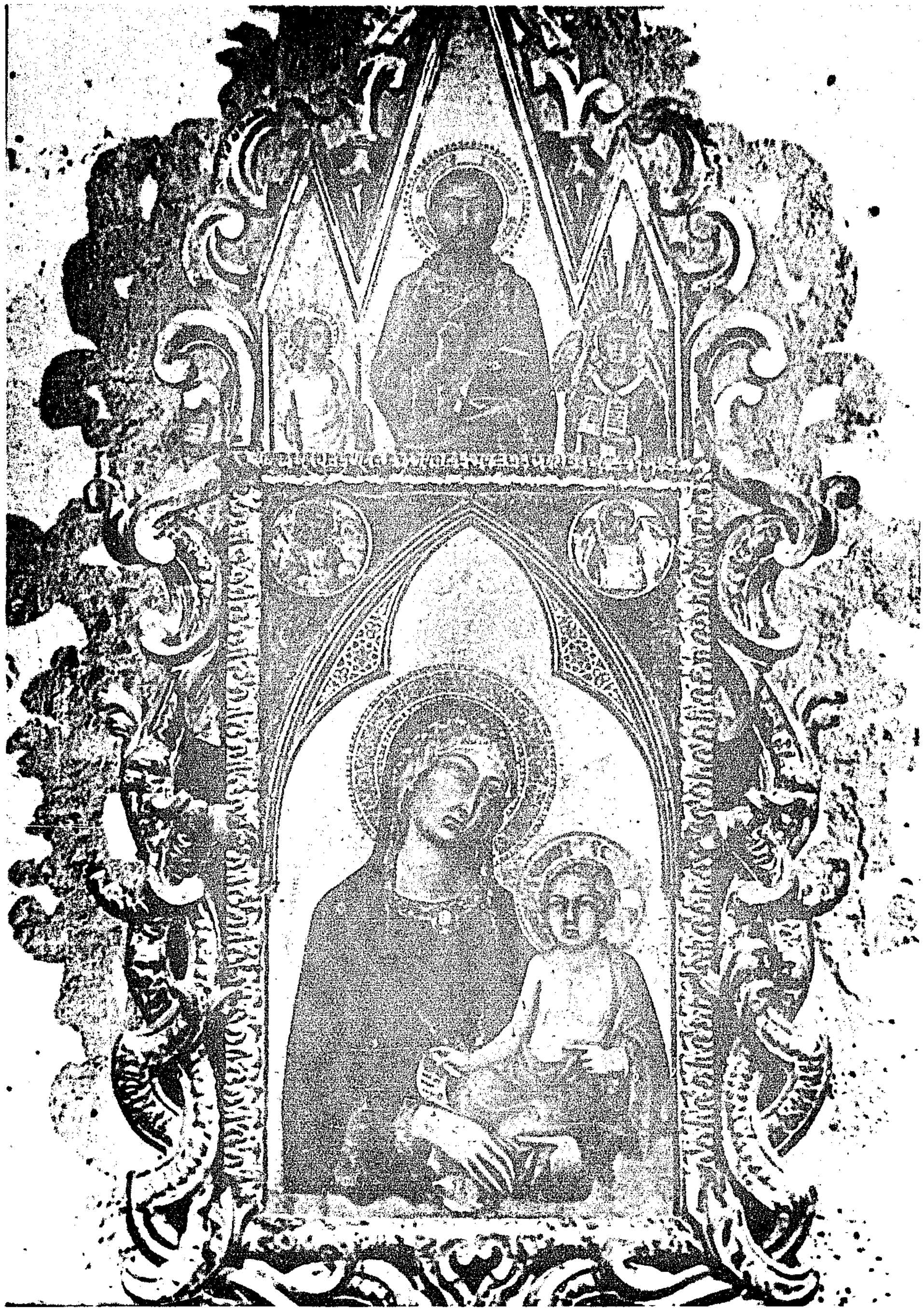


Fig. 13. Simone Martini. 1285-1357. The Orvietto Madonna and Child.

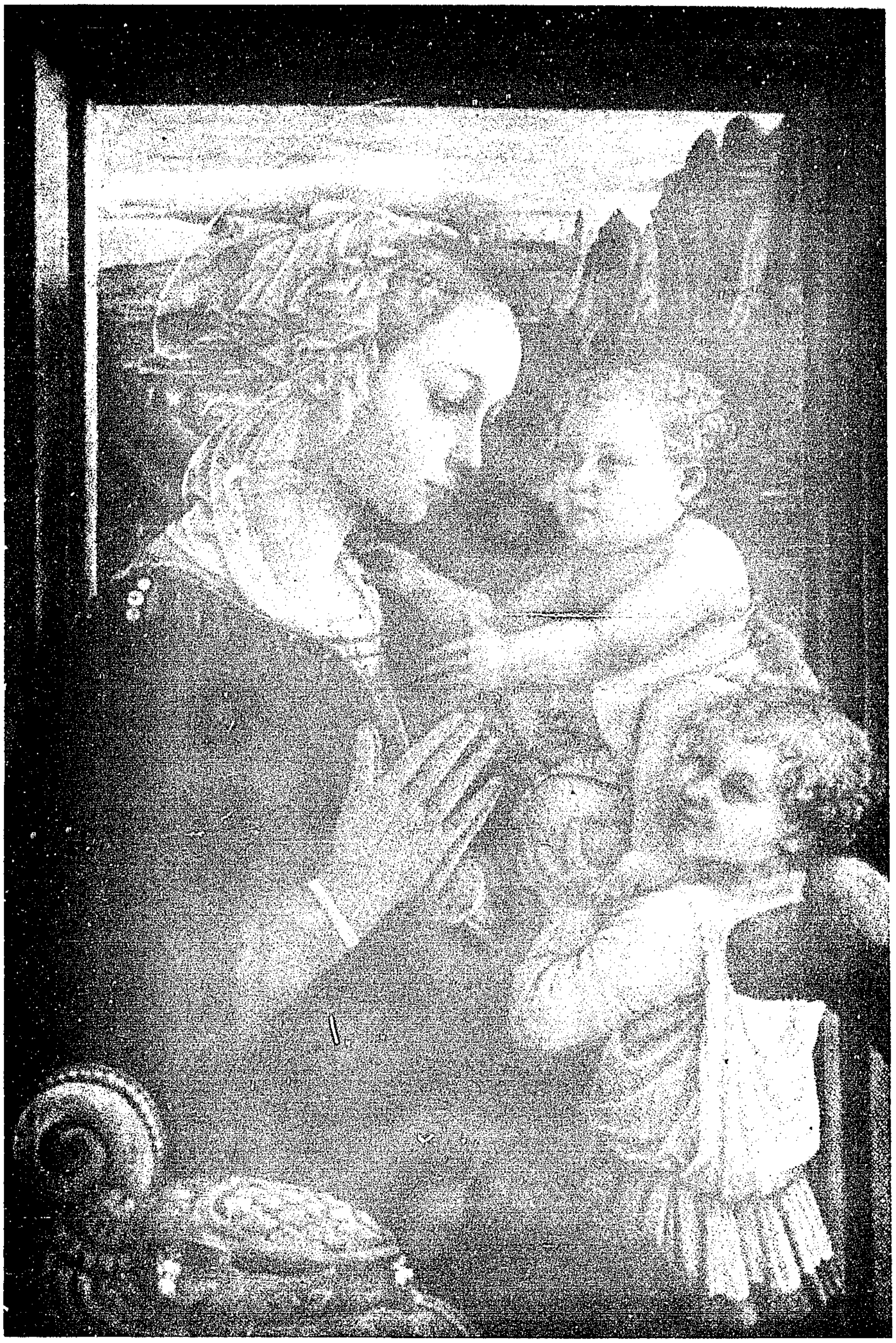


Fig. 14. Filippo Lippi. 1406-1469. Virgin and Child. Mary's blond hair and high forehead.

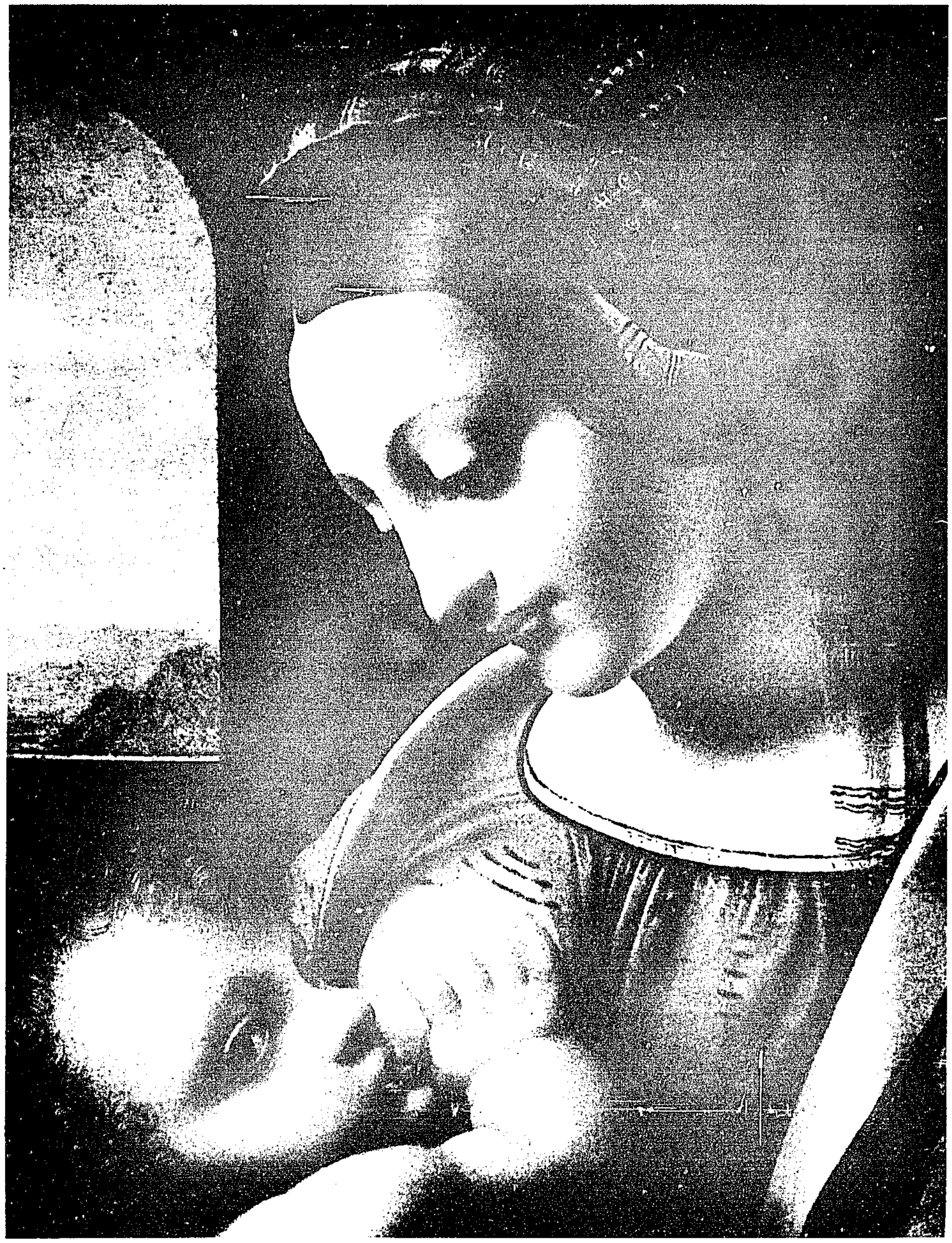


Fig. 15. Leonardo da Vinci. 1452-1519. Detail. Madonna Litta, Leningrad. Classless young woman in maternity dress.

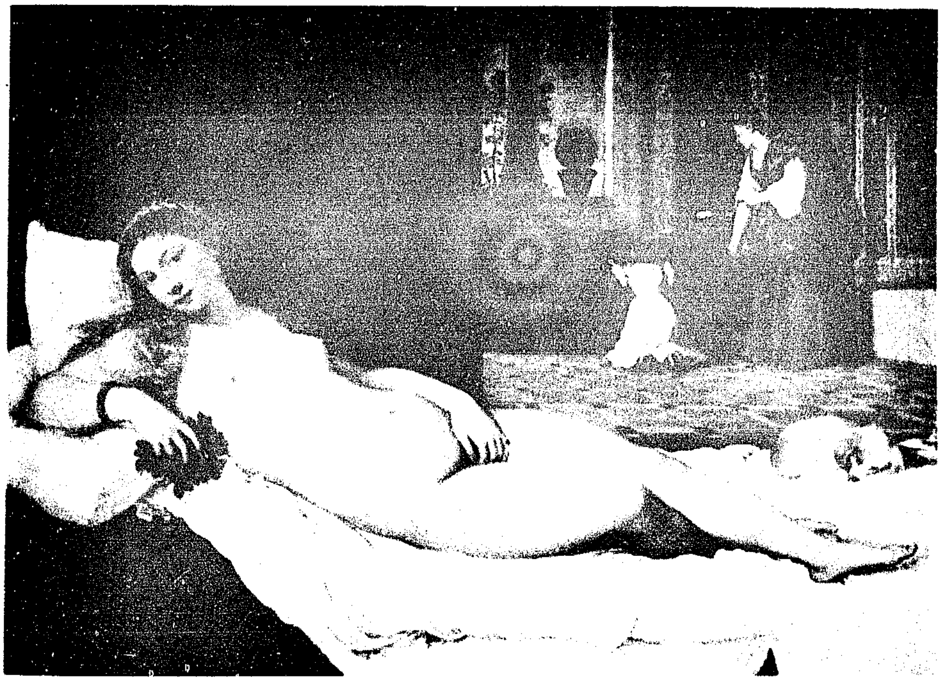


Fig. 16. Titian. 1477-1576. Venus of Urbino. Sacred Love.

was combined with religious doctrine. Where once the fully-clothed Mary represented unattainable spirituality, the naked female form became the approachable divine spirit.

The theologians endowed woman with a dual personality. When she was Eve, she was mentally and morally inferior to man by nature, and therefore, she had to be subjected to his will for the good of humanity. When she was Mary, she was spiritually virtuous and beyond man's reach. This duality was further modified and refined by the philosophers of Christian humanism and neo-Platonism.

Neo-Platonic Humanism, the Philosophy of The Florentine Renaissance

Humanism was a reaction against the Medieval Scholastic-Aristotelian education which was founded upon the ancient Greek principle of pure reason. The Greek philosophers held the senses in contempt. The genesis of empiricism lay in the early humanistic movement. Empiricism relies on the senses to arrive at solutions. The humanists did not reject Greek philosophies; to the contrary, they sought out the original "antique" manuscripts written in Greek, classical Latin and Hebrew. However, the humanists wanted to experience the wisdom of the ancients rather than to rely on the medieval translations, and therefore, they translated these manuscripts into Italian themselves.

Renaissance Florence had an unusually high literacy rate. About one-third of the male population was literate. There was an educational system which trained boys to become merchants and another to train boys for careers in law, medicine and theology. In addition, the guilds had developed systems of instruction for apprentices. Just as in other facets of Florentine life, education became more private and exclusive in the quatrocento. The most renowned and most exclusive private salon of learning (later identified as the Platonic Academy) was conducted by Ficino. Men from all over Europe came to meet with Ficino and to pursue learning for its own sake.[56]

Most middle-class children received formal instruction in one of the schools of the commune beginning at the age of seven. Boys learned first to read and then they later studied accounting. After the age of nine or ten, these students became apprentices in a bank or a bottega. When a girl reached the age of nine or ten, she began grooming for marriage or she was consigned to a nunnery. If the family could not afford a dowry, the girl would probably become a domestic servant.

University education was exclusively for men. The wealthier woman of Florence was encouraged, through private education, to read in Italian, Latin, and perhaps Greek. Her education was moralistic and designed to help her with her religion and to enhance her worth to her husband. Florentine women were kept secluded and protected and were not encouraged to display their

---

[56] Stanley Chodorow, ed., The Other Side of Western Civilization: Readings in Everyday Life, The Ancient World to the Reformation (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1979), pp. 343-346.

erudition. Even the enlightened Leonardo Bruni (1369-1444) wrote in 1405 that women should learn to read, but arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy were not worthwhile for women.[57] There were no Vittoria Colonnas or d'Este sisters among the women who were married to the conservative Florentine bankers and merchants.[58] No women participated in the Platonic Academy or in any of the Medici cultural salons.[59]

Women of wealth were emancipated from suckling or caring for children, but that was the reason, too, that they tended to become pregnant more often than the poor women who had to nurse their young. They also had complicated households to run with large staffs of servants and slaves. Such duties left little time for the leisurely pleasure of reading. On a limited basis, the widows did enjoy participating in the principal social past time, the discussion of love. Love was synonymous with sexual intrigue.

---

[57] Ruth Kelso, Doctrine for the Lady of the Renaissance (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1956), p. 69.

[58] J. H. Plumb, The Renaissance (New York: The American Heritage Publishing Company, 1961), p. 354.

[59] Elise Boulding, The Underside of History (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1976), p. 541. The Court of King Robert of Anjou in Naples is given credit for being the first Renaissance setting in which women were encouraged to participate not for their "purity" but for their "wit."

To discuss love was to discuss "philosophy." For example, Fiametta, the leading lady in Boccaccio's Decameron and Filocolo,[60] would present a "philosophical" question on love and then she and her guests would proceed to answer it through deductive and inductive logic. Nothing really hung in the balance. It was more a form of recreation than a form of serious intellectual pursuit.

Dante was the precursor of the Italian Renaissance and Petrarch was called the Father of the Italian Renaissance. Florence was the center of humanistic philosophy and these men both absorbed and contributed to its intellectual and cultural environment. Their importance herein lies in their use of female iconography as personifications of divine spirit, love and beauty. They taught Renaissance man to see man's relationship to his universe with fresh eyes. The female iconographies were further modified by Marsillio Ficino and the neo-Platonists who were responsible for idealizing the purity of the female form. Although woman was still looked upon as the weaker sex, at least the humanists did not consider her a defective male.

Dante Alighieri (1265-1321)

Dante opened the door to the Florentine Renaissance. He was called the poet of the Italian language because he wrote in the

---

[60] Giovanni Boccaccio, The Most Pleasant and Delectable Questions of Love (Garden City, N.Y.: Halcyon House, n.d.). Fiammetta was the natural daughter of King Robert of Naples, Maria d'Aquino, who died of the plague in 1348.

Tuscan dialect and his work broadly appealed to the middle class. In that sense he was humanistic. Also, he remained a medieval figure because, like Thomas Aquinas, he believed that the only way to gain knowledge of all things was through theology. Man must first understand his relation to God (Figure 17).

The great event in Dante's life that influenced his attitude and his literary works was meeting Beatrice when he was nine and Beatrice was eight years old. Through her, he discovered that love could set the whole world in harmony. The principal personification in the "Divine Comedy" is Beatrice through whom Dante finds his peace in a heavenly court. Beatrice brings to mind Petrarch's personification of Laura. The imageries of the two women are precursors to the neo-Platonic imagery developed by Marsillio Ficino at the Florentine Platonic Academy. Beatrice represents love which motivates life. Beatrice, through her exceptional beauty, unlocked the secret of love for Dante. Through the vision of her beauty, love became the Christian sacrament.

Francesco Petrarch (1302-1374)

Petrarch was a professional educator and writer who was troubled by the emotional sterility of the medieval universities. He created a new set of standards for higher education based on a classical model and on contemplative Christian humanism.[61]

---

[61] Herlihy, Taped lectures, 20 June 1980.

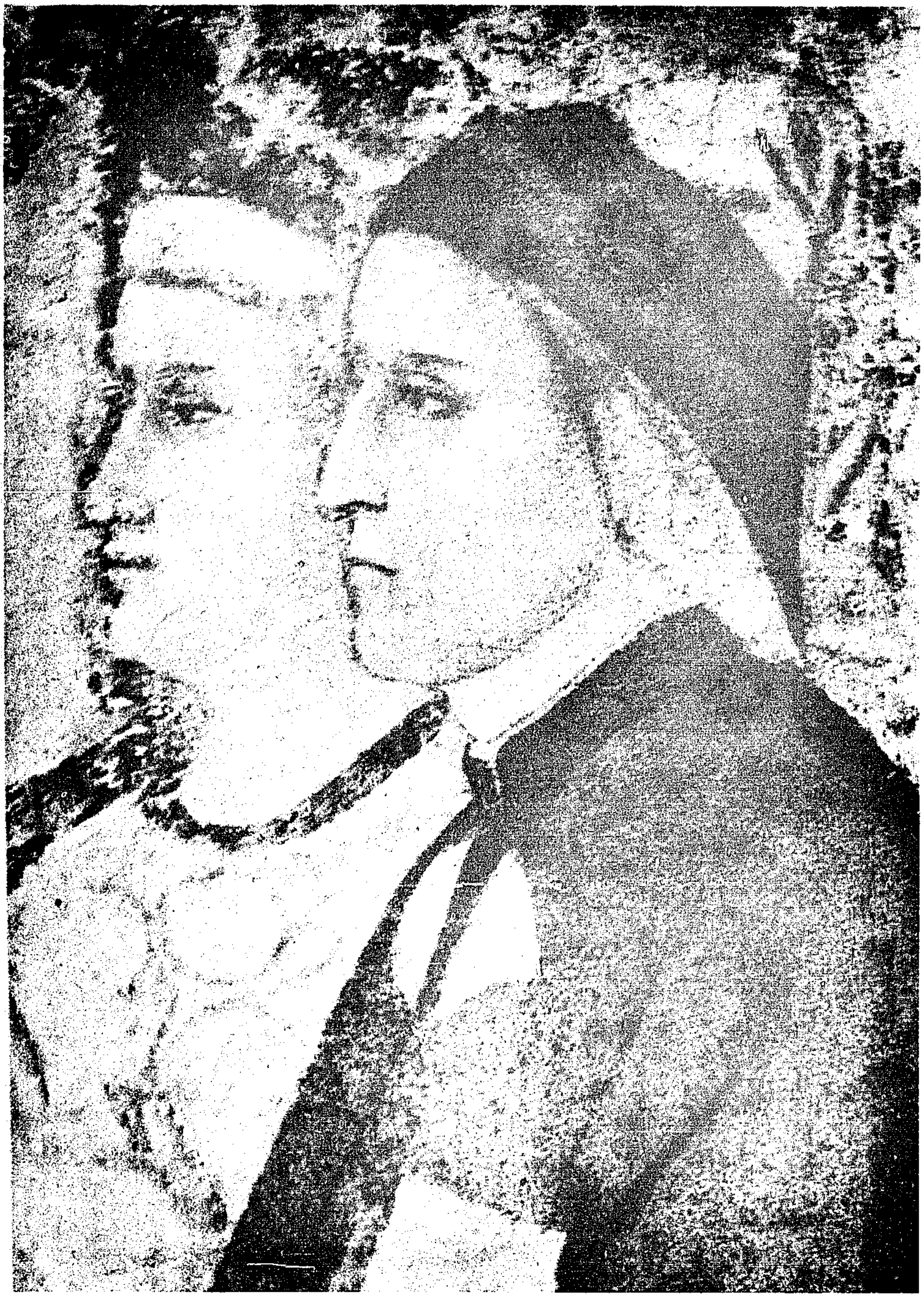


Fig. 17. Giotto. Portrait of Dante.

He felt that contemplation was essential for leading a morally good life. Man must always be reminded of and be guided by his mortality. "Memento Mori," remember death, was Petrarch's theme.[62]

The classical models for his design of higher education were the values of Greek and Roman antiquity. Petrarch was the originator of the appellation, the Golden Age of Greece. He sought to read about antiquity in the original Greek and classical Latin texts.

Petrarch is remembered as a poet who sang of man's love for woman, for nature and for his native land. As a poet, Petrarch was inspired by the vision of Laura. Petrarch met Laura when he was 23 years old. Laura died some 20 years later in the plague of 1348. By her death, Petrarch claimed to be spiritually transformed, but, even while she was still alive, he had outgrown his passion for Laura as a woman, but maintained and cultivated his love for Laura, the poetic image, until the day he died. Laura was the personification of wisdom and eloquence. She showed man the way to moral, cultural and aesthetic fulfillment. Petrarch was convinced that Laura's beauty reflected the beauty of life and that "poetry and glory were man's loftiest goals.[63]

---

[62] Donald Weinstein, ed., The Renaissance and the Reformation: 1300-1600 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), p. 2.

[63] Aldo S. Bernardo, Petrarch, Laura, and the Triumphs (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1974), p. 27.

Marsillio Ficino (1433-1499)

The humanists were principally teachers of grammar, rhetoric and the classics. The Florentine humanist and teacher, Marsillio Ficino, recreated the works of Plato and Plotinus in terms of his own time. Also, he made an outstanding contribution to humanistic thought through his principal work, "The Theologia Platonica."[64]

Around 1397, Byzantine scholars began arriving in Florence. They helped to popularize an interest in the original texts of ancient Greek philosophy. These knowledgeable men made a distinct impression on Ficino, who had already been deeply influenced by Petrarch's love for the Golden Age of Greece.

The humanistic ambiance of Florence left its mark on Ficino's doctrine on the dignity of man and on his theory of love. He tried to reconcile Plato with Christianity. He was indebted to Augustine for his theories concerning God and the soul, but his most important concepts were derived from reading Plato and other ancients in the original. He was particularly indebted to the Egyptian, Plotinus, for his neo-Platonic ideas although Ficino's humanistic interpretation of them belongs to the Florentine Renaissance.[65]

---

[64] Paul Oskar Kristeller, The Philosophy of Marsillio Ficino (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), pp. 3-12

[65] Ibid., pp. 12-15, 18-23.

The core of "Theologica Platonica" is Ficino's metaphysics concerning the relation of the concept of soul to the concept of God. The perfection of the soul is bound to its spiritual ascent and to the soul's contemplative attitude. The spiritual ascent corresponds to four degrees of virtue: civic virtue, purifying virtue, virtue of the purified soul, and the exemplar virtue when the soul arrives at the union with God. The ethic of happiness and the highest good is identified with the inner (spiritual) ascent of the soul and with the knowledge of God. The sensuous life is subject to the rule of time, and the contemplative life becomes part of eternity. What is natural depends on nature; what is spiritual depends on God.[66]

Ficino's neo-Platonism was Platonic in philosophy, Christian in theology, and humanistic in values. Ficino's humanism encouraged a cultural pluralism and a variety of life styles by focusing on the dignity and worth of the individual. In defending individual dignity, he made the personal immortality of the soul his major theme of philosophy. This viewpoint became so widespread that eventually, the Lateran Council of 1512 established the immortality of the soul as a dogma of the Church.[67]

Love and beauty are inseparable in the neo-Platonic philosophy. The essence of beauty is found in the harmonious relationships of

---

[66] Ibid., pp. 204-300.

[67] Cassirer, The Renaissance Philosophy of Man, p. 17.

the parts of the human body. The beautiful body is a reflection of a beautiful soul. Therefore, the love of physical beauty is the first step toward divine love.[68] A woman's beauty provides a means of ascent from carnal love to the love of spiritual perfection. Love embraces divine contemplation. When a man chooses a woman to love, he does her honor because a man who loves a woman is loving God. Man loves her physical beauty because it reflects her soul's perfection. For the neo-Platonist, the iconography of the Florentine Renaissance woman is that of a beautiful teacher. Just as Eve once taught Adam the ways of civilization through the awakening of the senses, the Florentine image of woman is the beautiful spiritual teacher who instructs man in the ways of sacred love so that he can arrive at a union with God. In this mystical cult of love, woman is unlike the medieval Christian Church's Eve who was sinful and unclean. The Florentine iconography is a pure, virginal embodiment of spiritual love.

The neo-Platonic philosophy, with its emphasis on the individual human being and its concentration on beauty and love, inspired a book on the proper behavior for courtiers, Il Cortegiano, by Baldassare Castiglione (1478-1529) (Figure 18). It is a eulogy to neo-Platonic love. Love is the striving of the human soul for

---

[68] Maclean, The Renaissance Notion of Woman, p. 17.

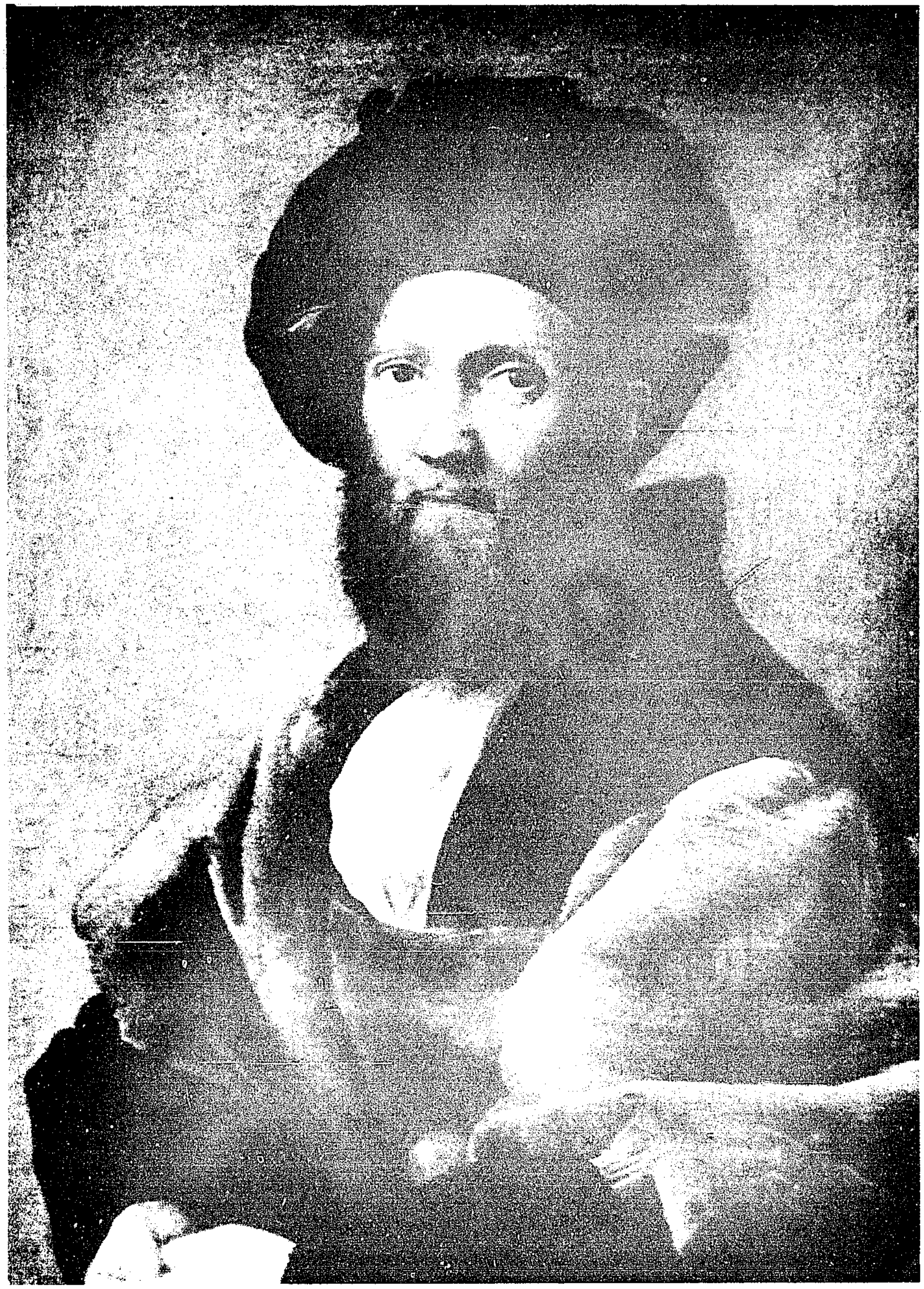


Fig. 18. Raphael. 1483-1520. Portrait of Baldassare Castiglione, 1478-1529.

perfect beauty. A kiss is a courtier's soul departing from his body, seeking to possess the universal beauty of all women.[69]

Typical of the Renaissance period, Castiglione played up the differences between the sexes. He said that it is right for a man "to show certain manliness full and steady, so doeth well in a woman to have a tenderness, soft and mild," and in whatever she does she should always "appear a woman without any likeness of man."[70] "Methinks well beauty is more necessary in her than in the Courtier, for, to say the truth, there is a great lack in the woman that wanteth beauty."[71]

---

[69] Roy F. Willis, Western Civilization: An Urban Perspective (Lexington: D. C. Heath and Company, 1977), p. 519.

[70] Baldassare Castiglione, Il Cortegiano (The National Alumni, 1907), p. 198.

[71] Ibid.

CHAPTER IV

APPEARANCE: DRESS AND NUDITY

This chapter investigates the temporal and secular behavior of the Florentine Renaissance woman with regard to appearance. It demonstrates that the moral, spiritual and social forces of the period exerted their influence upon woman's appearance. Appearance, as defined in Chapter I, transmits signals of age, sex, rank, class and wealth. It also communicates how people feel about themselves in relation to their universe. Appearance is the outward expression of either inner confidence and satisfaction or inner conflict and frustration.

Appearance is so basic to the psychology of human behavior that Genesis 3 of the Old Testament stresses the symbology of bodily covering first in the form of fig leaves and, second, in the form of the skins of animals. Neither in Genesis 2 nor 3 is there written the word "shame," just as there is no mention of "original sin." An association of shame with bodily covering was made by the Christian Fathers. They interpreted the words of Genesis to mean that the naked body is a source of sin (Figure 19). They interpreted the coats of skins, which were the symbols of the Lord's displeasure at Adam and Eve's disobedience, to be the covering for shameful nakedness. This is made quite clear by Tertullian's condemnation of woman. Tertullian said that woman

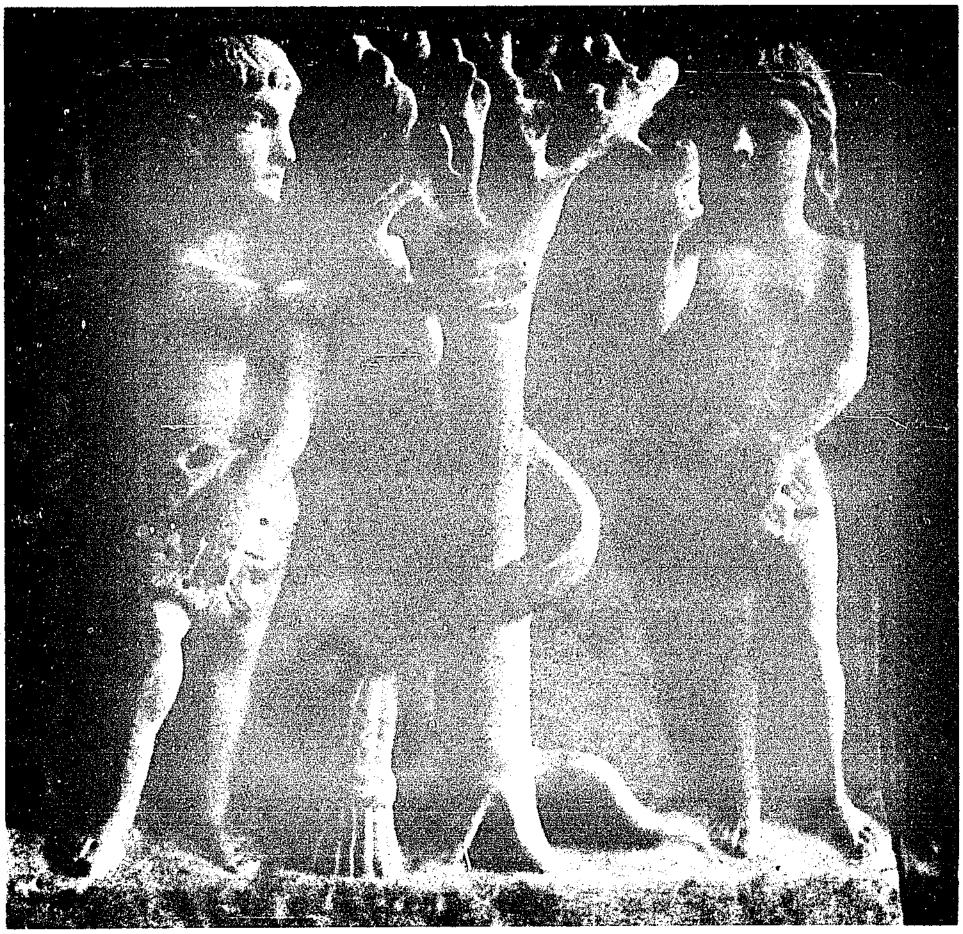


Fig. 19. Adam and Eve. 4th Century Sarcophagus. The fig leaf apron as the first mode of dress.

should always remember that her ignominy is derived from the sin of the first woman, Eve. She should dress herself unattractively and cover herself with a veil so as not to put men's souls in jeopardy. She should not beguile men with her beauty because she is the devil's gateway and the deserter of the divine law[72] (Figure 20).

When life was a burden and the exposure of human flesh was sinful, clothing was used to conceal the body. During the Florentine Renaissance, clothing was used to enhance the shape of the body or to reveal parts of it through the fitting or draping of the cloth. In the quattrocento, man's fascination with his own anatomy was evident in the male costumes which focused on the natural silhouette. Fitted stockings were de riguer (Figure 21). They became tighter, more colorful and more revealing as time went on.

The Florentine women tended to wear dresses with low necklines that exposed the breasts (Figure 22). Extravagant fabrics in extreme amounts made the abdomen appear greatly enlarged. Women's legs were absolutely never seen. This accounts for the strange paintings of female nudes at this time. Since the female nude was not sketched from life, it would have been difficult for the artist to visualize the anatomy under all that yardage. Representations of female nudes either appeared with small, flat breasts,

---

[72] Susan Groag Bell, ed., Women: From the Greeks to the French Revolution (Belmont, Cal.: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1973), pp. 85-89.

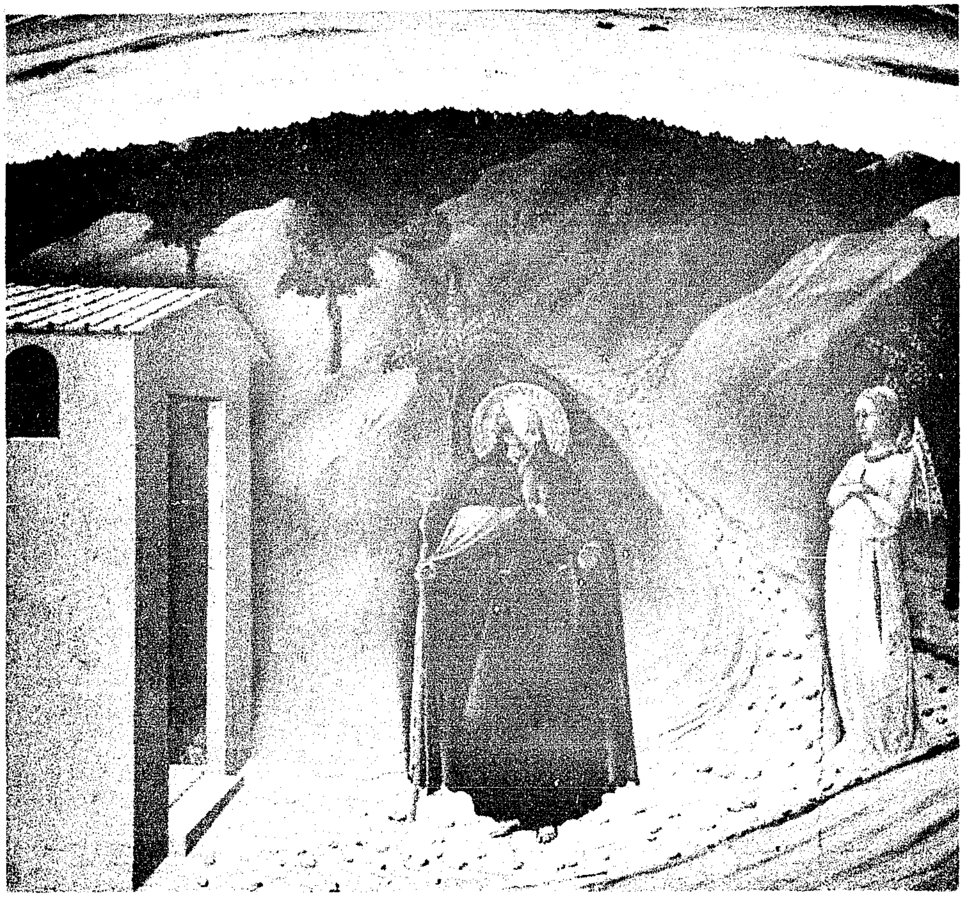


Fig. 20. Sassetta. 1392-1450. Saint Anthony being tempted by the Devil in the form of a beautiful woman. Yale University Art Gallery

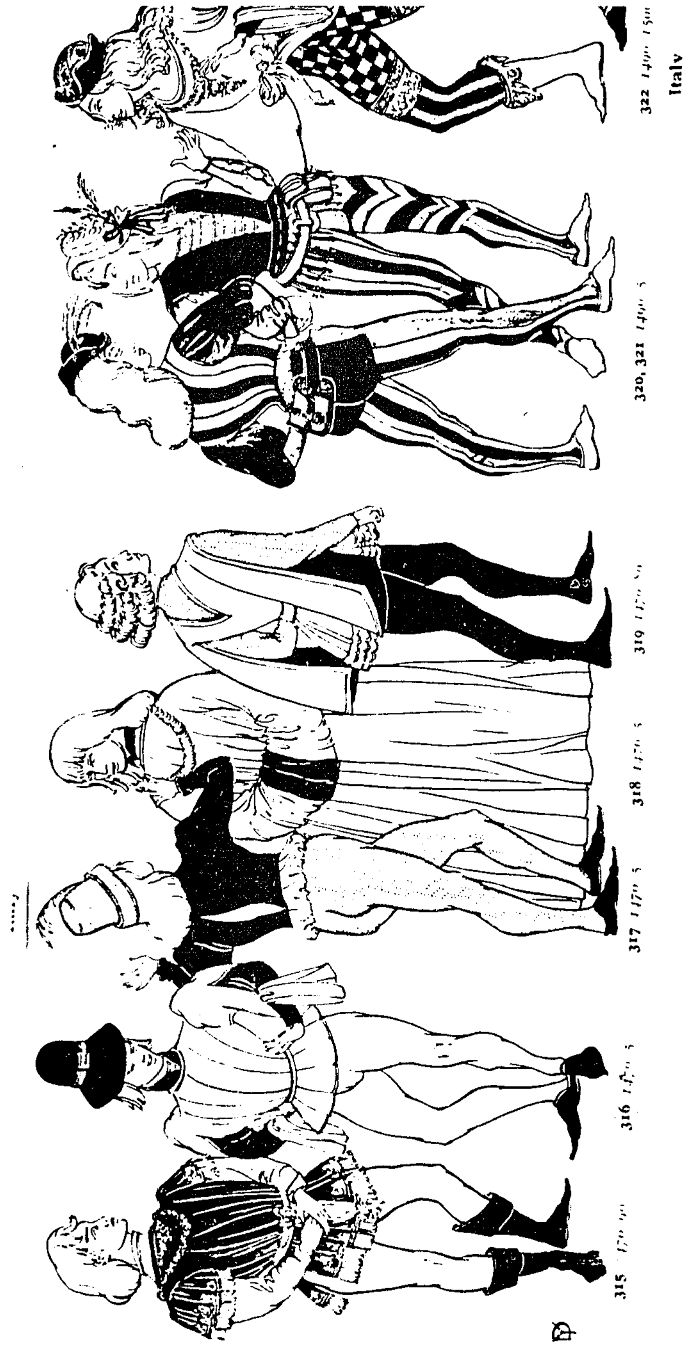


Fig. 21. Male appearance in the quattrocento.

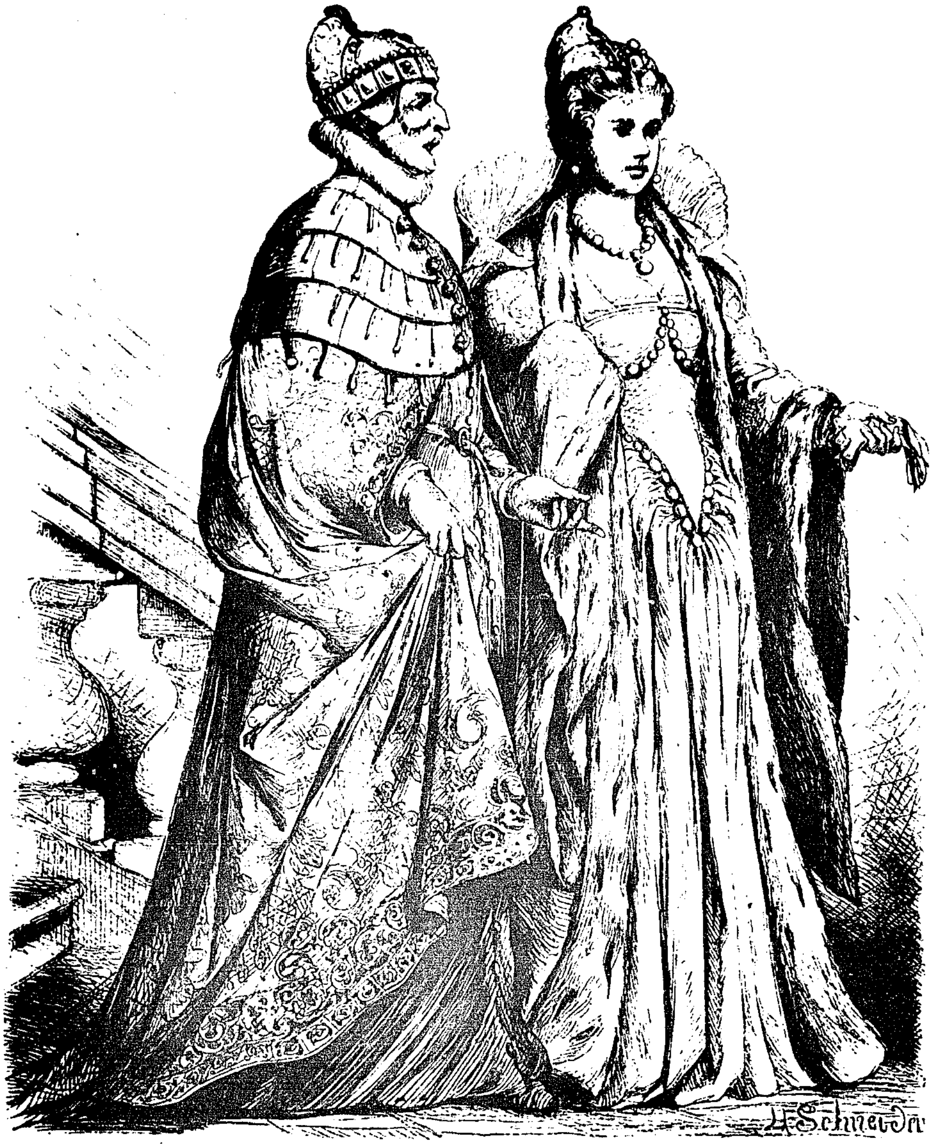


Fig. 22. Doge and Dogaressa. 16th Century. Typical dress of upper class woman. Low neckline and long fur-trimmed sleeves which hung below the hands.

no waistlines, tremendous bellies, tiny feet and legs, or they had the musculature of males with breasts oddly affixed, as for example, the female nudes by Michelangelo (Figure 23).

The Florentines were the trend setters of fashion. The merchants of Florence (and Venice and Genoa) had agents in many countries and were able to obtain exotic fabrics that were made into elegant clothing. The rich of the middle class were as elegantly dressed as the aristocracy. Sumptuary laws were enacted periodically against women in an effort to prevent them from imitating the clothing worn by the class above them.[73] Women were told how many buttons may be legally worn on the front of their clothing, how much fur they may wear, or how large or long their sleeves may be. Legislation was enacted especially against exaggeratedly long sleeves because they were arrogant status symbols (Figure 22). The sleeves prevented the women from being fully productive.[74] Inevitably, these laws were broken. The symbolism of dress is direct, strong, and clear in indicating wealth, importance, and leisure, and no law can stand in the way of aesthetic self-expression.

---

[73] Doreen Yarwood, European Costume: 4000 Years (New York: Larousse and Company, 1975), p. 77.

[74] Sidney Alexander, Lions and Foxes: Men and Ideas of the Italian Renaissance (New York: Macmillan, 1974), p. 344.

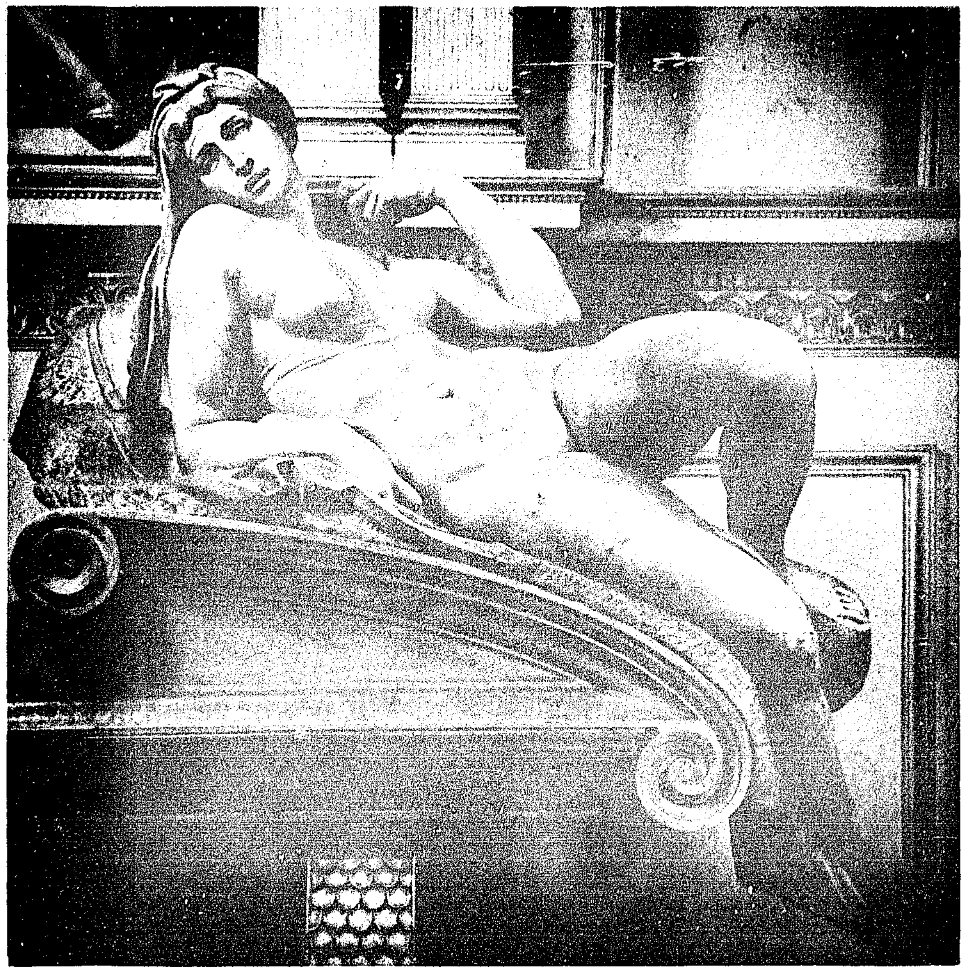


Fig. 23. Michelangelo. 1475-1564. Dawn.

Thorstein Veblen would have been inspired had he lived during the Florentine Renaissance.[75] Conspicuous consumption prevailed. Man's emotional and ethical needs were being met while the precepts of humanism were being preached and practiced.

Admonishments

So much literature was devoted to how wives should dress that there is suspicion that women were not adhering to rules set down for them by their advisers. Not only were the men of the church reproving women from the pulpit, but poets, philosophers and self-styled authorities also laid down principles for women's dress and deportment.

Women were told that it has been well established that one of woman's greatest weaknesses is extravagance. It is wrong for a good woman to dress like a courtesan who is adorned in the latest fashions that set off her beauty. Women who dress richly to entice men are sinful. Maidens ought not to be allowed to wear cloth of gold and silver and precious gems. They should be kept at home and only allowed to wear woolen and coarse linen dresses. Maidens should wash their faces and comb their hair without primping before a mirror.

Women should be content to be naturally beautiful. They should not try to trick a man into marrying them with false hair and

---

[75] Thorstein Veblen, The Theory of the Leisure Class (New York: The New American Library, 1953).

paint. It is sinful for women to want to be more beautiful than God made them. To paint the body will cause wrinkles. It is unhealthy to use white lead, quicksilver and soap.

Women should keep their feet and knees together as a virgin would. Their movements should be slow, and their eyes should always be downcast. Above all, they should remain silent, never speaking, laughing, or singing. Women's elegant clothing ought to offset their beauty only to please their husbands. They should never dress extravagantly and immodestly and never should they wear ornaments and cosmetics. Their husbands' wishes, rank, and wealth must be considered above all else.[76]

Ideal Beauty

Whether he sculpts or paints, the artist is intimately involved with the fads and fashions of his own period. The artist's eyes are conditioned to see the appearance which is in vogue. What he expresses is the value system of his society and the aesthetic standards of his culture.

The artists of the first half of the fifteenth century show the female figure as slim and somewhat undernourished (Figure 24). Then, in the cinquecento, the fragile maiden became a full-blown woman. By the middle of the sixteenth century, the female figure had a soft, fleshy face, soft, plump arms, large hips and abdomen

---

[76] Ruth Kelso, Doctrine for the Lady of the Renaissance (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1956), pp. 47-51, p. 107.

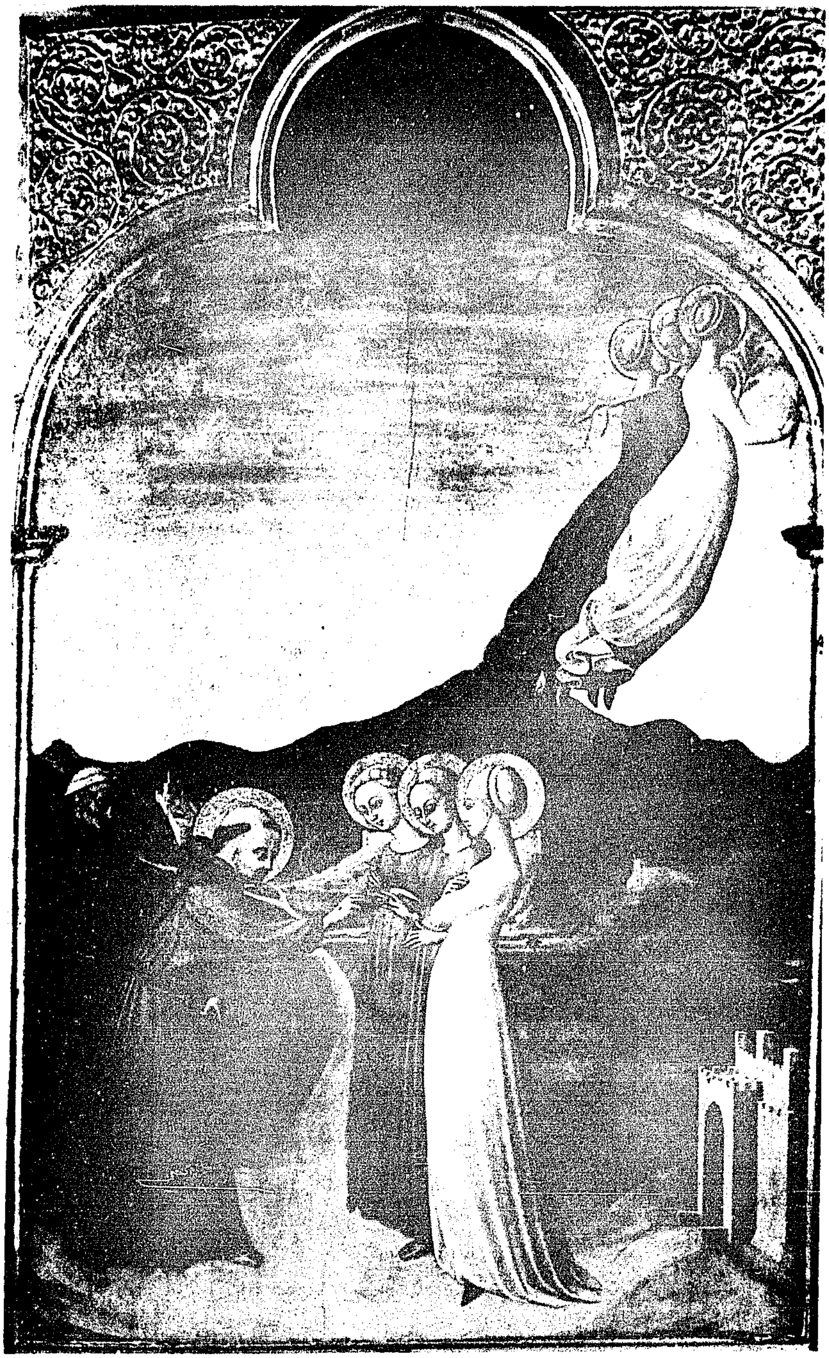


Fig. 24. Sassetta. 1392-1450. Saint Francis' Marriage to Poverty. The slim maidens. The fitted gown they wear is a cote-hardie.

and small breasts (Figure 25). The earlier nudes of the Florentine Renaissance had feet and calves too small and too wobbly to stand on. Until the nude was sketched from life, women's legs appeared unimportant (Figure 26). The female posture emphasized the pregnant look with enlarged abdomen (Figure 27). Due to the Spanish influence, the fashions stiffened, and the nude took on a somewhat more elongated shape. The head appeared smaller and even less definition was given to the breasts (Figure 28).

Although the Renaissance woman was allowed to dress according to her individual tastes, there were rules by which feminine beauty was judged. A woman must be tall without high-heeled shoes; be pink and white at throat, breasts and palms without makeup; have broad shoulders; have a well-formed, small, red mouth and small white teeth; have a pleasant voice; have blond hair and dark eyes. She should be young, have round arms, soft contours, well-shaped hands, and long fingers.[77]

All these attributes were essential in choosing a wife for a wealthy Florentine gentleman. Lucrezia, mother of Lorenzo di Medici, did the negotiations for a wife for her son because her husband, Piero, was too ill to do so. Lucrezia went to Rome to meet Clarice Orsine and, after her inspection of the girl, Lucrezia wrote back to Piero:

> She is reasonably tall and fair skinned. She is gentle in manner without the ease we are used to, but she is

---

[77] Chodorow, The Other Side of Western Civilization, p. 148.

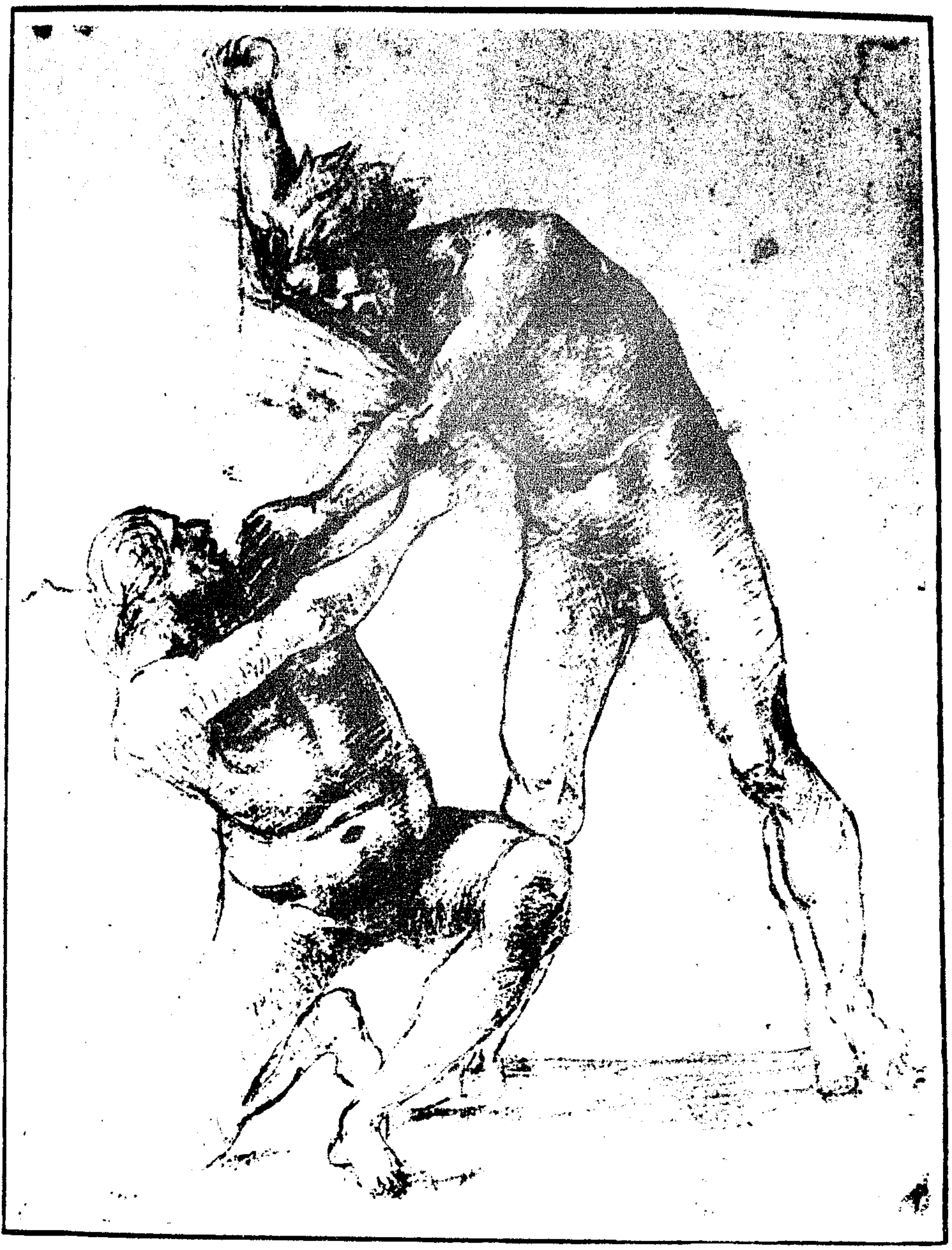


Fig. 25. Signorelli. 1441-1523. Nude Man and Kneeling Nude Woman. The lady is no longer fragile.

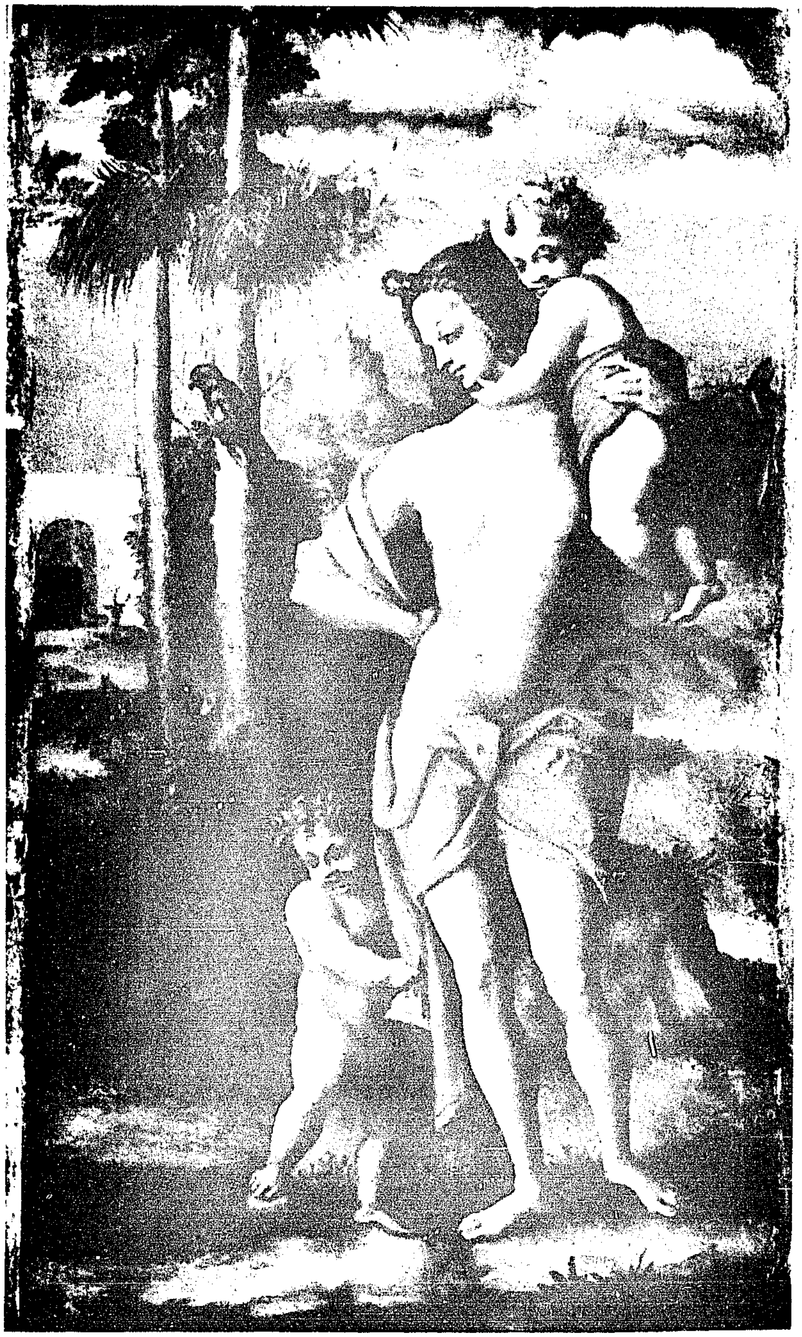


Fig. 26. Francesco d'Ubertino. 1494-1557. Eve with Cain and Abel. Spanish fashions influence the nude. Calves and feet seem atrophied, possibly because they were usually hidden by 16 yards of fabric.

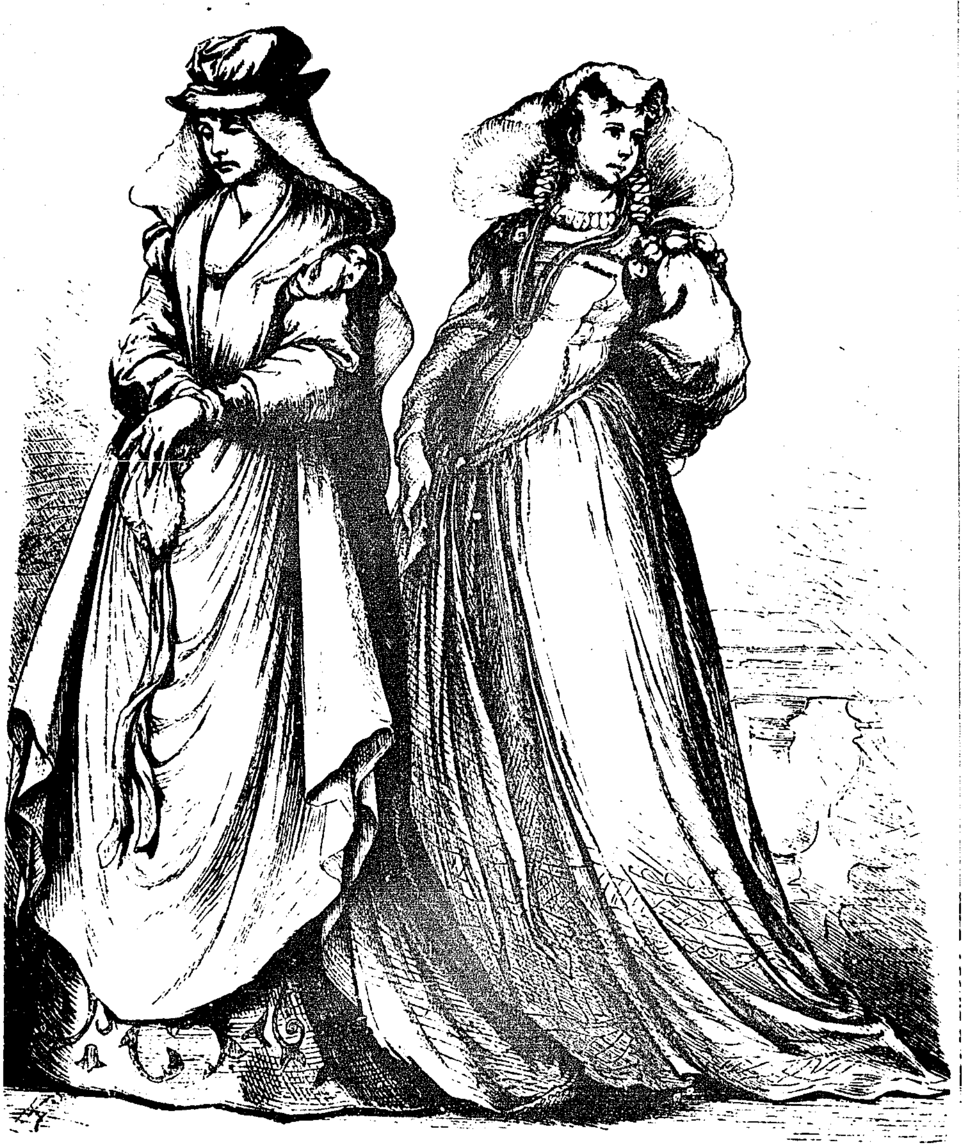


Fig. 27. Florence and Padua. 16th Century. The pregnant look.

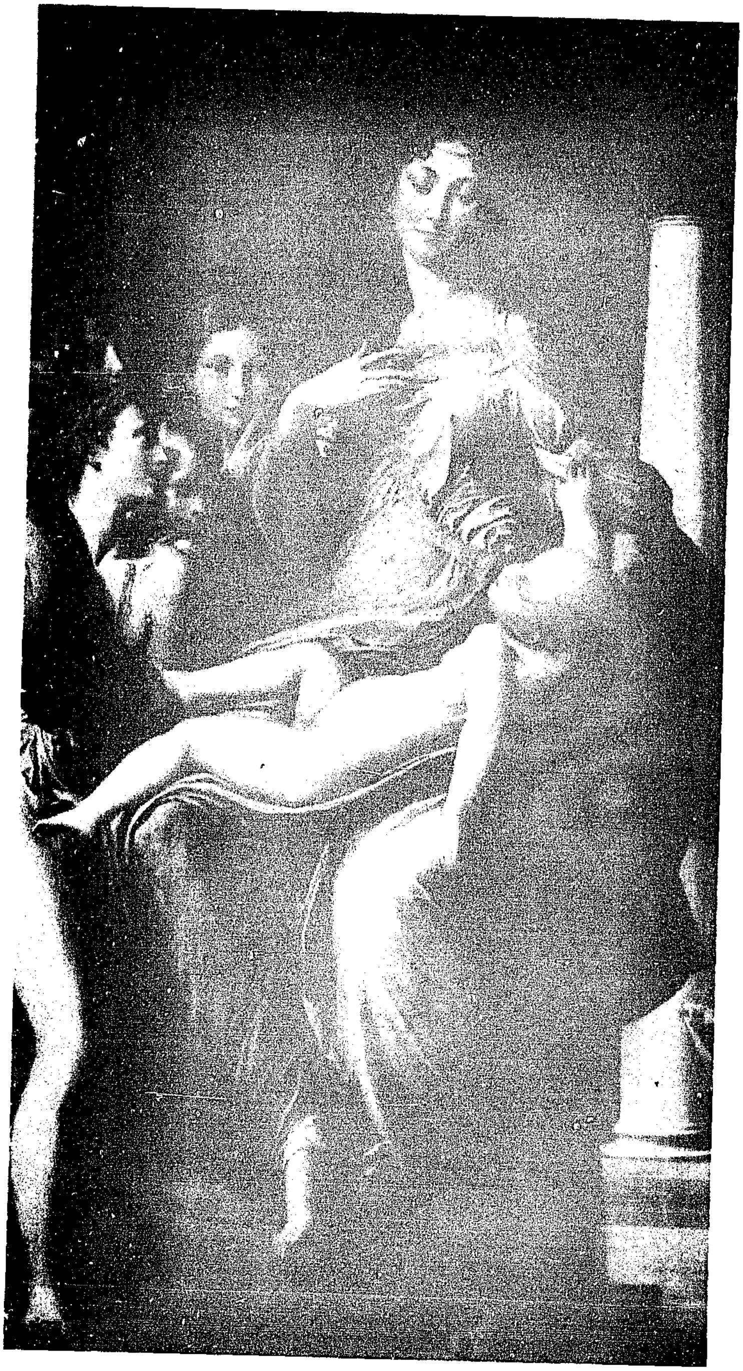


Fig. 28. Parmigianino. 1503-1540. Madonna da Collo Lungo. The Virgin with the Swan-like Neck. Elongated and elegant shape. Mary looks more like a pagan goddess than sorrowful Virgin.

> biddable and will soon conform to our ways. Her hair is not blond--they are not blond here--but reddish and plentiful. Her face is on the round side, but I find it pleasant. Her neck is slender, almost perhaps on the thin side, but graceful. We didn't see her bosom--the women cover it here--but it gave the impression of being well-formed.[78]

The Florentine philosophers may have rationalized about the mystical experiences of divine love, but the paintings of the female nude body were associated with the pleasures of sex. Renaissance man took delight in dwelling on the different parts of a woman's anatomy. He claimed it was impossible to find all the perfect parts in one woman. Raphael said he had to know many women in order to paint the ideal woman. Botticelli's "Birth of Venus" (c. 1485) is a hybrid of Greek idealism and Renaissance beauty. The cult of beauty and the cult of love intertwined and grew from a foundation of harmonious relationships of feminine bones and flesh. This growth culminated not only into a sense of the erotic, but also into a cult of voyeurism where the covered body implied promises of something more sensual beneath.

The Crowning Glory

Not only the shape of the body but also the arrangement of the hair was dictated by the fashion tastes of a given period. The hair of the Florentine Renaissance woman was an important emblem of status. Endless amount of time was devoted to grooming it.

---

[78] J. R. Hale, Florence and the Medici: The Pattern of Control (Great Britain: Thames and Hudson, 1977), pp. 15-16.

To be in fashion, golden hair was essential. If the woman was not born with yellow hair, she obtained it by artificial means. Florentine houses were constructed with loggias that were used by the women while bleaching their hair. Cesare Vecellio, the author of The Renaissance Costume Book, said that women spent all their time exposing their hair to the sun. They wore a straw hat without a crown that was called a "solana." The women would spread their hair over the brim. Then they would wet the hair with a special solution by dipping a wand with a sponge on the end of it and applying it to the hair. At the same time, the "solana" protected their skin which was supposed to remain white[79] (Figure 29).

Not only was the hair bleached blond; it was also plucked to heighten the forehead, plucked to widen the temples, and shaven from the neck (Figure 30). This form of torture in the name of beauty persisted for 2000 years. Another fashion used false hair as well as real hair to form plaits over the ears (Figure 31). Pearls and jewels were braided into the hair (Figure 32) or the hair was offset with diadems encrusted with precious jewels. Sometimes the hair was encased in delicate nets of gold or pearls called a "crespine"[80] (Figure 33).

---

[79] Ibid.

[80] Ludmila Kybalova, Olga Herbenova and Milena Lamarova, The Pictorial Encyclopedia of Fashion (New York: Crown Publishing Company, 1968), p. 140.

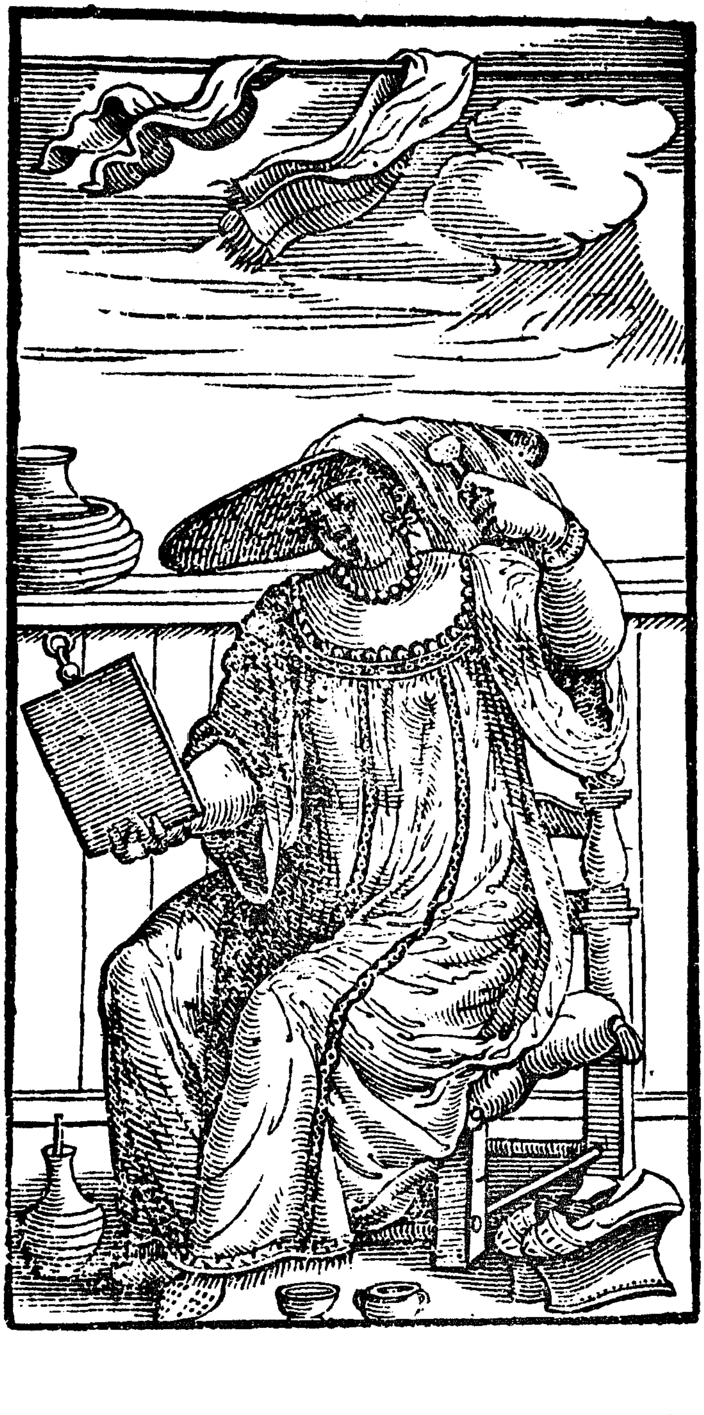


Fig. 29. Woman Bleaching Her Hair in the Sun Wearing a "Solana."

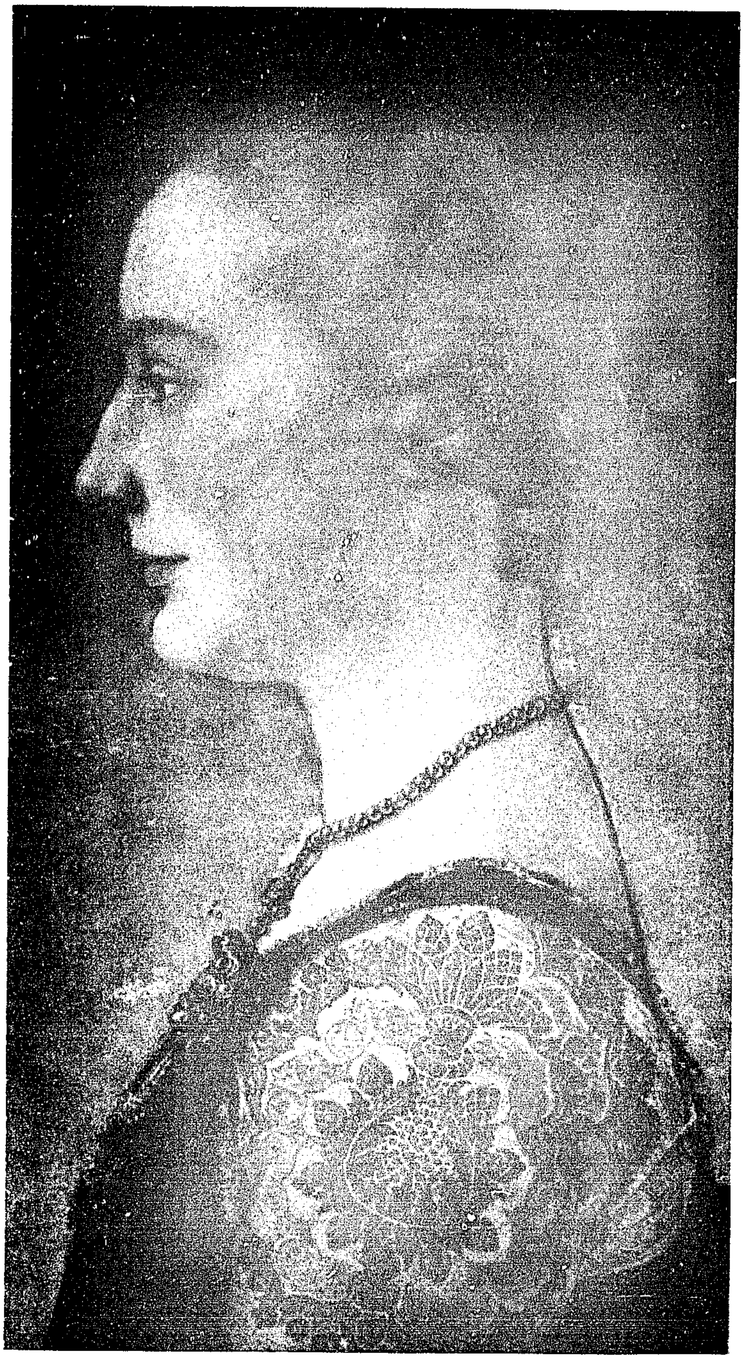


Fig. 30. Antonio del Pollaiuolo. Portrait of a Lady. Plucked forehead, temples and eyebrows. Shaved neck. Blond hair. Note pomegranate cut velvet sleeves.

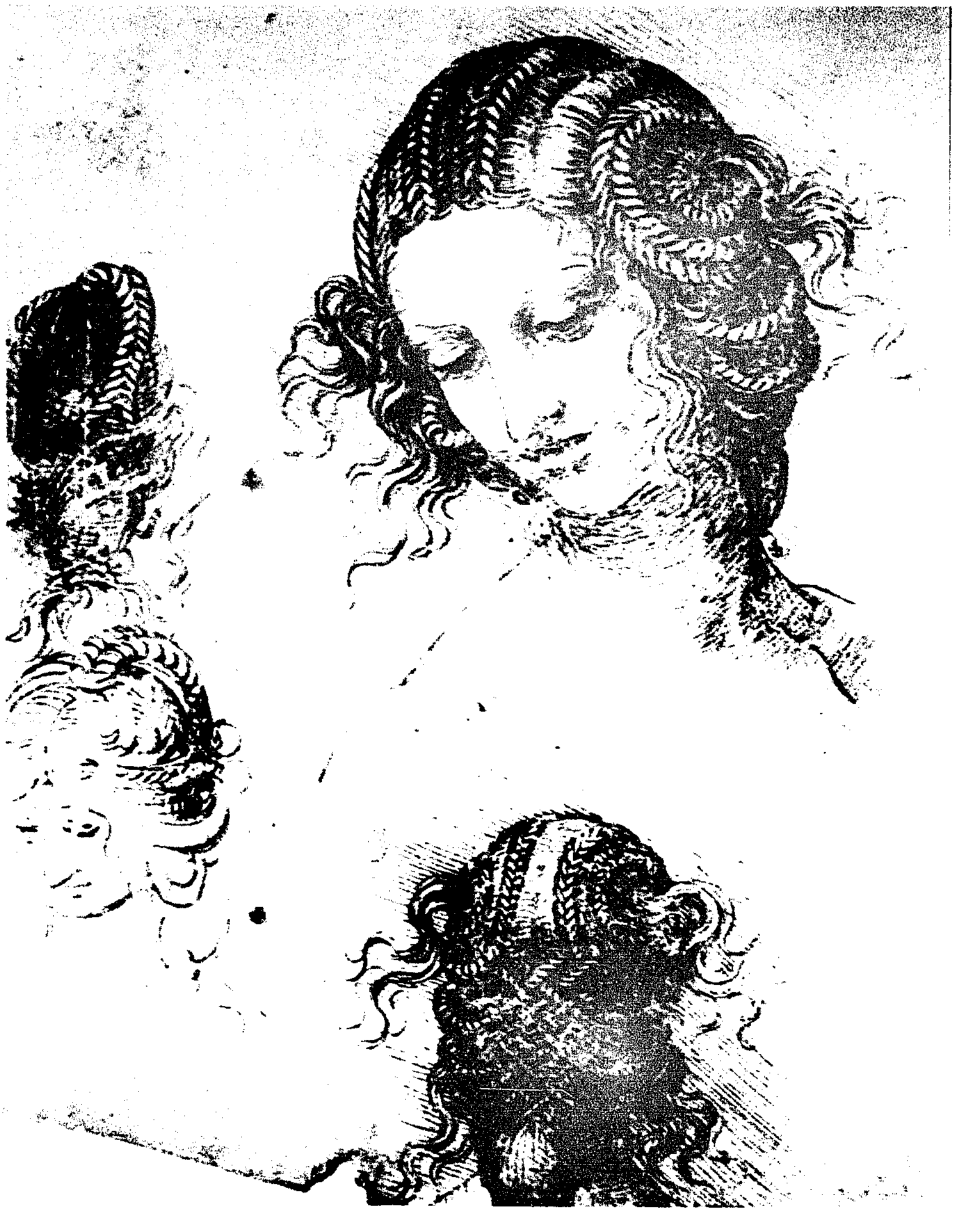


Fig. 31. Leonardo da Vinci. Studies for Leda. Plaits of hair.

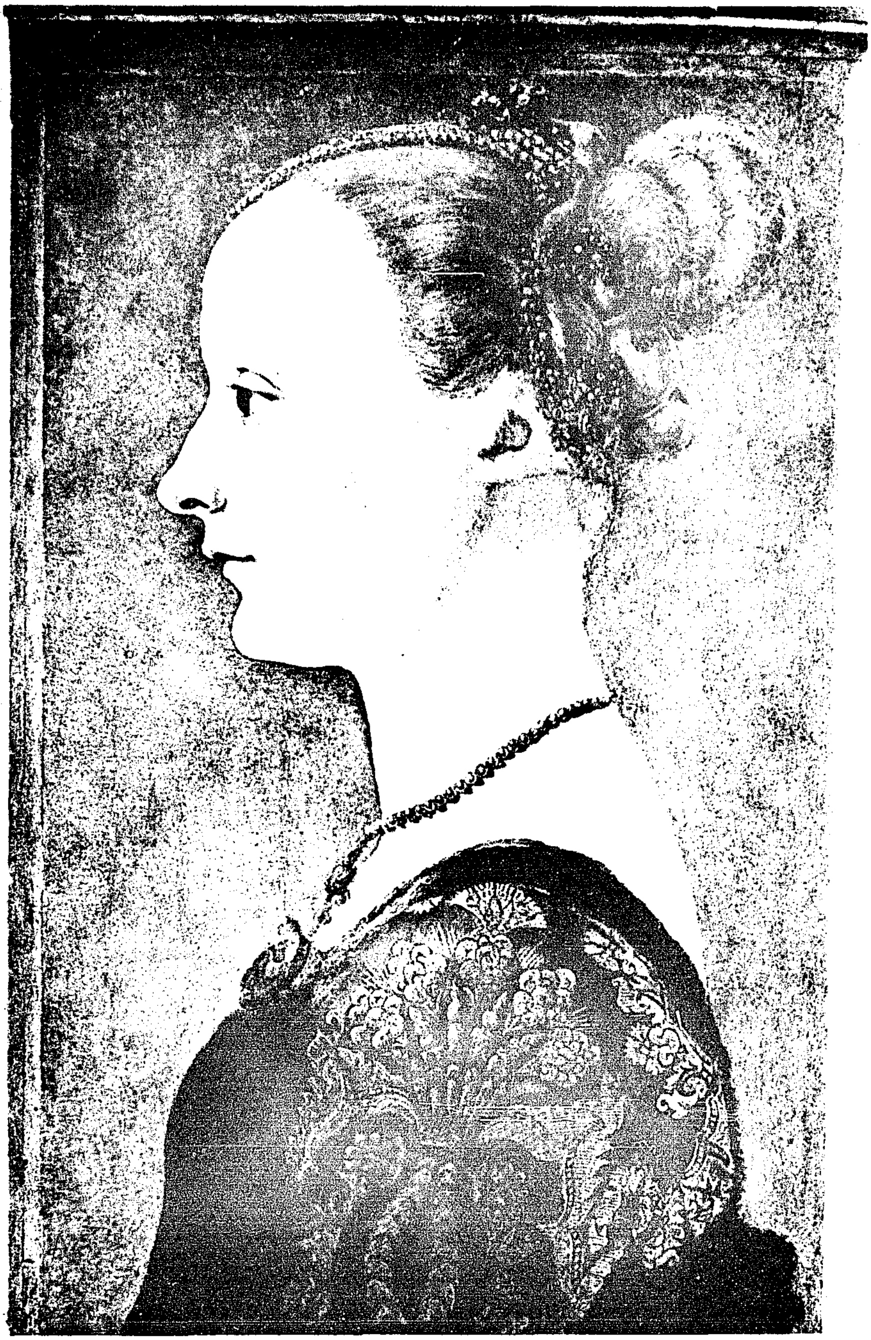


Fig. 32. Piero del Pollaiuolo. c. 1470. Portrait of a Young Lady. Bejeweled coiffure. Note Persian Palmette cut velvet sleeve.

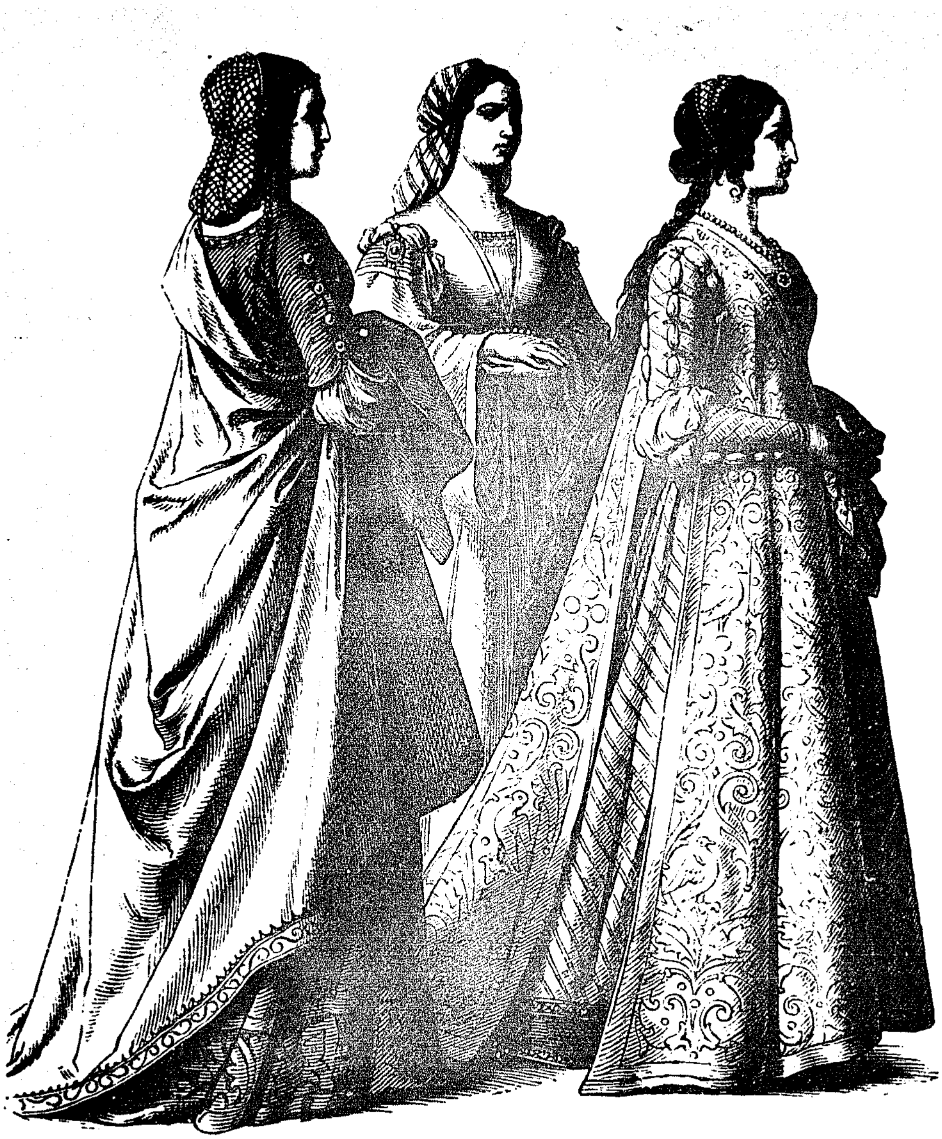


Fig. 33. Florentine Nobility. 1400-1450. The lady on the left wears a "crespine." The lady on the right with false hair and acanthus leaf in silk brocade.

At the end of the fourteenth century, the hat worn by Italian women was a "sella" which means saddle (Figure 34). The turban, however, was the most popular headgear by far. Sometimes it consisted of coils of silver or gold wire (Figure 35 and Figure 39). Caps were popular during the sixteenth century with both men and women, the women's cap being larger.

According to Vecellio, brides coiled their hair into two horns above the forehead and enveloped them in silk. The wedding contract painting by Jan van Eyck for an Italian merchant shows the bride with this hairstyle (Figure 36). This was in imitation of the goddess of chastity.[81] This same hairstyle was also popular with prostitutes (Figure 37).

Women's Fashions

Before the thirteenth century, the concept of fashion simply did not exist. Clothing was a covering for the body. The concept of fashion began with the art of fitting the garment to the shape of the body. Villani and Sansovino, historians of the thirteenth century, said that men and women wore long robes reaching to the ground with sleeves fitted at the upper arms and wide near the wrist. Fitting began to change in the fourteenth century. According to Dante, fashions in Florence changed as rapidly as the value

---

[81] L. G. Deruisseau, "Dress Fashion of the Italian Renaissance," Ciba Review (January 1939):606.

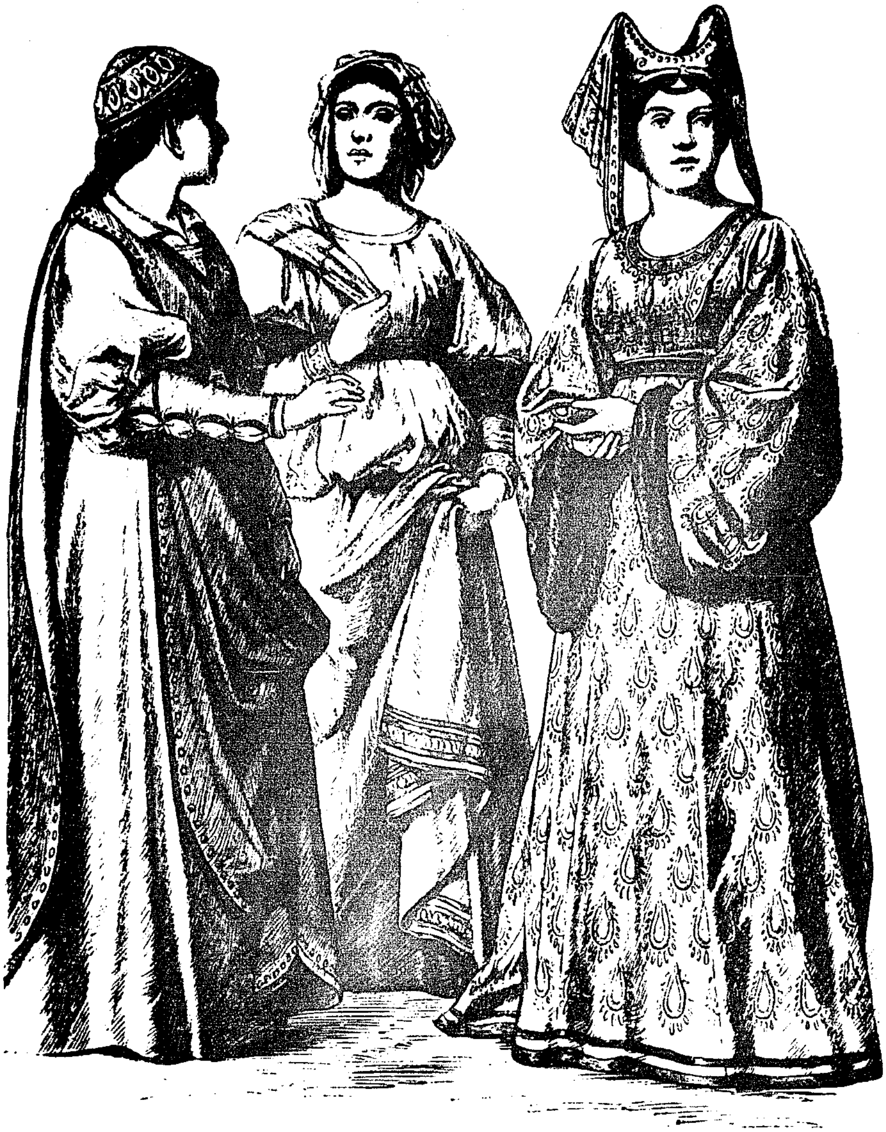


Fig. 34. Sienese Noblewomen. 1350-1400. The lady on the left wears a cap and the lady on the right wears a sella.

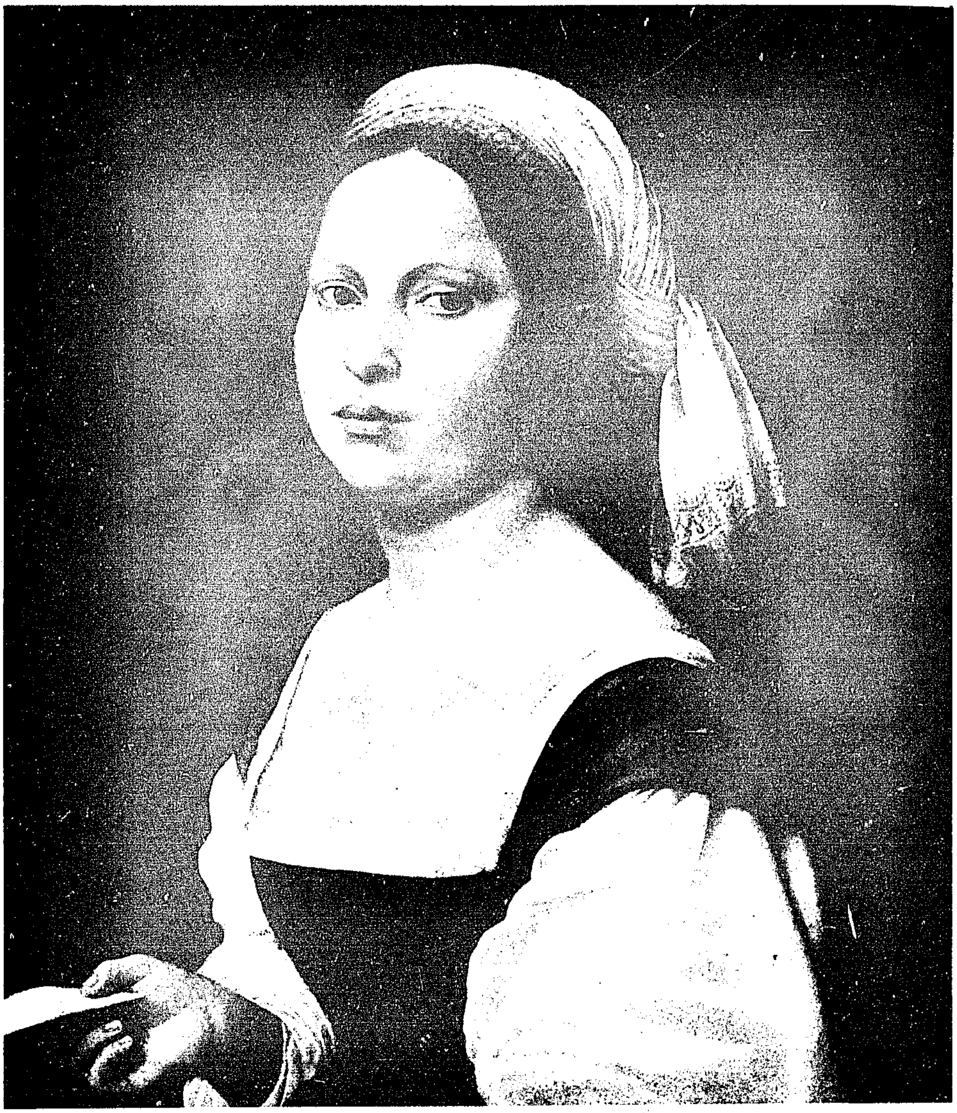


Fig. 35. Guiliano Bugiardini. 1475-1554. Florentine. Portrait of a Young Woman. Turban and square low-cut neckline.

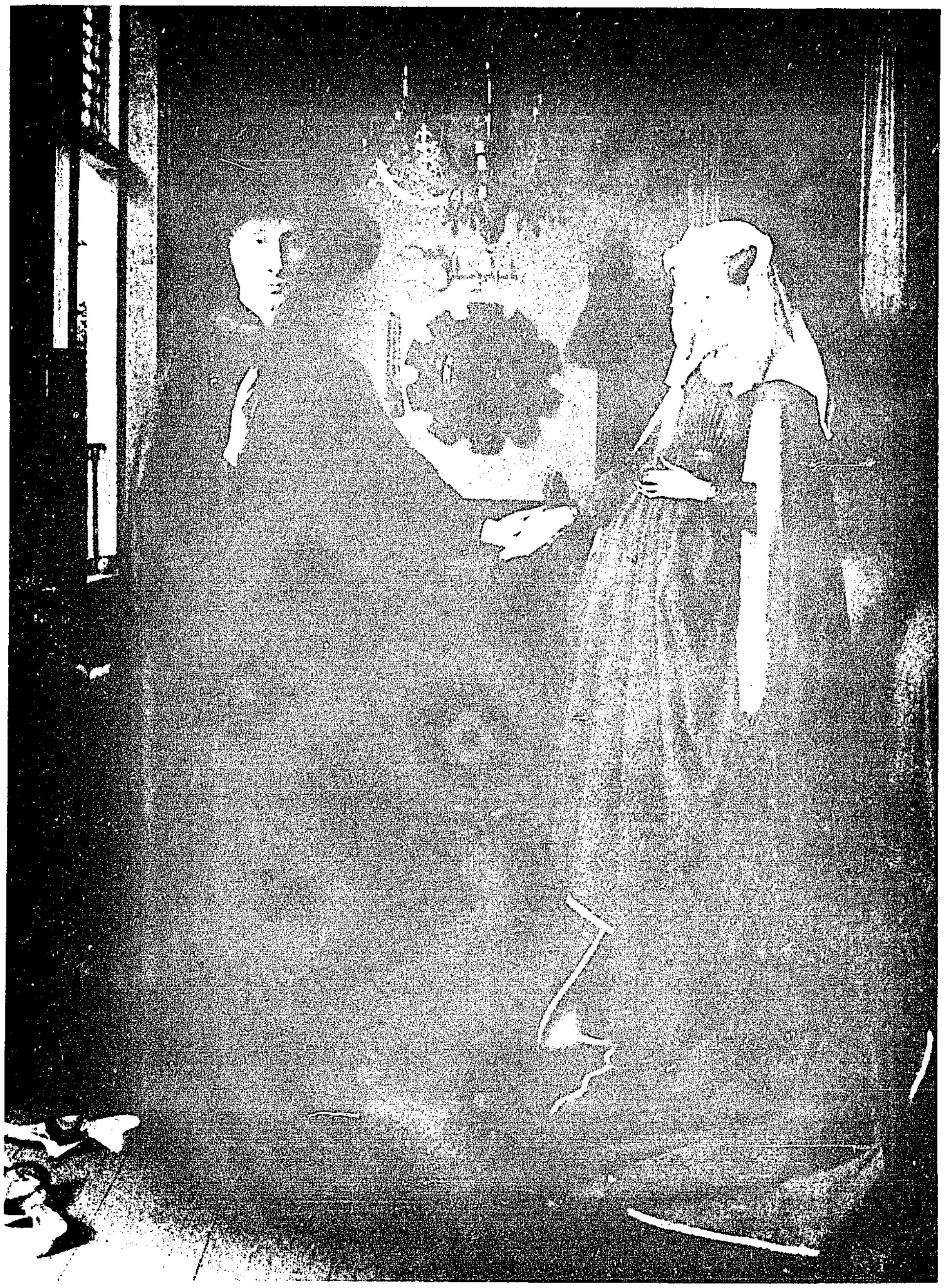


Fig. 36. Jan van Eyck. 1434. The Betrothal of Arnolfini. Horned hairstyle of the bride. Italian wooden "pattens" seen in lower left corner of painting.

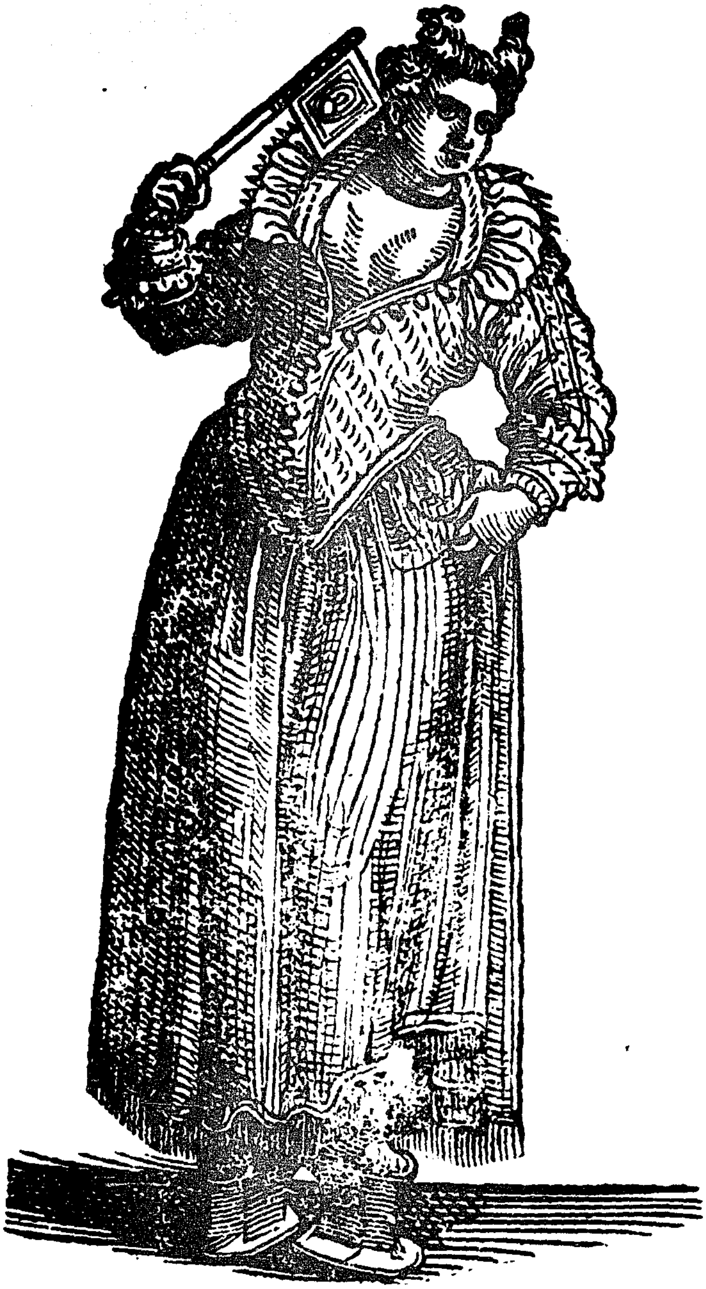


Fig. 37. Venetian Brothel Prostitute. Hair coiled into two horns.

of the coinage.[82] He was particularly outraged by the poor manners of the Florentines and upset by the dresses worn by Florentine women (Figure 38). He said the time will come when "the brazen-faced women of Florence shall be forbidden from the pulpit to go abroad showing their breasts with the paps.[83] Sacchetti, the fourteenth century novelist, complained about women wearing dresses so low that the armpit could be seen. He also disapproved of the collar they wore around their neck to which they attached little beasts that hung down into their breasts. In addition, he thought women's sleeves were large enough to be mattresses[84] (Figure 39).

The Florentine Renaissance was a period of great fashion experimentation. To be in style was to dress with individuality and it was in poor taste to imitate another's dress. Variety of fashion was the rule rather than the exception. It was a matter of who could outdo whom in beauty and cost. It is, therefore, difficult to pinpoint any one trend in fashion until the Spanish influence of the sixteenth century.

The function of fashion in the Florentine Renaissance was not practical, but expressive. Feminine beauty was associated with affluence, and if an item was expensive, it was beautiful. If a woman's husband was rich, her ornaments and clothing ought to cost a great deal. Since wealth meant that one did not have to

---

[82] Ibid., p. 589.

[83] Alexander, Lions and Foxes, p. 348.

[84] Ibid., p. 347.

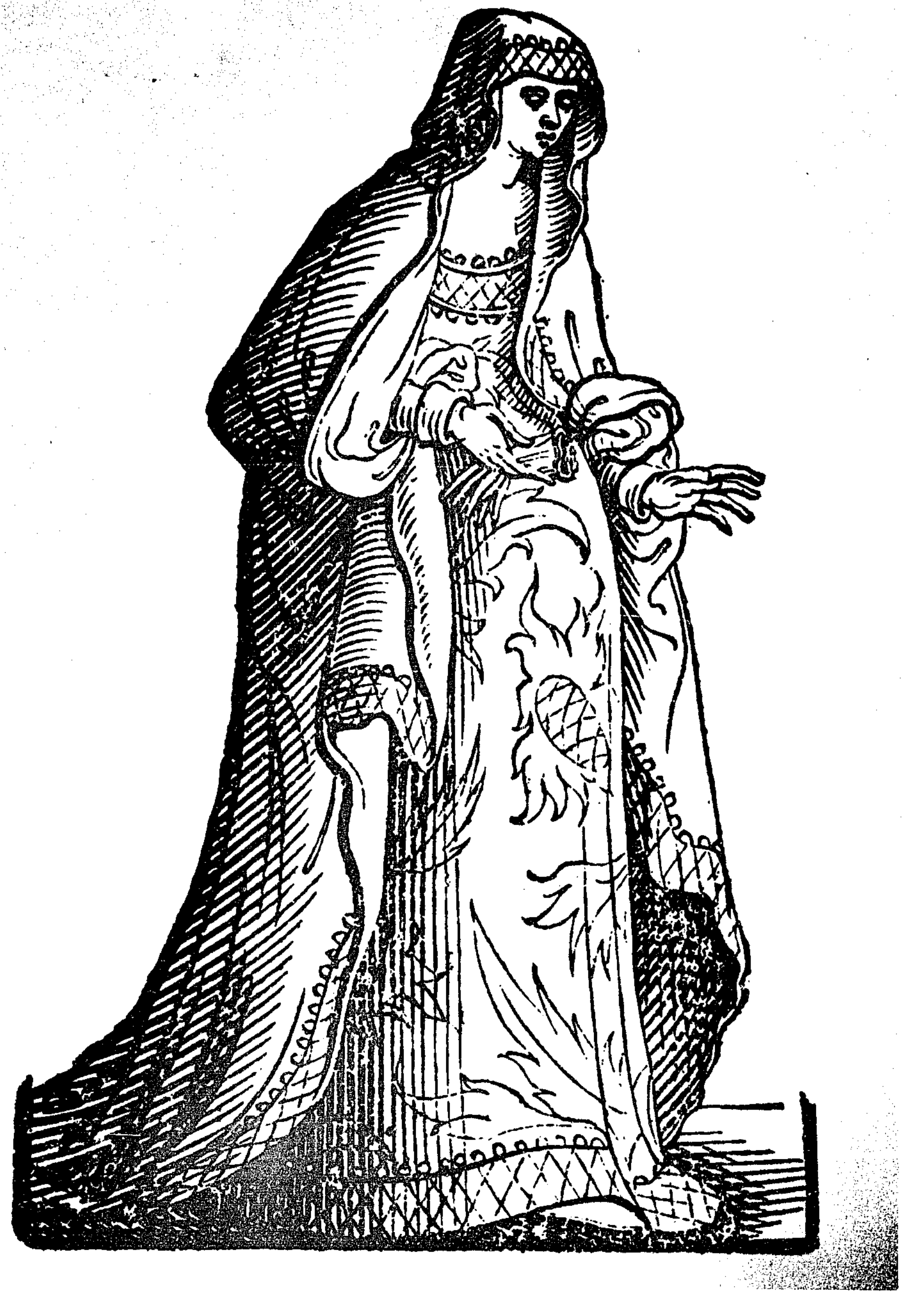


Fig. 38. Woman's garment worn generally throughout Italy during Dante's lifetime. c. 1300.

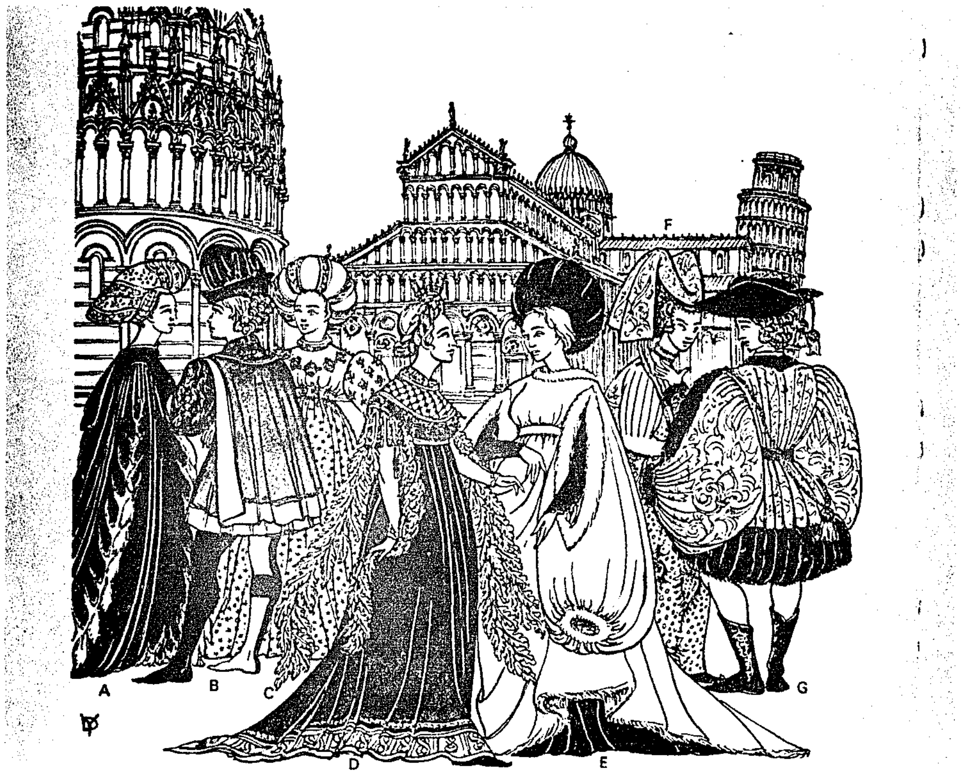


Fig. 39. Italian Dress in Pisa. c. 1420. Lady at right center (E) wearing "mattress" sleeves and turban. The arms, covered by sleeves of "sottana" are passed through upper holes in sleeves of outer garment which has a train. Lady at far right (F) wearing "sella."

work with one's hands, only the wealthy could afford to be idle. Such symbols of wealth were exaggeratedly long sleeves and the corsetted bodice (Figure 40). "It made it plain to all observers that the wearer was not engaged in any kind of productive labor . . . . It was the insignia of leisure.[85] Although this concept may have done much for the ego of the Florentine woman, it also did a disservice to her as a person. In associating her with idleness, it lowered her personal value and reaffirmed the fact that she was the passive half of the human race, while man was the active half.

Fortunately, Francesco Datini was an astute merchant and he kept extensive records. His account books and his correspondence with his wife and agents are well preserved in the Prato Archives. One of the accounts shows that Margherita Datini, the wife of the "Merchant of Prato," took an inventory of her clothes in 1397. The inventory showed that she had quite a variety of well-made clothes. They were designed from fabrics imported by her husband, Francesco. Margherita also owned "pattens" with leather straps (Figure 41 and Figure 36). These were wooden shoes on high platforms that were worn in bad weather. She also had a pair of "pianella" which were leather shoes with no backs and thick leather soles (Figure 42) and a pair of white linen undersocks which she covered with long outer hose of silk or wool.[86]

---

[85] Veblen, The Theory of the Leisure Class, pp. 118-127.

[86] Iris Origo, The Merchant of Prato, Francesco di Marco Datini (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1979), pp. 257-284.

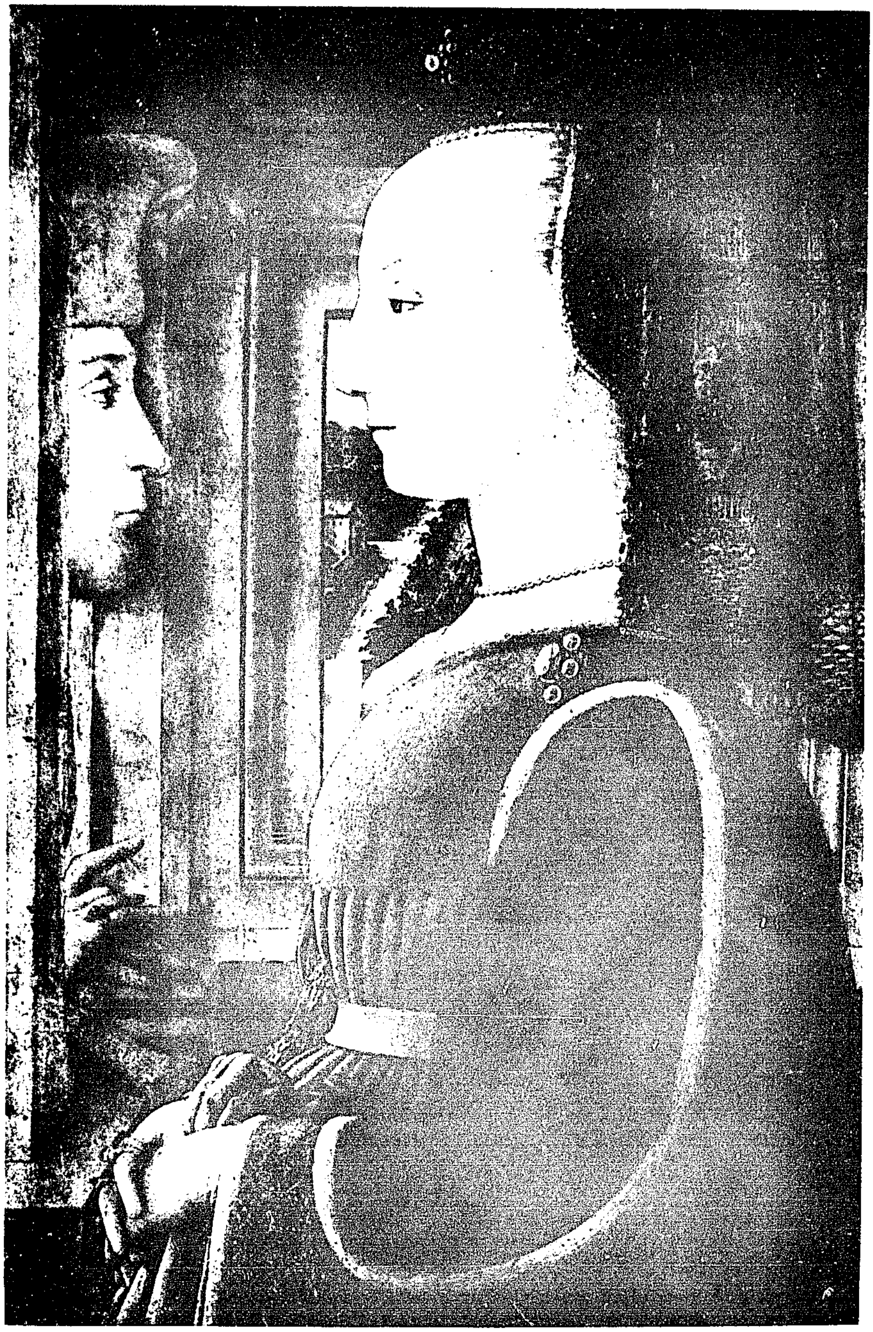


Fig. 40. Filippo Lippi. 1406-1469. Portrait of a Young Woman and Man at a Casement. Profile silhouette of a Lady wearing Italian "corsetto" made of boiled leather.

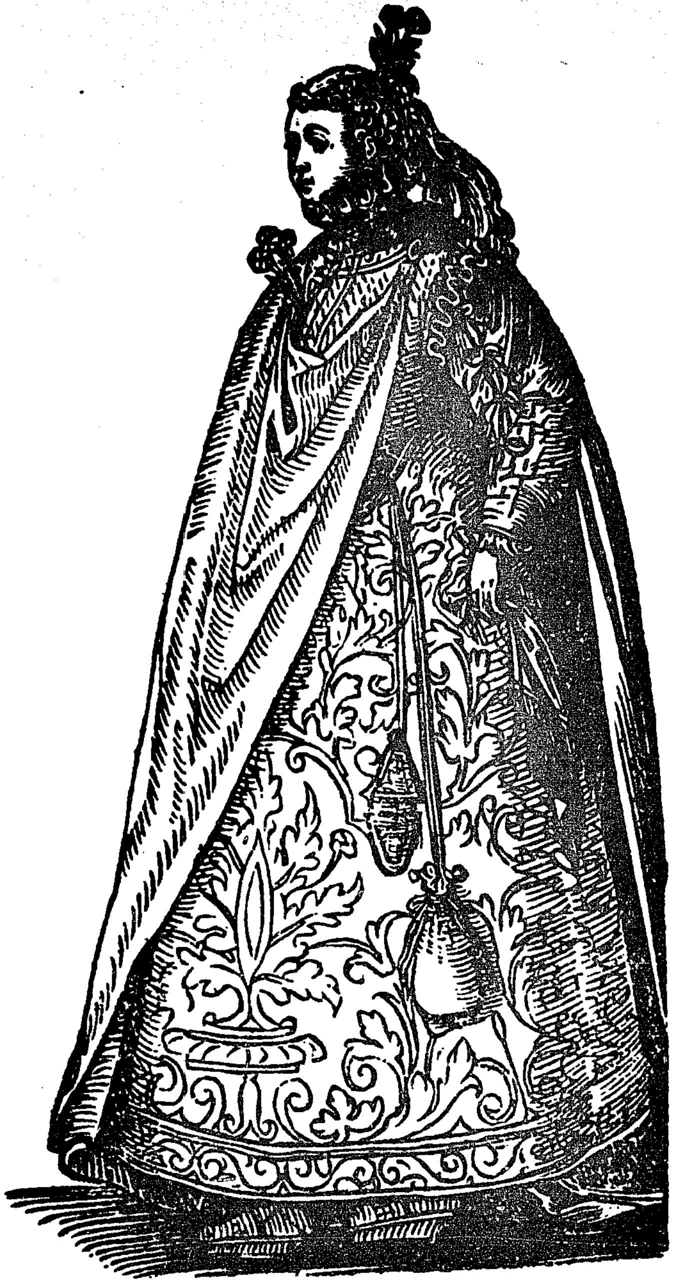


Fig. 41. Noblewoman wearing pattens.

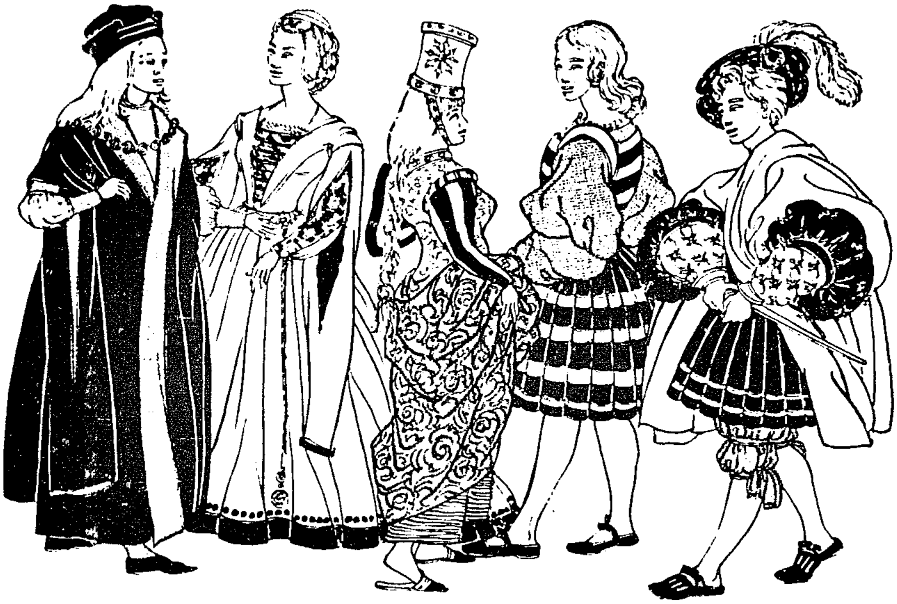


Fig. 42. Italian Dress. c. 1495-1530. Center figure shown wearing "pianella" footwear.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century, a woman's costume was comprised of a "sottana," an undergarment, and an outer garment with a train. The outer garment was either lined or trimmed with fur. The sleeves either hung down loosely or they were made with two openings. The arm, which was covered by the sleeve of the "sottana," was passed through the upper opening of the outer garment (Figure 39).

Toward the end of the fifteenth century, Florentine styles were being influenced by foreign styles although they remained distinctively "Italian" and individualistic. The outer dress often had a pointed neckline and no sleeves. The undergarment had sleeves slashed from the elbow to show the puffed sleeves of the "kirtle" (Figure 43). A girdle encrusted with jewels was sometime worn with the costume.[87]

Around 1500, the basic gown worn throughout Italy was a "gamurra." It had long sleeves and a low neckline which revealed almost all of the breasts. At first the neckline of the "bodice" was square, then V-shaped and by 1540, the round neckline was preferred. Over this was worn the "cioppa" which was an elegant, light-colored gown with a train that had to be carried in the hand or otherwise it was caught up at the back with a brooch.

---

[87] Deruisseau, "Dress Fashion of the Italian Renaissance":591.

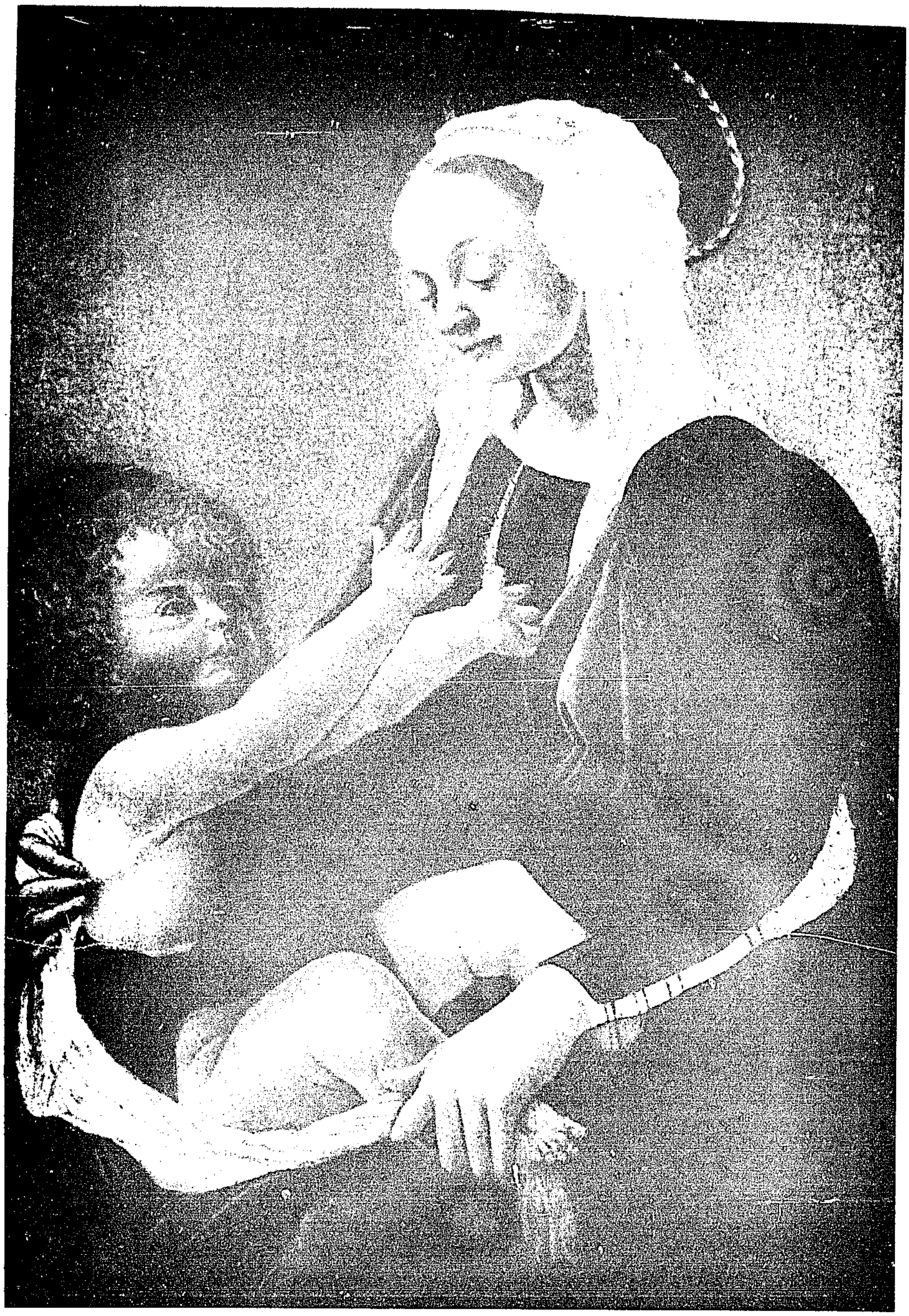


Fig. 43. Verocchio. 1435-1488. Madonna and Child. Mary's sleeves are slashed from the elbow to show sleeves of "kirtle."

The "cioppa" was high-waisted with decorative sleeves that hung down loosely, but did not actually cover the arms[88] (Figures 44 and 45).

The styles of sleeves were carried to excess. Some sleeves were wide at top and bottom; some so long they touched the ground. The ends of the coat-sleeves and the under-garment sleeves were decorated with gold braid called a "frisia." The hanging sleeves were only decorative, not functional. Some sleeves were attached to the shoulders with ribbons and sometimes only the lower half of the sleeve was detachable. Sometimes two sets of sleeves were worn simultaneously. These exaggerated, dragging sleeves persisted in popularity among the wealthy because such sleeves distinguished them from the manual workers. Interchangeable sleeves were fashionable as they were meant to be ornamental and were tied onto the bodice. The fine linen underwear was permitted to show where the sleeves were tied on (Figure 46).

Jewelry was designed by such distinguished artists as the Pollaiuolo Brothers, Ghirlandaio, Cellini and Michelangelo. The cutting of gems and cameos became a specialty of Florentine sculptors. Generally, the jewelry was rather large. Heavy gold chains, several lengths worn at the same time,were especially favored. Pearls were used profusely. A jewel tied to the head with a ribbon was

---

[88] Kybalova, Herbenova, and Lamarova, <u>The Pictorial Encyclopedia</u>, pp. 139-140.

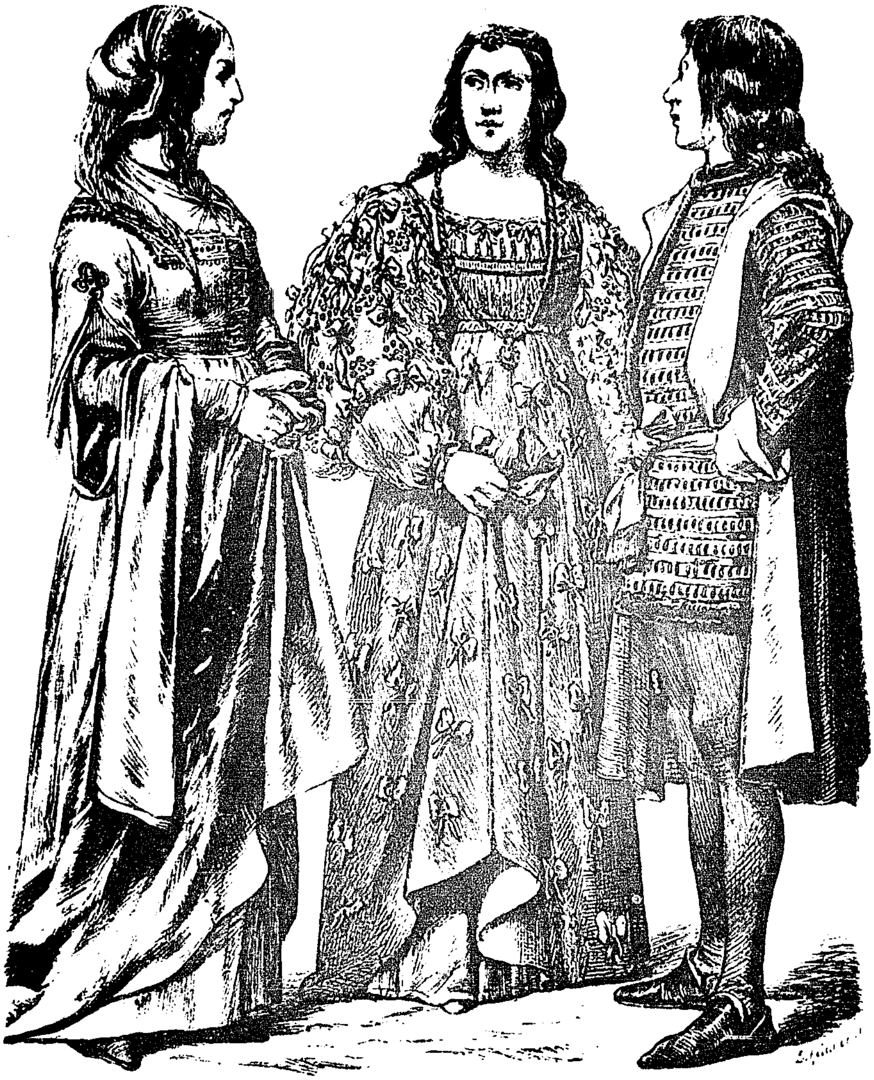


Fig. 44. On left, "cioppa" with high waist and decorative sleeves worn over long-sleeved "gamurra."

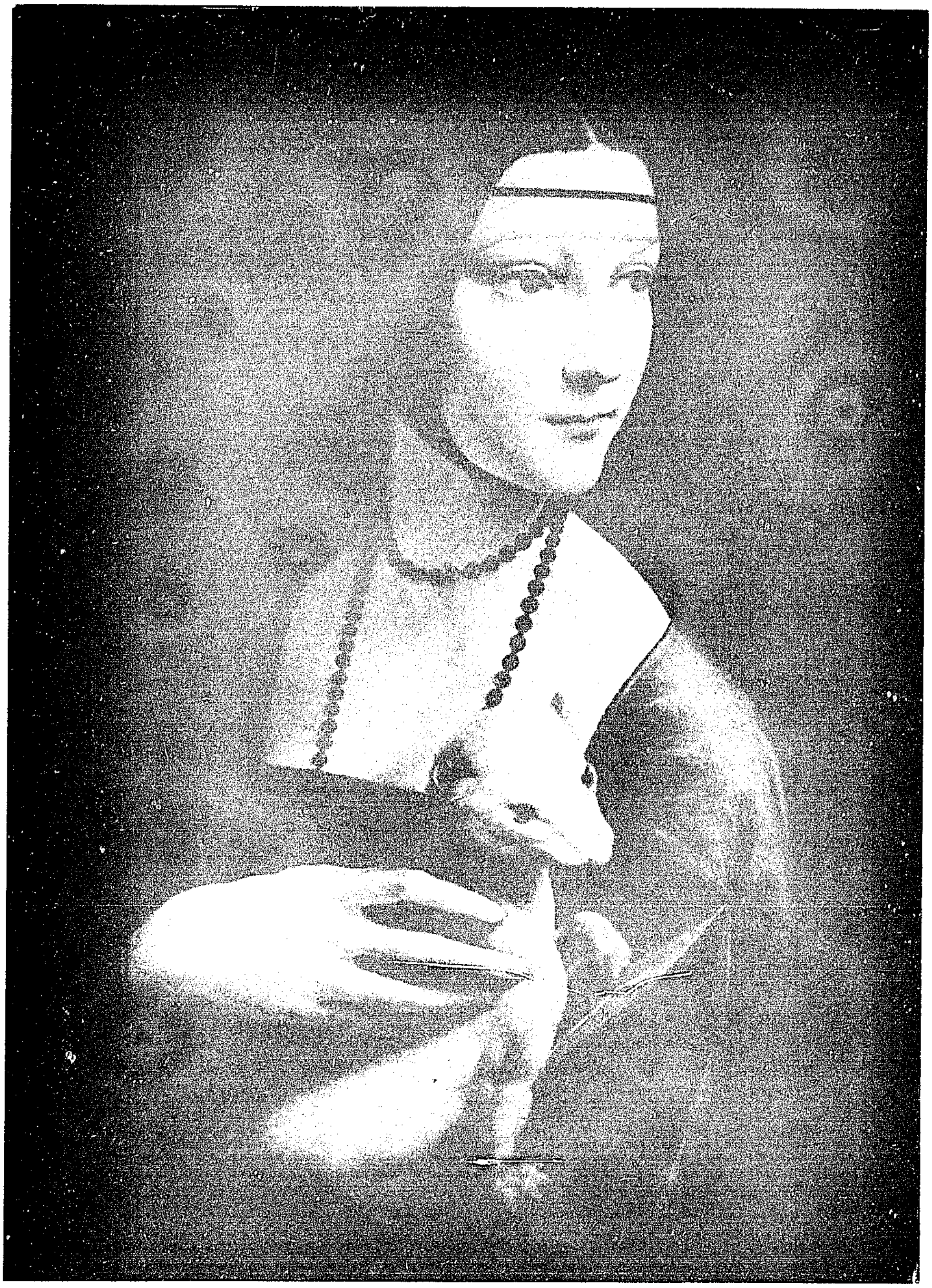


Fig. 45. Leonardo da Vinci. 1452-1519. Portrait of Cecilia Gallerani holding Ermine, Symbol of Purity. Sitter's right side appears unfinished. Left side shows sleeve of "gamurra" through sleeve opening of "cioppa."

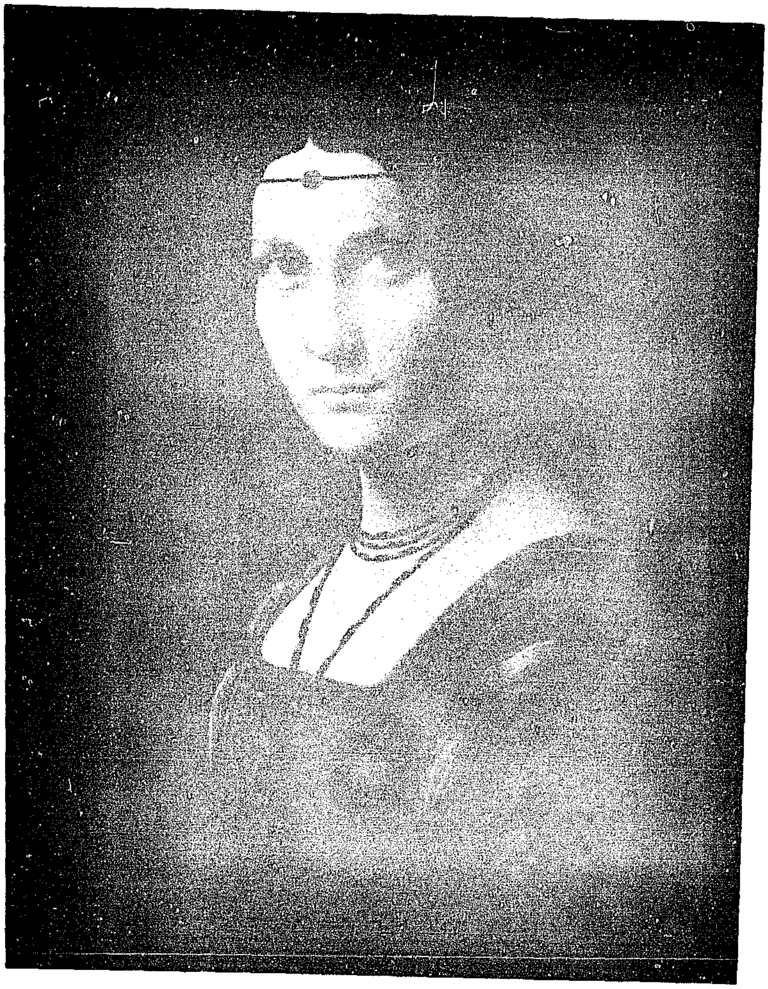


Fig. 46. Leonardo da Vinci. 1452-1519. Portrait of Lady La Bella Ferroniere. The fashion of wearing a jewel at the forehead was called Ferroniere in her honor. Her sleeves are attached with ribbons and are interchangeable.

the fad (Figure 46). Jewel-encrusted girdles of gold plaques or gold braid were common.

Toward the end of the Florentine Renaissance, the growing international dominance of Spain was seen in the world of fashion. The gamurra became shorter and was worn open from top to bottom. Often it had a long train and a narrow waist. This was worn over the sottana, but the weight of the fabric continued to increase. The women were encased in a kind of superstructure that disguised the natural form of the female body. The bodice was stiffened with buckram or wood. The portraits of the ladies suggest the abundance of wealth, the great pride and the great discomfort of the sitter[89] (Figure 47).

The low-cut rectangular neckline emphasized the breasts which were left bare or were covered with transparent gauze. The fit of the clothing further accentuated the breasts. Even the shoulders and back were often left uncovered to such an extent that what held it up would puzzle all but the wearer (Figure 48). All this exposure was finally defended by a Jesuit who said that breasts were no more sinful than any other part of the body.[90]

In the early sixteenth century, fine quality linen undergarments were very expensive. Something so fine could not be kept hidden

---

[89] Deruisseau, "Dress Fashion of the Italian Renaissance": 593-594.

[90] Ibid., p. 580.

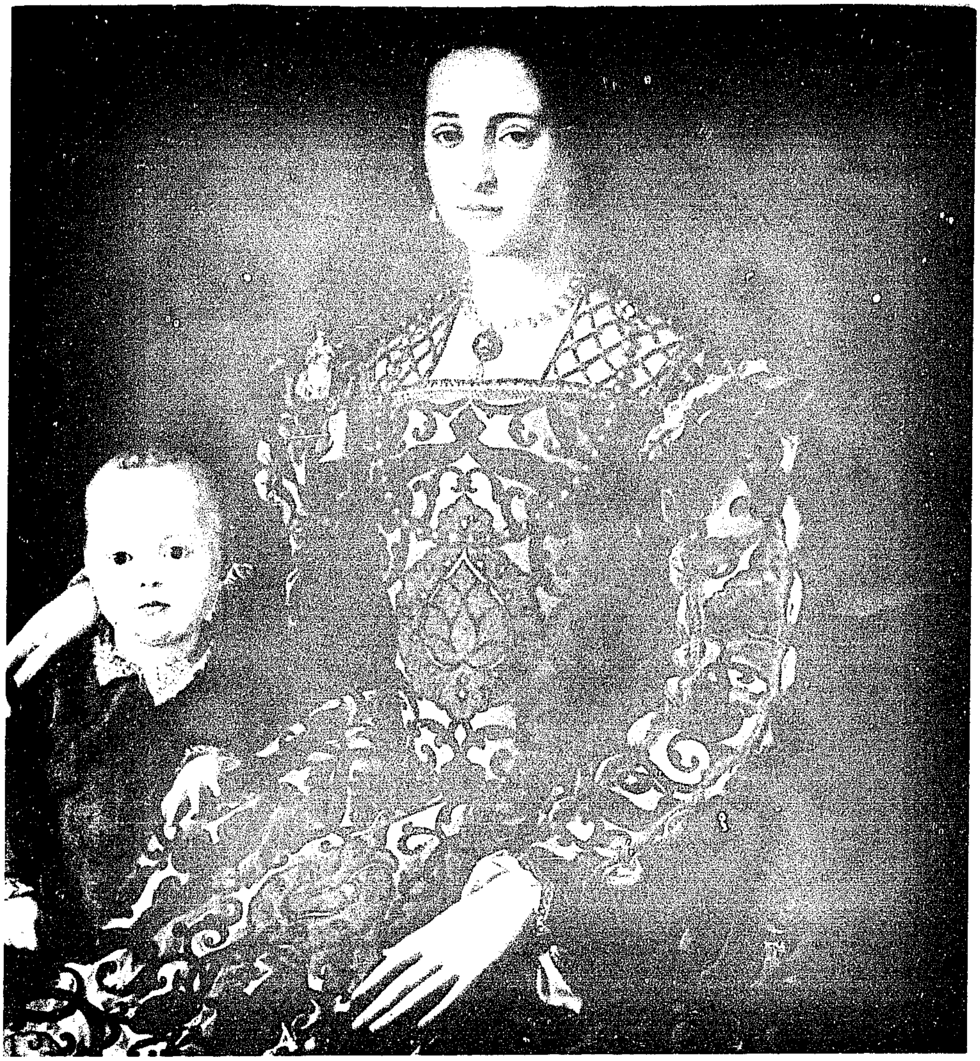


Fig. 47. Bronzoni. c. 1545. Elenoradi Toledo, Daughter of the Spanish Viceroy in Naples, with Son Giovanni d'Medici. Cut velvet evening gown, stiffened bodice, slashed and corded sleeves.

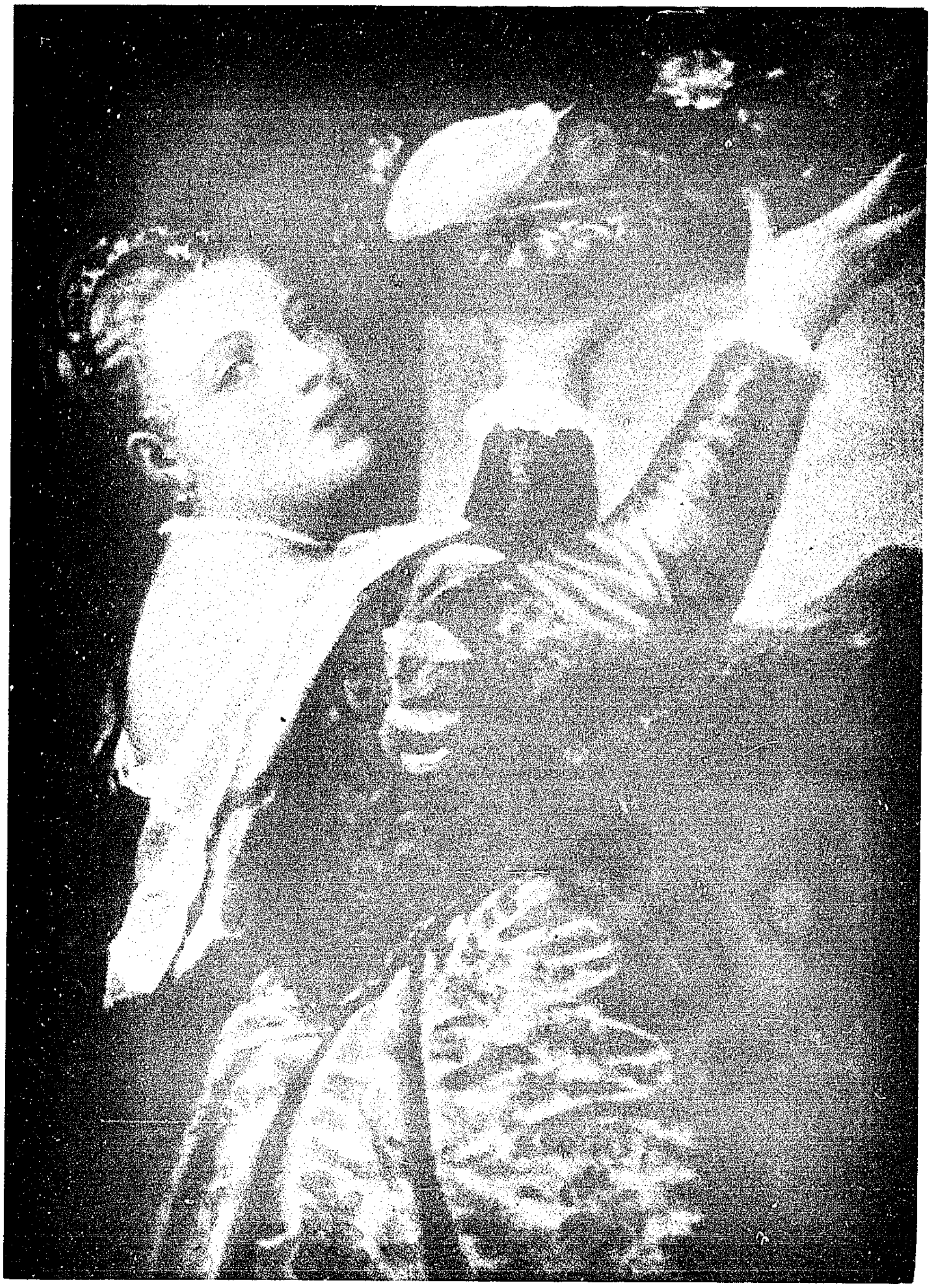


Fig. 48. Titian. 1477-1576. Lavinia. Gown low cut in back as well as front.

from view. The solution was to slash the sleeves to reveal the finely embroidered linen underwear[91] (Figure 47 and Figure 48).

Children's Fashions

The portraits of children show them dressed as midget adults. Because clothes were expensive and an outward sign of wealth, the merchant families of Florence wished to have their children dressed as elegantly as they themselves were. While indoors, the children of both sexes wore coarse, unbleached linen or wool chemises or smocks which also served as the undergarments for the luxurious clothes worn outdoors. This was the same form of underclothing that was worn by the adults of both sexes.

The children's outer clothes were made of the same fabric as the adults' and were worn only for entertaining guests or for visiting. The heavy fabrics were reinforced with buckram glued to the underside of the outer garment. The sole purpose for wearing underwear was to protect the precious outerwear from the chemistry of the body. Like her mother, the little girl wore a corsetto of heavy boned canvas or boiled leather[92] (Figure 49).

---

[91] Ibid., pp. 606-607.

[92] R. Turner Wilcox, Five Centuries of American Costume (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1961), p. 183.

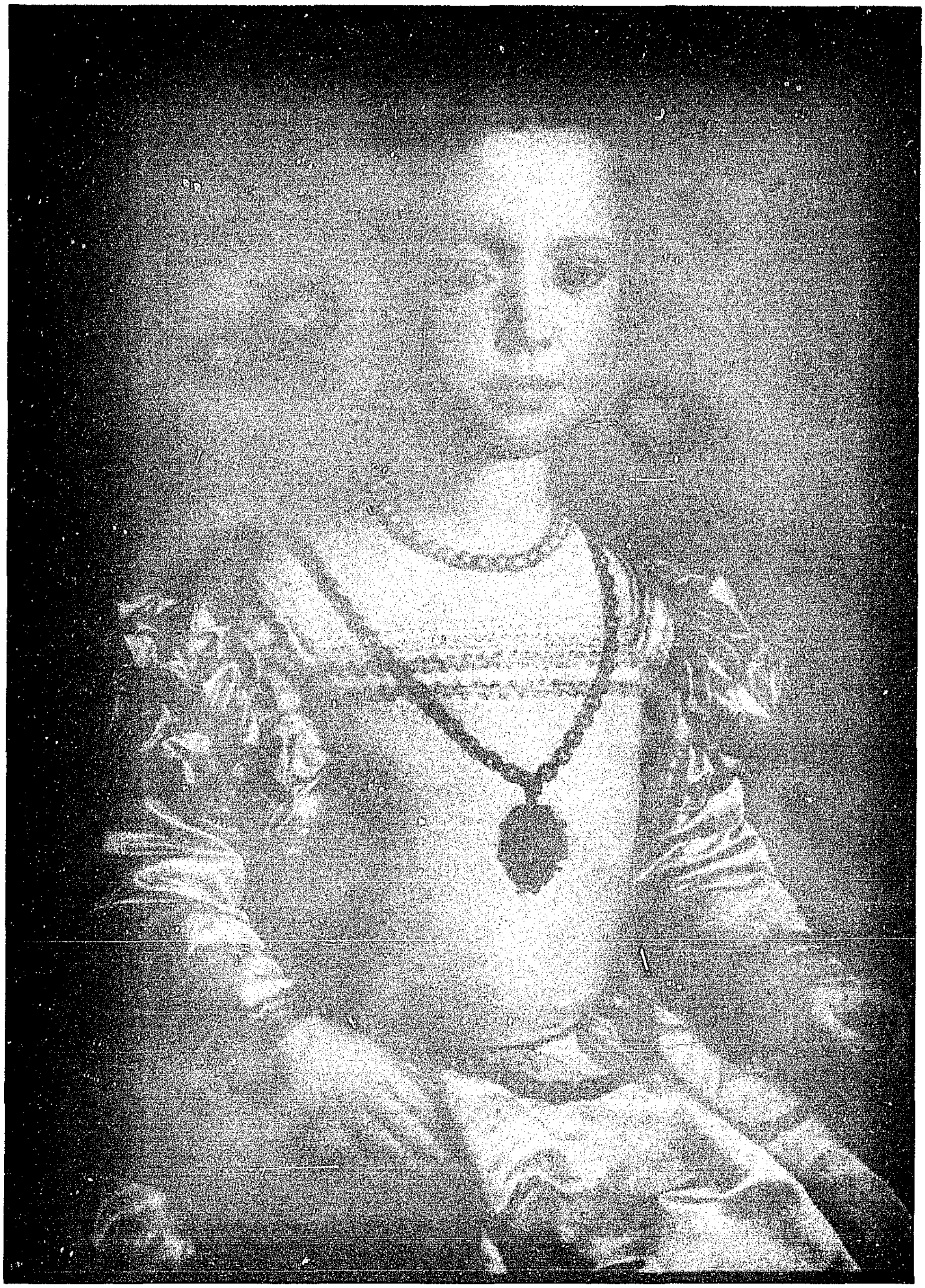


Fig. 49. Bronzoni. 1503-1572. Portrait of a Princess of the Medici Family.

Courtesans

The term "courtesan" became popular in the fifteenth century. A courtesan was more than just a whore; she was a well-educated, beautiful and elegantly dressed professional woman. She was the Renaissance's answer to the hetaera of ancient Greece. The "Cortegiane" was the companion to Castiglione's "Cortegiano." The courtesans were especially popular in Rome, the city of men, and in Venice, the port city to the Orient. Even though they were restrained in conservative Florence, they nevertheless flourished (Figure 50).

The status symbols of the courtesan were dwarfs, monkeys, parrots, dogs and other pets. All of her accoutrements gave her an aura of luxury and glamor. She possessed the status of "Meretrix Honesta."[93] True to the Renaissance and its fascination with antiquity, the courtesan gave herself a classical name. "Lucrezia" was the favorite nom de plume.[94]

The "Honest Whore" would make a grand entrance at church because it was the best place to advertise her magnificent cut velvet dresses, her jewels and her personal charm. Young men would crowd around the church entrance to watch the courtesan go in. She went everywhere with an entourage. She was preceded by pages and man-servants, and more servants would bring up the rear. It

---

[93] Georgina Masson, Courtesans of the Italian Renaissance (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1975), pp. 5-9.

[94] Ibid., p. 26.

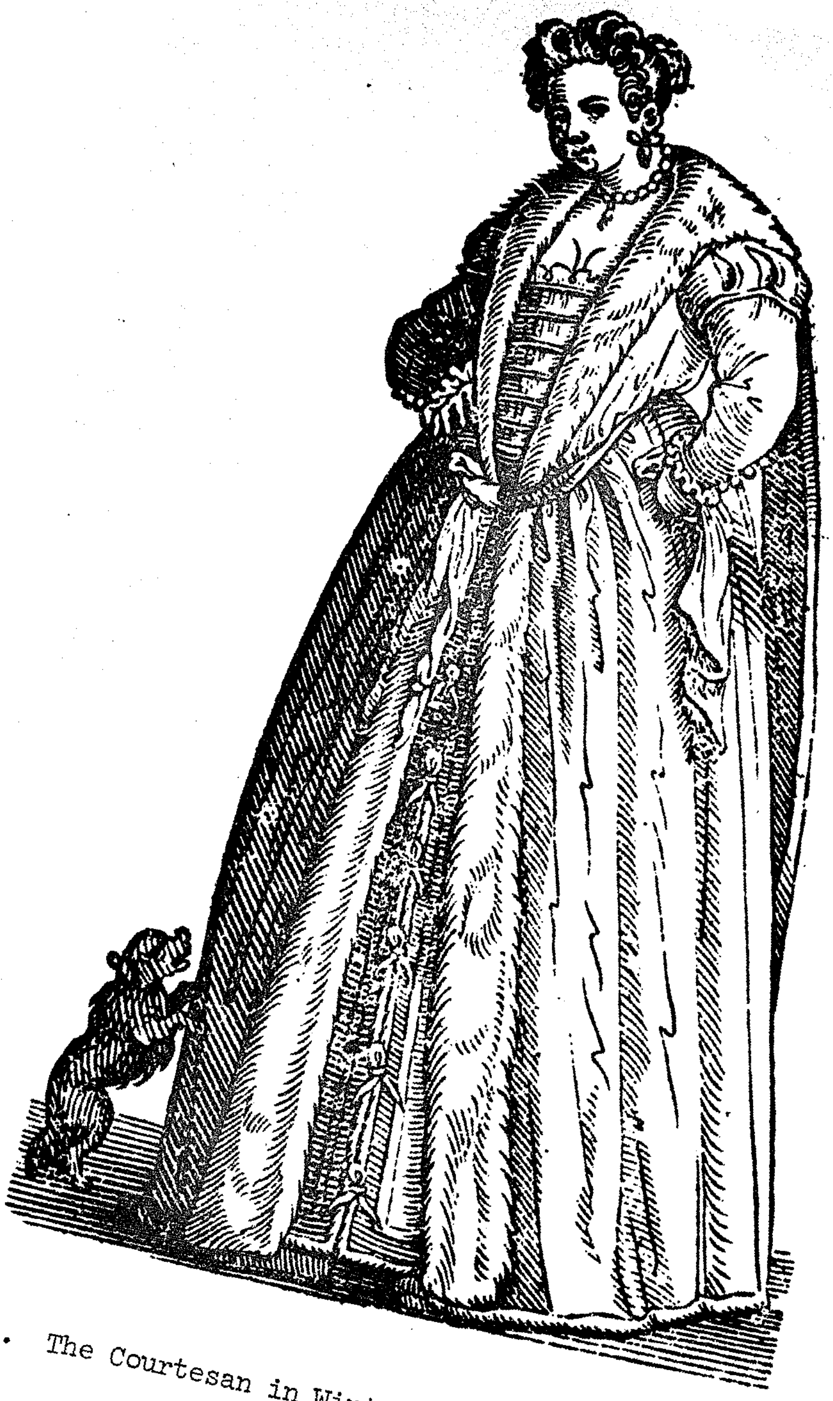


Fig. 50. The Courtesan in Wintertime with Pet Dog.

was said that one Sunday "La Tortora," the Turtledove, wore to church, "a black velvet and gold robe with gold cords interlaced over the velvet, and velvet cords interlaced over the gold. She wore rings and pearls and necklaces."[95]

Courtesans were dressed so beautifully that from time to time sumptuary laws were passed to reduce their appeal. The laws were also supposed to help distinguish the courtesans from the ladies because the former dressed even more beautifully than noblemen's wives. In fact, there were times when the ladies emulated the courtesans in appearance.

In allowing liberty to the courtesans, Florence was the least tolerant of the Italian cities. Generally, courtesans were forced to wear the statutory veil and were not supposed to wear gold, silver, silk or jewelry. Cesare Vecellio's costume book contains an illustration of a prostitute's required costume (Figure 51). Even the city fathers of Florence made exceptions for celebrities. When "Tullia," a famous "respectable whore" visited Florence in 1535, the police regulations were waived to prevent any humiliation to such an adored woman.[96]

---

[95] Ibid., p. 29.

[96] Alexander, Lions and Foxes, p. 352.

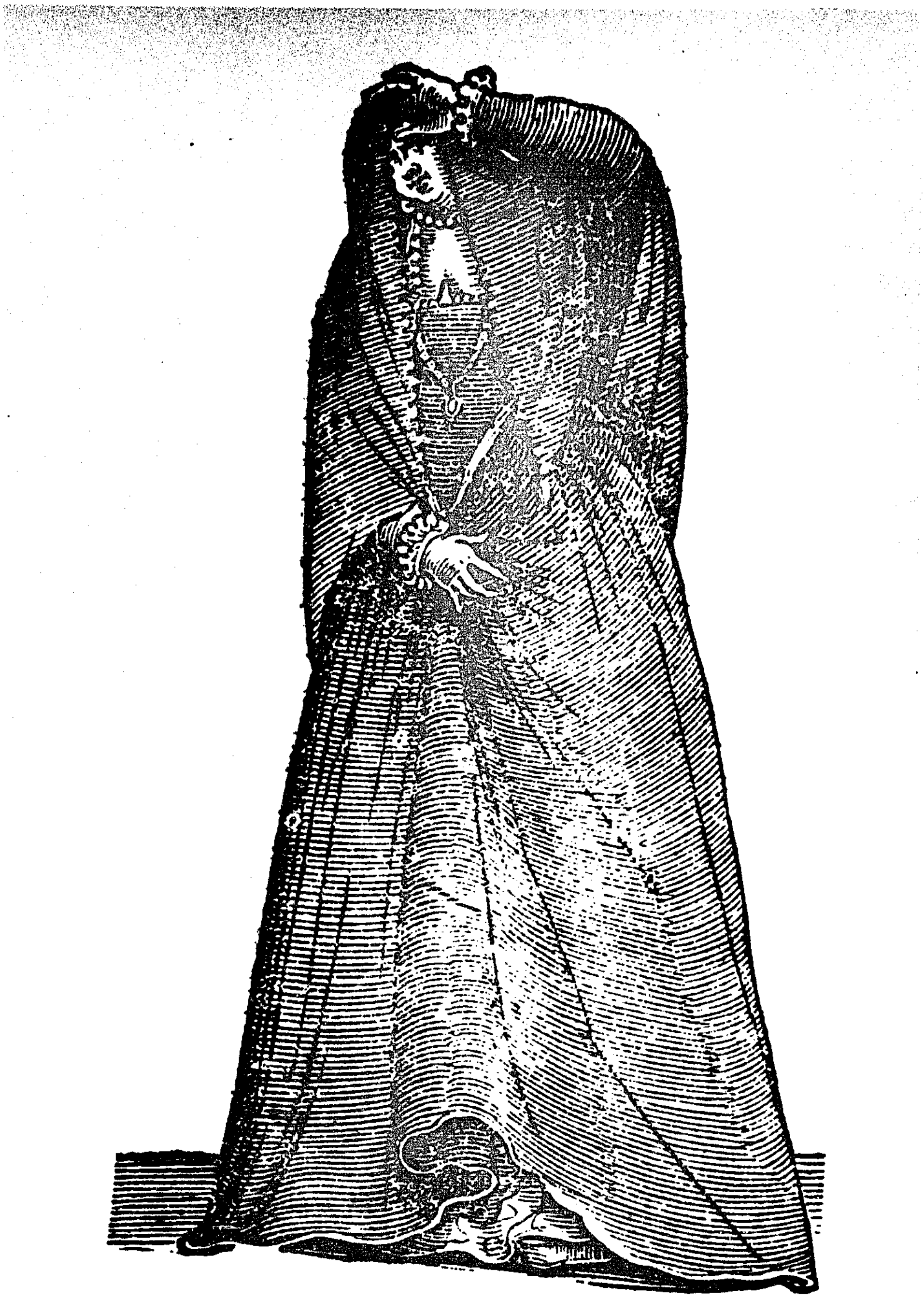


Fig. 51. Courtesan in Outdoor Garb with Required Veil.

Fashion Textiles

Woolen fabric was seldom used for dressing even among the women of lower status. When wool was used, the fiber was interwoven with gold threads or heavily decorated with embroidery.

The embroidery studio of the Murate nuns of Florence was so famous in Tuscany for secular as well as non-secular works that it received great praise from Sant' Antonino, Bishop of Florence. Because of their intricate works of gold and silver, however, the nuns were publicly damned by Savonarola in his sermon in Santa Reporata on March 10, 1495. The fame of the Murate embroidery studio had spread when, in 1468, the nuns had "spiritually" embroidered a mantle that was offered by two angels to the Madonna dell' Impruneta which was made of gold brocade lined with ermine and embroidered with precious gems, pearls and gold[97] (Figure 52).

Prior to the thirteenth century, silks and velvets were imported to Italy from the Far East. Subsequently, Florence, Venice, Milan, Genoa and Lucca all produced excellent brocades, velvets and silks. These Italian towns became so proficient in weaving their own fabrics that more silks and velvets were made available to more people. The Italian silk industry became so strong during the fifteenth century that, ironically, the Italian towns began to export silk textiles to the Far East from whence they once came.[98]

---

[97] Antonio Santangelo, Great Italian Textiles (New York: Harry Abrams, Inc., n.d.), p. 45.

[98] Deruisseau, "Dress Fashion of the Italian Renaissance":596.

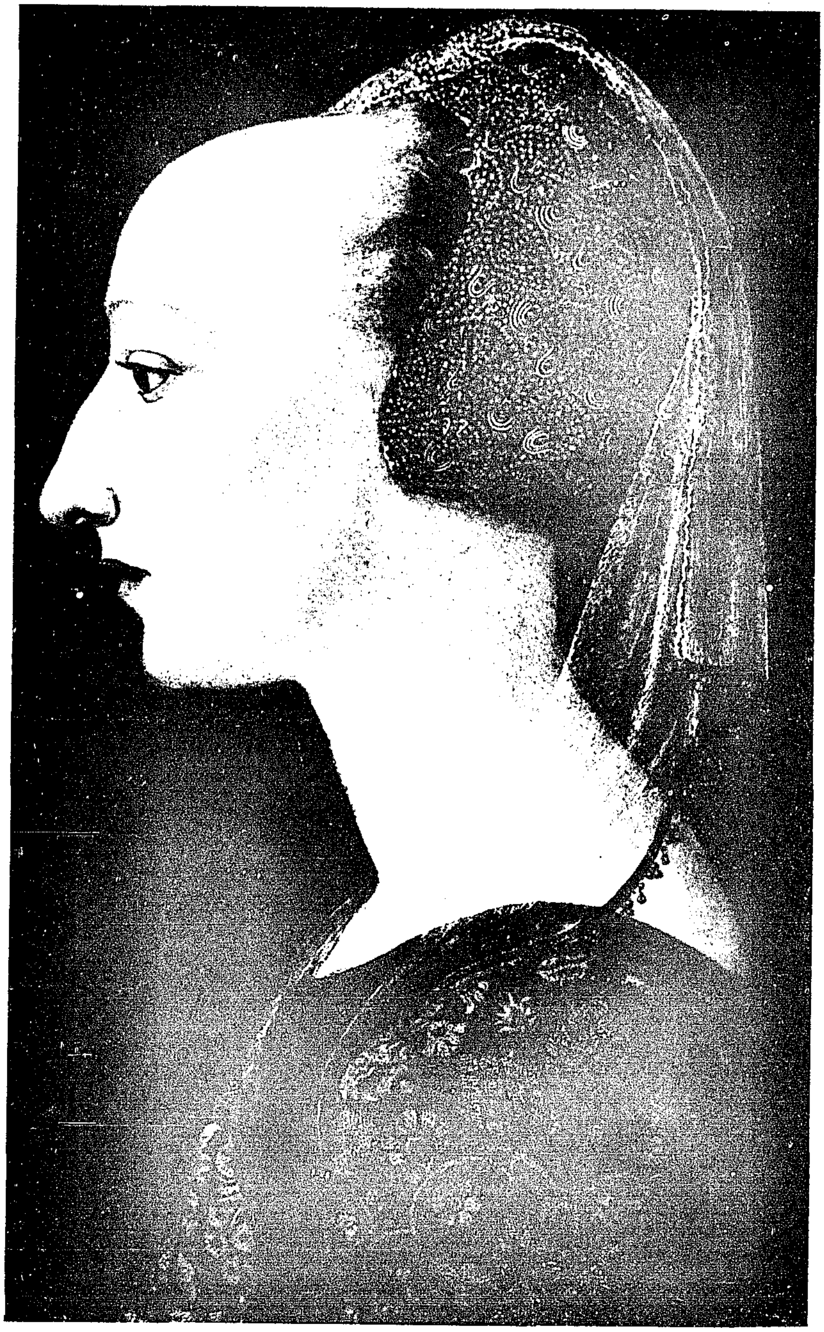


Fig. 52. Florentine School. c. 1460. Portrait of a Lady in Red. Queen Anne cap is example of intricate design embroidered with gold and pearls. Also, note plucked eyebrows and forehead, shaved neck, and complex pine cone patterns on sleeves.

During the sixteenth century, fashion made much use of the heavy silk textiles. They became so popular that it has been said that even the wives of cobblers and tailors were dressed in heavy silks. The sheer weight of yards and yards of these heavy silk velvets caused the wearer to move more slowly and appear more dignified. They also contributed to Renaissance man's conception of Renaissance woman as being delicate. The limited mobility that was attributed to bottled-up humors was actually due to dragging around sixteen yards of heavy velvet.

Silk velvet was the most popular of the luxury textiles. A great deal of variation is obtained by altering the height of the pile and the cutting of loops. Silver and gold threads were used as well as silk yarns. "Altobasseo" was a velvet fabric with a pile of varying heights and woven with a void of gold. The gold served as a background to the motifs and this was considered the most magnificent textile ever produced by the Italian weavers (Figure 53). By the sixteenth century, the aesthetics of velvet were increased further by an invention of the Genoese technique of crimping threads of the upper warp. This invention enabled weavers of velvet cloth to develop designs that resembled metal chasing. Patterned velvets were preferred over plain velvet because they were much more expensive to make in terms of time, labor, and the cost of gold. The extrinsic value that was added to the intrinsic beauty of the cloth made it much more desirable.

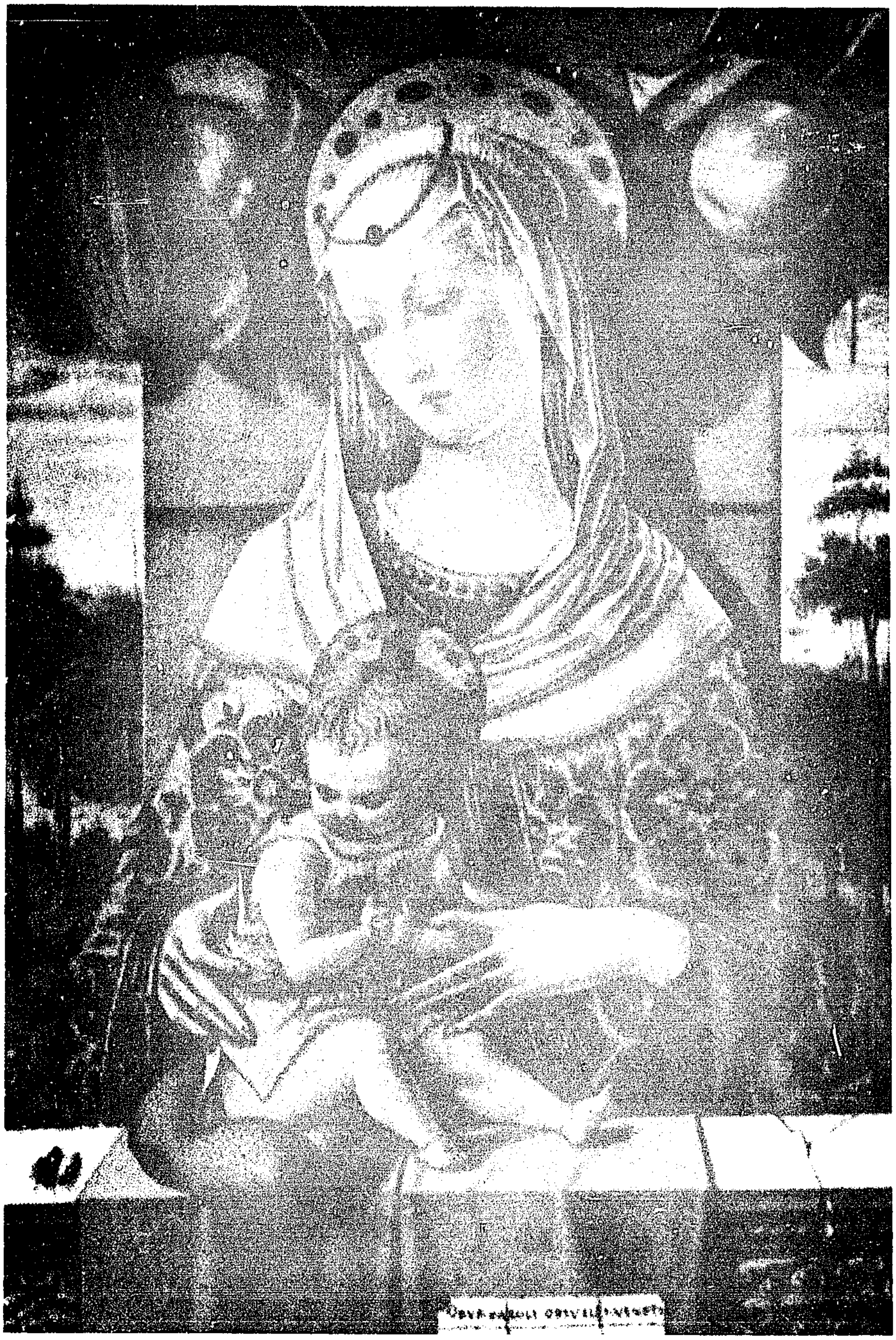


Fig. 53. Carlo Crivelli. 1430-1495. Madonna and Child. Mary's cloak made of "Altobasseo" velvet with void of gold.

The silken fabrics first originated in the Orient; so, too, did the decorative patterns that were first used. These were rigid, symmetrical birds, trees, animals and geometric shapes (Figure 54). As the Italian silk industry grew, the patterns became more relaxed and the leaf, floral and animal patterns were those native to Italy. Around 1420, the thistle (also called the pine cone, artichoke or pomegranate) gained in popularity. It is believed that this device was originally the lotus pattern of the Nile, and eventually it was transformed into the Persian palmette pattern (Figure 32). The motif came to the Mediterranean region with Islamic weavers and gained acceptance in the weaving of velvet brocades[99] (Figure 55).

Pisanello (1388-1456) was the first artist of the Renaissance to produce fashion plates. They show women wearing the representative dresses made from the prescribed sixteen yards of fabric that were considered fashionable. Among the Pisanello drawings preserved at the Louvre, there is a prototype pomegranate or pine cone design (Figure 30). A number of variations on this device persisted throughout the Renaissance, all of them harking back to the original Pisanello device. This instance supports the theory that artists (such as Raphael and Michelangelo) were often the originators of textile motifs.[100]

---

[99] Ibid., pp. 597-599.

[100] Santangelo, Great Italian Textiles, p. 56.

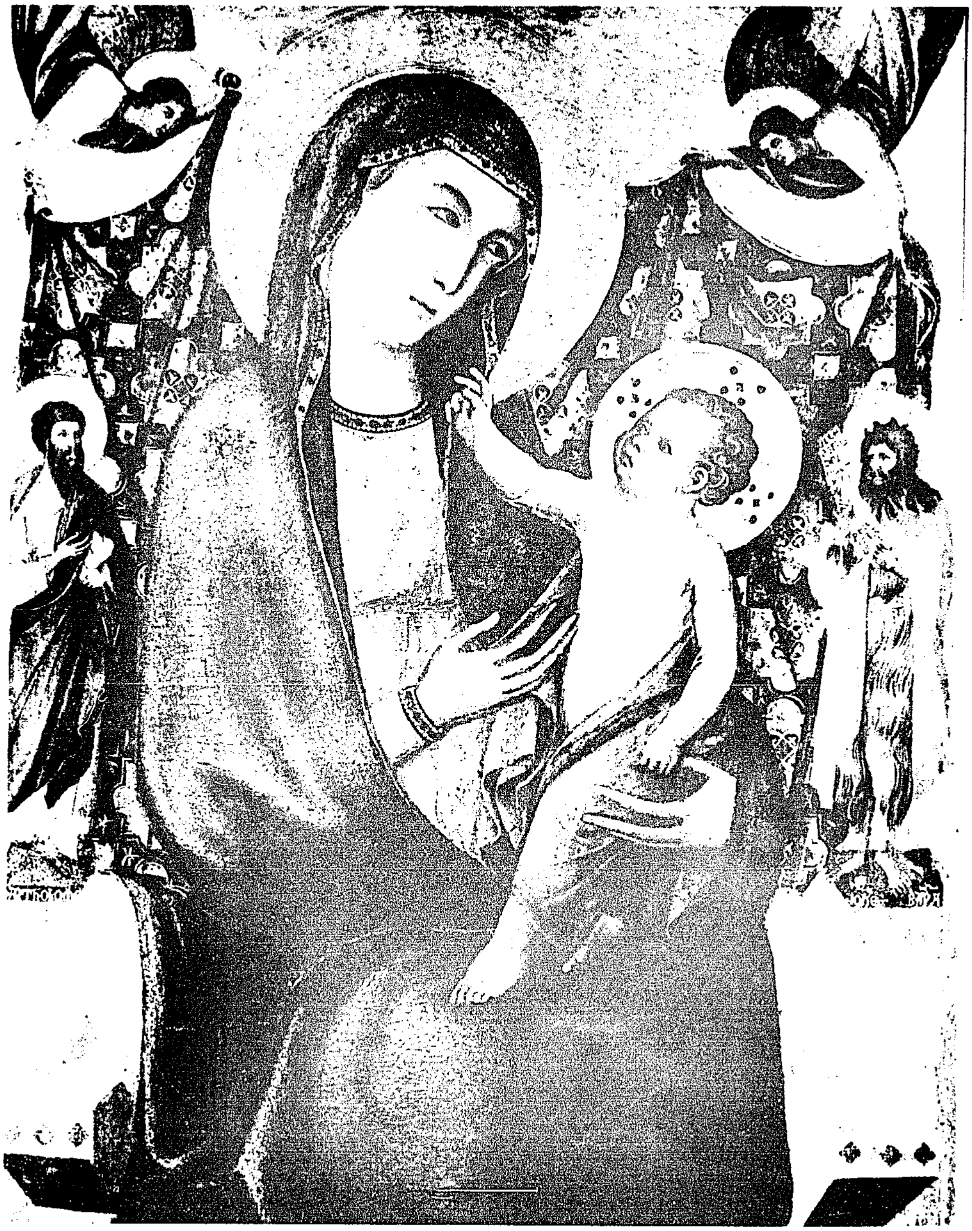


Fig. 54. Sienese Master. c. 1320-1330. Madonna and Child with Saints. Byzantine influence in drapery being held up by angels. Islamic motifs are rigid and symmetrical.

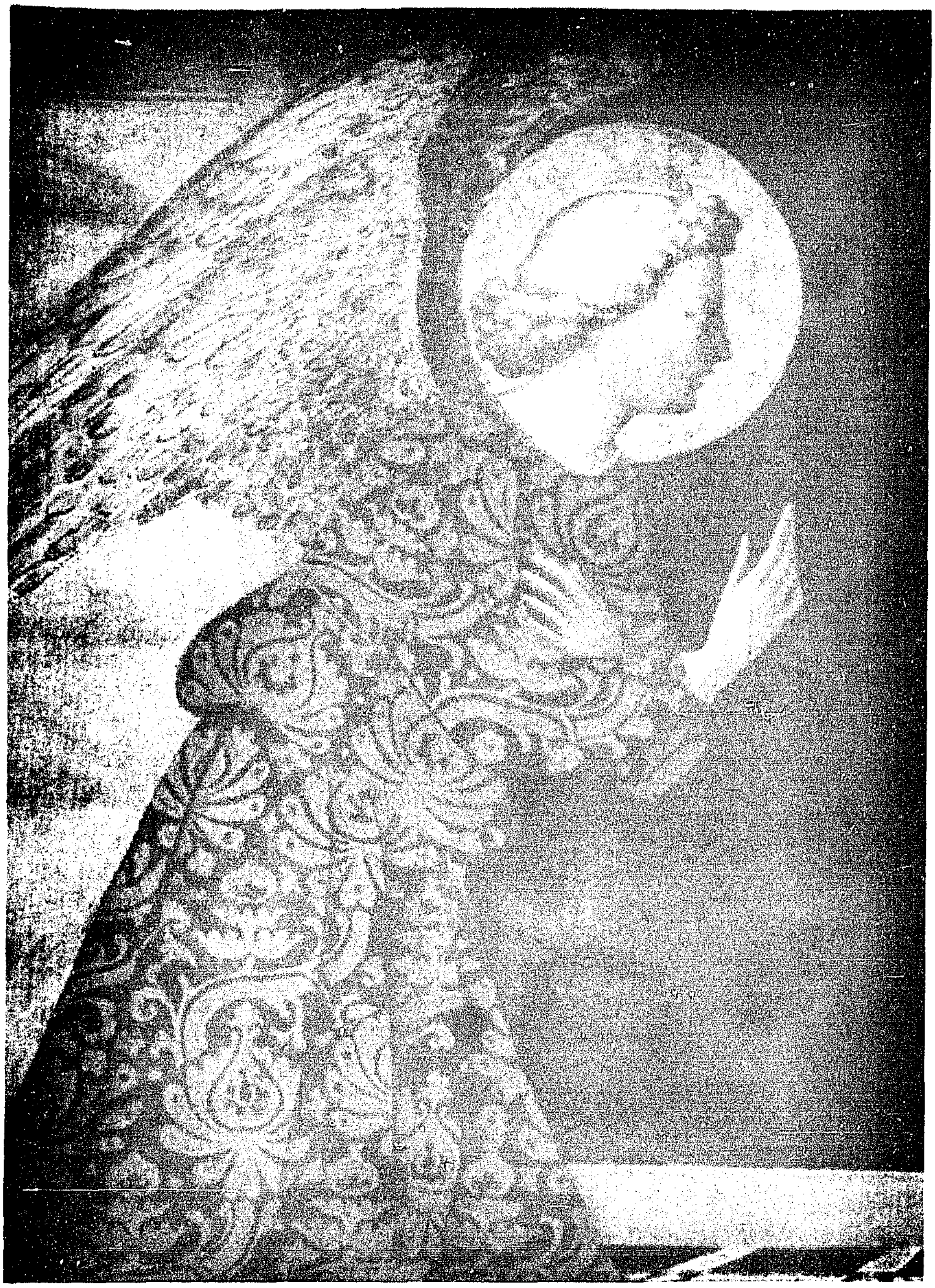


Fig. 55. Masolino da Panicale. c. 1430. Florentine. The Archangel Gabriel. The early thistle or pomegranate from the lotus pattern of the Nile.

Toward the end of the fifteenth century, the pomegranate motif was no longer fashionable and was replaced by more varied motifs. The flower vase motif and the acanthus leaf were others that were favored during the Renaissance (Figure 56 and Figure 33). The artist, Antonio del Pollaiuolo (1429-1498) is said to have invented the flower vase motif.[101] By 1550, great painters no longer designed textile patterns, and the new designs were taken from classical architecture.[102]

Color

Color had symbolic significance prior to the Florentine Renaissance, but color lost its symbolic value with the changes in philosophy and social structure. Giotto, who for the most part existed in the medieval past, had to paint with colors prescribed by the Church. Before 1300, color in clothing either indicated rank in society or it symbolized a virtue that had nothing to do with the individual wearing it. Also, various colors were associated with the liturgical seasons and feast days of the Church. The medieval rules were that the color of the Virgin Mary's robe must always be blue, and the robe of Jesus must always be white. White was associated with virtue. Virtue was woman's highest gift to man, and white became the most fashionable color for women. Red was

---

[101] Deruisseau, "Dress Fashion of the Italian Renaissance":597-599.

[102] Santangelo, <u>Great Italian Textiles</u>, pp. 57-58.

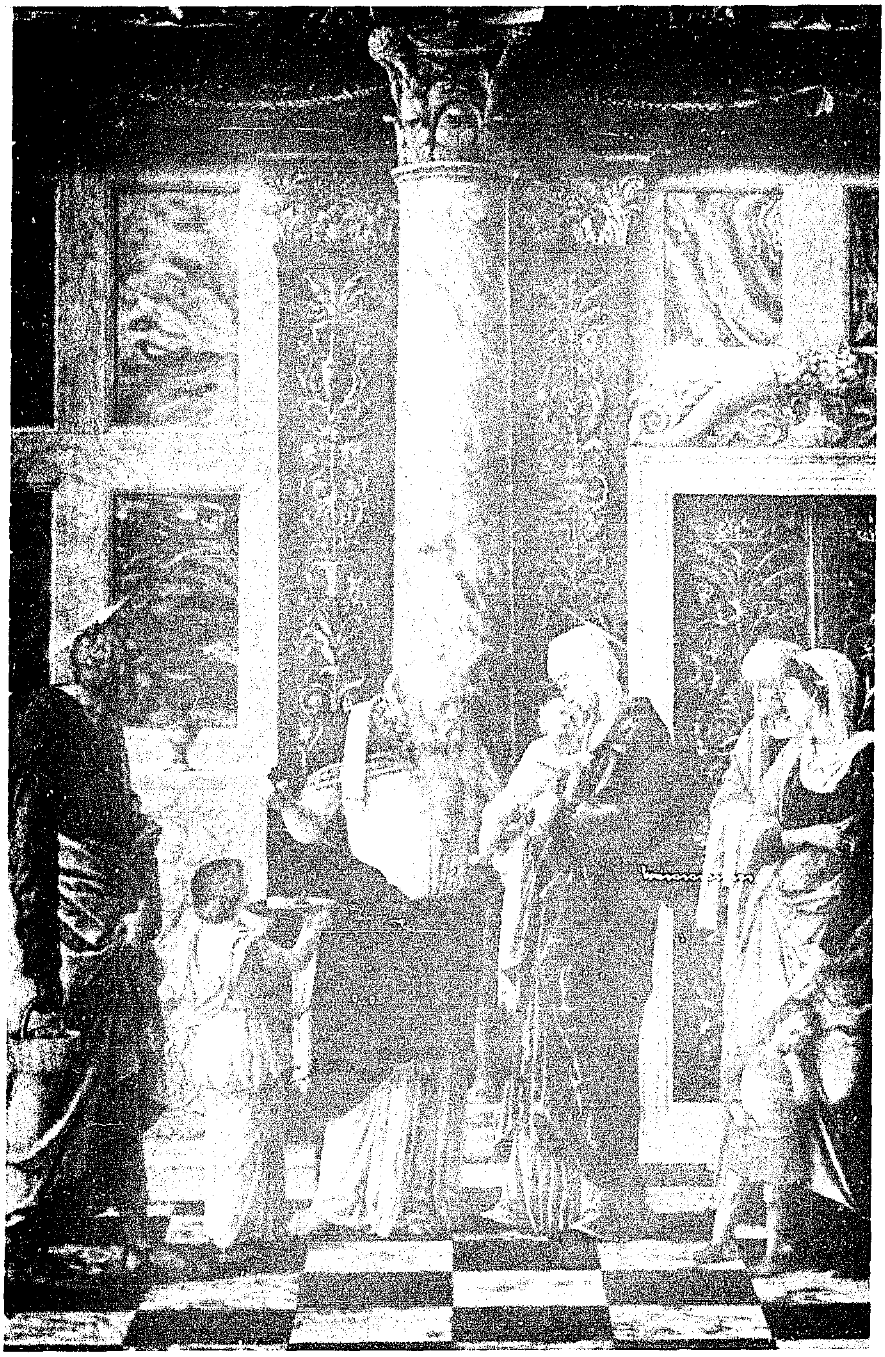


Fig. 56. Andrea Montegna. 1431-1506. The Circumcision. Flower-vase motif seen in pilaster. Acanthus leaf in capital.

reserved to depict the Christ Triumphant and for the robes of the clergy and the upper class.

Color lost its mystical and symbolic significance as the humanists turned to nature for inspiration and relied on the senses to give meaning to life. The visual effect of color became the criterion for choice. Color was selected for its aesthetic appeal to the senses rather than for any intrinsic significance. Individuals chose colors to suit themselves or to suit a particular occasion such as a festival or a masquerade. There were self-styled fashion consultants who suggested which colors did or did not harmonize. Color became associated with good taste.

White was considered the most elegant when embroidered with gold (Figure 57). White and gold as a combination was so esteemed that courtesans were absolutely forbidden to wear it.[103]

In Florence, everyone adored red (Figure 58). Red and purple were extremely expensive colors, but they were available to anyone who could afford to pay the price. Red, although costly, became so common that the popes had to issue special proclamations to force the cardinals to wear it. Black was also a popular color for velvets, but the most favorite color was red.

Florence was once famous for wool dyeing, but wool lost favor to silk fabrics. The dyeing of silk, however, required greater ingenuity and the Florentine dyers met the challenge. Natural

---

[103] Deruisseau, "Dress Fashion of the Italian Renaissance":601.

Fig. 57. Filippo Lippi. c. 1467. The Coronation of the Virgin Mary. Mary in white robe embroidered with gold, considered the most elegant of all color combinations.

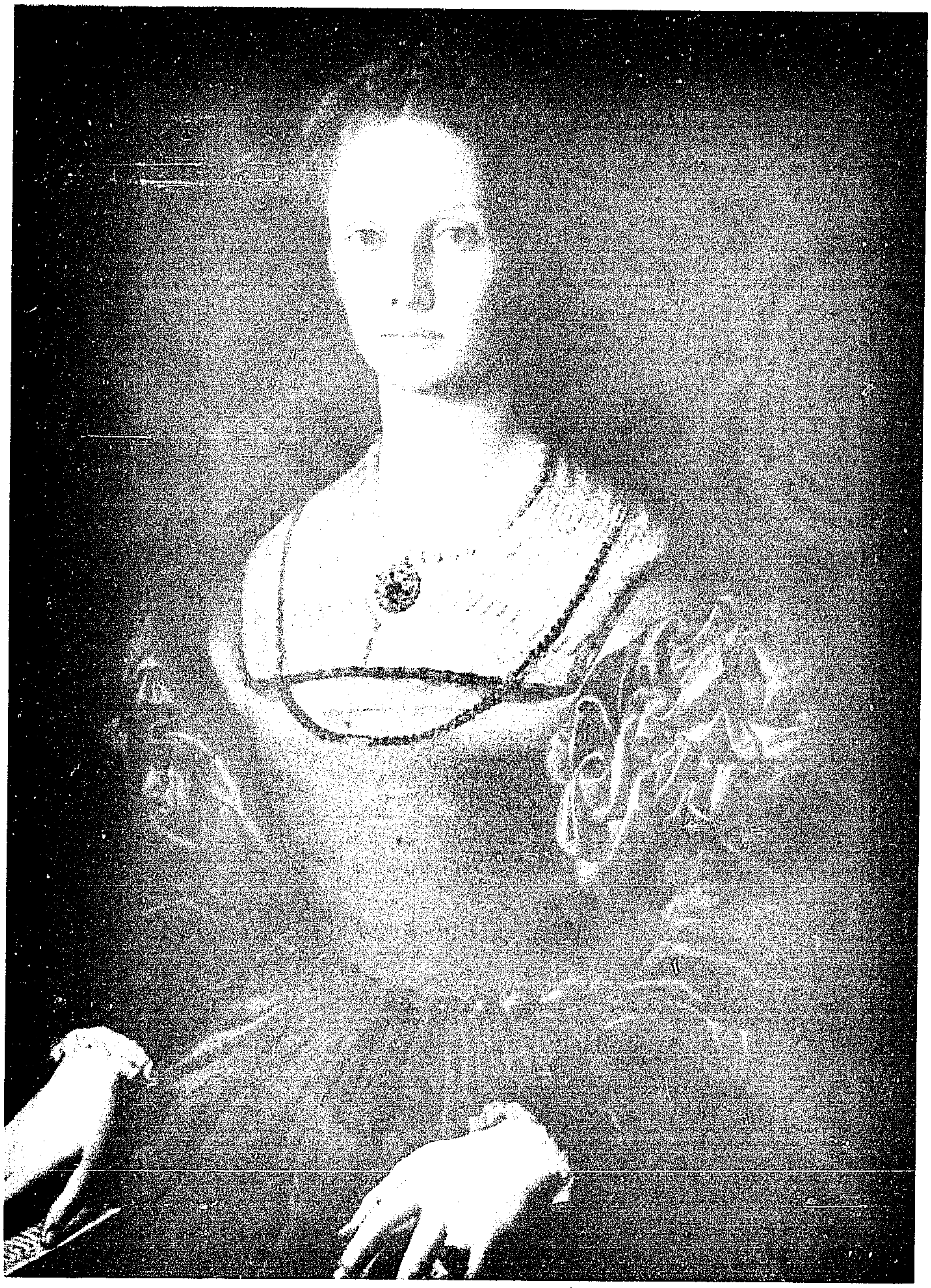


Fig. 58. Bronzoni. 1503-1572. Lucrezia Paniatichi. The Lady in Red.

silk is yellowish in color which would affect the coloration of the dyes used. The dyers soon found a way to bleach silk before dyeing by a sulphurization process. Then the silk was whitened through a blueing process. These multiple processes added to the cost of whitened and dyed silken fabrics.[104]

Clothes have high visibility and help express the identify of the wearer. There are only two basic methods for hanging clothing on a human body: either unfitted draping such as with a toga or waistcloth or tailored, constructed apparel which is fitted to the body. The range of variation is so limited that the subtleties of the symbolic function become extremely significant.[105]

In the Florentine Renaissance, the female body was adorned as if it were fluid architecture. The purpose for covering the body was to create sensual experiences. Texture, color, line, form and pattern bombarded the five senses. Clothing fulfilled the age-old need for aesthetic self-adornment with a vengeance. Distinct rank and sex role assignment were particularly apparent in portraiture because the sitter was painted in her ceremonial apparel (Figure 58). In portraits, the woman appears as a tubular structure decorated with a colorful velvet facade.

An endless amount of literature warned women about the moral consequences of vanity. Although the clergy was able to give

---

[104] Ibid., 601-603.

[105] Kiesing, Cultural Anthropology, pp. 202-204.

biblical proof, men in other professions also admonished women against luxurious dressing. Even the neo-Platonists warned against deception since "true" physical beauty was associated with virtue and divinity.[106]

Through physical beauty, woman was able to advance in status. She was graduated from the allegory of expulsion to the allegory of transcendence. The neo-Platonic association of spirituality with the pagan goddesses of antiquity further advanced the romantic worth of woman. Through the allegories, as depicted by the artists, woman evolved into an active heroine where once upon a time her role was that of passive madonna with downcast eyes.[107]

Fashion is dynamic and, as with all human endeavor, it reaches a peak, then dissipates. In the rise and decline of Florentine fashions, the early transitional clothing draped from neck to toe and covered the entire body in cylindrical fashion. As interest developed in the human form and in human individuality, fashions began to reveal the contours of the body and to expose various parts of it. In the beginning of the Florentine Renaissance, women's fashions were soft and clinging. Eventually, the principle of individuality led to competitiveness with excess in yardage, texture, pattern and color. Women (and men) concentrated on inimitability

---

[106] Maclean, The Renaissance Notion of Woman, p. 15.

[107] Ibid., p. 90.

and a display of affluence. With the increasing international influence of Spain, the Italian fashions became static and acquired the stiffness of the Spanish costume. However, Italian women never did accept the Spanish cone or the farthingale, preferring the layering of petticoats to whalebone and wiring.

Veblen's law, that aesthetics is in direct proportion to the cost of the apparel, was evident during the Florentine period. The apparel worn then gave evidence of social worth. The portraits show individuals who did not engage in productive labor. The insignia of leisure was to be a consumer without producing.[108] The draping of yards and yards of gold, bejeweled, silk, velvet textiles on the body along with the complicated hairstyles that required hours of bleaching and coiffuring, gave evidence that the wearer was a member of the leisure class. It was the leisure class, however, that had the time to read, debate and to question. The members were the very same people who provided the opportunities for the development of the arts and sciences that led to the complex world of technology that we live in today.

---

[108] Veblen, The Theory of the Leisure Class.

CHAPTER V

THE ICONOGRAPHIES OF WOMAN BY ARTISTS OF THE FLORENTINE RENAISSANCE

The paintings in this chapter are included to illustrate the social, philosophical and religious influences on the iconographies of woman. The early icons personified abstract idealism. They were Christian in content and were supposed to be images of the Mother, Queen of Heaven. The teacher iconography, the humanistic nude that was introduced by Masaccio, was Christian in content. The iconography portrayed by Botticelli was both Christian and pagan, both mother and teacher, both abstract and humanistic. This is true also of Raphael's iconography, but the technique of conveying the message is sublimely sophisticated and even more humanistic. By the end of the Florentine Renaissance the iconography of woman appears to be more that of teacher than mother, more humanistic and more pagan than any of the earlier paintings.

The Florentine Renaissance was the period that saw itself as a time of rebirth and invented the term "Renaissance" for its own period and "Medieval" for the era just prior to itself. The Florentines called the art and architecture of the "Medieval" period "Gothic" or barbaric. "Medieval" meant the period between the Golden Age of Athens and the Golden Age of Florence.

During the Florentine Renaissance, the principal significant change in the iconography of the Florentine woman was one from abstract idealism to one of humanistic idealism. This transition was not clear-cut since there were several schools of art competing for recognition. In general, colors and objects lost their religious meanings, and were used mainly for the sensual pleasures afforded the viewer. Man had tasted the fruit of both the Tree of Knowledge and the Tree of Life. His curiosity knew no bounds. Through education, new secrets of the universe were revealed to him and through painting, sculpture and architecture, he gave himself a pass to immortality.

There were two basic metaphysical theories of art that influenced the iconography of woman during the Florentine Renaissance. The Aristotelian theory was that art was only an imitation of the Real, while the Platonic theory was that the Real appeared in art. Plato's theory gained strength through the humanists who discovered the neo-Platonic interpretations of the third century Egyptian, Plotinus. Plotinus interpreted Plato's theory to mean that art was the expressed emotions of souls under the spell of love. Lovers of beauty become godlike and beautiful.[109] The neo-Platonic artists, who were followers of Ficino, attempted to fuse the pagan tradition with Christianity. They used allegory and symbolism

---

[109] Morris Weitz, Problems in Aesthetics: An Introductory Book of Readings (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1959), pp. 5-34.

to treat themes of chivalry, religion and the humanistic spirit that were inspired by nature.[110]

To Ficino, the whole system of art was based on contemplative experiences, since every creative work of art is made possible only by an act of internal concentration. Ficino believed in the ancient doctrine of proportion, that is, the harmonious relationships of all the parts of a whole. The external appearance of an object is related to its inner conception and through conception, it is related to the Divine Idea. Therefore, the creative artist achieves a product by giving form to his original God-inspired idea.[111]

Through neo-Platonism, artists lost their low status of mere artisans and became elevated to the level of mystical geniuses. Both the artists and those educated in the humanities redefined their world in terms of Greek and Roman antiquity. This definition gave them a sense of eliteness since they were thus transcended from the finite world of man to the eternal world of the pagan gods and goddesses. They developed a private language of art. Aesthetically, Renaissance art had little in common with the art of so-called antiquity. The Florentine Renaissance man interpreted the Platonic and neo-Platonic philosophies to accommodate the needs of his own unique times.

---

[110] James Westfall Thompson and Edgar Nathaniel Johnson, Medieval Europe, 300-1500 (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1937), pp. 996-1013.

[111] Paul Oskar Kristeller, The Philosophy of Marsillio Ficino (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), pp. 304-306.

This chapter is a chronological analysis by the author of the processes of change in the iconographies of woman by the Florentine Renaissance artists. Through the evolution of time, the humanistic artists brought the Queen of Heaven down to earth and they brought Venus down from Mt. Olympus. They amalgamated the two into one harmonious creation and arrived at an iconography of a spiritually divine, sensually beautiful woman.

Mary's Image

In early Italian icons, the cloak of the Virgin Mary was always painted blue with edges of gold. Legend has it that this was the way the angels saw Mary and transmitted this vision to St. Luke who was the first person to paint an icon of the Virgin. Thereafter, the Virgin was always painted in a blue cloak trimmed in gold until the changes that took place in the Florentine Renaissance.

Mary and other subjects within the same paintings were mixed in terms of time reference. For example, Mary would be wearing her blue robe and the saints wore their Roman togas, while other secular subjects were dressed in the latest fashions of the Renaissance. Gradually, as Mary became more humanistic, the cloak fell from her head and it was replaced by a white gauze veil to signify that she was a married woman. Then she lost her head covering altogether. At first, no hair was visible from beneath the blue cloak, then gradually the blond coiffure became visible and very stylish. The color of the cloak changed from blue to green or red. Then Mary eventually wore cloaks of the finest silk brocades and velvets cut in the latest fashion.

Mary's features kept up with the conventions of Florentine beauty. The forehead and face had to imitate the pearl. That is why the forehead was free of hair. Pearls were seen everywhere on her--in the hair, around the neck, on the hands and embroidered on the clothing.[112]

Many men tried to visualize what the Madonna looked like. Albert the Great said that her beautiful features showed her inner perfection. He said she had black hair and eyes which showed a firm mind and contrasted with her lovely complexion. She had to be the most elegant woman in order to produce a perfect son because like begets like.

Boccaccio said the Virgin's beauty was unique, unlike that of any other woman.[113]

Nicolo Franco (1542) said the Virgin had been adorned with gold, purple, jewels, and garlands. Her limbs were as white as alabaster and her purity shone from within. Her golden hair was woven with gold bands. Embellishing her head were veils shot with gold. Her hands were of ivory whiteness, adorned with jeweled rings.[114]

---

[112] Taped Lecture of Christine Smith, College in Tuscany and Umbria, Associated Harvard Alumni, 12 June 1981.

[113] Kelso, Doctrine for the Lady, p. 274.

[114] Ibid., p. 275.

The Virgin of the Florentine Renaissance was a demigoddess of divine perfection spiced with classical beauty. The poets spoke of the Virgin Mary in pagan terms. She was called such things as "Juno, mother of the gods," and "Venus," the most popular goddess of love.[115]

Icons

There had long been a dispute among the Christian leaders about the use of images: pictures, frescoes, and statues of the Virgin, Christ, and saints in the churches. In 726, Leo III issued an edict condemning the worship of images and the burning of incense in their honor, but the worshipers continued their veneration and the "iconoclasts" continued their persecution. The Council of Constantine in 764 condemned image worship and the second Council of Nicaea tried to develop a doctrine that said images should be venerated for what they represented, not for what they were. Another Council of Constantinople in 842 made image worship permissible. Finally, the Roman Catholic Church declared that images may be venerated as symbols while the Greek Orthodox Church declared that pictures may be venerated, but only the image of Christ may be adored.

During the Crusades, Byzantine icons were imported into Italy from Constantinople. The Byzantine icons are Oriental in style with stoic faces and narrow eyes (Figure 59). All the

---

[115] Masson, Courtesans of the Italian Renaissance, p. 15.

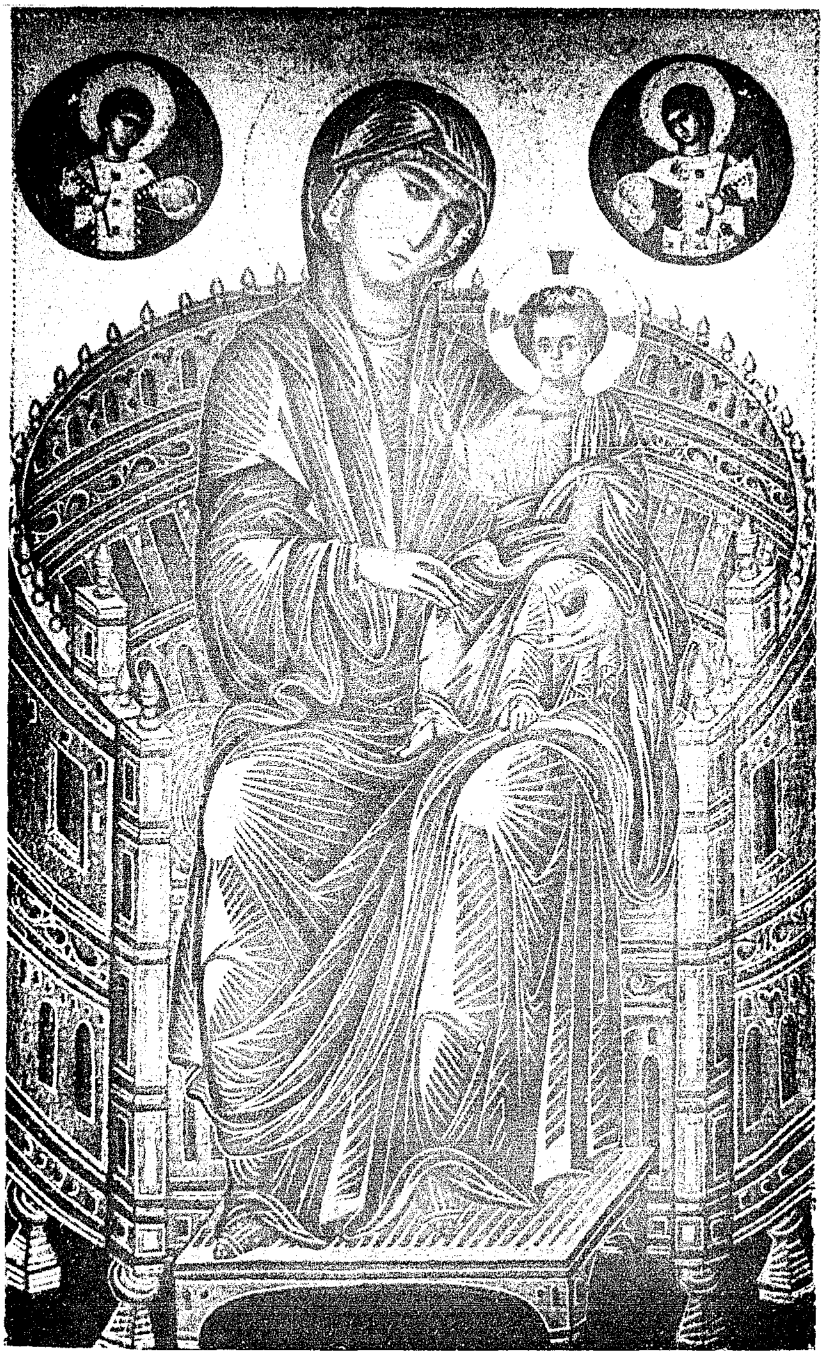


Fig. 59. Byzantine Icon. Early 13th Century. Madonna Enthroned with Child. Wood, 33x21 inches. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

Byzantine icons were venerated, but Mary's icons were especially venerated. They were supposed to be pictures of the way the Virgin looked in real life. Mary's icons would even accept rewards of thanks for the help they gave to those who prayed to them.

Originally, icons were portable objects of veneration made from mosaics.[116] The concept of carrying a personal icon became popular throughout Western Europe. A genuine Byzantine icon emits a gentle melancholy. The bodies are schematized with only a suggestion of anatomy. There is a lyrical restraint in the composition.[117]

The mosaic icons inspired Italian artists to paint portable icons of their own. They prepared a panel with a ground of gesso and painted the image in egg tempera and gold leaf. Some relief was given to the paintings by carving into the ground before applying the egg tempera. The representations are done with a juxtaposition of light and dark rather than a modeling of highlight and shade.

For the first time, in 1250, there appeared an icon that was distinctly Italian. In Siena, there is a small panel called "The Madonna of the Big Eyes," (Figure 60). This painting was extremely venerated and was carried before the Sienese troops as they went forth into battle. "The Madonna of the Big Eyes" was the Queen of the City of Siena and the painting possessed the essence and power

---

[116] Mosaics are small pieces of colored or gold glass affixed to a ground to portray an image.

[117] C. Smith, Taped Lecture, 8 June 1981.

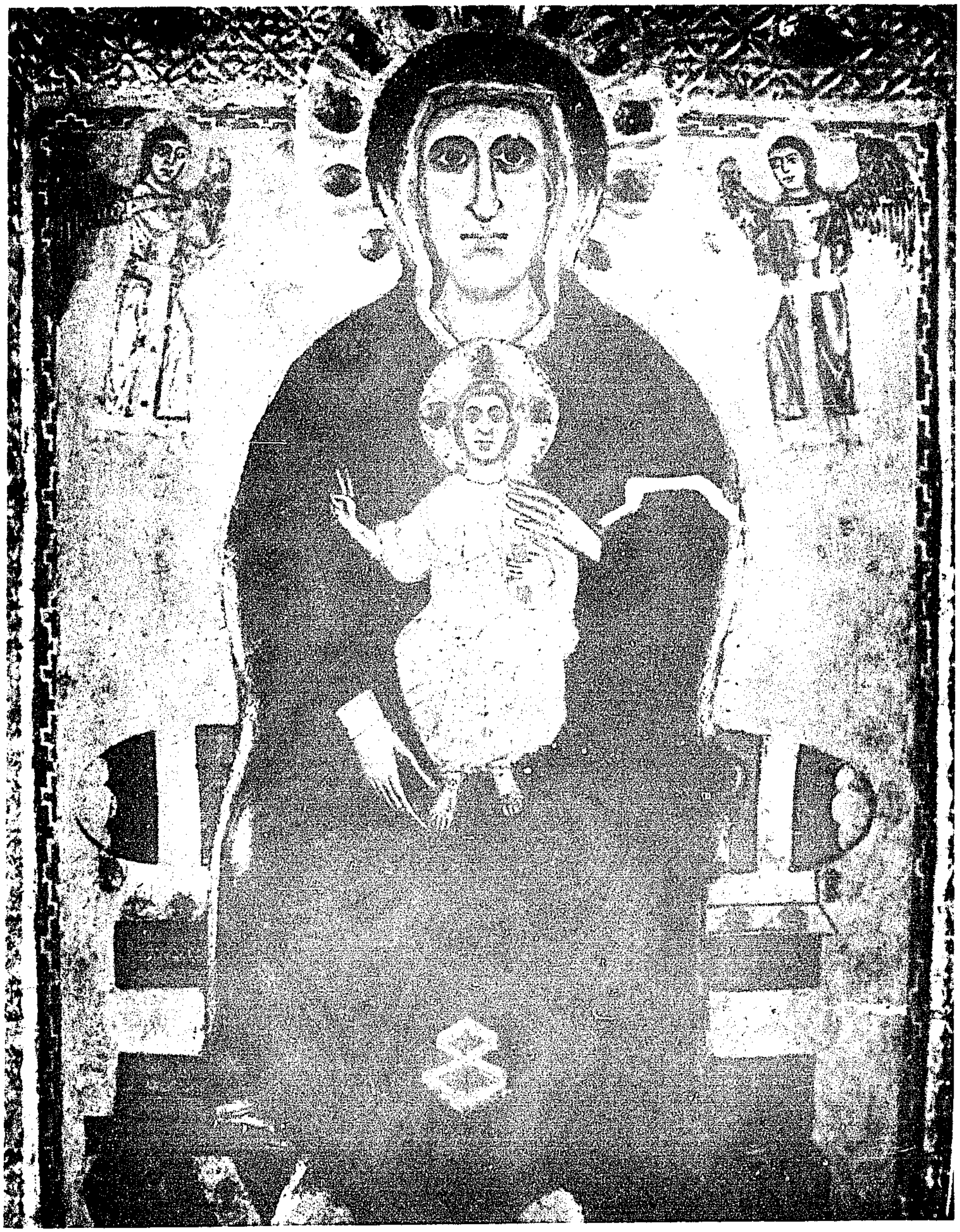


Fig. 60. Sienese. c. 1250. Madonna and Child called The Madonna of the Big Eyes.

of the Virgin Mary herself. The painting had the capacity to act upon the prayers of the pious or to react against anyone's prayers if she chose to do so. This painting was more than just a portrait of the Virgin--it was a true icon.

The "Madonna of the Big Eyes" is attributed to Coppo di Marcovaldo, a Florentine. The painting was inspired by the Byzantine mosaic icons, but "The Madonna of the Big Eyes" is a genuine painted Italian icon. The eyes are saucer-like and they have an enormous impact on the spectator. The gold leaf background is directly related to the gold mosaics that were used as background in the Byzantine icons.[118] The features of the baby Jesus are those of a little man because the masses would not otherwise believe that a baby could perform miracles.

The Italian icons differed from the Byzantine icons in the emotional impact they had on the viewer. Subtle changes occurred in the features and in the draping of the figure. The eyes of the icon became less Oriental and larger. Instead of the drapery being shot with gold, elementary highlighting and shading were used to suggest limbs beneath the drapery. The Italian icons were intended to cause excitement instead of restraint in religious

---

[118] Gold mosaic would diffuse the light and give the subject a radiance. The artists who painted icons used gold leaf to obtain a similar background as well as for modeling the figures, but gold leaf does not satisfactorily diffuse light. This limitation of gold leaf led to a notable change when white paint was used for highlighting instead of gold leaf. Compare Figs. 60 and 61.

devotion. When the Christian Church began to use the icons to appeal to the emotions, the icons could no longer be considered Italio-Byzantine, but early Renaissance.

The function of painting in the thirteenth century was limited to representing basic, but emotional, truths to the masses. Choir screens were built in churches and scenes were painted on them to attract the attention of the viewers. In this way, the Mass was not only heard and smelled but also seen and emotionally felt.

The humanistic direction is apparent in the representation of the Christ figure. Prior to the thirteenth century, Christ was seen only as standing triumphantly holding the cross. The first "croce pinta"--painted cross--with Christ on it is found in Siena. For the first time, Christ is humanized as he is shown suffering. The head is tilted. The body is uncovered except for the belly drapery which enhances his sexual and emotional appeal. Christ is dying nailed to the cross, not living triumphantly. The Virgin is seen as a mother in mourning. She is no longer the unapproachable Queen of Heaven. Also, Mary Magdalene is seen kissing the bloody feet of Christ. Although the concept of the icon was Byzantine in origin, the substance had become transformed in form and facial expression through the humanization process.

Duccio (1279-1319)

The aloof Virgin of the Byzantine icons became somewhat more human in "The Madonna of the Big Eyes" who captured the audience with her stare. Then, through Duccio in Siena, the early Renaissance art world experienced another step toward humanism. The old convention of juxtaposing light and dark was still retained by Duccio, but there was a harmony and a sense of human dignity in his work hitherto unknown.

In the "Rucellai Madonna Enthroned," Duccio still paints in the Italio-Byzantine style in which the Virgin is silhouetted against the gold background (Figure 61). It is a flat painting and highly linear. Even the drapery is quite linear. The angels are placed one above the other instead of overlapping the subjects.

The "Maesta," a large wood panel painting, is Duccio's major work[119] (Figure 62). The Virgin, seated on her throne and all the other figures are Medieval in character, still thin without much volume. They are all elegantly modeled and the flesh becomes softer, unlike its Byzantine forerunner (Figure 63). The patterns are delicately delineated in the Saints' garments (Figure 64 and Figure 65). In the "Maesta," the saints and angels overlap, which is an advance, but they sometimes appear to be encroaching upon one another's space. Compared to Giotto's compositions, Duccio's composition is more static. Giotto creates animation as his figures bend and turn and express emotion in their faces.

---

[119] At this very same moment, Giotto was painting in Fresco, the much more modern technique of the Florentine Renaissance.

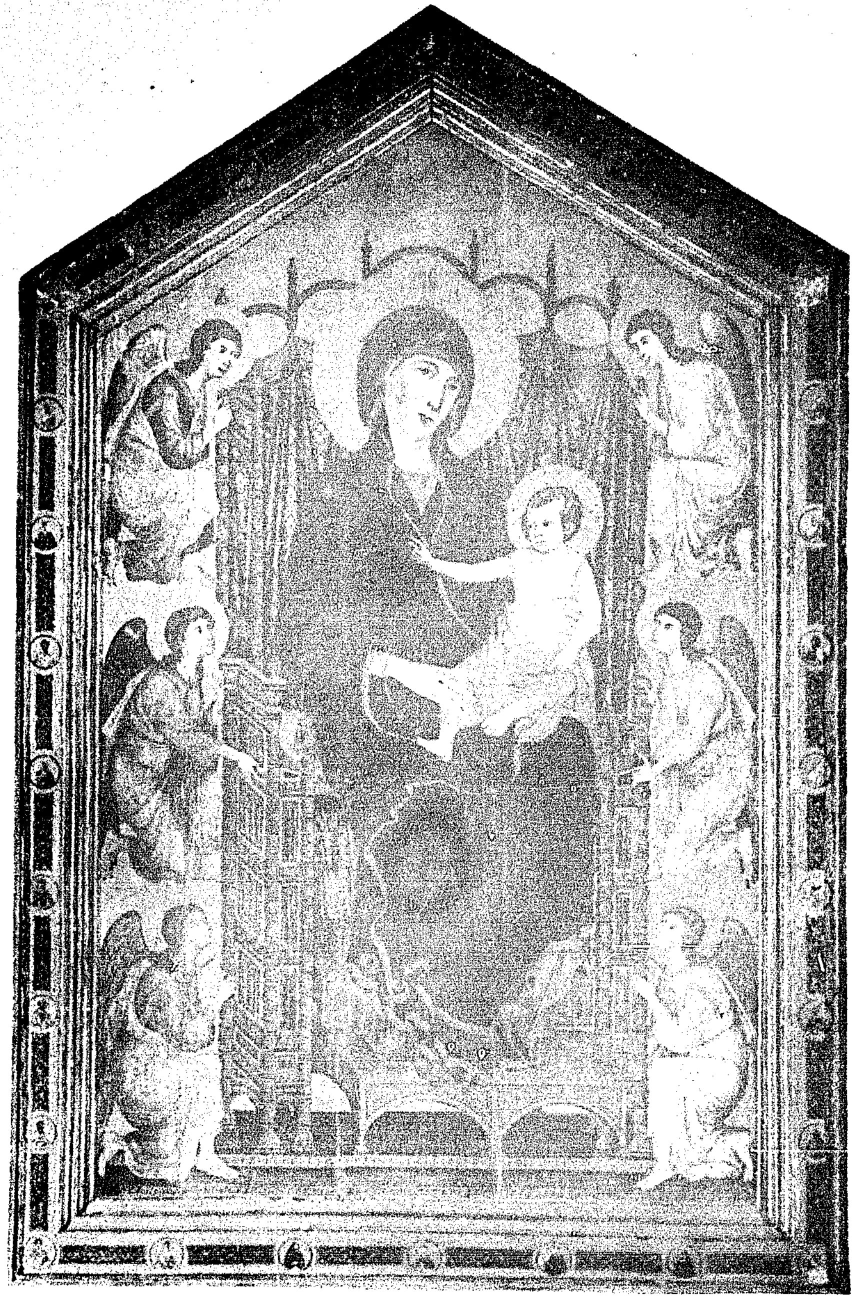


Fig. 61. Duccio. c. 1285. Madonna Enthroned. Rucellai Madonna. Wood, 14'9 1/2"x9'6 1/2". Madonna in Blue Cloak with Edges of Gold. Cloak covers entire head, no hair showing.

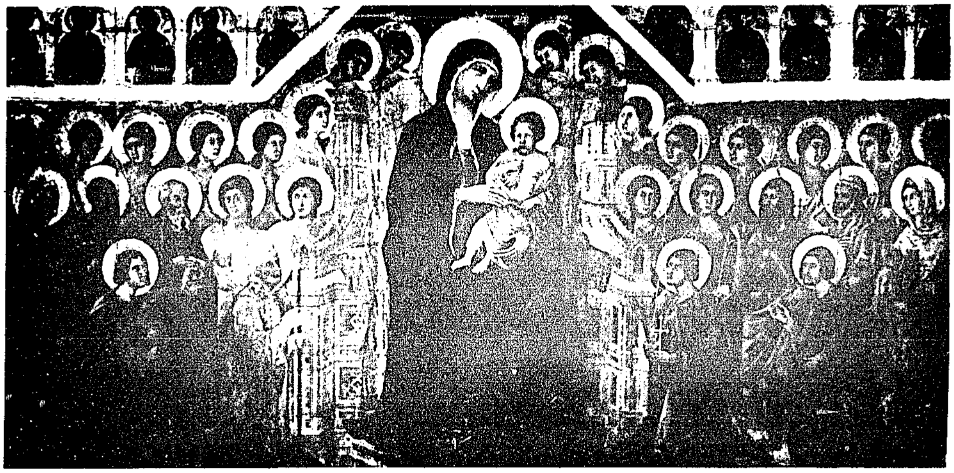


Fig. 62. Duccio. 1308-1311. Maesta.

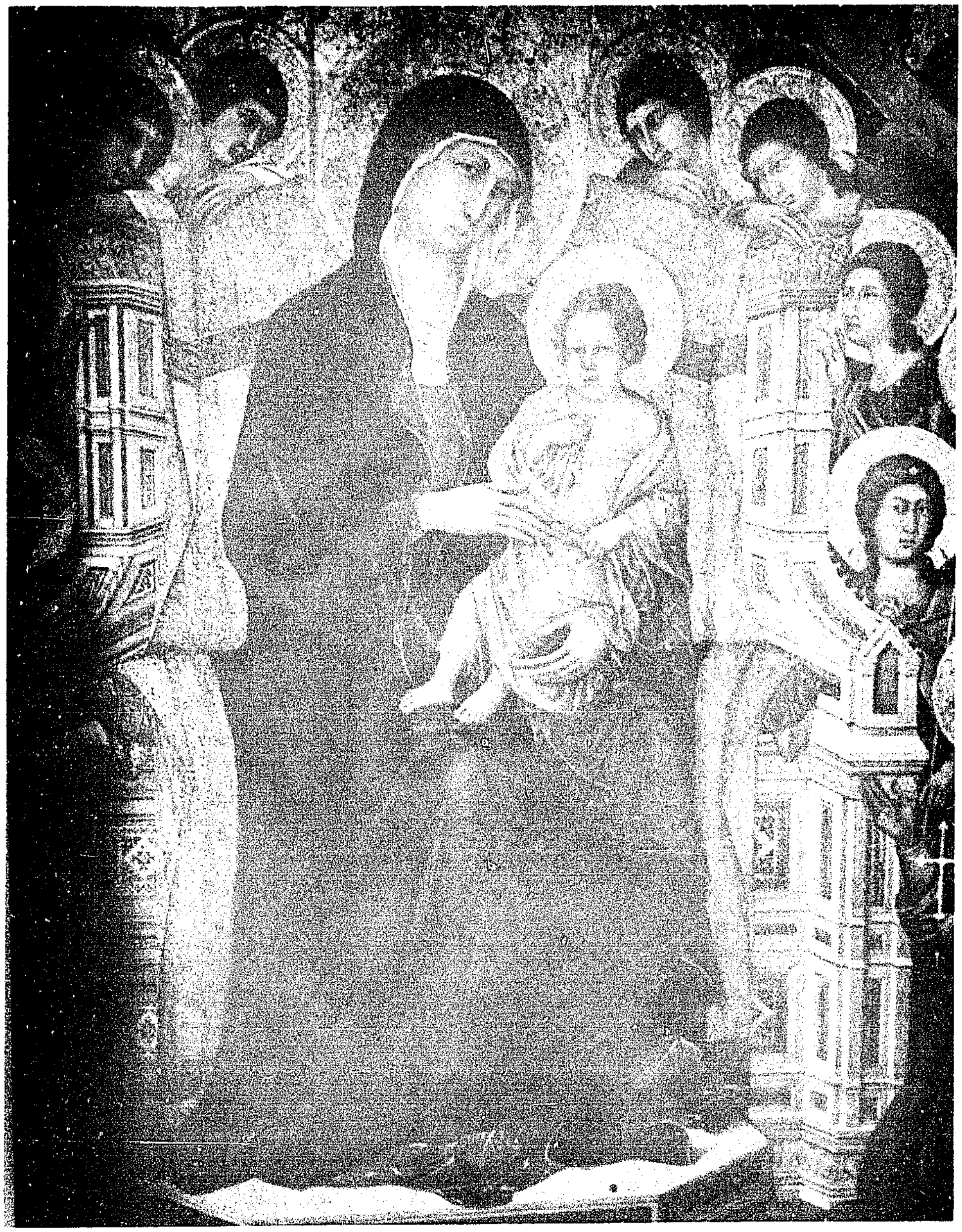


Fig. 63. Duccio. Maesta. Detail. Madonna and Child with Angels.

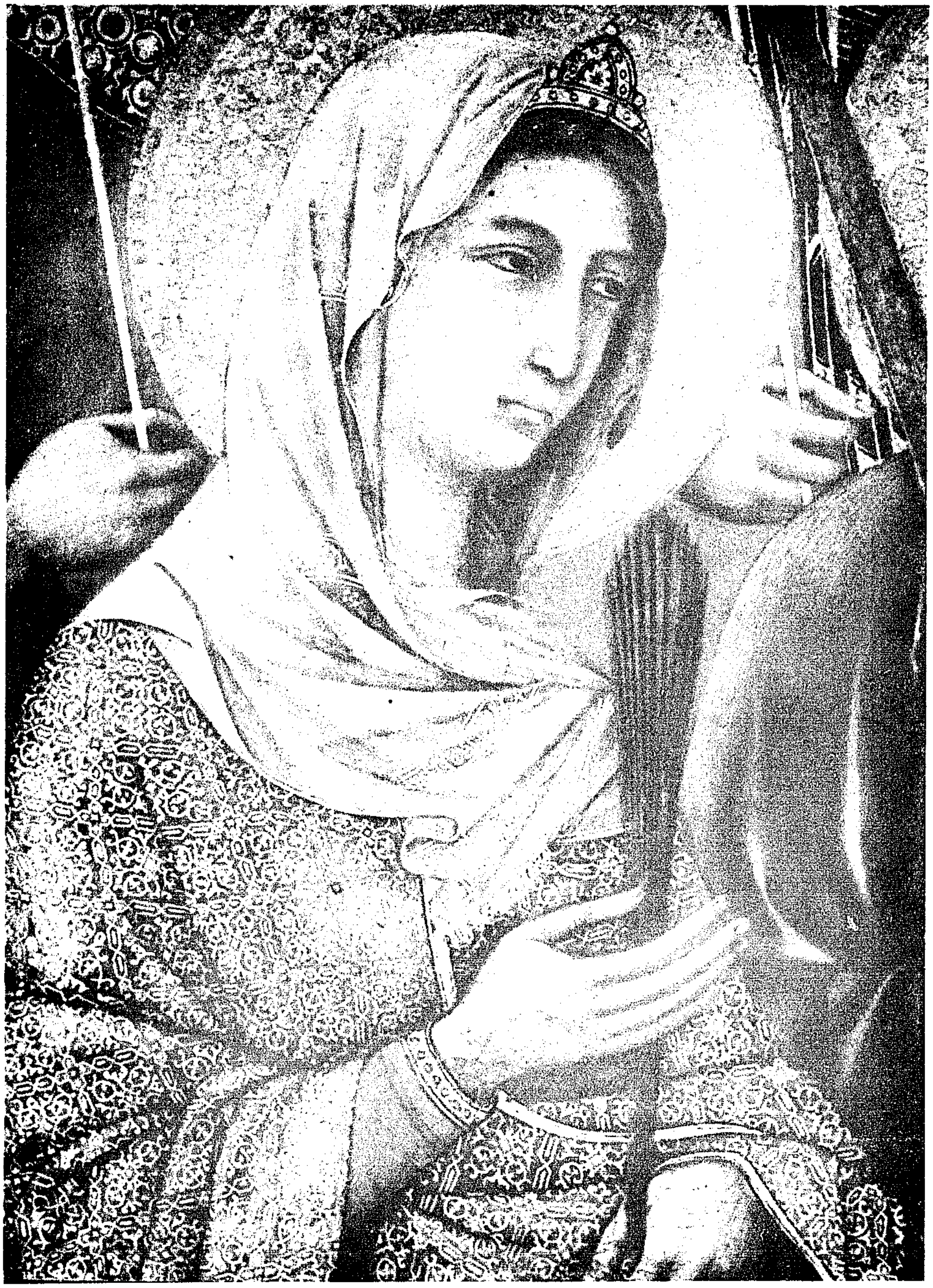


Fig. 64. Duccio. Maesta. Detail. Saint. Delicate deliniation of patterns.

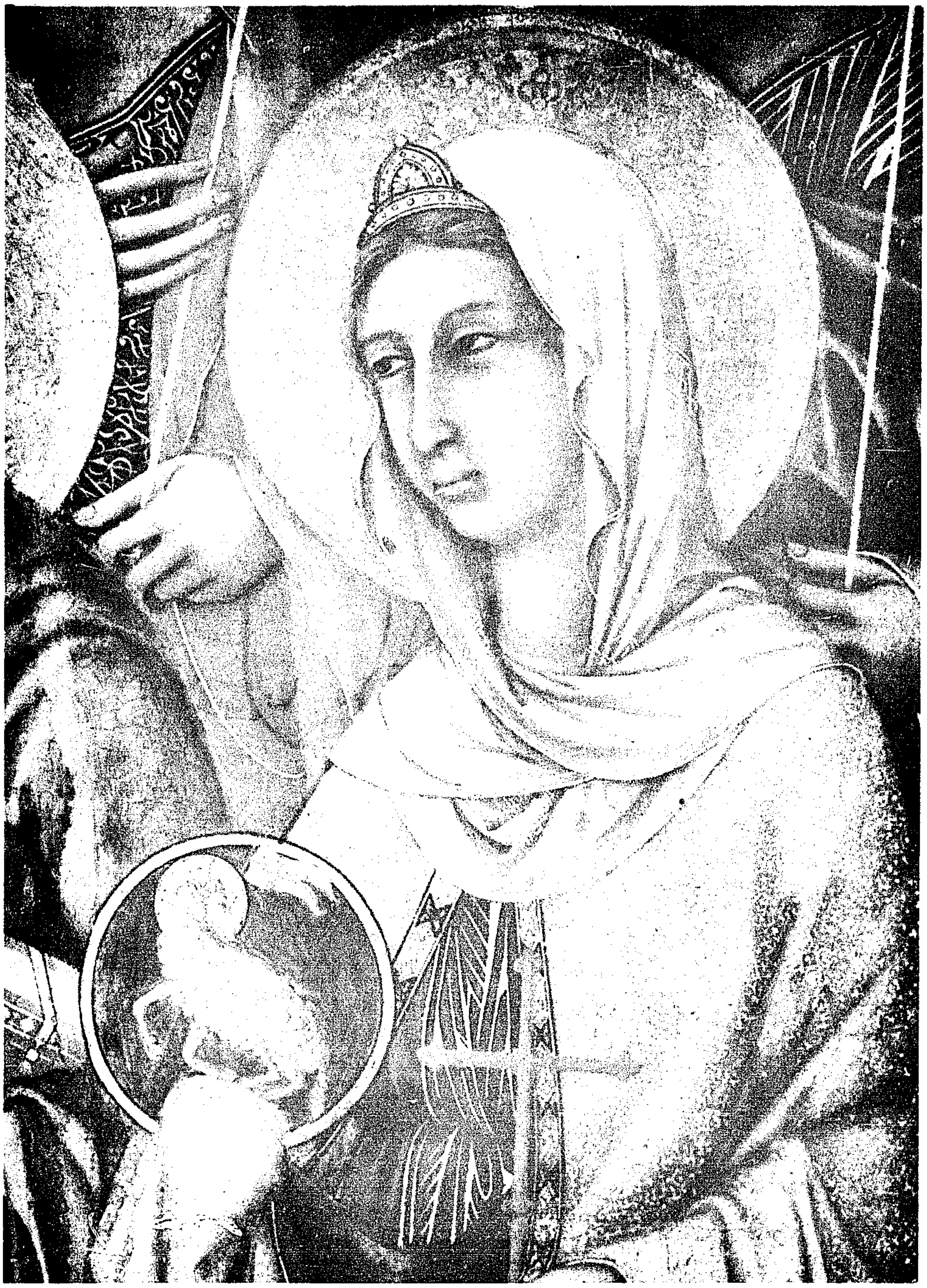


Fig. 65. Duccio. Maesta. Detail. Saint. Modeling of flesh.

Contrast "The Madonna of the Big Eyes" (Figure 60) with the "Maesta" (Figure 63). The "Maesta" is the next giant step in the humanization of the subject matter. This painting is the most representative of the new Italian technique of that time. Although everything appears static, the color, line and pattern are dynamic. The sapphire blue of the large Virgin in the center is offset by the lavish gold of the background. The lavender cloak of the child appears transparent as if there is flesh underneath. The whole picture may be symmetrical but there is life stirring within.[120]

On the back panels of the "Maesta," the Life of the Virgin and the Passion of Christ are depicted. The Annunciation takes place in a modern middle-class interior. In the past, the background was merely a flat surface. In the Annunciation, there is a window beyond which space can be seen. This shows an empirical use of one-point perspective. Duccio, through his artistic genius, conveyed to the viewer the most information about human environment heretofore ever attempted.

Duccio towered over most of his contemporaries in depicting "real" people; that is, he represented eternal truths in a way that the illiterate masses could understand. He humanized his pictures of the Virgin and her son by relating them to everyday life and by placing them in settings that were familiar to the masses.[121]

---

[120] The reason that the faces of the angels are all alike is because angels do not have personalities. On the other hand, the faces of the saints are distinctly individual because they once possessed human personalities when they lived on earth. See Figs. 64 and 65.

[121] C. Smith, Taped Lecture, 8 June 1981.

Cimabue (c.1240-c.1302)

Little is known about the Florentine painter, Cimabue. To some, Cimabue is the last Italio-Byzantine painter, but others consider him to be one of the first true Renaissance painters. His is a giant step forward toward humanization from the abstractions of the Byzantine icons.

In the "Maesta," the eyes of the Virgin are wide, not Oriental in shape (Figure 66). Although the Virgin takes a full frontal static position of a Byzantine icon (which symbolizes spiritual reality), the light and shade in the drapery are modeled with color and white paint. The angels overlap one another suggesting the idea that each one is occupying its own space even though the full bodies cannot be seen. More spatial sense is given by the cylindrical throne that envelops the Madonna.[122]

Giotto (1276-1338)

In the Medieval era, what writing was to the learned, painting was to the ignorant. The main purpose for painting was to educate the masses about the events and ideas of the Christian faith. The art of the Florentine Renaissance was primarily narrative. Giotto's frescoes also provided pleasure for the eyes of the intellectuals

---

[122] Goldstein, Lecture, 10 September 1980.

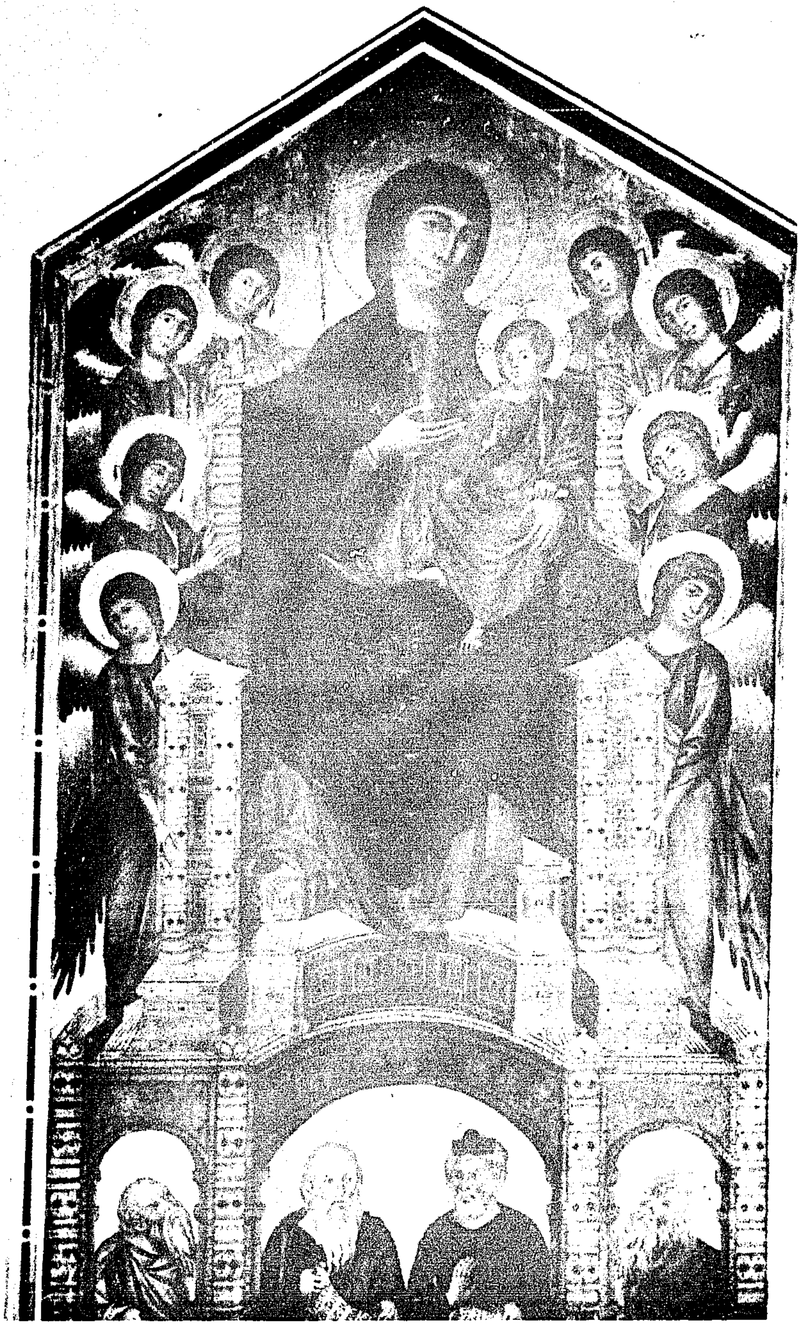


Fig. 66. Cimabue. 13th Century. Maesta. The sense of human forms occupying space.

as well as instruction for the ignorant.[123] He was well received by his contemporaries who said his paintings were "natural" and in correct proportion.

Giotto sets out to tell a story. A central figure is interpreted with other figures contributing to the interpretation. There is no implication of God being some distant, foreign figure. The information conveyed by the props and cast of characters is that nature is the manifestation of God.

The change in the value structures of man in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries prompted the change in how the subject matter of painting was addressed. An evolution took place from the universal, distant, abstract to the particular, the now, the concrete. Giotto's "naturalism" is indisputably linked to the rest of the Florentine Renaissance in that he presents human figures in relation to one another in the known world.

Even though Giotto was still creating according to the rules of the Church as to what may or may not be painted, he made a complete break with the Medieval concept of the supernatural. His paintings are plainly humanistic. The scenes and people are natural. The observer is invited to project his personal experiences on to the scenes. The costumes and furniture are contemporary. The subjects in the paintings are relating to one another (Figure 67).

---

[123] It was later, in the High Renaissance, that frescoes became political. A good example of political frescoes are those seen in St. Peter's Cathedral.

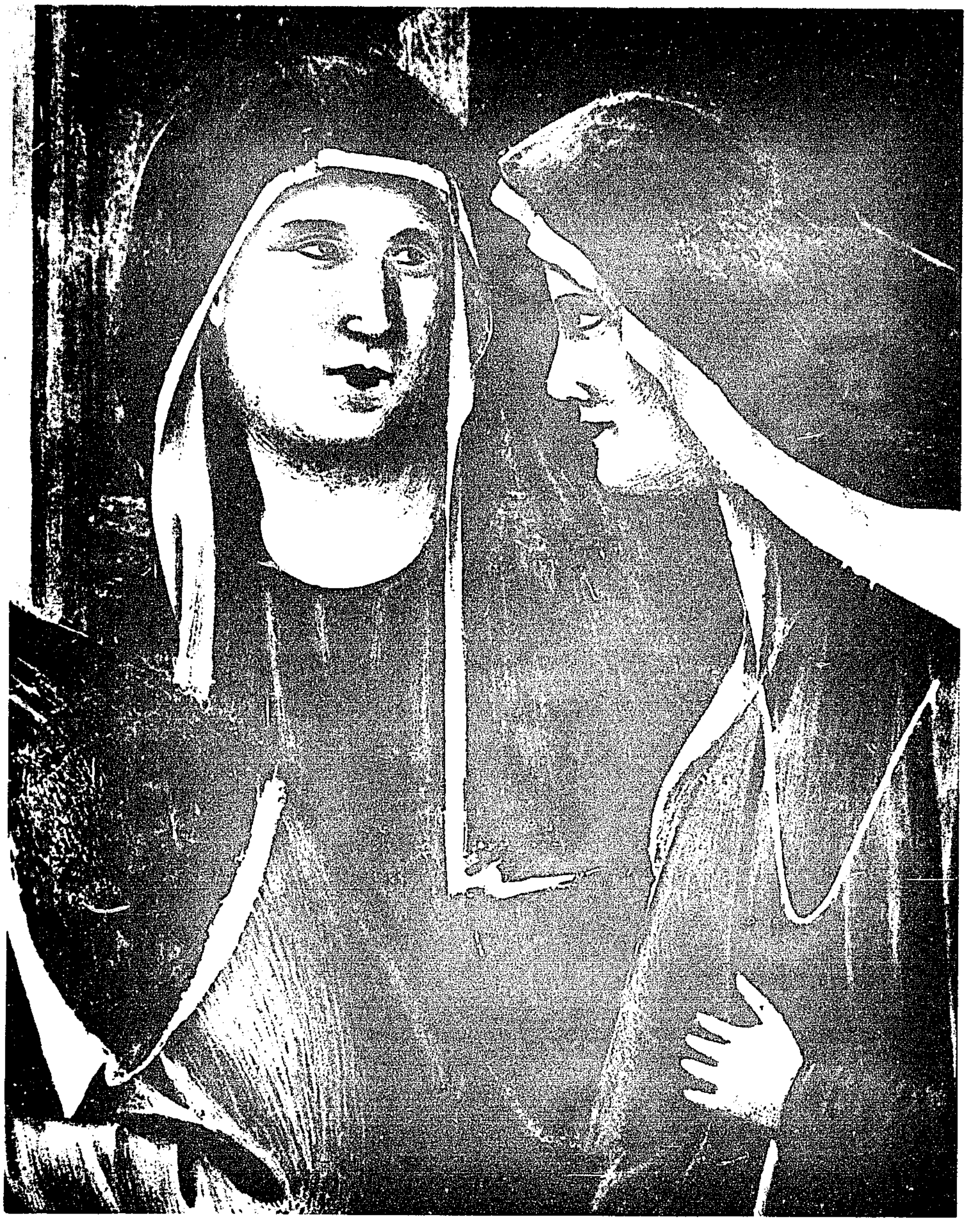


Fig. 67. Giotto. The Body of Saint Francis Before the Church of Saint Damian. Detail of two poor Virgins. The two women show movement as they discuss what they see, one in profile and the other in 3/4 view.

It is a matter of man relating to man and not man relating to God. The frescoes show conflict of attitudes between two human beings or the unrest of human beings toward an event that is taking place under humanly created circumstances.

Giotto's paintings told the masses that through faith the eternal world of the blessed is obtainable. The people in the paintings are no better nor worse than the observer who could reach out and touch the paintings. They have the same emotional feelings. They are real people.

The "Enthroned Madonna d'Ognissanti" shows a gabled throne through which the observer can see space that recedes from zone to zone (Figure 68). The drapery shows light and dark shading in the folds; it is not simply delineated. The observer can believe there is a real, substantial body beneath the cloak of Mary. Giotto shows a sense of form and the lines are somewhat fluid. Also, this painting clearly illustrates Giotto's attempt to push the figures back into space, but he was unable to overcome the limitations of a two-dimensional surface.[124] His problems were later resolved by Leonardo through the use of one-point perspective and modeling with color.

The Triumph of Death

The development in the iconography of woman came to an hiatus with the death of Giotto and did not seem to come alive again until

---

[124] Goldstein, Lecture, 12 September 1980.

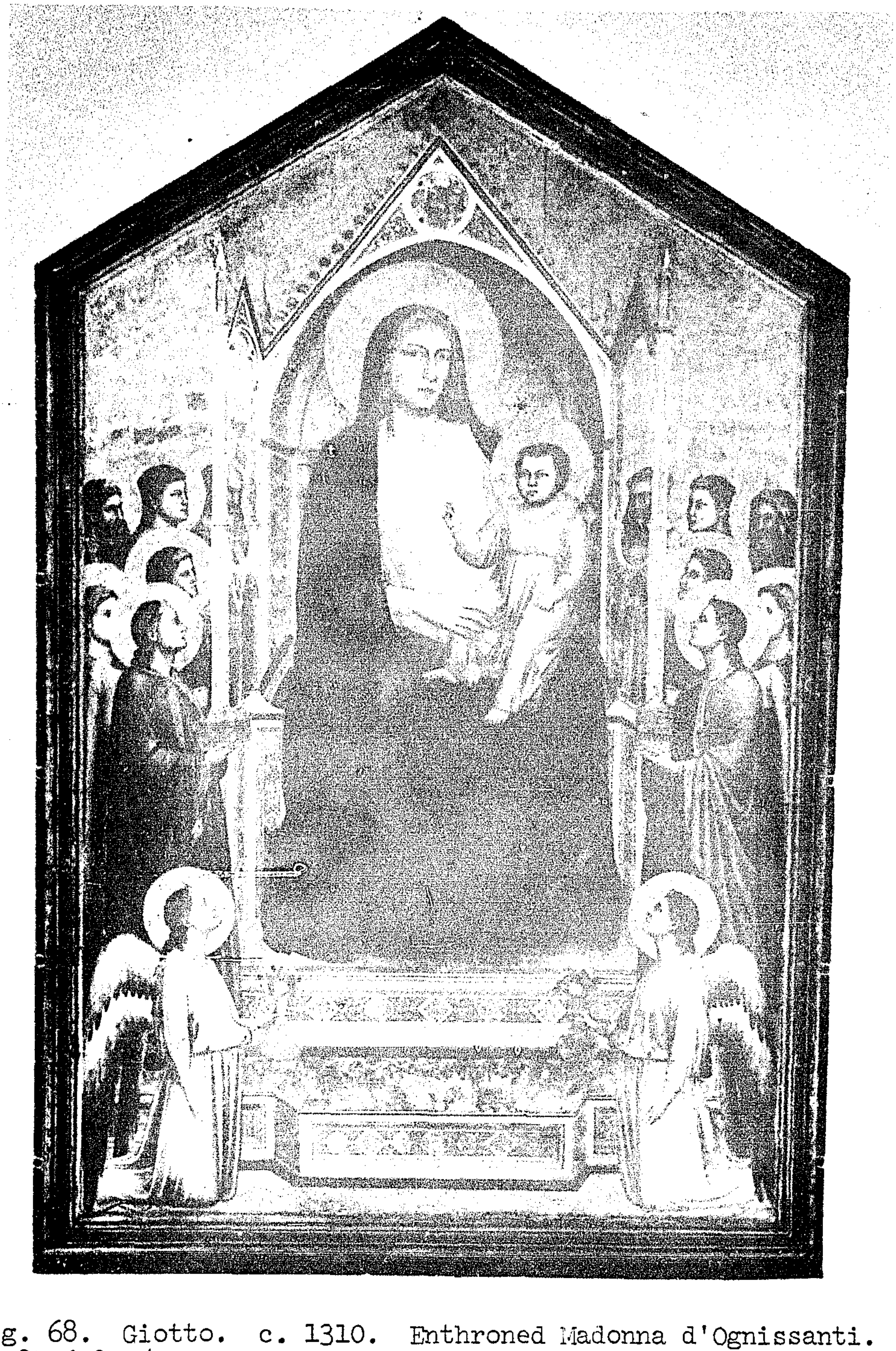


Fig. 68. Giotto. c. 1310. Enthroned Madonna d'Ognissanti. Wood, 10'8"x6'8 1/2". Although reminiscent of the early icons, this shows a depth of space and solidity of form.

Masaccio began to paint. There was a mid-thirteenth century crisis due to the recurring Black Plague, a drought, and banking failures. Man began to wonder what he did wrong to bring God's ire upon himself. A pessimistic view of human character developed and human nature was rejected. There was a stress on representing God the Father and the triumph of death over life. It seemed as if the distresses and diseases that man experienced were caused by the Lord-God as punishment to his children for being too worldly. As if in need of a scapegoat, this resulted in a reaction against women. The personification of Death was woman.

Orcagna (1308-1368) painted the frescoes of Paradise and Hell in the Church of Sta. Maria Novella in Florence. He relied on Petrarch's conception of Death in painting her in female form. Death was a fierce, deaf and blind woman. With a sword, she slayed all the barbarians and foreigners. To the Florentines of that day, Death--"Mors"--was the Queen of Hell and the wife of Satan.[125]

At the cemetery in Pisa, there is the "Maestro del Trionfo della Morte," 1360-1370, the Triumph of Death. Although these frescoes honor Death, they seem to show the other side to the horrible fear of death. There is a humanistic message that seems to say, "Life is dear." Life here on earth should be appreciated since there is so little time.[126]

---

[125] Adolphe Napolean Didron, Christian Iconography: The History of Christian Art in the Middle Ages (New York: Frederick Ungar Pub. Co., 1968), v.II, p. 157-160.

[126] C. Smith, Taped Lecture, 15 June 1981.

Perspective

Filippo Brunelleschi (1377-1446) is credited with the proselytism of the rules of perspective.[127] Artists of his day developed an extraordinary interest in mathematics. They believed that mathematics had its source in nature and nature was the source of all art. What they understood through their senses, they believed was natural. Emotional development, inspired by natural objects, is a neo-Platonic concept.

The idea of perspective developed into a system of putting three-dimensional forms on a two-dimensional surface. The surface became the window through which the observer sees. The vanishing point corresponds with the position of the viewer. Since this concept presupposes that the viewer is standing squarely in front of the painting and can see with only one eye, the vanishing point would be in the middle of the painting. The painting was divided into zones, with each zone becoming smaller toward the vanishing point.

The enormous significance of the discovery of perspective can be comprehended only in relation to the development of the humanistic philosophy at that time. Although the artists were looking back to antiquity for enlightenment, they themselves were the inventors of a new means of communicating the concept that "man is the measure of all things." Through perspective, man expressed

---

[127] Plumb, The Renaissance, p. 95.

his conception of space. Man measured space in relation to himself. He was then able to see the relative sizes of objects within his own environment (Figure 69).

Masaccio (1401-1428)

Many art historians contend that Masaccio picked up where Giotto left off. In Masaccio's art, there is emotion on the faces of the subjects and the concept of space is studied more seriously. In the "Distribution of Alms" (Figure 69), humanism in art is further developed in the depicting of a street scene. Masaccio's buildings are relative to human proportions and they diminish in size as they recede into the background. Prior to this discovery, figures were placed in rows, behind one another in layers toward the background. Masaccio places the lesser figures around a central figure to form a semi-circle. Succeeding artists adopted this curvilinear sense of space.[128]

A completely new facet in iconography was the appearance of nude figures by Masaccio. Ever since the Middle Ages, the subjects had been clothed. There are two emotional nudes in Masaccio's "Expulsion from Paradise"[129] (Figure 70 and Figure 71). There is a naiveté about the naked figures and their anatomical structures.

---

[128] Goldstein, Lecture, 29 September 1980.

[129] The branches of leaves were painted on later during a "purification" period.

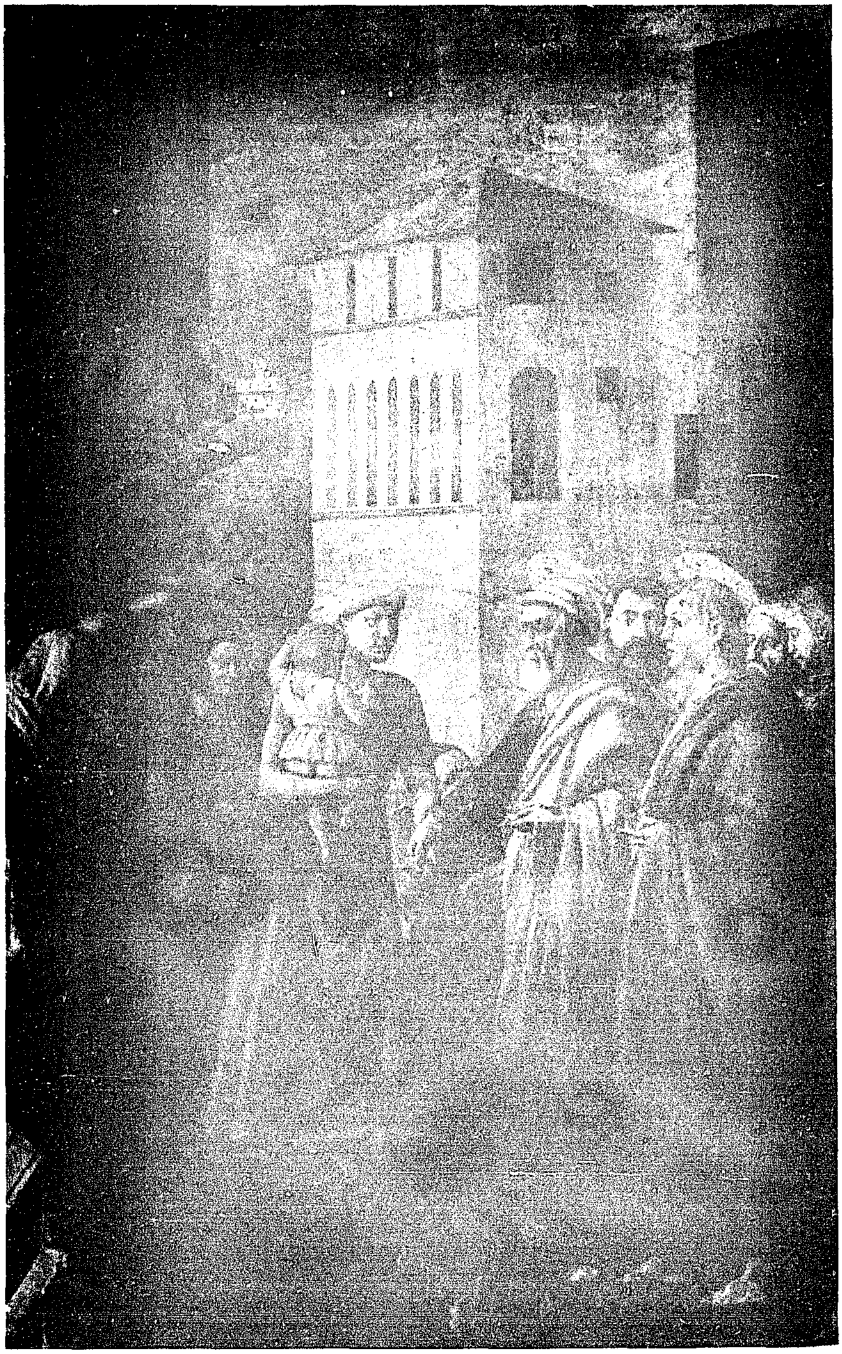


Fig. 69. Masaccio. The Distribution of Alms and the Death of Ananias. The buildings are relative in size to the human forms. Note also the turban on the woman and the bare buttocks of the child.

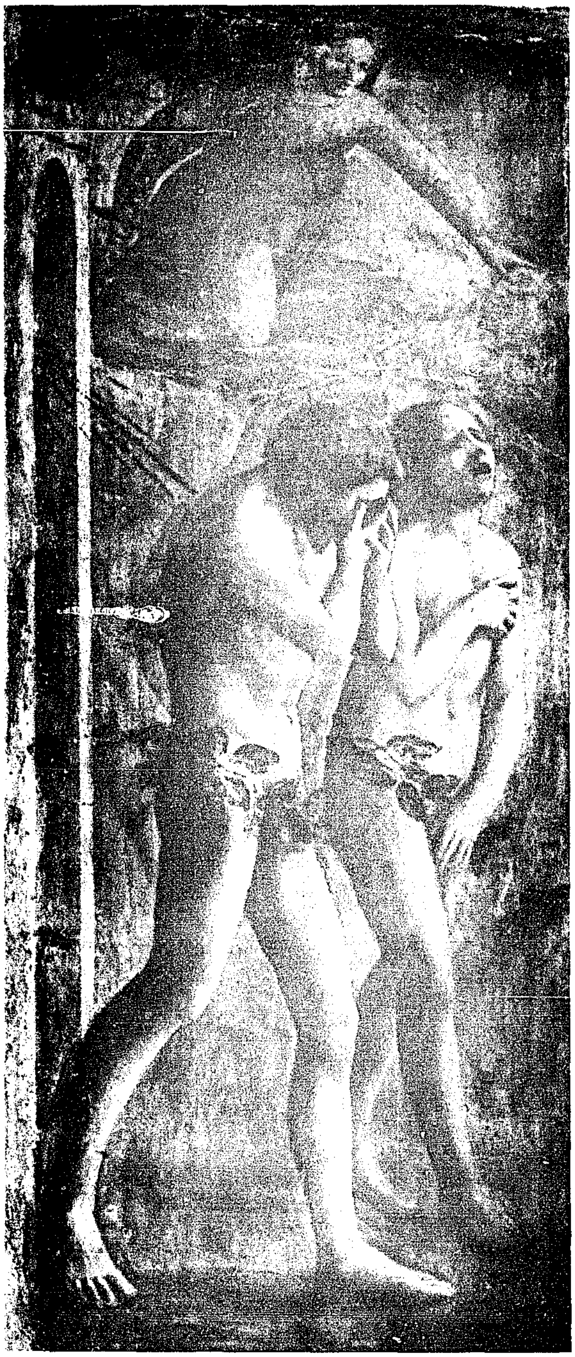


Fig. 70. Masaccio. The Expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Paradise. Detail. The first nude paintings, but not sketched from life.

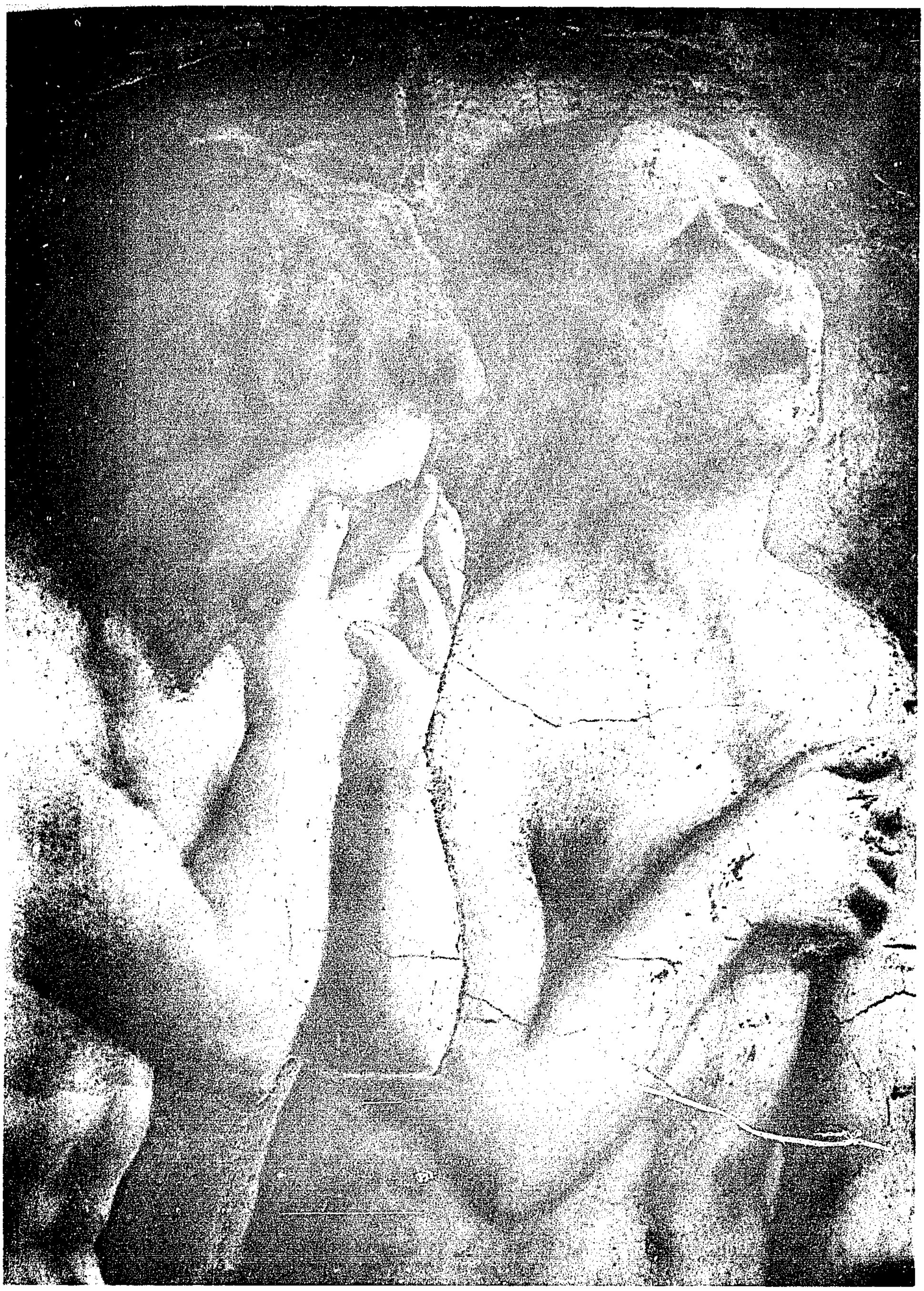


Fig. 71. Masaccio. The Expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Paradise. Detail. The outline of the area where the pigment was applied to the intonaco can be seen.

Bone and muscle are underdeveloped in both the male and female forms. Eve is very much the iconography of Renaissance woman with her small, high breasts, an undefined waist and unshapely, thin flanks.

Fra Filippo Lippi (1406-1469)

Fra Filippo Lippi painted primarily small devotional pictures. The settings are in the Renaissance architecture of his times but the size of the buildings are still disproportionately too small for the figures to comfortably occupy the space. There is a beauty and delicacy in the features and forms of the subjects that foreshadow the coming of Botticelli. One-point perspective is used with the figures remaining in the front zone.

In the round "Madonna and Child," there is much human activity in the setting of a fifteenth-century house (Figure 72). In the background on the stairs are Joachim and Anna while on the platform the birth of the Virgin is taking place. Except for the anatomically strange baby, all other figures are moving gracefully. The color and style of the Virgin's hair is contemporary.

In another "Madonna and Child," the shell motif is behind the Virgin's head indicating her association with Venus (Figure 73). The entire shallow background is supposed to convey the impression of the Renaissance preference for classical architecture. The Virgin's clothing and headdress are contemporary. The baby's face is slightly foreshortened and it is child-like compared

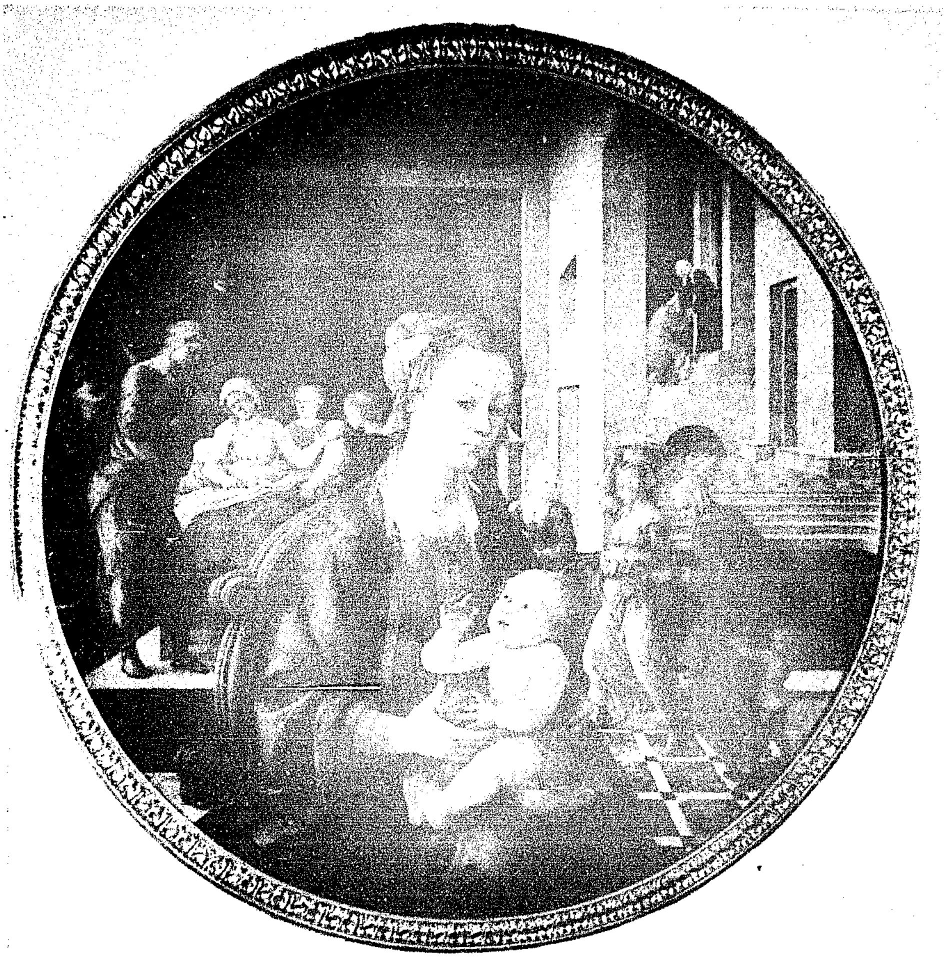


Fig. 72. Fra Filippo Lippi. 1406-1469. Madonna and Child. Elegant, delicate, blond Virgin.

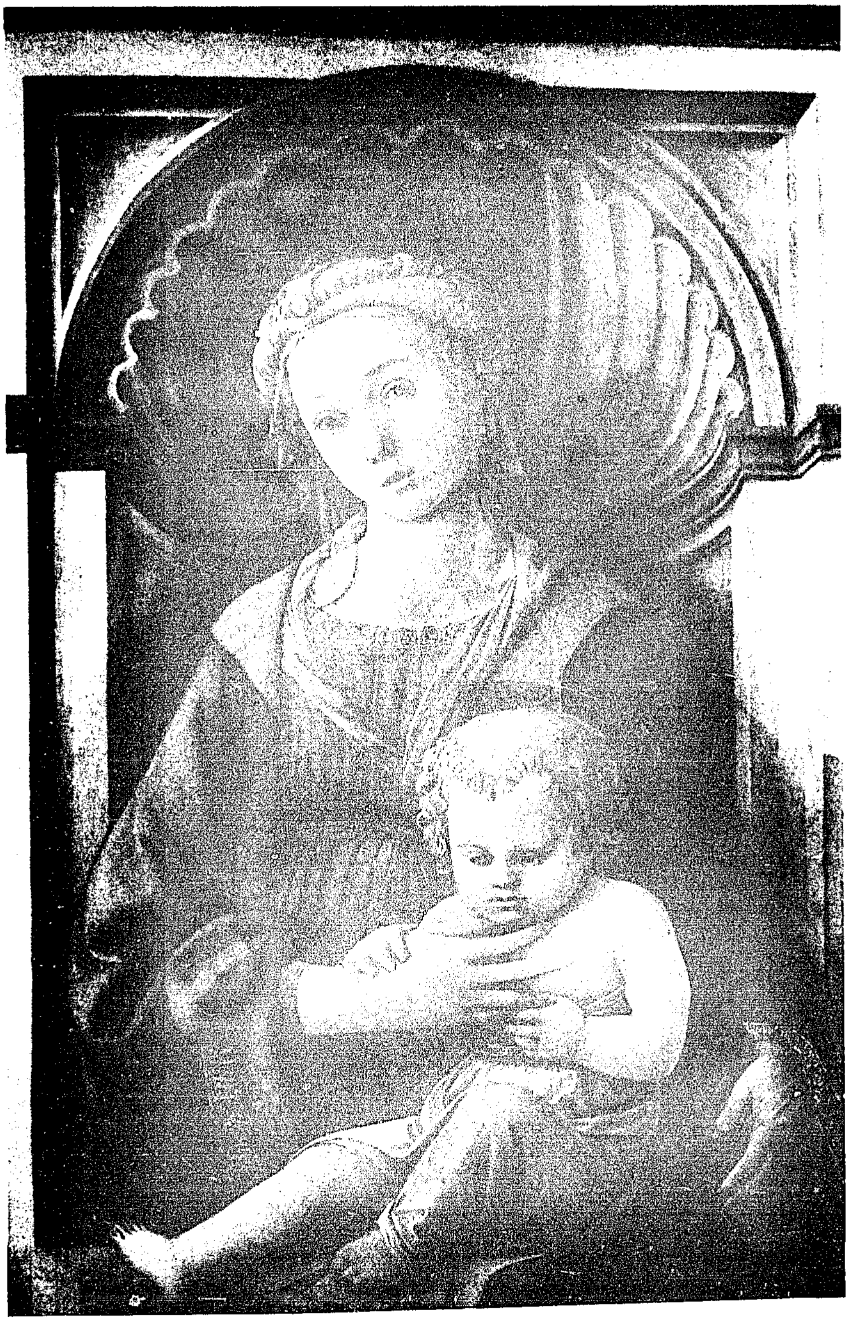


Fig. 73. Fra Filippo Lippi. Madonna and Child with Shell Motif. Wood.

to the elderly features of the Jesus in "The Madonna of the Big Eyes" (Figure 60).

Portraiture

In the mid-fifteenth century, the Florentines invented a new way to revere their dead and satisfy their own egos: the portrait. "Through painting," Alberti observed, "the faces of the dead go on living."[130] It was a common practice to paint a series of portraits in which dead men and their surviving relatives stood side by side. Terra cotta or wooden busts were often taken from death masks (Figure 74). They served a ritual purpose. A votive image may be dressed in the clothes of the dead man. The family portraits that are seen in some religious paintings suggest the religious practice of "voti." The ancestral portraits seem to be related to the votive figures in religion.[131]

When portraiture was in its infancy, artists tended to sketch the features of both male and female sitters in much the same way. The artists were seeking to create their own concepts of ideal beauty. As the techniques of portraiture were perfected, the subjects became more identifiable. The artists were expected to capture not only the countenance, but also the sex, rank, and affluence of the sitter. The portrait had to show class distinction.

---

[130] Kent, Household and Lineage, pp. 100, 110.

[131] Ibid.

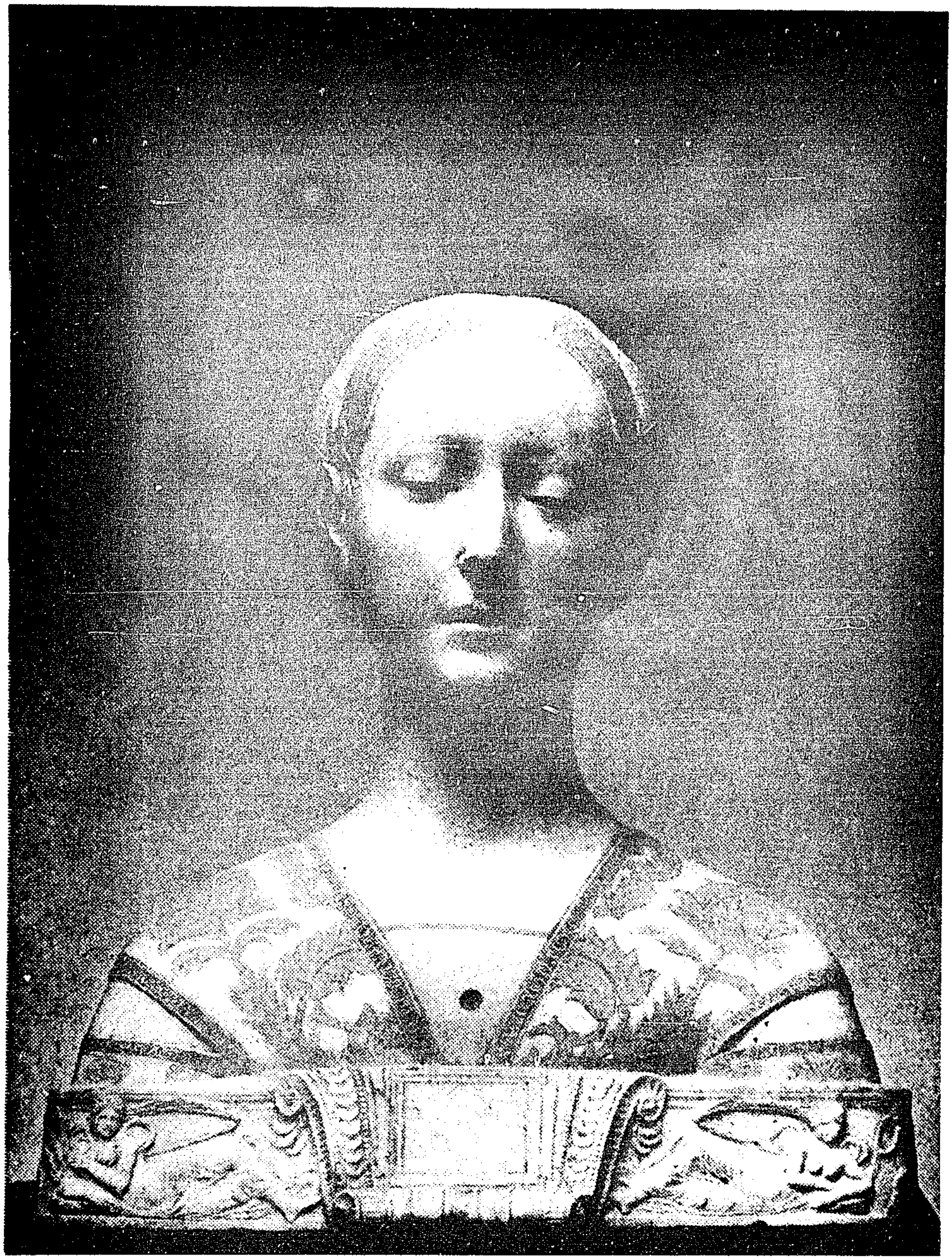


Fig. 74. Laurana. c. 1468. The Bust of Beatrice of Aragon.

The patterns and richness of the clothing and jewels were painted to impress the sitter's superiority upon the spectator. The portrait was also supposed to convey the ideal of the culture and the epitome of aesthetic taste.

The image of woman that was created by the artist had nothing to do with the reality of the woman's body beneath the opulence and texture of the fabrics (Figure 75). The clothes and the form were often presketched or done according to a preconceived notion of the artist. Lighting and perspective were important but anatomical exactness was immaterial. The stylized ideal separated the portrait of the sitter from the brutality of the real world. Since woman was given the neo-Platonic role of transporting man to the sacred and divine world, her portrait could not hint of the sordid and insecure realities of life. The portrait of a lady had to look as if she were above all that and her appearance had to guarantee it.

Piero della Francesca (1416-1492)

Piero developed the illusion of three-dimensionality through the use of natural light. He also took the problem of perspective very seriously. He attempted to be mathematically precise which was in tune with the current thinking of his day.

In 1445, Piero was commissioned to paint "Madonna della Misericordia," an altarpiece at Sansepolcro, for the Brotherhood of Mercy (Figure 76). The Virgin, who represents the body of the church, stands as a protectress of the compagna with her arms

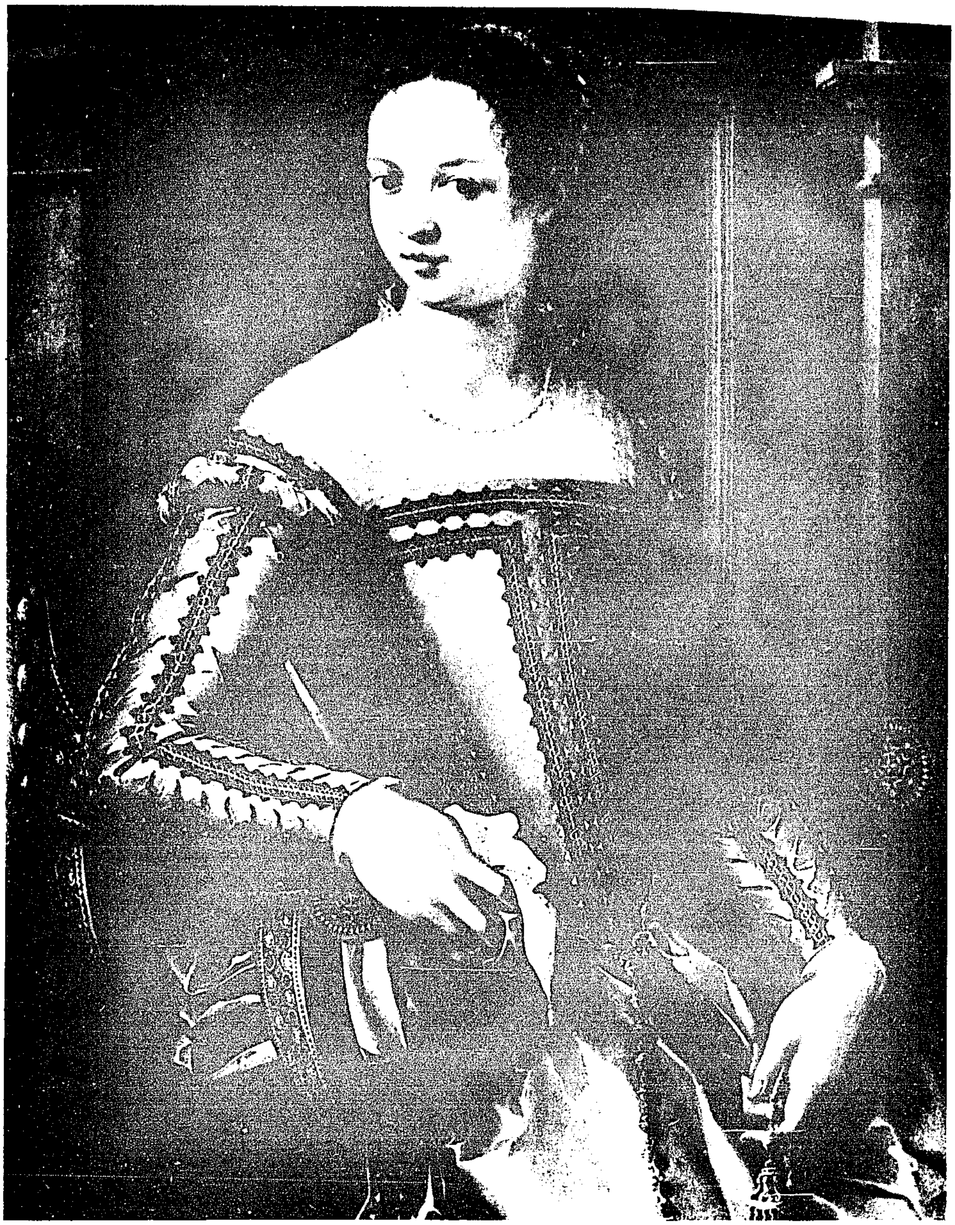


Fig. 75. Unknown Florentine Painter. c. 1550. Portrait of a Lady.

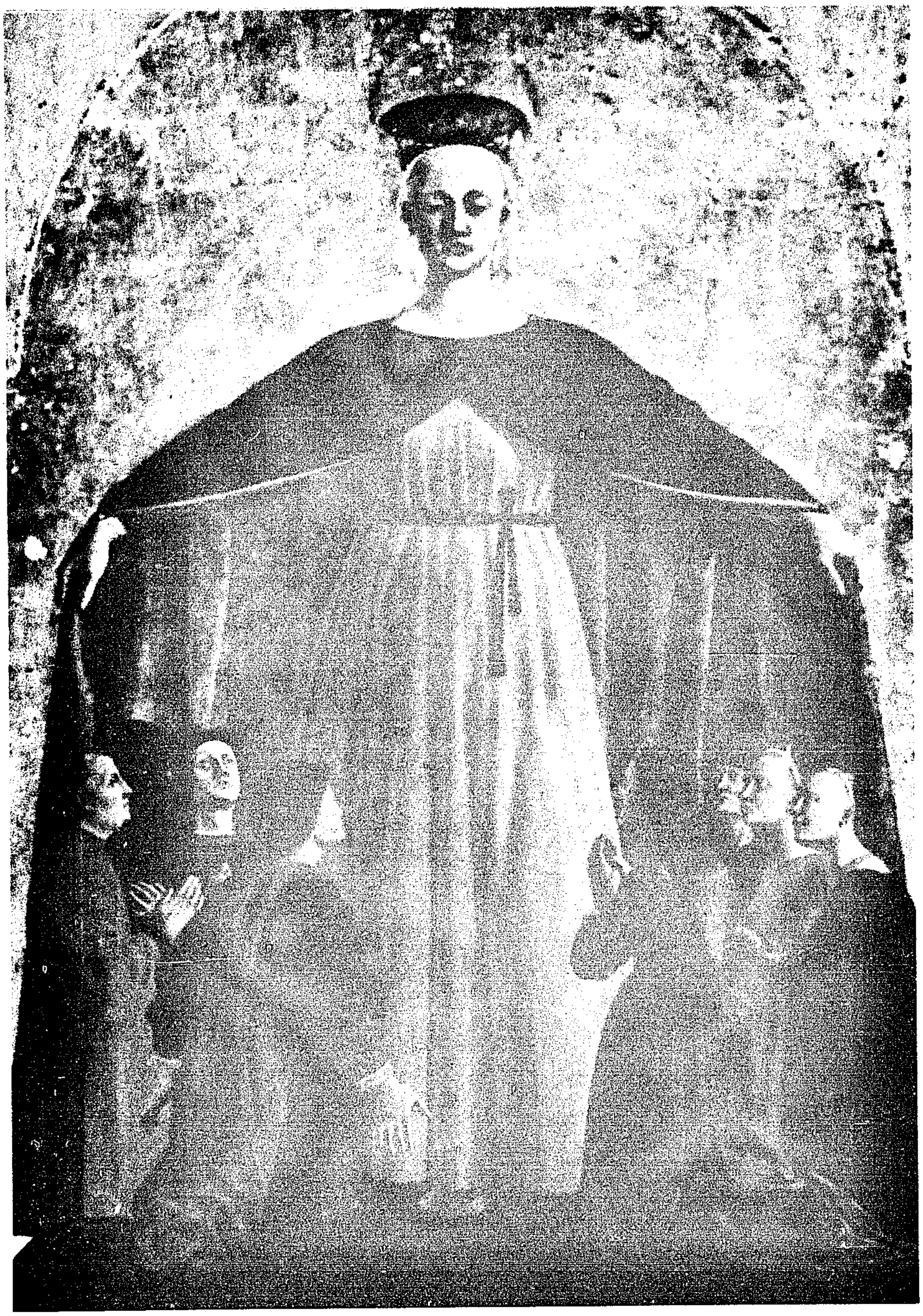


Fig. 76. Piero della Francesca. Sansepolcro Madonna della Misericordia. The tubular Madonna.

extended so that her cloak forms a tent-like enclosure for the group of supplicants gathered below. The composition was conceived throughout in terms of basic geometrical forms.[132] The Madonna is painted as a potential cylinder. The drapery was copied from statues in order to catch the fall of light and shade. That is why it appears as static as stone.

Even though the painting bears the archaic feature of gold leaf to indicate the Madonna's radiance, Piero's work had come a long way from the flatness of the Byzantine icons where the surface was merely mapped out and filled in. The Madonna has the high-plucked forehead, thin eyebrows, white gauze head covering and an elliptical halo making her a very contemporary, though protective, virgin[133] (Figure 77).

Piero painted the "Pregnant Madonna" to pay homage to the birth place of his mother (Figure 78). This painting shows how much he learned from Masaccio. The curvilinear interior compels the viewer to look up at the Virgin from a step below.

The "Pregnant Madonna" is important in the iconography of the Virgin. The true cult of the Virgin would have been inconceivable before 1250. The "Pregnant Madonna" focuses on the concept of "Madonna," Virginal motherhood, the Mother of God. She is truly a

---

[132] Alastair Smart, The Renaissance and Mannerism in Italy (London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1971), p. 69.

[133] C. Smith, Taped Lecture, 14 June 1981.

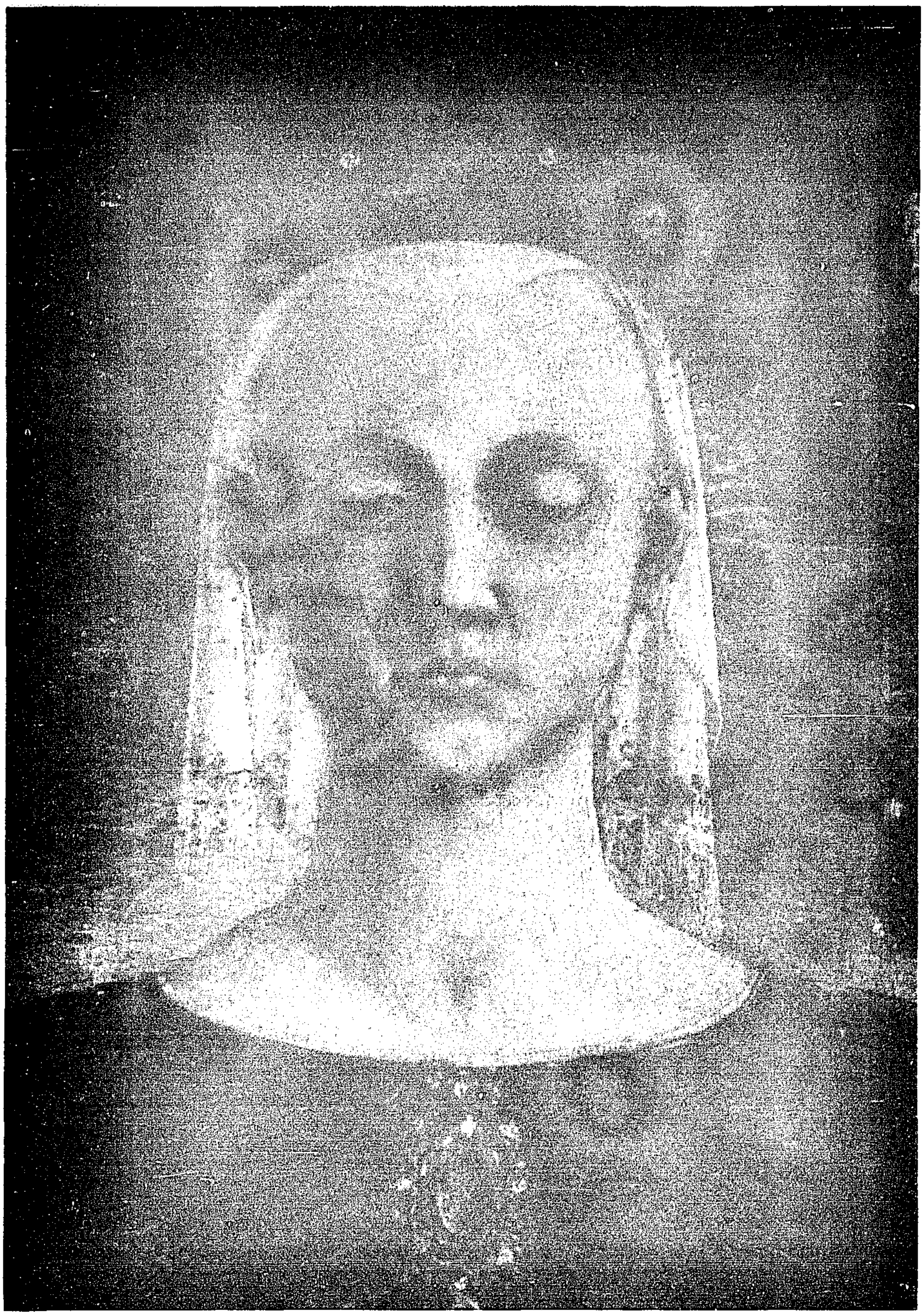


Fig. 77. Piero della Francesca. Sansepolcro Madonna della Misericordia. Detail. High shaved forehead, white gauze covering the hair, crown and elliptical halo.

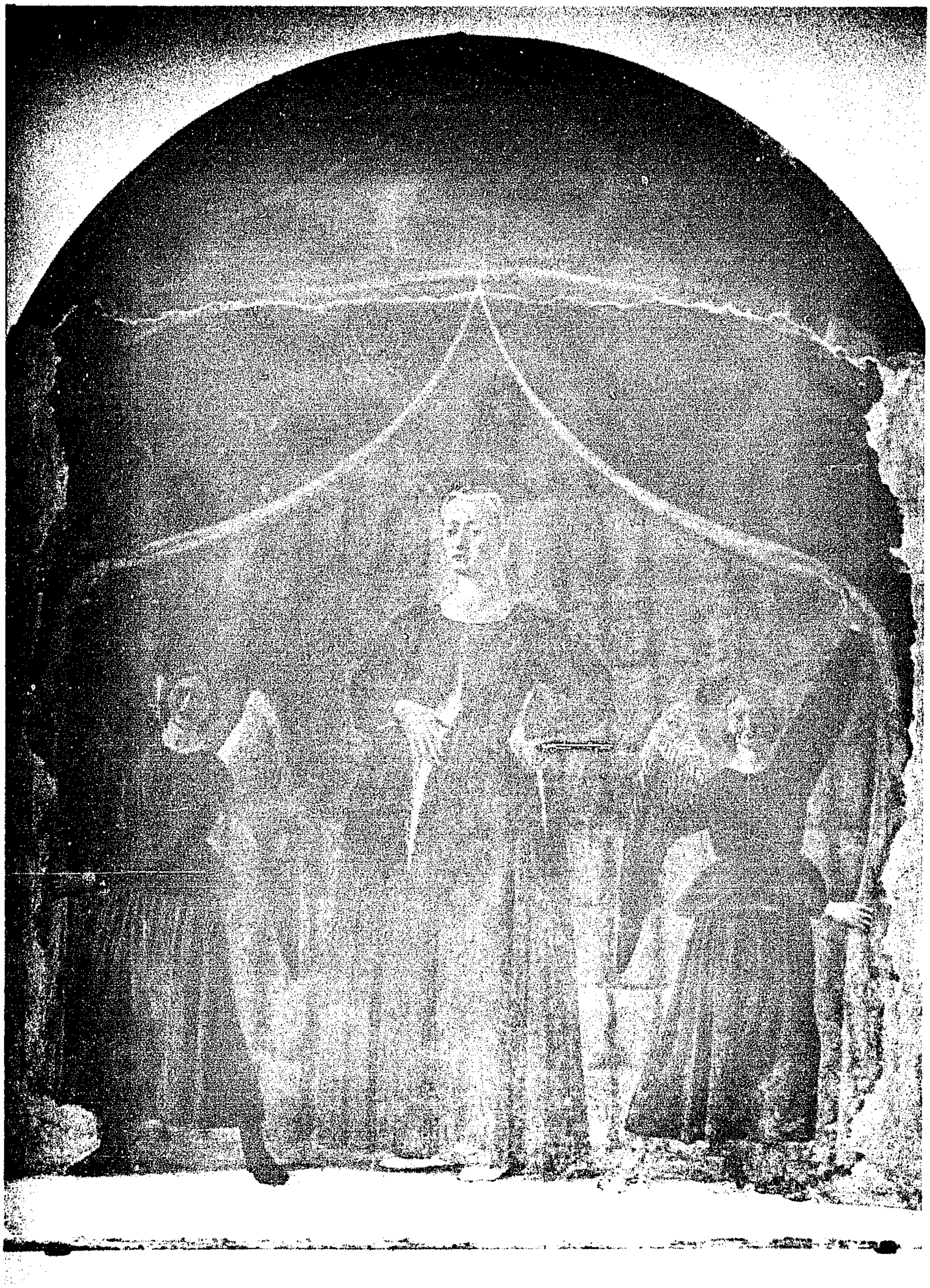


Fig. 78. Piero della Francesca. Pregnant Madonna with Two Angels.

woman, although strictly virginal. The Virgin, by discreetly unbuttoning her dress and holding her abdomen, shows that she is in the act of giving birth to a baby without transgressing the rules of decorum. The Medieval image of the birth would have been a cutaway view of the abdomen in which the child would have been seen. That image was displaced by the discreet pointing of the fingers to a slit in the dress.

All of Piero's portraits were painted in profile. This was the most common pose in the Middle Renaissance. It was a convention derived from the portraits of the emperors on ancient Roman coins. In the portrait of the Duchess of Urbino, the subject is supposed to be standing on a balcony (Figure 79). Perspective is used in the landscape in the background. This setting was popular for portraiture at this time. In the High Renaissance, the subject turns around and looks back at the observer which creates an intimacy hitherto unknown. This type of human communication was apparent throughout the whole social fabric of urban Florentine life.

The Duchess of Urbino was a very fashionable lady. The blond hair is plucked from the forehead and braided with white silk fabric topped with pearls. Her pearl-like features are free of hairy eyebrows and pearls are arranged in rows around her neck. She wears sleeves of voided velvet and the black velvet bodice symbolic of a patrician's wife.

Federico, the Duke of Urbino, was painted in left profile by Piero because the right side of his face was disfigured in a duel.

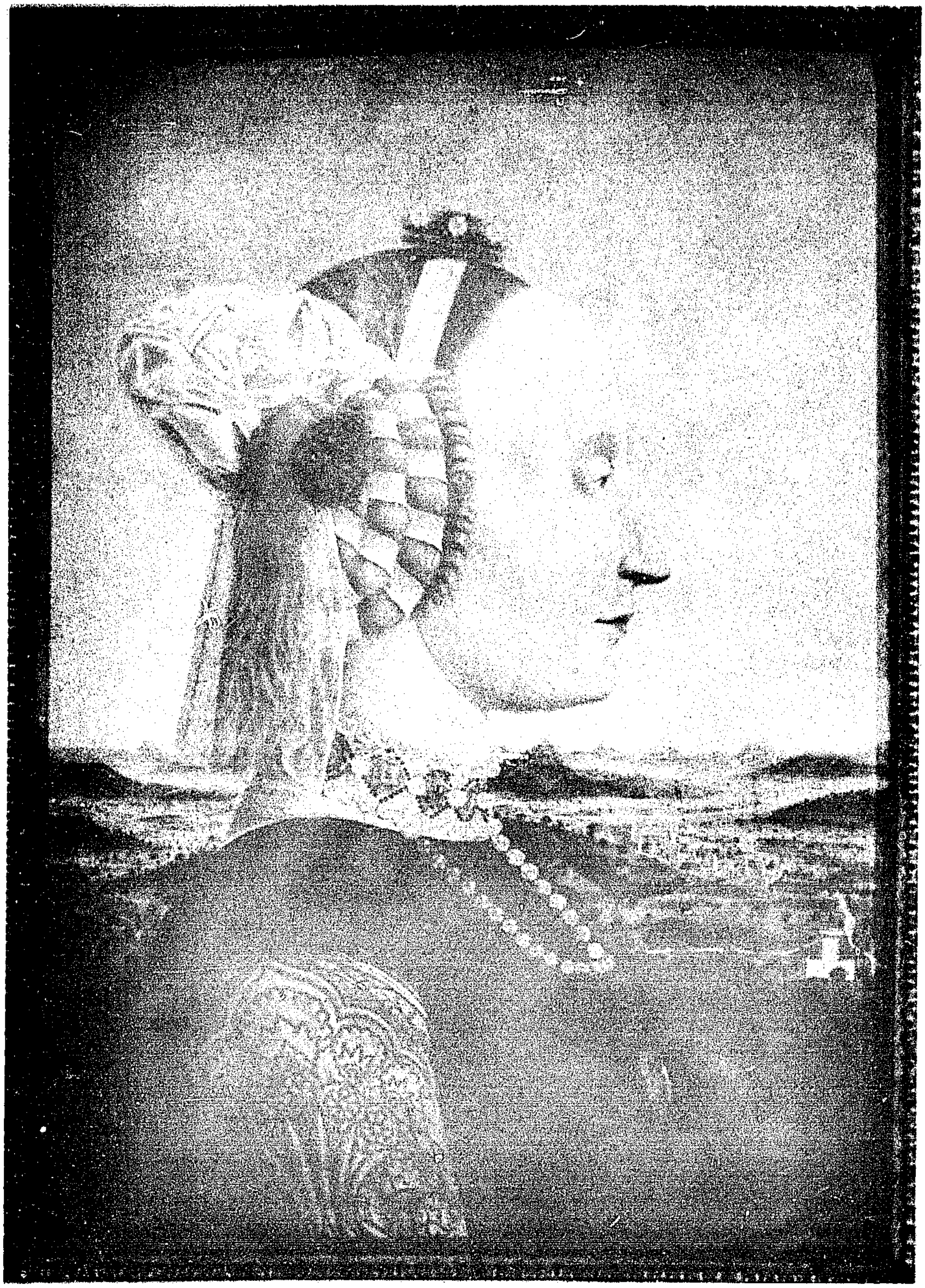


Fig. 79. Piero della Francesca. Battista Sforza, Duchess of Urbino.

On the back of each of their two portraits are panels with paintings showing a Renaissance version of a Roman triumphal procession (Figure 80). Fantastic unicorns pull the Duchess' chariot. The unicorn is symbolic of the purity of Jesus. Once again, there is an attempt to combine Christian symbolism with the symbolism of classical antiquity. This combination is extended to the point of having the scene rest on fake marble with an inscription praising the Duchess for being virtuous.

At the Basilica di S. Francesca in Arezzo is the "Cycle of the True Cross." In this cycle, the Queen of Sheba and her entourage in the "Adoration of the Bridge" are shown with faces and fashions of ideal stock-type figures (Figure 81). No portraiture was intended. The painting merely shows the contemporary ideal of fashion (Figure 82). The "Cycle of the True Cross" frescoes, painted on three walls, are Piero's single most important work. The subjects are all representative people of the Florentine Renaissance: elegant, mysterious, and fanciful (Figure 83).

"The Legend of the True Cross" was a story invented during the Medieval period and was believed with much the same fervor as were the Biblical stories. The first scene shows the final illness and death of Adam. Both Adam and Eve are old. An angel tells the son, Seth, that a branch from the Tree of Knowledge will cure Adam. Seth returns with the branch but Adam had already died. The branch is planted on Adam's grave where it grows into a tree. Next, King Solomon builds a palace. A branch from the tree growing on

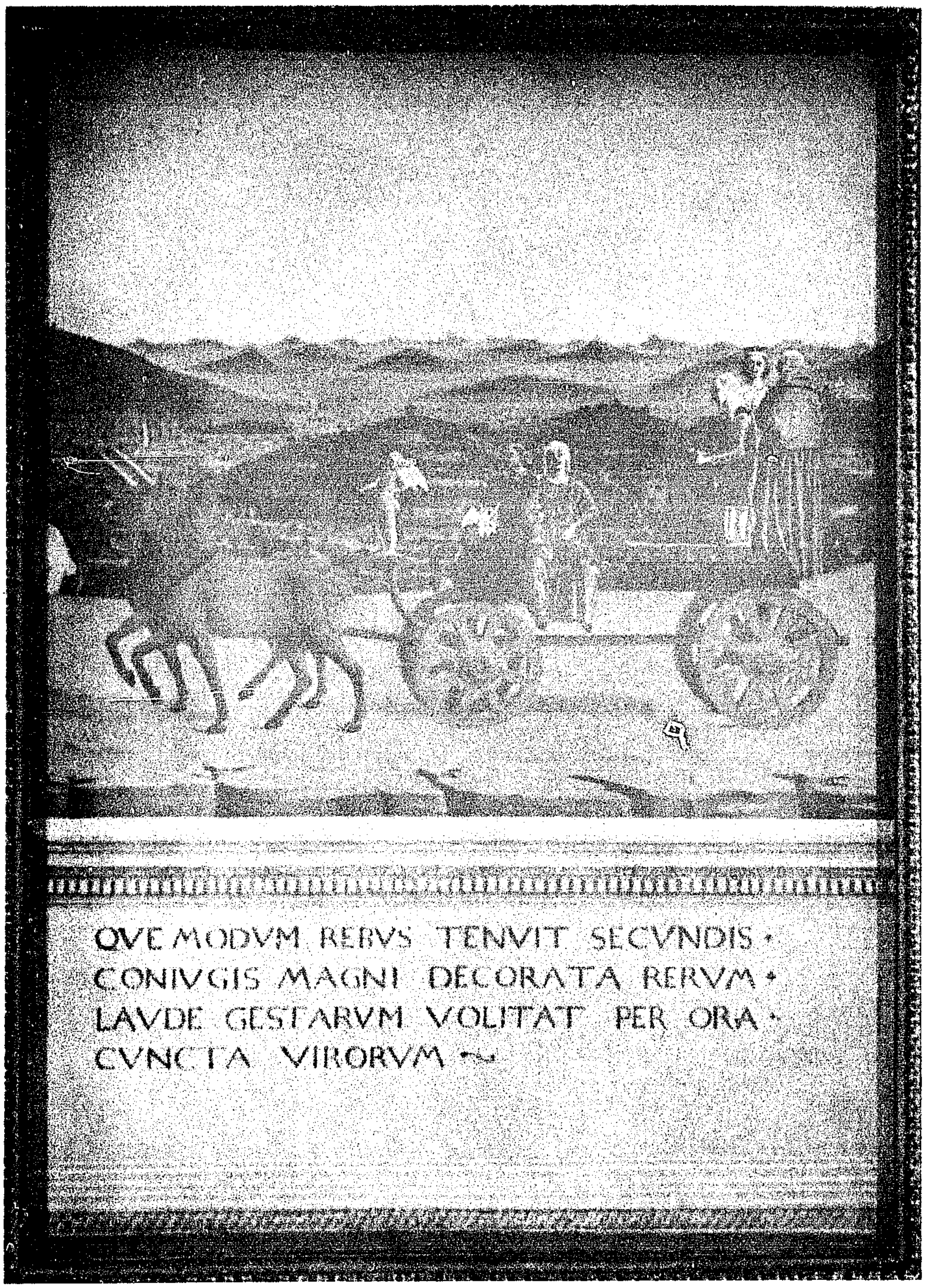

QVE MODVM REBVS TENVIT SECVNDIS •
CONIVGIS MAGNI DECORATA RERVM •
LAVDE GESTARVM VOLITAT PER ORA •
CVNCTA VIRORVM

Fig. 80. Piero della Francesca. Chariot. Back panel of Portrait of Battista Sforza, Duchess of Urbino.

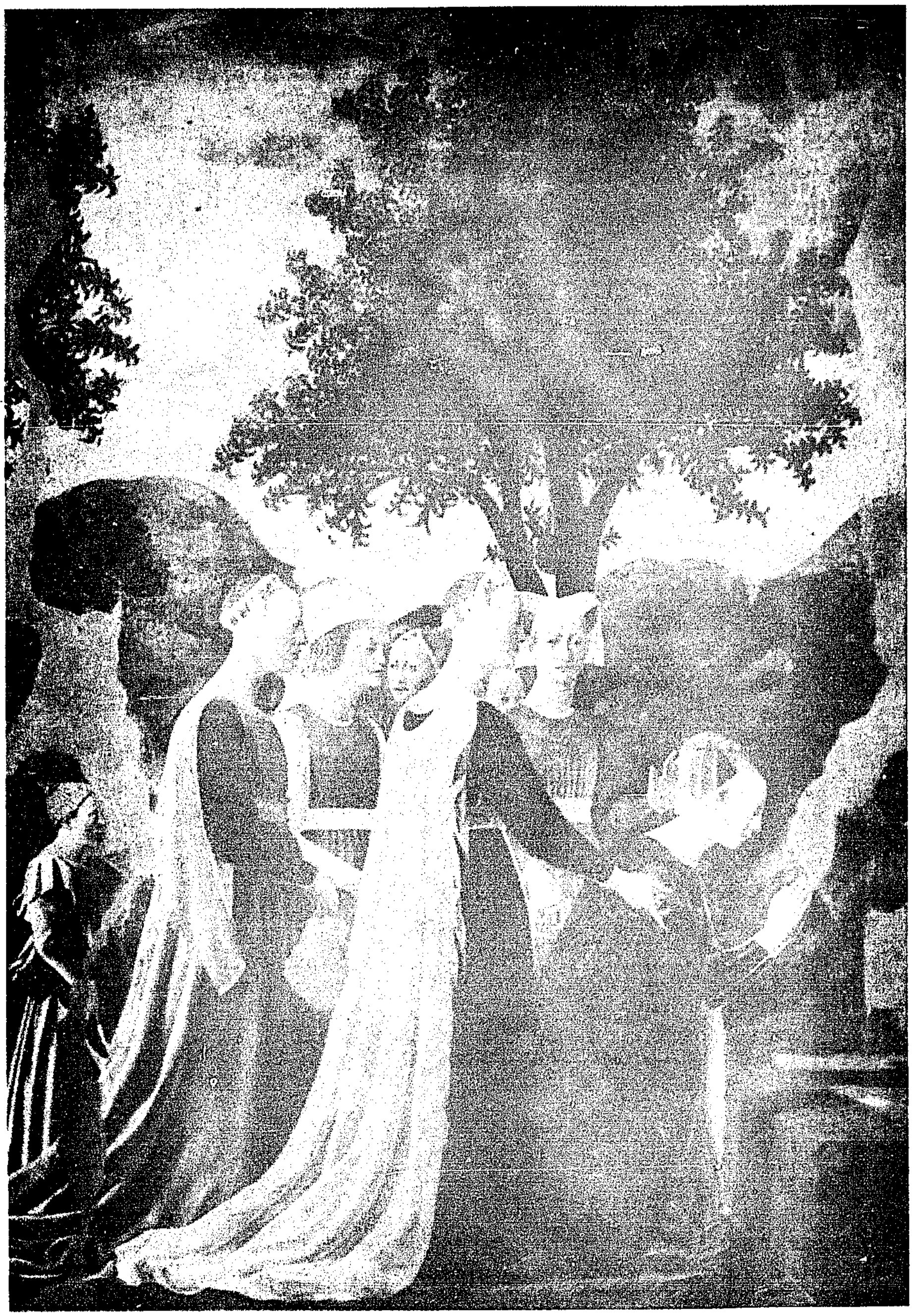


Fig. 81. Piero della Francesca. The Adoration of the Bridge. Detail. Mid 15th Century Florentine fashions.

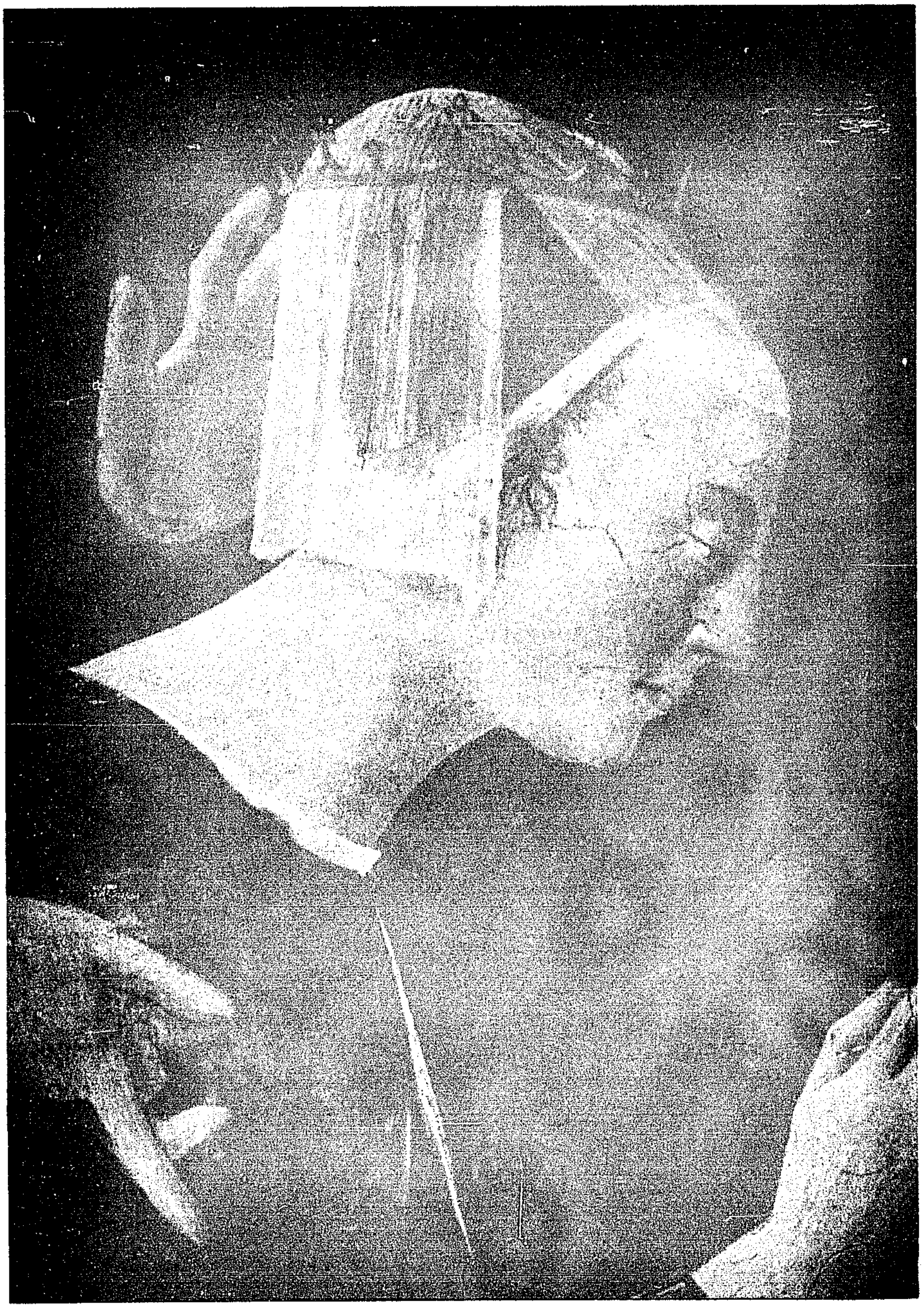


Fig. 82. Piero della Francesca. The Queen of Sheba. The Adoration of the Bridge. Detail.

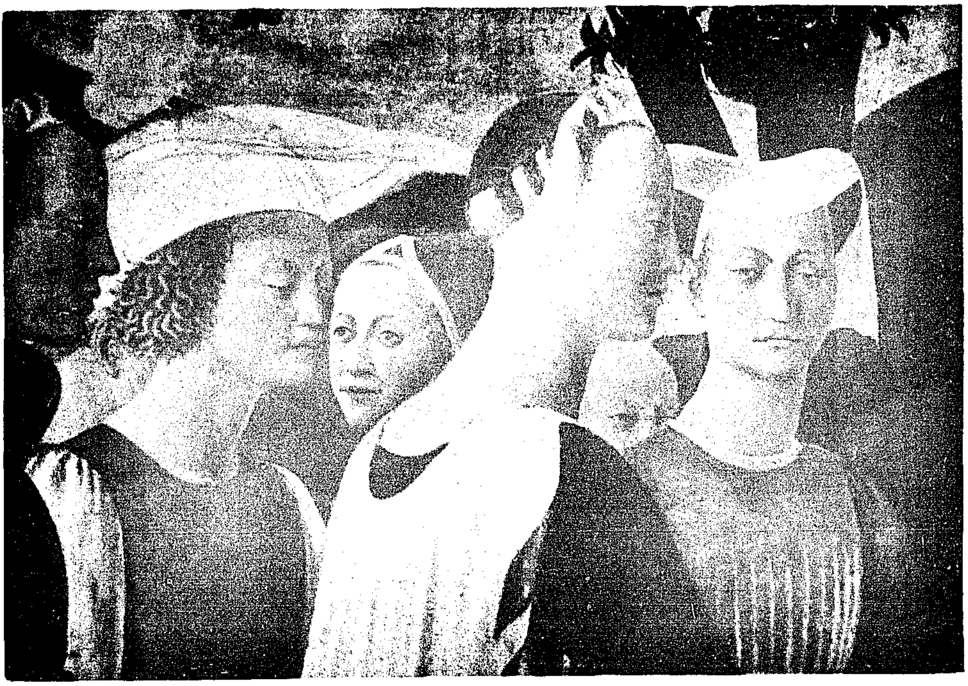


Fig. 83. Piero della Francesca. The Adoration of the Bridge. Detail. Mid 15th Century Florentine headdresses, turban and sella.

Adam's grave is placed across a stream as a bridge. The Queen of Sheba prophesies that the Cross of Jesus will be made from the wood of the bridge. The Queen kneels down and worships the wood of the bridge.[134]

Andrea Mantegna (1431-1506)

Mantegna, the most learned artist of his time, contributed the invention of secular multifigural scenes to the humanistic art movement. These scenes show a strong interest in interpersonal human relations. Mantegna's art is a continuum of Giotto's narrative style, but the people in Mantegna's compositions are talking about anything but religion. In his extraordinary fresco, "The Court of Gonzaga," there are actual portraits of the Duke, Ludovico Gonzaga, his wife, their children and some attendants of the court (Figure 84). The Duke is engaged in conversation with a messenger while others sit and stand in informal poses. All are seen in clothing contemporary to the day. The Duke is given a prominent position. The wife and the rest of the family take their places in receding zones, all occupying their separate spaces.

Gonzaga's court was known as one of taste and good breeding. Credit for this reputation goes to its humanist tutor, Vittorino da Feltra. It is said that Feltra permitted the girls of the court to be educated along with the boys in a coeducational situation. Ordinarily, girls would have been segregated from the boys and given a distinct course of study with emphasis on reading.

---

[134] Goldstein, Lecture, 27 October 1980.

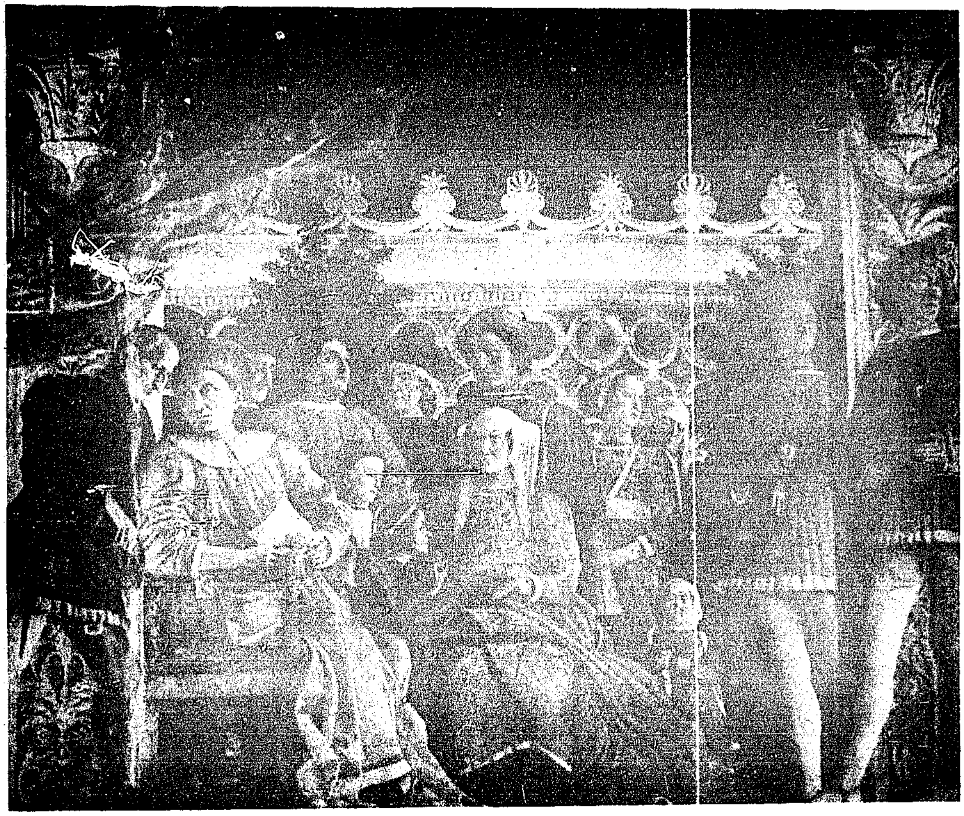


Fig. 84. Andrea Mantegna. The Court of Gonzaga.

The Nude and Anatomy

As Renaissance man developed his sensual acuity, his curiosity about human male anatomy was piqued. With few exceptions, female anatomy was still sketched in strange shapes and superstitions about female physiology still prevailed (Figure 85 and Figure 86). Leonardo's anatomical drawings, however, were the most accurate renderings of dissections (Figure 87). This suggests that Leonardo had to have a female cadaver at his disposal. Before 1600, it was illegal and sacrilegious to dissect a human body. Christians believed that on the day of the Last Judgement, the bodies would be resurrected from their graves and reunited with their souls. Therefore, no body may be desecrated.

Since the Renaissance artists were interested in the sciences, their empirical investigations went beyond the decorative in their studies of the natural world. The artists of classical antiquity were interested only in the appearance of flesh and bones. The Renaissance man began to probe the interaction of all the parts of the human body.

Sandro Botticelli (1444-1510)

"Venus Emerging from the Sea" is the second most important iconography of women in the Florentine Renaissance[135] (Figure 88).

---

[135] In the opinion of this investigator, the Raphael Madonna del Granduca and the Botticelli Venus Emerging from the Sea comprise the essence of this dissertation.

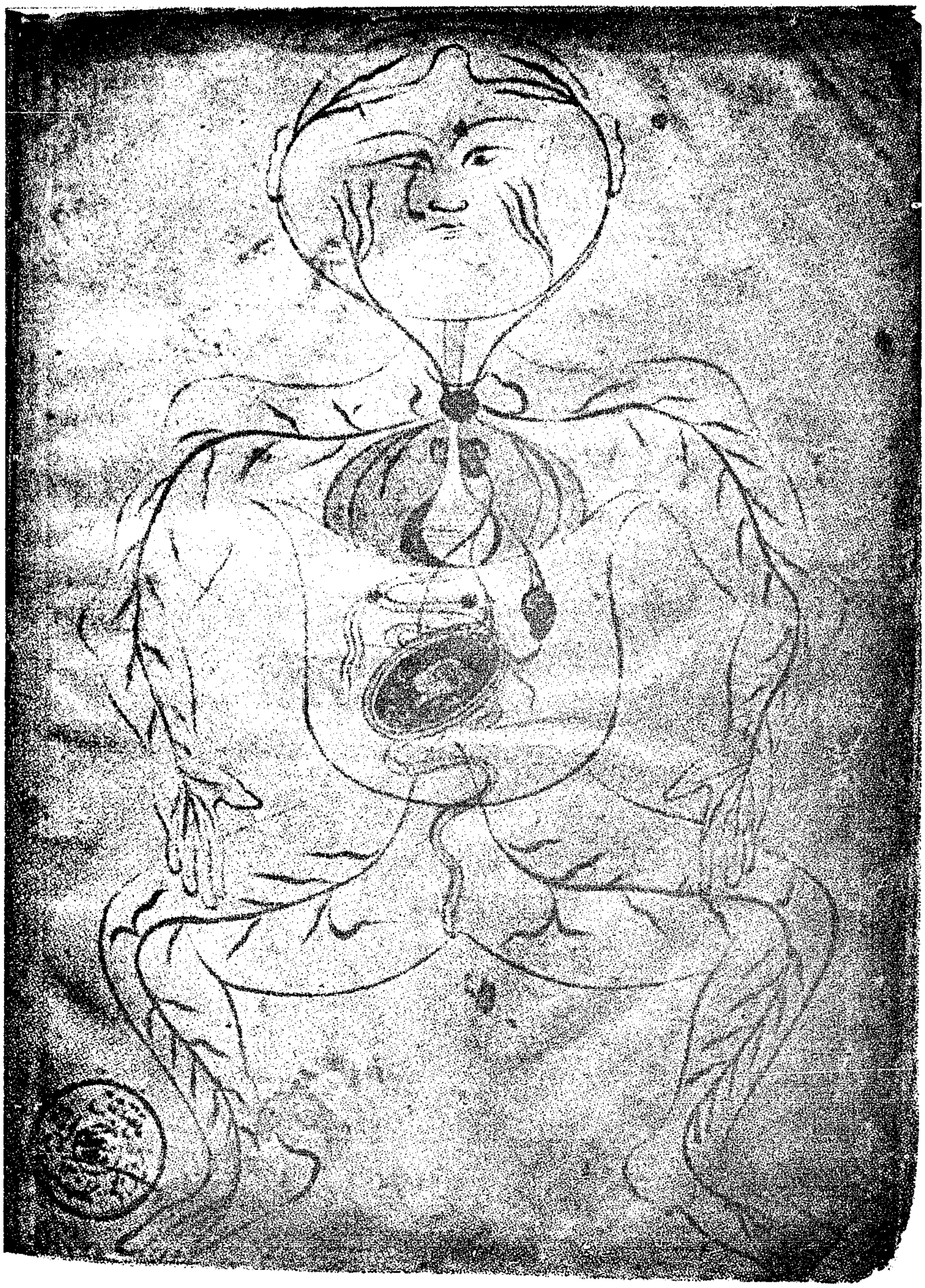


Fig. 85. Arabic Schematic Female Anatomy.

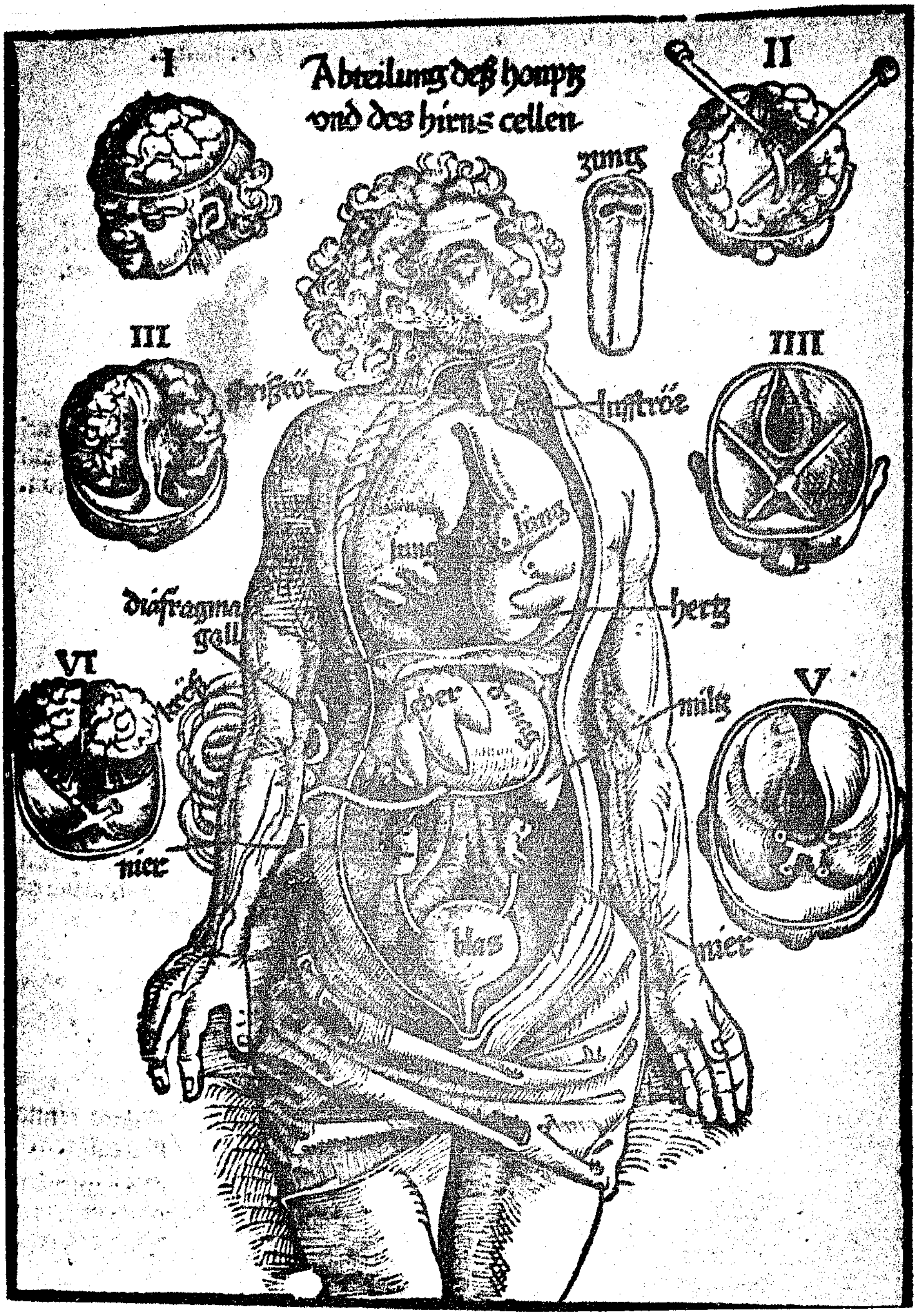


Fig. 86. Austria Text. Female Anatomy.

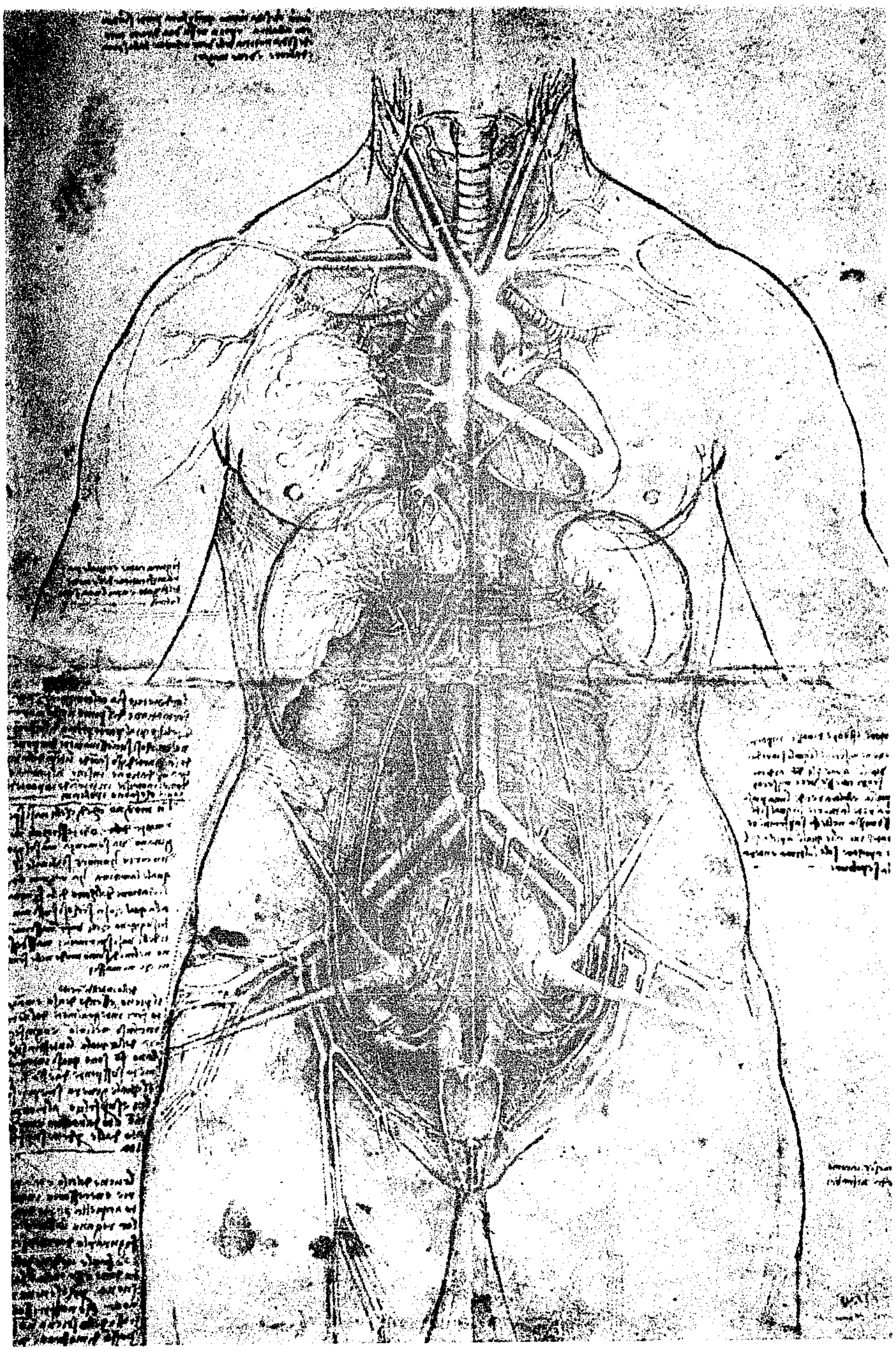


Fig. 87. Leonardo da Vinci. Female Anatomy.

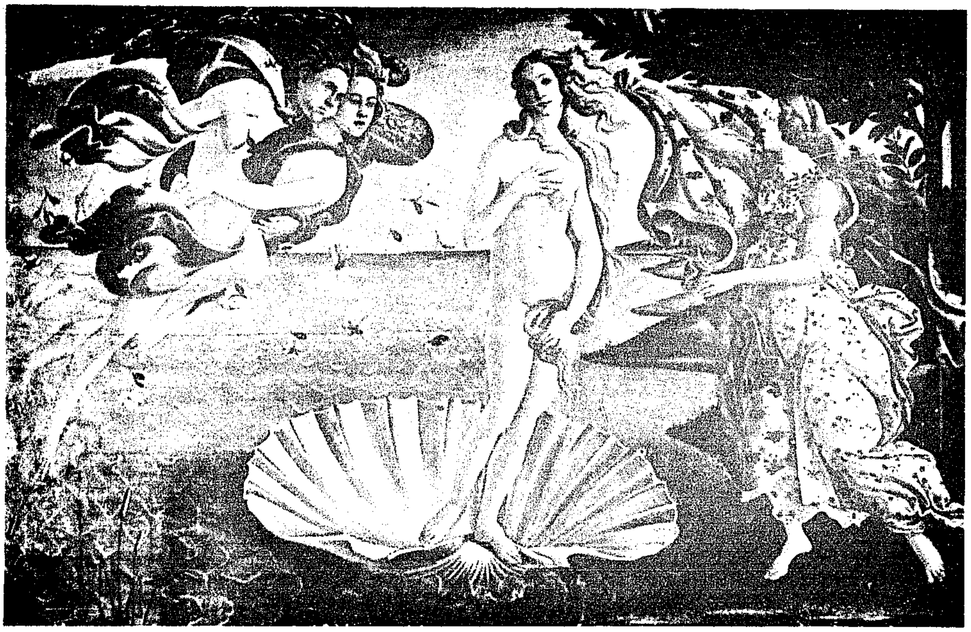


Fig. 88. Sandro Botticelli. Venus Emerging from the Sea.

It contains images and symbols that could only be understood by the neo-Platonic intelligentsia. The culmination of graphic humanism has been reached with this painting. Around 1300, the purpose of Giotto's art was to narrate stories about saints and the official church doctrine so that they could be understood by the common people. Almost 200 years later, allegorical art had become so complex that it could be understood only by the privileged few. "Venus Emerging from the Sea" symbolizes God fusing the divine spirit of the Virgin with the idealized nude body of Venus. The nakedness symbolizes pure innocence of spirit and her delicate features symbolize divine love and beauty[136] (Figure 89).

Venus uses her massive bundle of tendrillar hair as ethereal drapery (Figure 90). On shore awaits the personification of "Hour" to cover her with a "naturalistic" flower-festooned cloak while the sea breezes waft the shell on which she stands toward land. None of the figures stands solidly. All float on air. The schematic patterns in the water and on all surfaces are highly decorative. Botticelli's Venus holds the key to eternal bliss. She is man's teacher and mother. She is man's most splendid dream personified.

---

[136] C. Smith, Taped Lecture, 17 June 1981. Smith contends that the testicles of Jupiter were thrown into the sea. The sea swallowed them up. This caused the sea to foam. Out of this concoction emerged Venus, the perfection of mysterious, aquatic beauty and divine spirit.

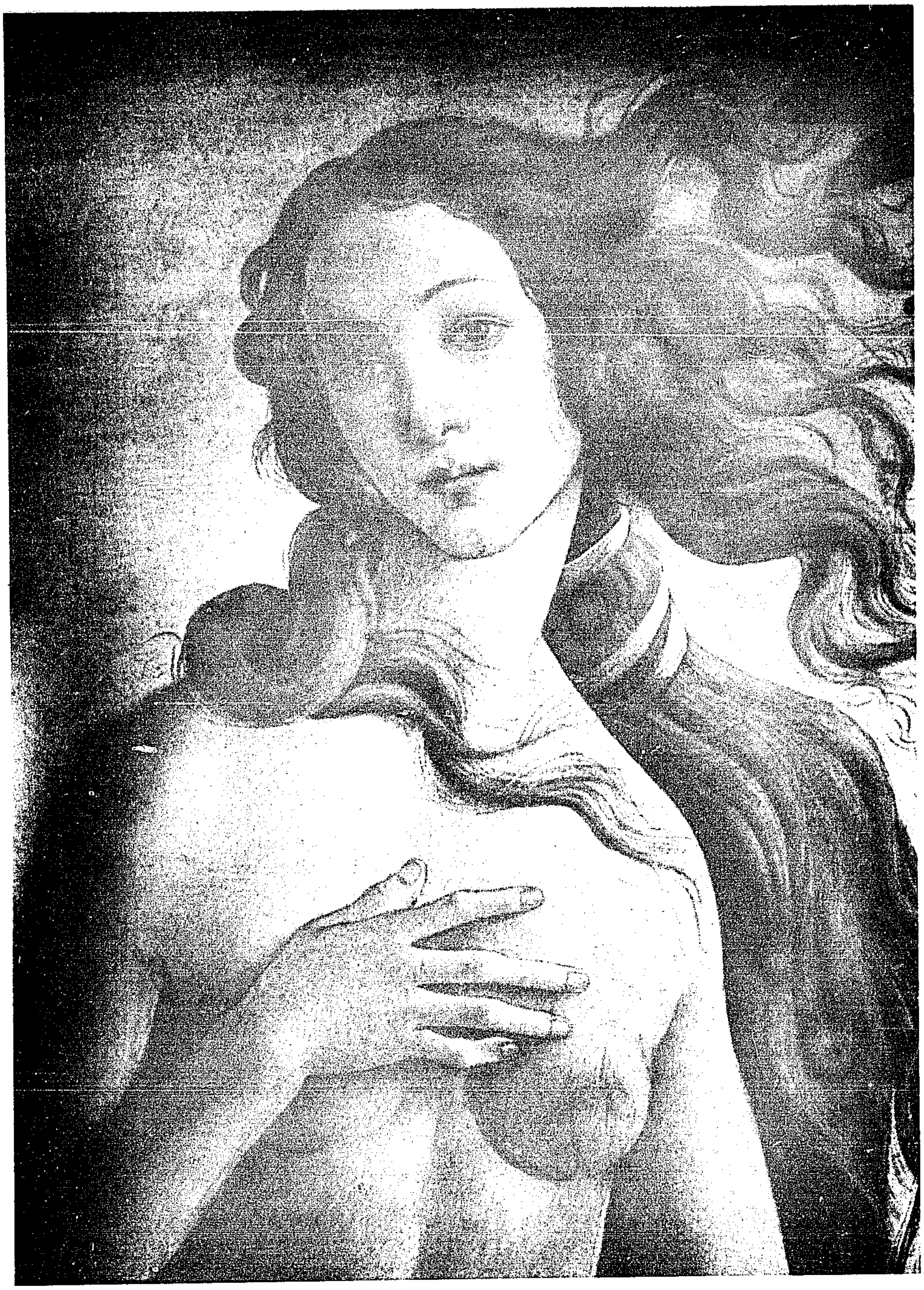


Fig. 89. Sandro Botticelli. Venus Emerging from the Sea. Detail. The drapery of snakey hair around an elongated neck. Her delicate features symbolize divine love and beauty.

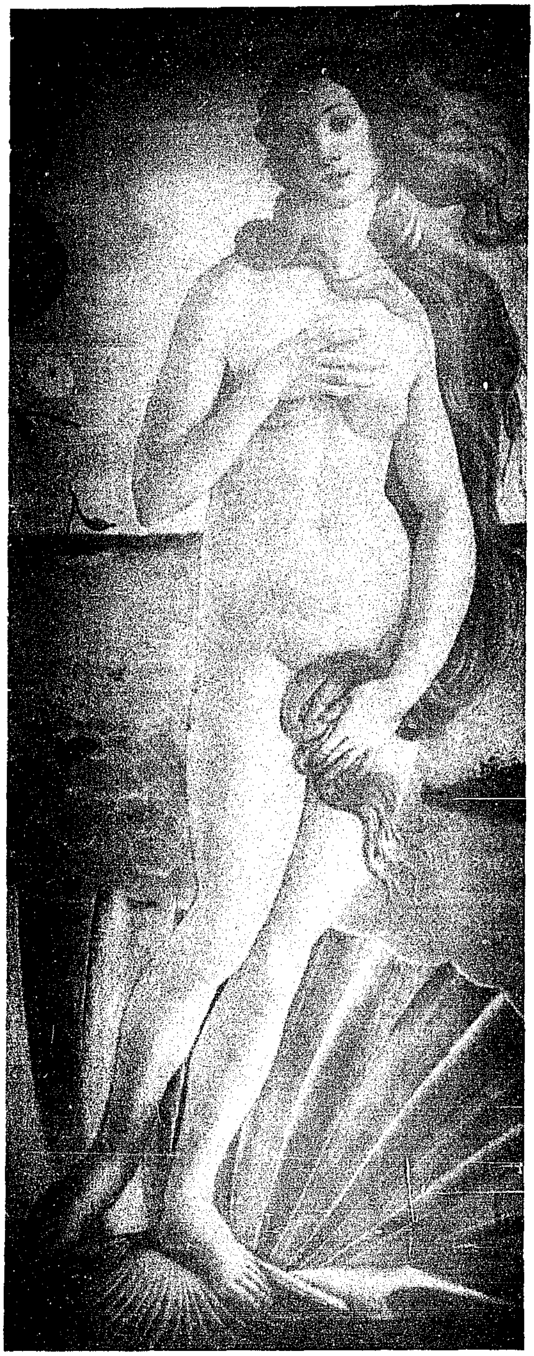


Fig. 90. Sandro Botticelli. Venus Emerging from the Sea. Detail. The female nude as pure innocence of spirit.

Botticelli's unusually graceful figures flit about in the "Primavera," the allegory of spring (Figure 91). This painting also attempts to give Christian meaning to pagan love. The clothed Venus symbolizes Christian love. The elongated figures with their high center of gravity seem ethereal as they float about on tip-toes. The trees in the background seem to lock the figures onto a shallow stage.[137] The three graces are most seductive in their revealing gossamer garments (Figure 92). The complexity of the composition and the masterful execution are in sharp contrast to the early Italio-Byzantine icons. The delicate heads with the loose, erogenous hair are incredibly sophisticated (Figure 93).

Simonetta Vespucci was reputed to have been the most beautiful woman who had ever lived. Every "neo-Platonic" man in Florence was in love with her. It is said that she was the inspiration for all of Botticelli's Venuses. None of them could have been portraits, unfortunately, since before any of the allegories were ever painted she died of consumption at the age of twenty-three (Figure 94).

Domenico Ghirlandaio (1449-1494)

With Ghirlandaio, the humanistic awareness of the senses as learning devices becomes even more acute. Everything in this artist's environment was worthy of his study. Nothing was too humble for the brush of the artist. The "Virgin and Child" illustrates how Ghirlandaio enjoyed packing in space with people, fruits,

---

[137] Goldstein, Lecture, 3 November 1980.

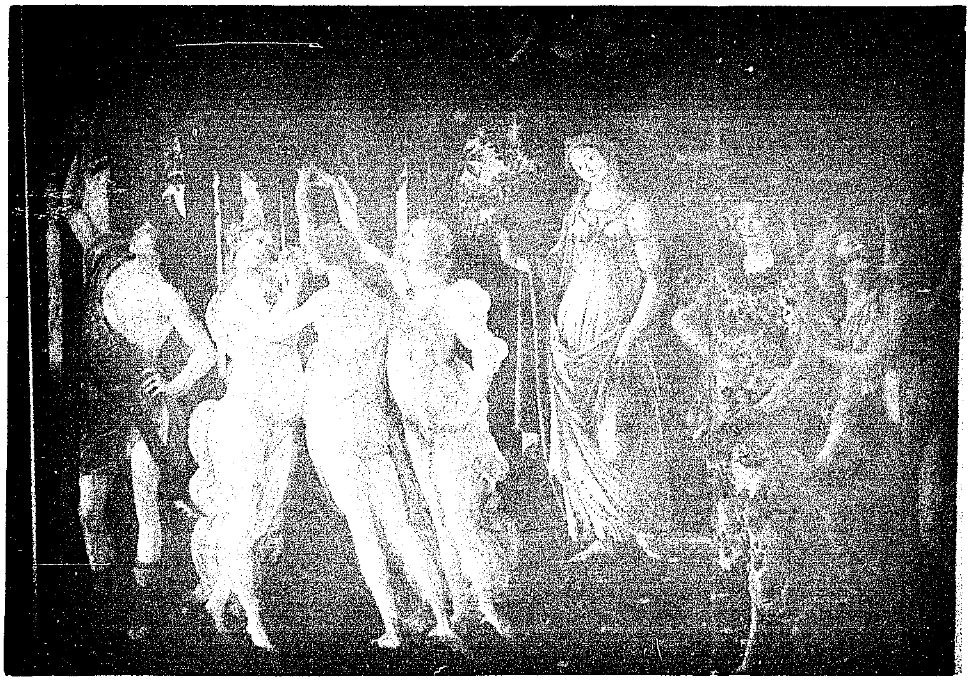


Fig. 91. Sandro Botticelli. Primavera

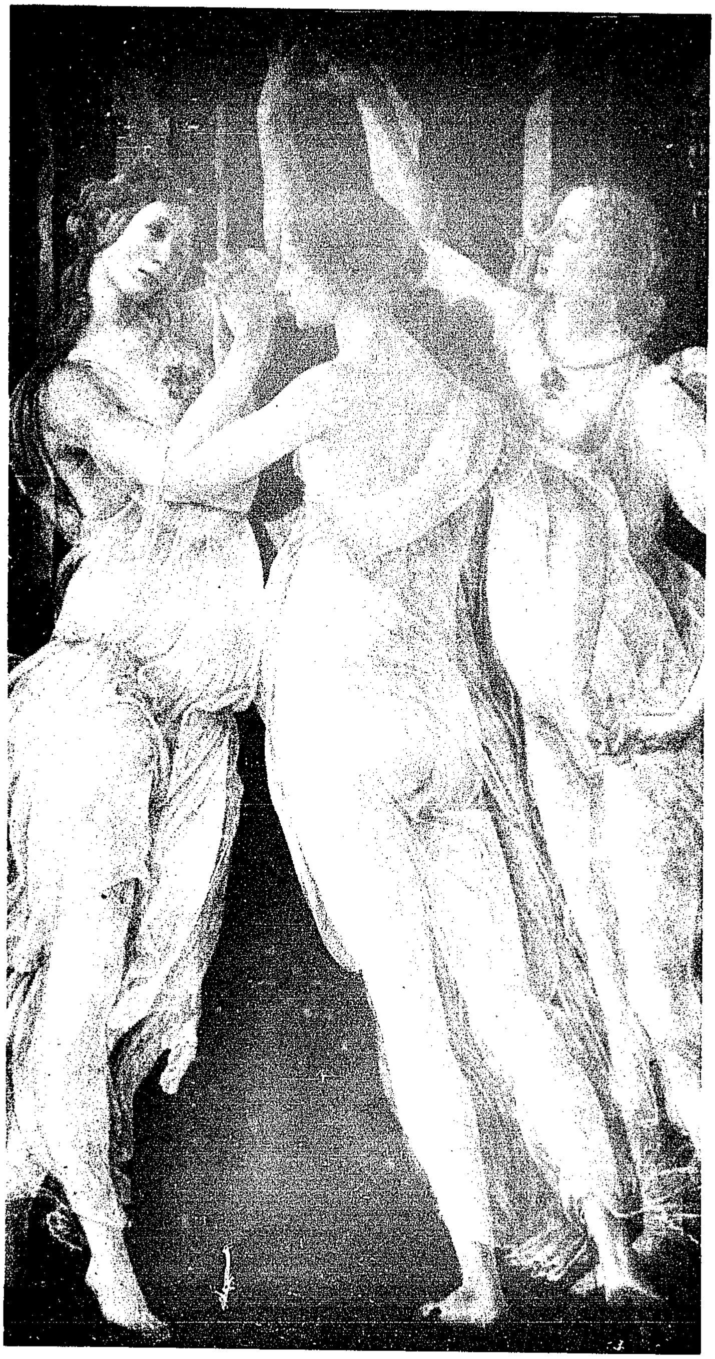


Fig. 92. Sandro Botticelli. Primavera. Detail. The Three Graces.

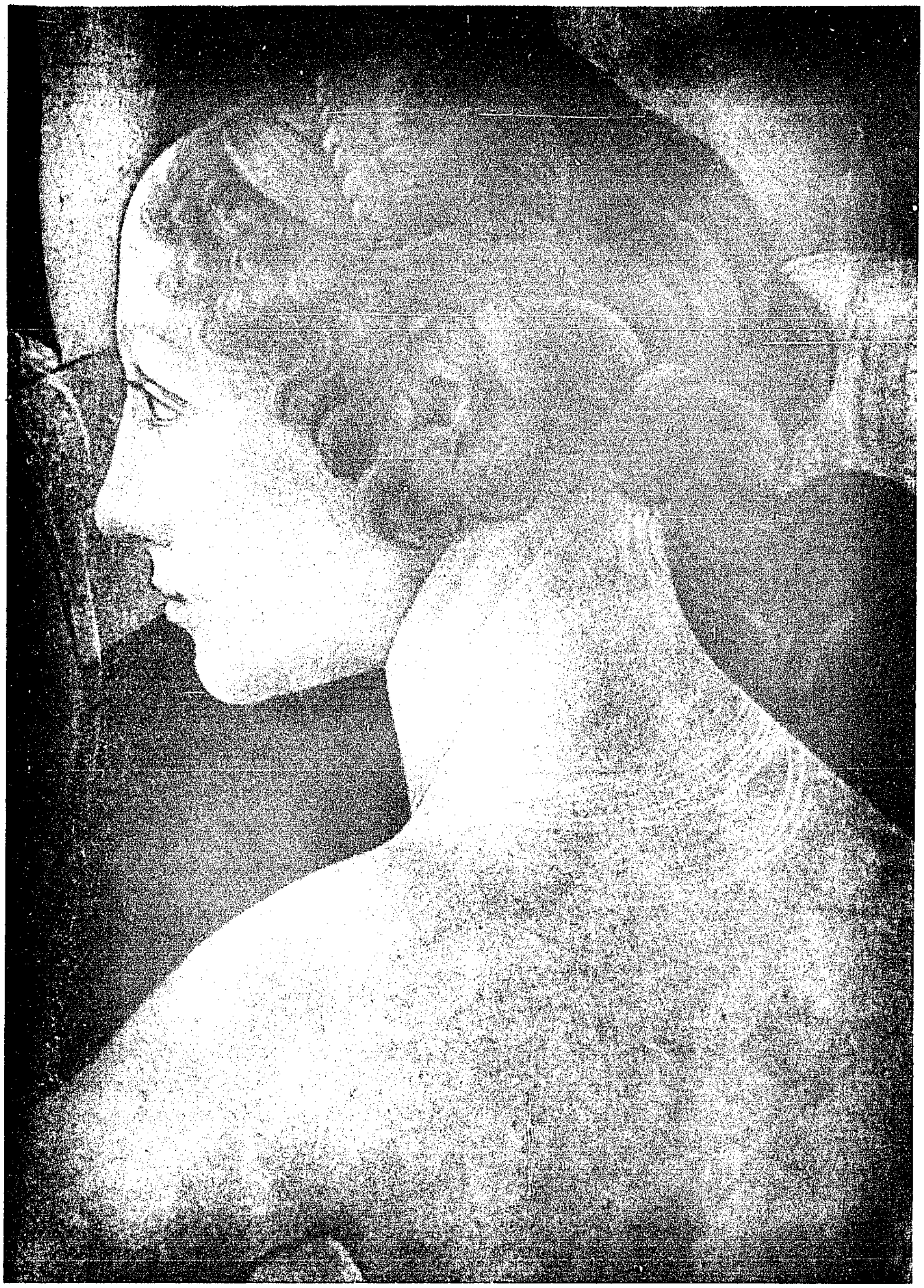


Fig. 93. Sandro Botticelli. Primavera. Detail. Delicate head of one of the Graces.

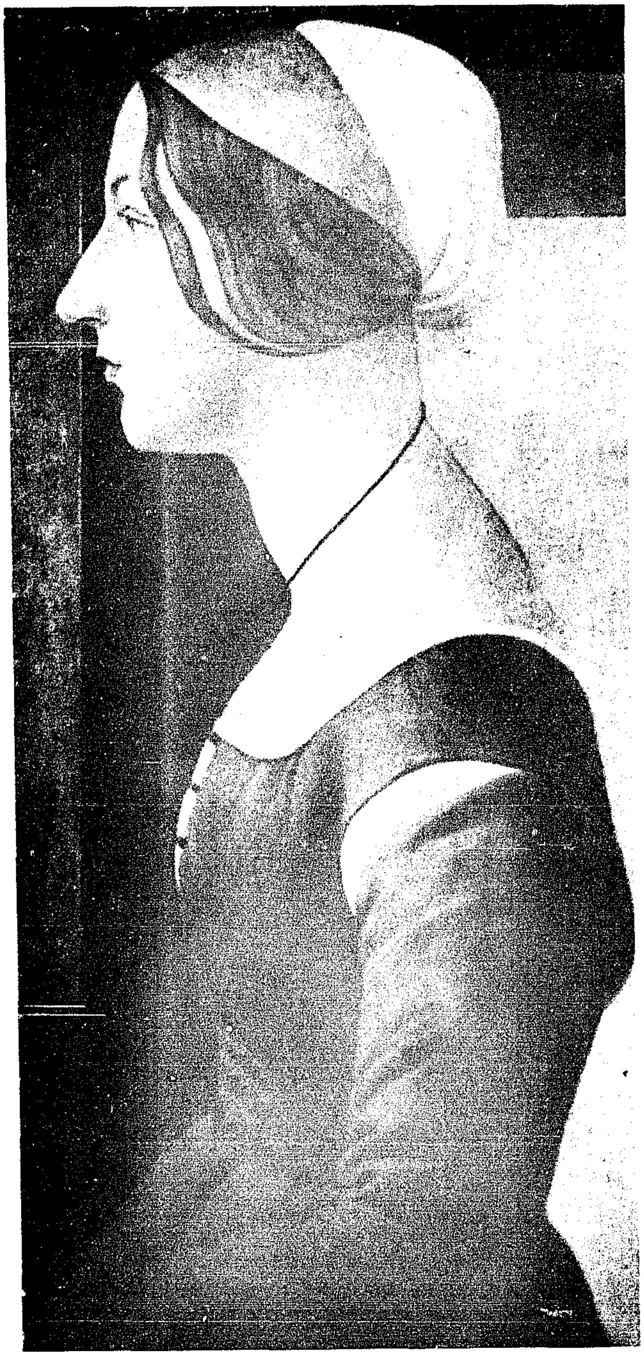


Fig. 94. Sandro Botticelli. The Beautiful Simonetta. Note the extraordinarily simple headdressing and costume.

and objects (Figure 95). Even though this is a religious painting, the objects are not symbolic of anything nor do they have religious value. Ghirlandaio is a naturalist and a humanist who derived great pleasure from painting his world of experiences.

In "The Visitation," Mary and Elizabeth are both pregnant (Figure 96). These are typical Florentine ladies who are meeting in the presence of other Florentines. The gowns are detailed with motifs and patterns and slashed sleeves. Ghirlandaio's figures tend to be more static than Botticelli's but there is greater modeling in his figures than in Botticelli's paintings. Ghirlandaio had been criticized by the clergy for his lack of religious zeal and for painting secular objects. Despite the tirades of such men as Savonarola, there was no turning back the tides of humanism.

In the "Adoration of the Shepherds," the figures in the foreground are kneeling before the ruins of an antique structure (Figure 97). Here too, Christianity is building upon the legacy of paganism. This painting moves back deep into space and is filled with naturalistic detail. Even the stubble on the unshaven faces of the shepherds can be seen. Joseph, who is shown as an old man, many years Mary's senior, turns to look at the three Kings coming from a distance. As is the custom, Joseph is painted in the background which reveals the Florentine Renaissance men's perception of their parents. The mother was usually youthful and much closer

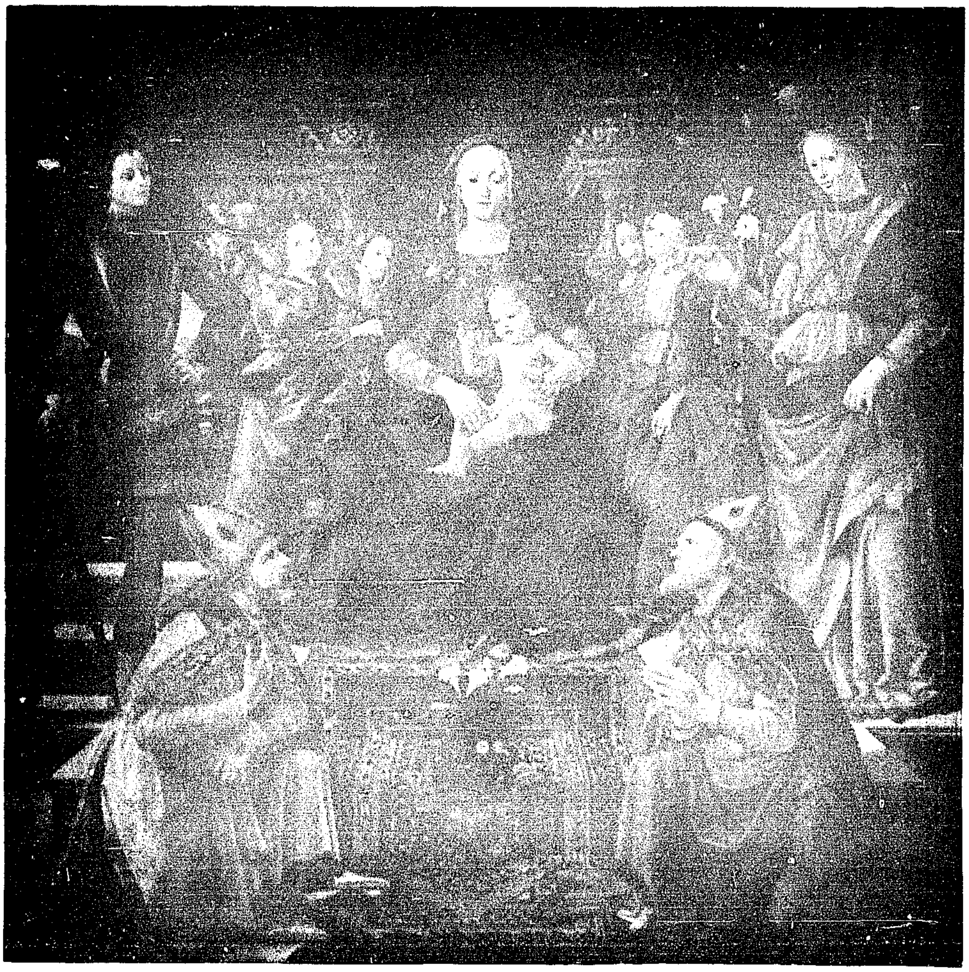


Fig. 95. Domenico Ghirlandaio. The Virgin and Child between Archangels Michael and Raphael with Saints Justus and Zenobius.

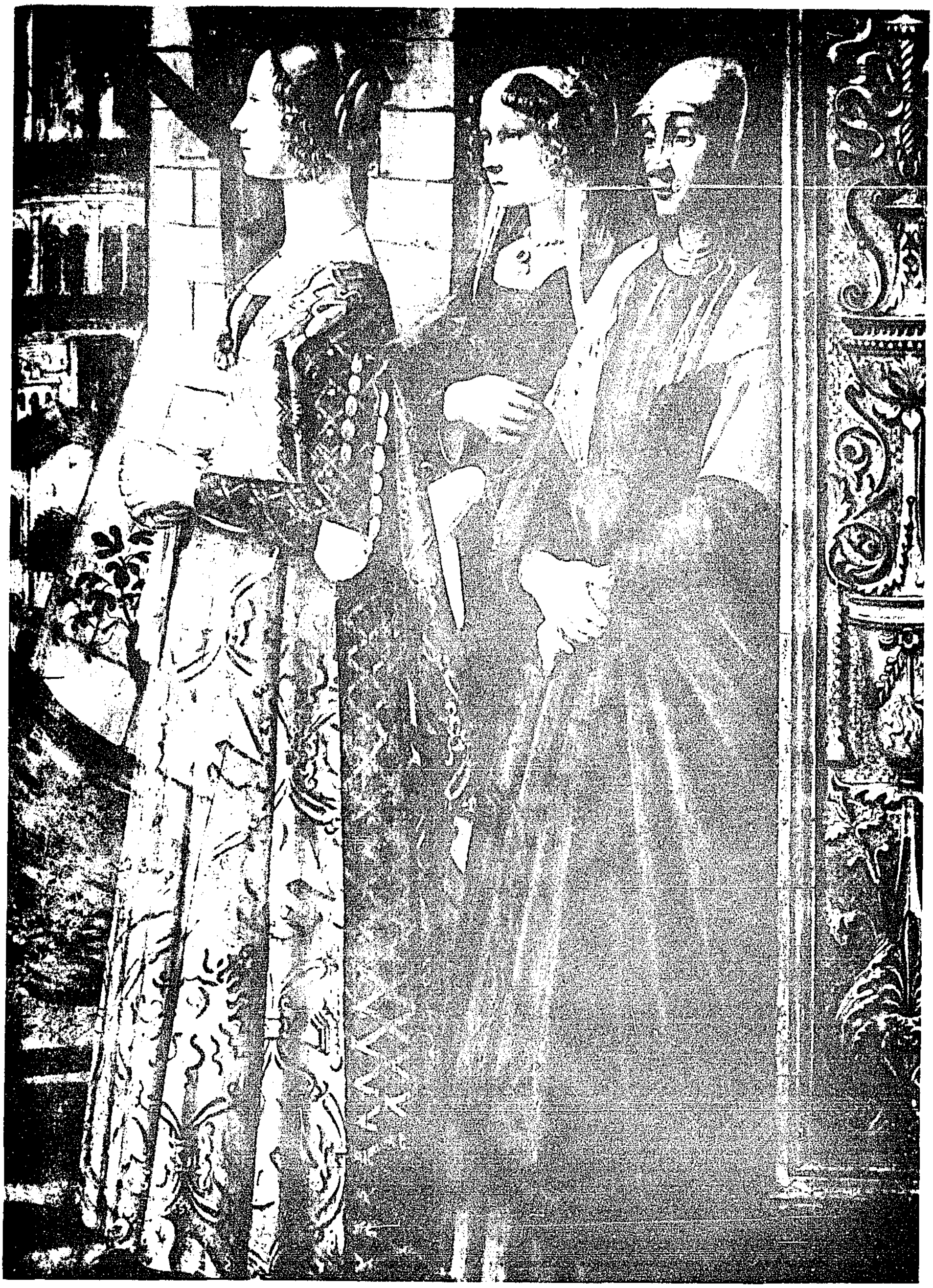


Fig. 96. Domenico Ghirlandaio. The Visitation. Detail. Santa Maria Novella, Florence. Ladies of Fashion.

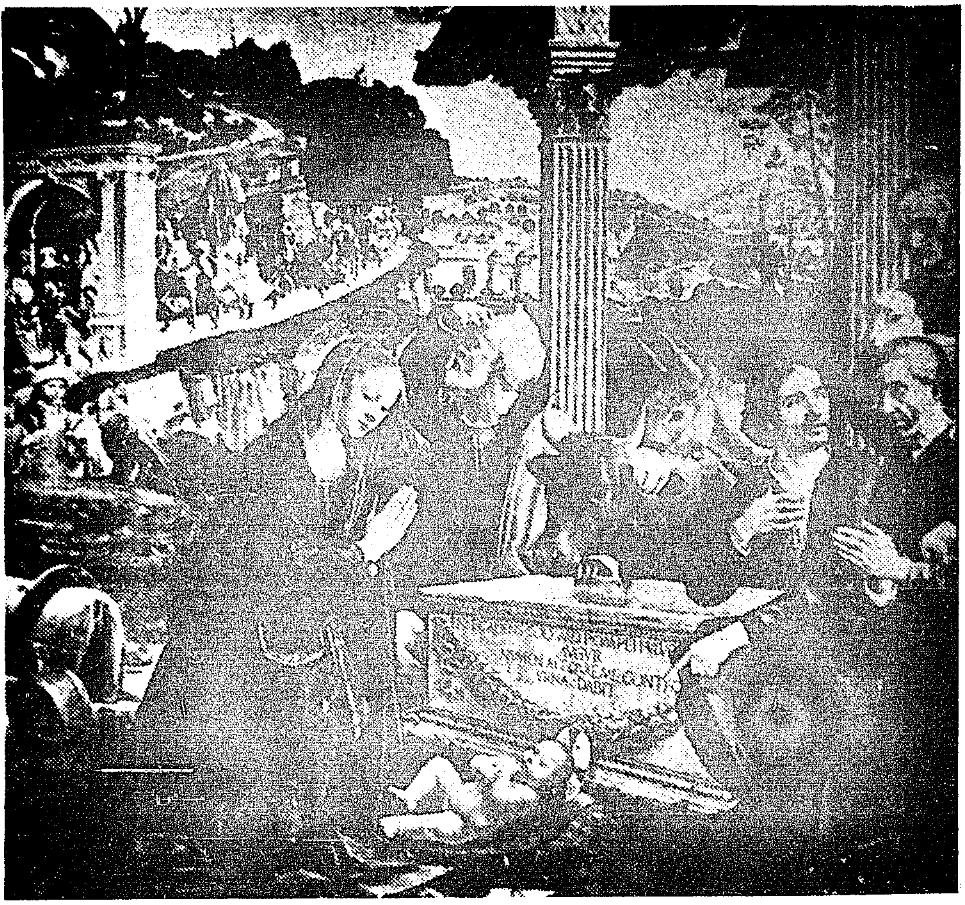


Fig. 97. Domenico Ghirlandaio. The Adoration of the Shepherds. The Academy, Florence.

to her children than the father. He was looked upon as a distant authoritarian figure while the mother was seen as an ally to her offspring.

The appeal of Ghirlandaio's frescoes lies in the manner in which he painted contemporary Florentine society, especially the figures of gracefully attired ladies. In their portraits, the women were well dressed, but do not appear uncomfortable as those ladies in Bronzoni's portraits. In Ghirlandaio's Portrait of a Young Lady, the sitter seems self-assured and confident that she is part of the best of all possible worlds (Figure 98).

Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519)

Leonardo has been called the ultimate Renaissance man. In art, he looked directly to nature for his source of inspiration and intellectual understanding. He put his faith in his five senses and he believed in the innate creative genius of the artist. Even during his lifetime, Leonardo was considered a revolutionary artist. He is given credit for the creation of the High Renaissance. At this point in time, the artists had reached a high level of sophistication and looked upon themselves as scientific investigators. Earlier in the Renaissance, the figures were static and formal whereas the figures of the High Renaissance appear to be able to move back and forth and in and out of different spatial zones with ease.

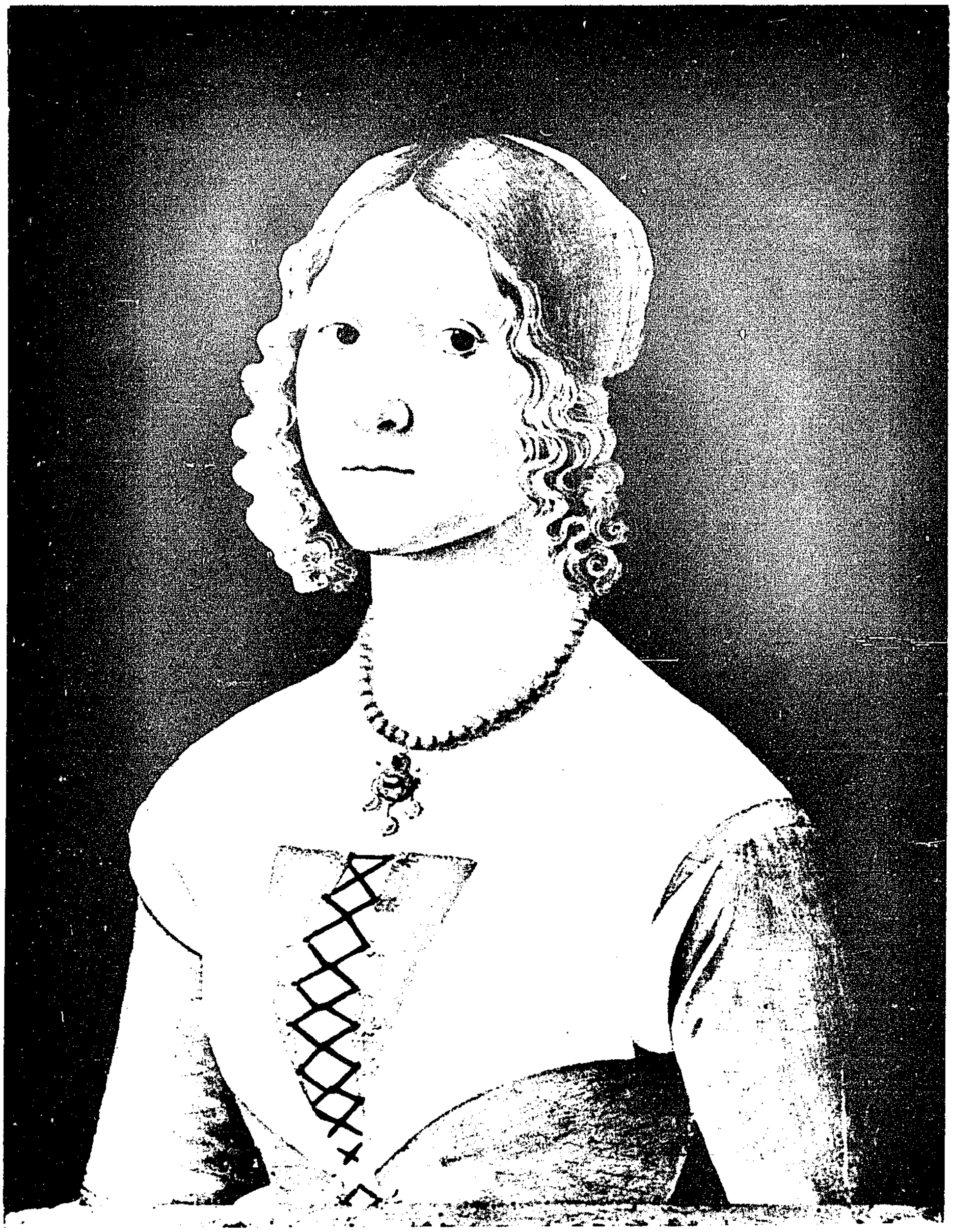


Fig. 98. Domenico Ghirlandaio. Portrait of a Young Lady.

The "Madonna of the Rocks" is one of Leonardo's few finished paintings (Figure 99). It has an unearthly landscape. During the Renaissance, mountains, rocks, and forest were sometimes used as symbols of hell. Landscape was also used to reflect either mystery, horror, and fear or tenderness, love, and security.[138] The rock formation in this painting is made to look like a canopy beyond which are uncertainty and infinity. In front of this formation, children are playing under the tender and watchful eyes of a sweet-faced mother (Figure 100). Evidently, this picture has had an emotional impact on many artists because it has been imitated numerous times.

The "Virgin and Child with St. Anne" is Leonardo's single most important portable painting (Figure 101). This extraordinary painting is modest in size and is unfinished. The lower drapery of the Virgin is only an undercoat of paint. It is evident that the planning and the conceptualizing of the composition were more important to Leonardo than the finished product. Leonardo did two cartoons for this painting, one of which has been lost. The surviving cartoon is significantly different from the painting (Figure 102). There is more informality and emotional appeal in the painting than in the cartoon. In the painting, Jesus plays with the sacrificial lamb while in the cartoon he appears to be blessing St. John. The symbolism of Mary literally sitting in

---

[138] Plumb, The Renaissance, pp. 97-98.

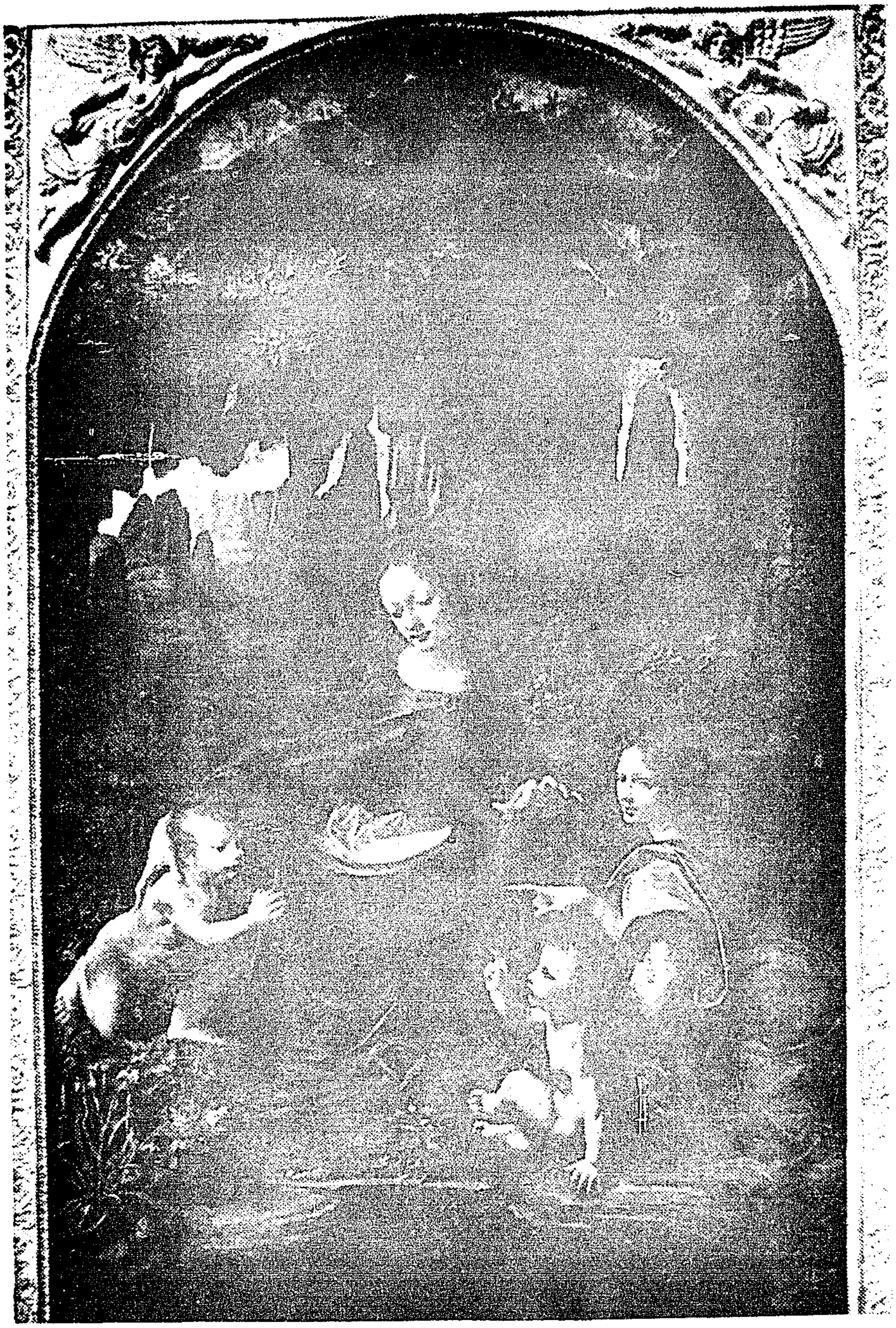


Fig. 99. Leonardo da Vinci. Madonna of the Rocks. A finished painting.

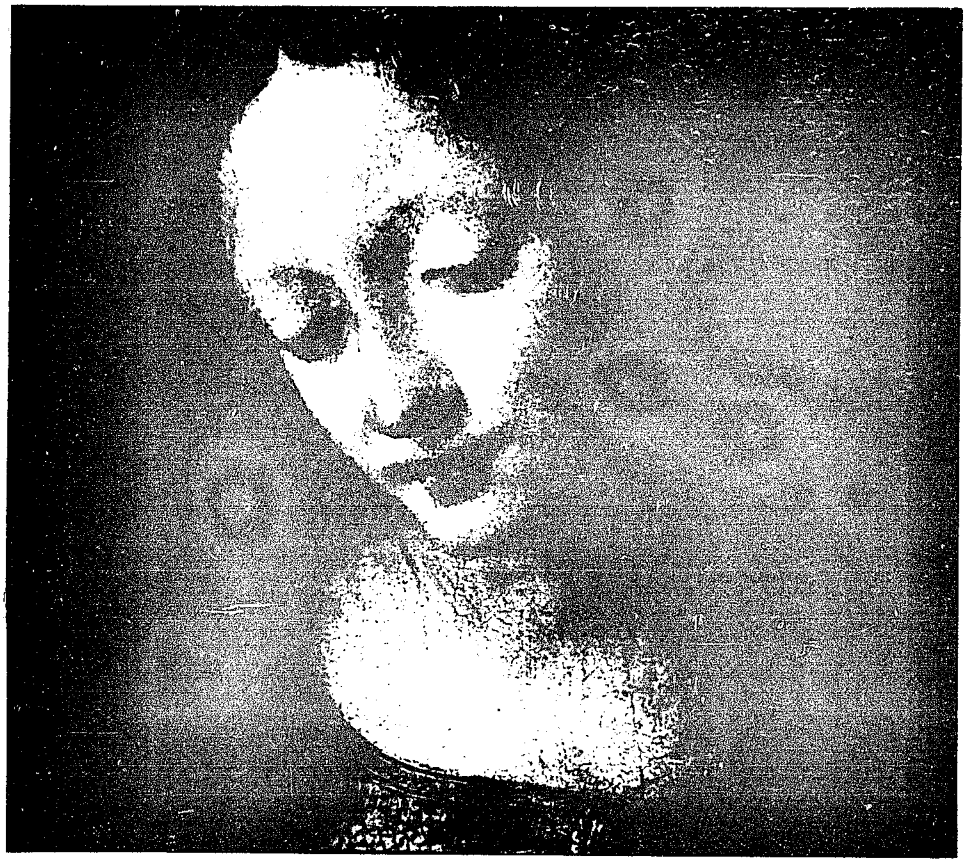


Fig. 100. Leonardo da Vinci. Madonna of the Rocks. Detail. The tenderness of motherhood.

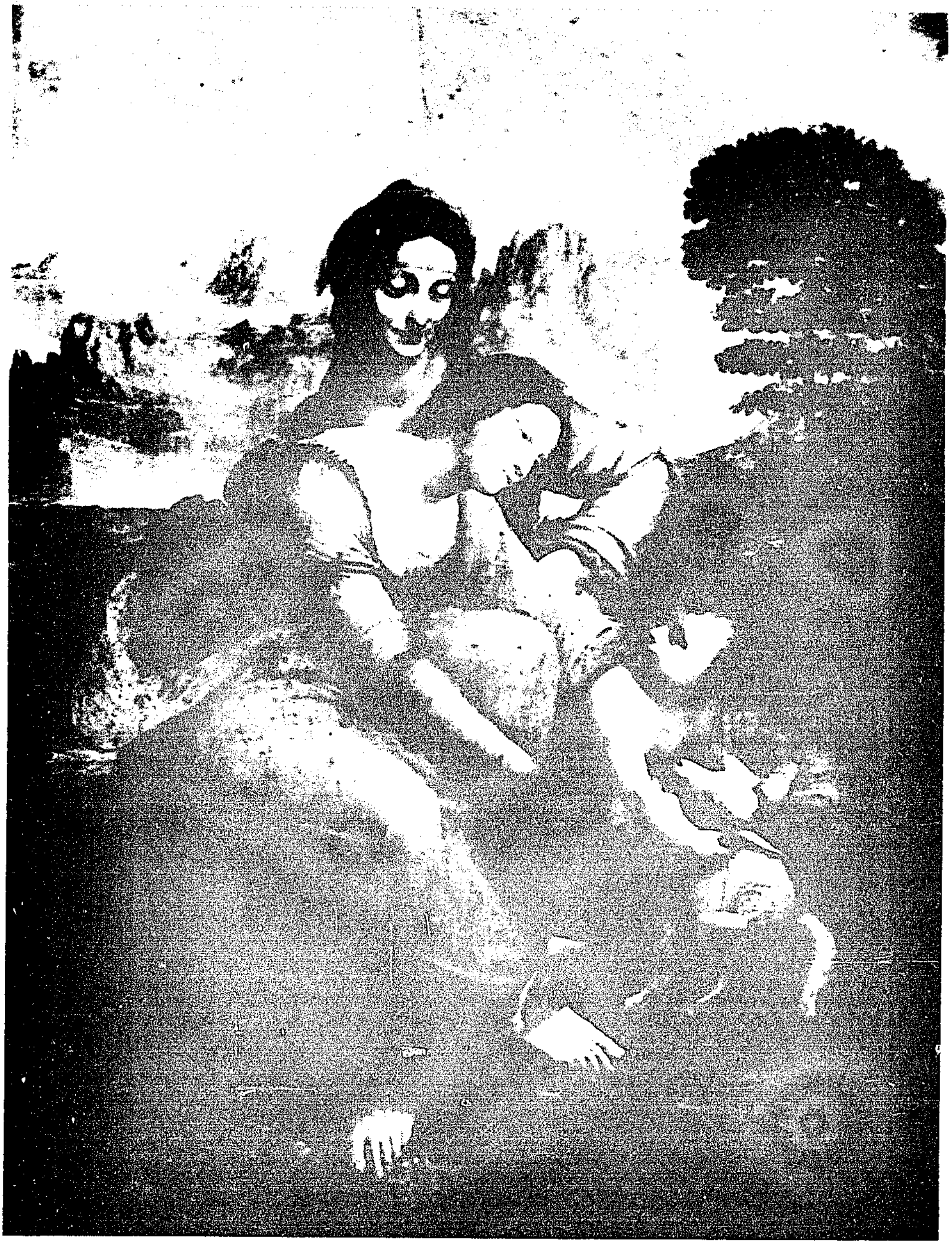


Fig. 101. Leonardo da Vinci. Virgin and Child with Saint Anne. The lineage of Jesus, the sacrificial lamb.

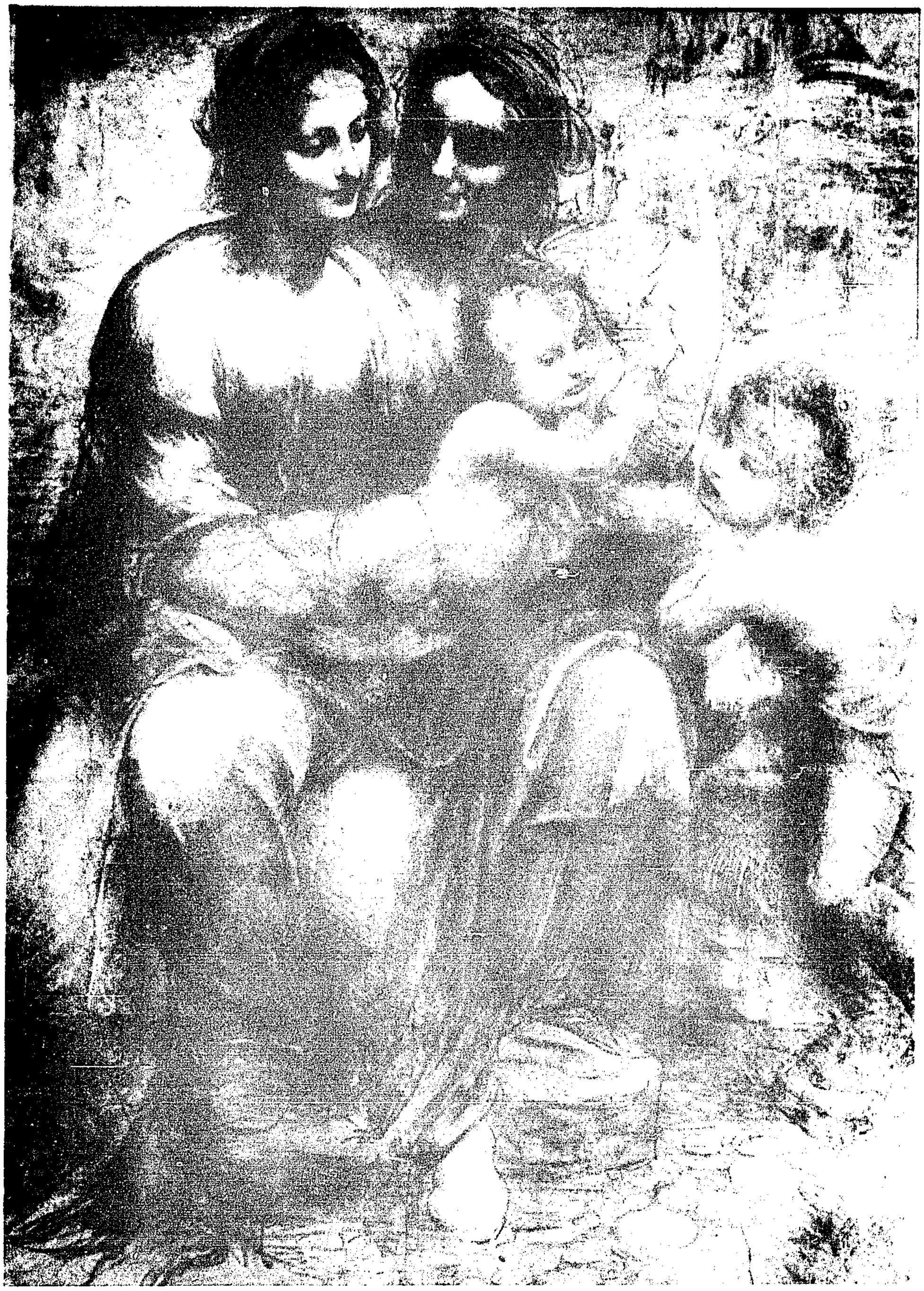


Fig. 102. Leonardo da Vinci. Cartoon. Virgin and Child with Saint Anne and Saint John.

Anne's lap shows the historical continuity of the Christian Church. It is a graphic way of demonstrating the lineage of Jesus. The composition of the painting has greater rhythm than the cartoon with lines spiraling as Mary bends over to reach for the baby. Such dynamic, curvilinear positioning heralds the High Renaissance. The "Virgin and Child with St. Anne" exerted an enormous influence on the younger painters, especially Raphael and Michelangelo.

Pietro Perugino (1446-1523)

Pietro Perugino is important in the development of iconography because all of his figures--except Mary--were painted from life while many of his contemporaries were still copying or painting from the imagination. In the "Adoration of the Magi,"the features of each man are life-like and distinguishable from one another (Figure 103). These subjects are "real" individuals, each with his own identity. Only Mary has the idealized features and she is shown wearing the traditional blue cloak with gold border. Joseph, too, is wearing traditional garb, but all other people are wearing contemporary Renaissance clothing. In this painting, nature is shown as an ideal stage setting. Space is created convincingly as the eye follows the road back into the landscape. The tree, sky and rocks are a backdrop for the action in front.

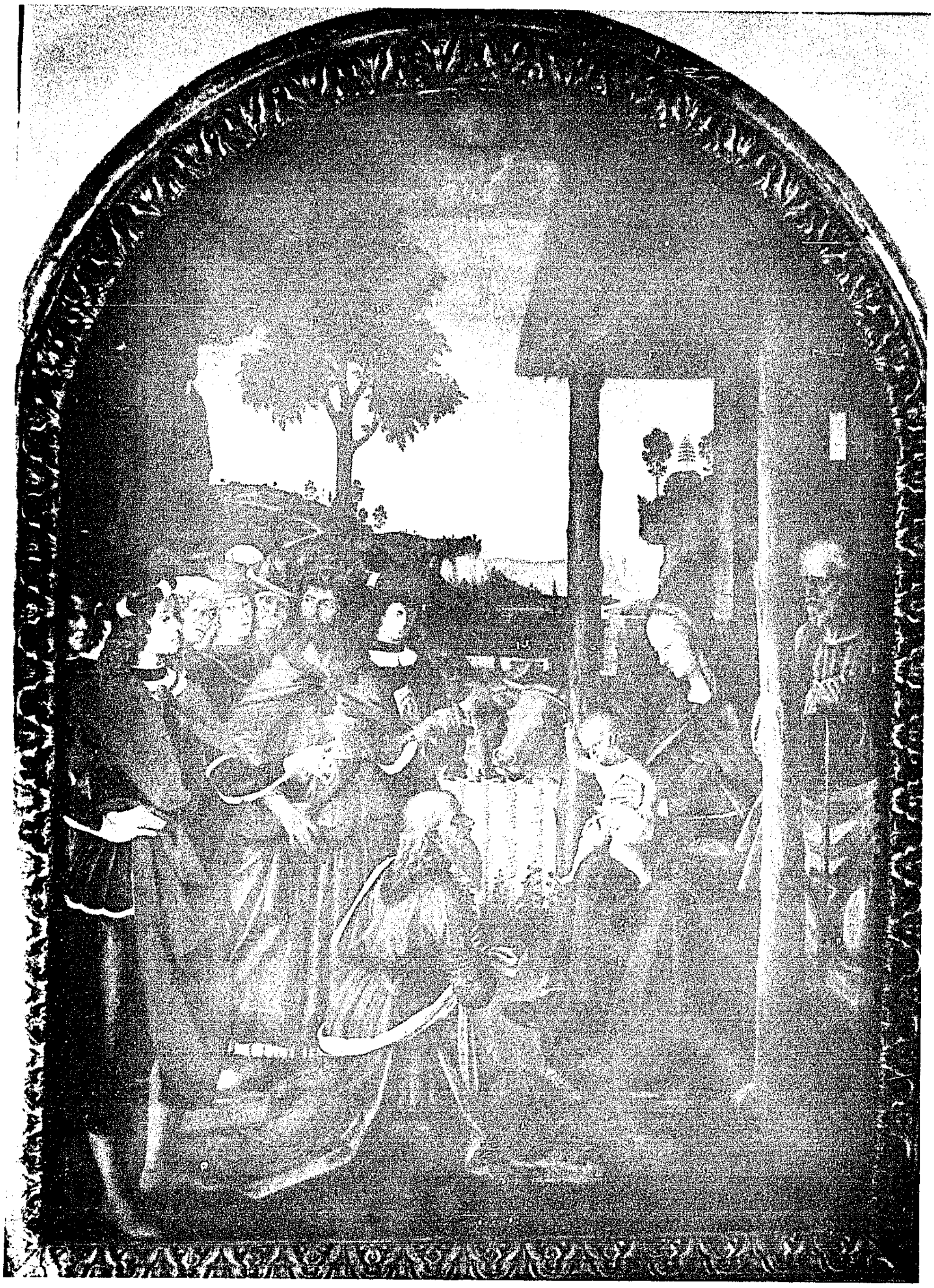


Fig. 103. Pietro Perugino. The Adoration of the Magi.

Santi Raphael (1483-1520)

Raphael was born in Urbino, but went to Perugia to study with Perugino. Although Raphael did much copying from Maestro Perugino, this period in his life developed Raphael into a confirmed urbanite with a sophisticated eye for beauty. Raphael once told his friend, Castiglione, that in order to create a painting of a beautiful woman, he had to know many beautiful women. All of Raphael's portraits encompass his ideal of feminine beauty even though they convey the sitter's likeness.

The "Veiled Woman" is said to have been a portrait of his mistress (Figure 104). Even though there can be no doubt that she was idealized by Raphael, she still retains her identity. This is not the portrait of an aristocratic, improbable lady, but a portrait of a dark-haired peasant girl of unknown pedigree. Landscape is absent and the observer's eye is forced to concentrate on the repetition of oval shapes in the face, the necklace, the neckline and the sleeve.

The "Alba Madonna" is a composition designed to conform to a compact circular space (Figure 105). It is one of Raphael's finest earlier Madonnas in which Mary appears to be an ideal aristocratic woman although in classic dress. Compare this composition with the later circular painting called the "Madonna of the Chair" (Figure 106). The "Madonna of the Chair" is a dark-haired peasant girl wearing a turban on her head and she is holding a fat

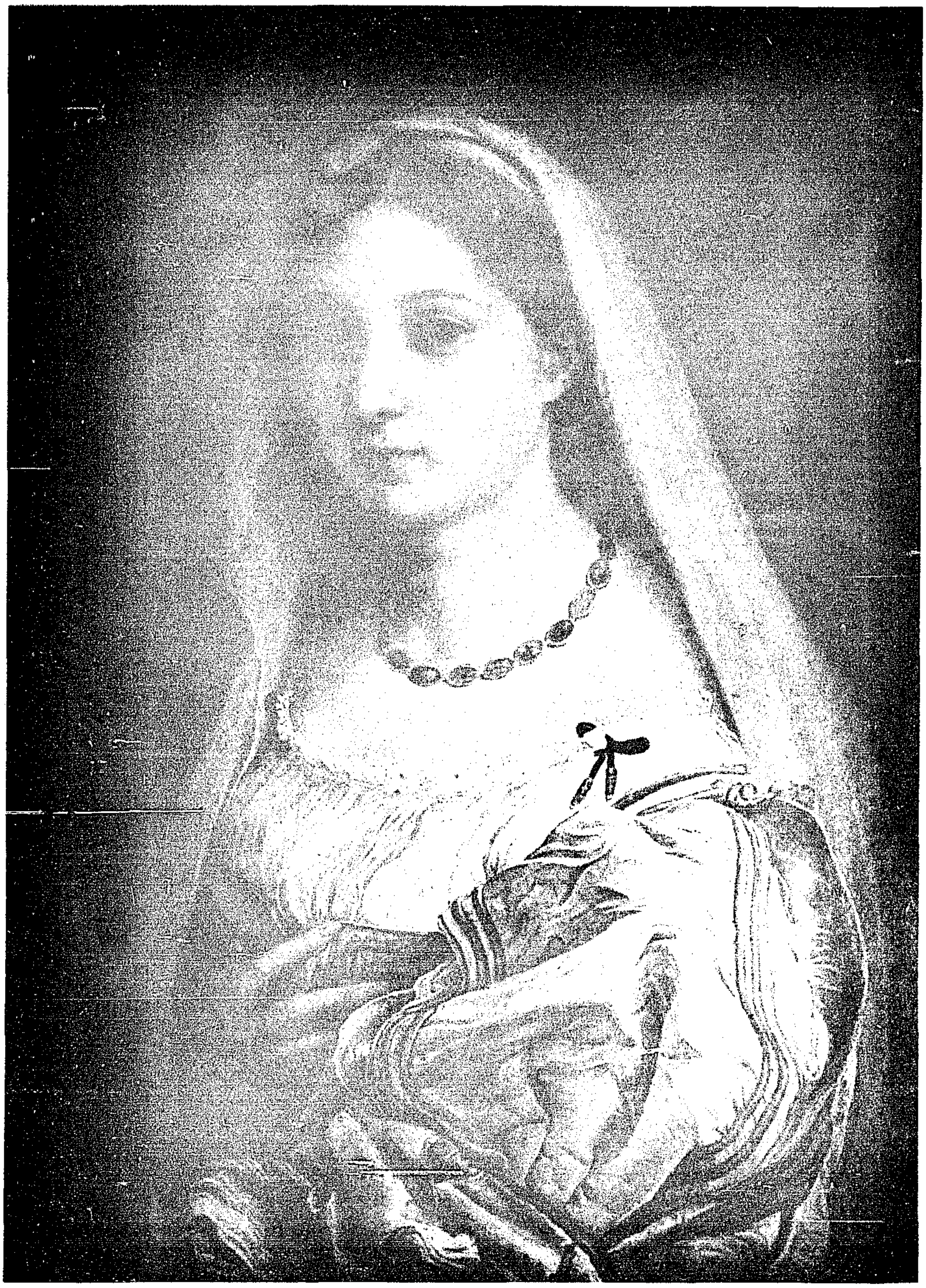


Fig. 104. Raphael. The Veiled Woman. A dark haired peasant girl.

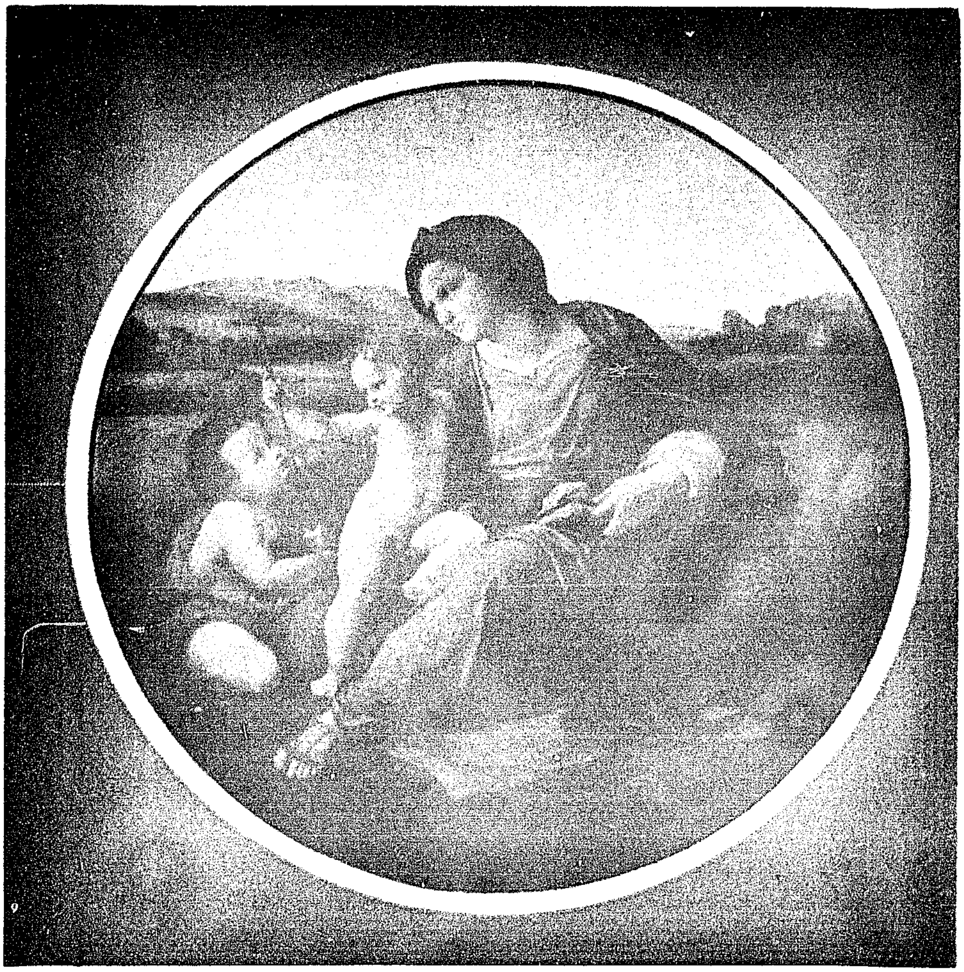


Fig. 105. Raphael. c. 1510. The Alba Madonna.

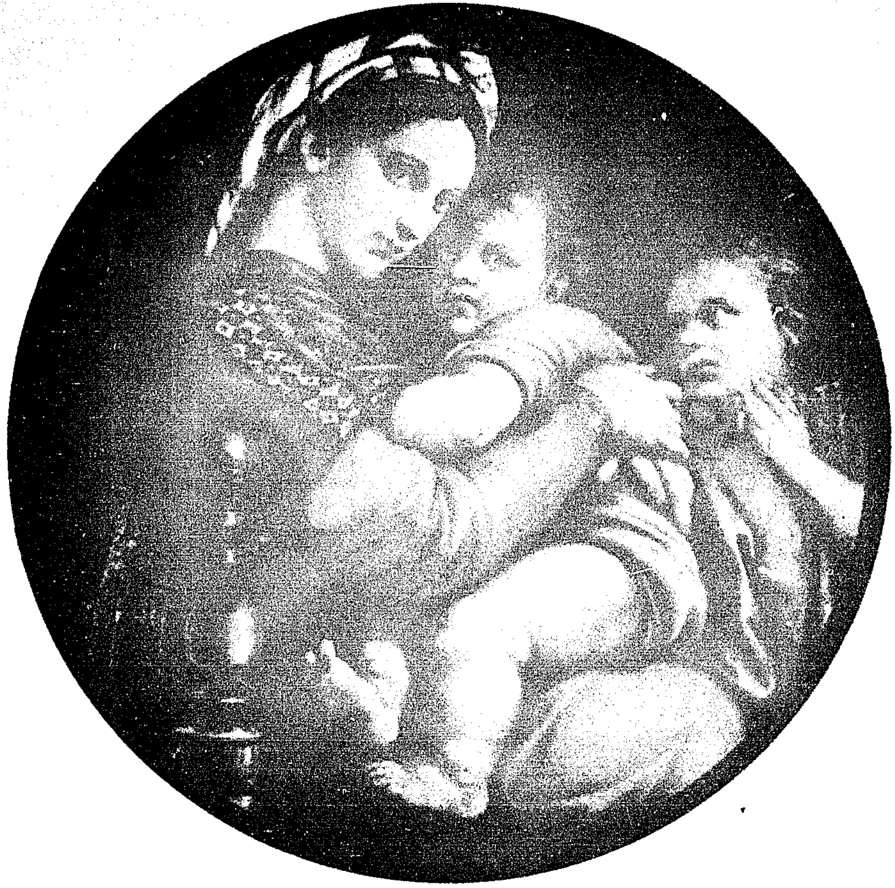


Fig. 106. Raphael. Madonna of the Chair.

bambino in her arms. Mary's traditional blue cloak with gold border is gone.

Raphael's "Holy Family" encompasses much of what he learned from Leonardo, but the chiaroscuro is distinctly Raphael's (Figure 107). The same method is used to connote the lineage of Jesus as in Leonardo's "Virgin and Child with St. Anne" (Figure 101). Raphael's Virgin, however, does not look as comfortable, nor does she sit as firmly or squarely in Anne's lap as does Leonardo's figure. In the "Holy Family," Joseph can be seen in the background as the shadowy father figure of the Renaissance.

The "Pregnant Woman" is particularly interesting in showing the changing attitudes toward the iconography of women (Figure 108). Back in the mid-fifteenth century, Piero della Francesca handled the subject of pregnancy with what was then considered a great deal of discretion for his time (Figure 78). Yet, he had to be much more graphic for his audience by unbuttoning the Madonna's dress while she pointed to her condition. At the same time, Piero's Madonna could not be just any pregnant woman; she had to come to us in the guise of the Virgin Mary. Raphael, on the other hand, is painting for a much more sophisticated audience. Raphael's "Pregnant Woman" looks out at us confidently while she rests her hand lightly on her enlarged belly.

At the beginning of his Florentine period, Raphael painted the "Madonna del Granduca" now in the Palazzo Pitti (Figure 109). It

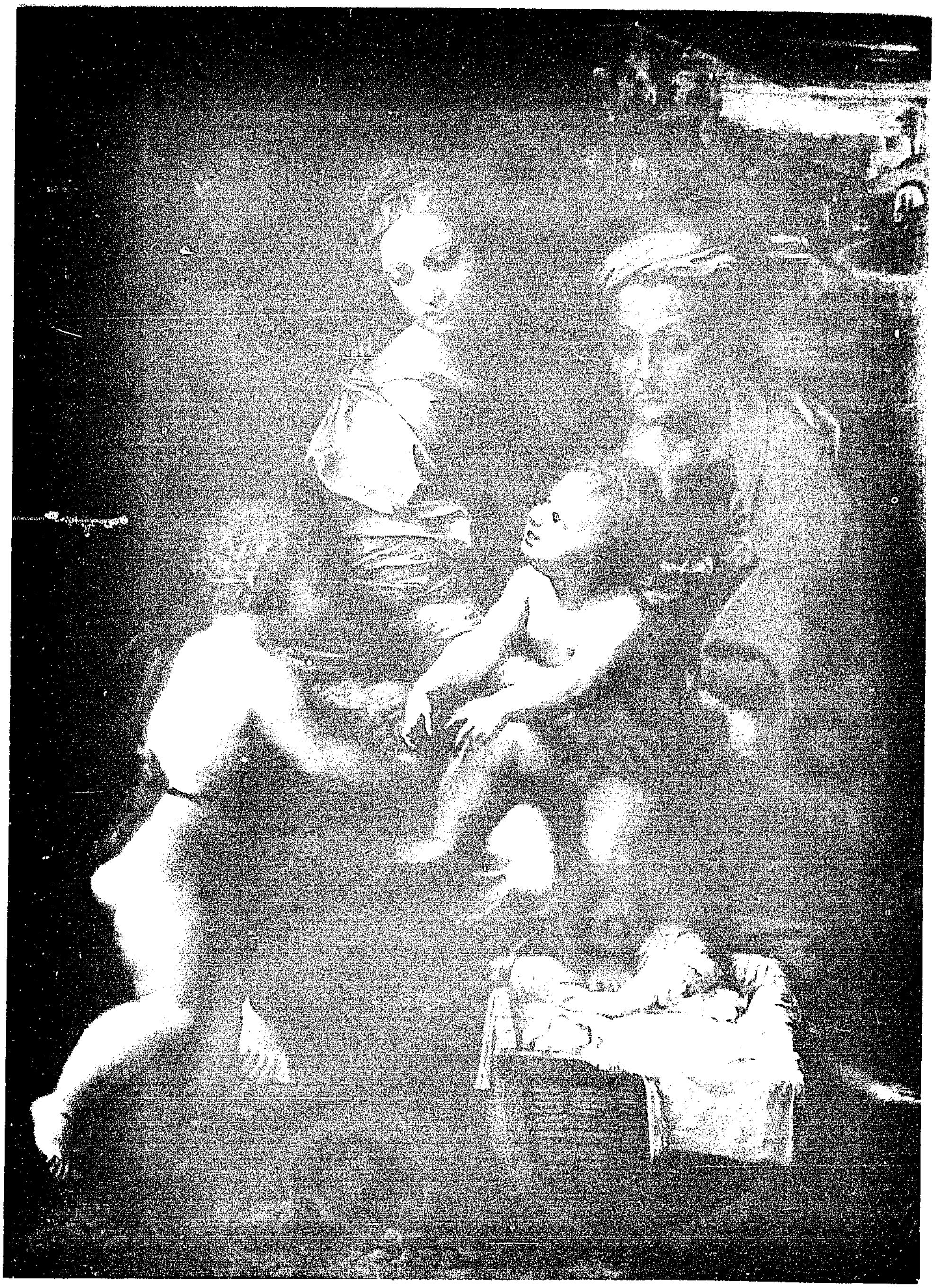


Fig. 107. Raphael. The Holy Family.

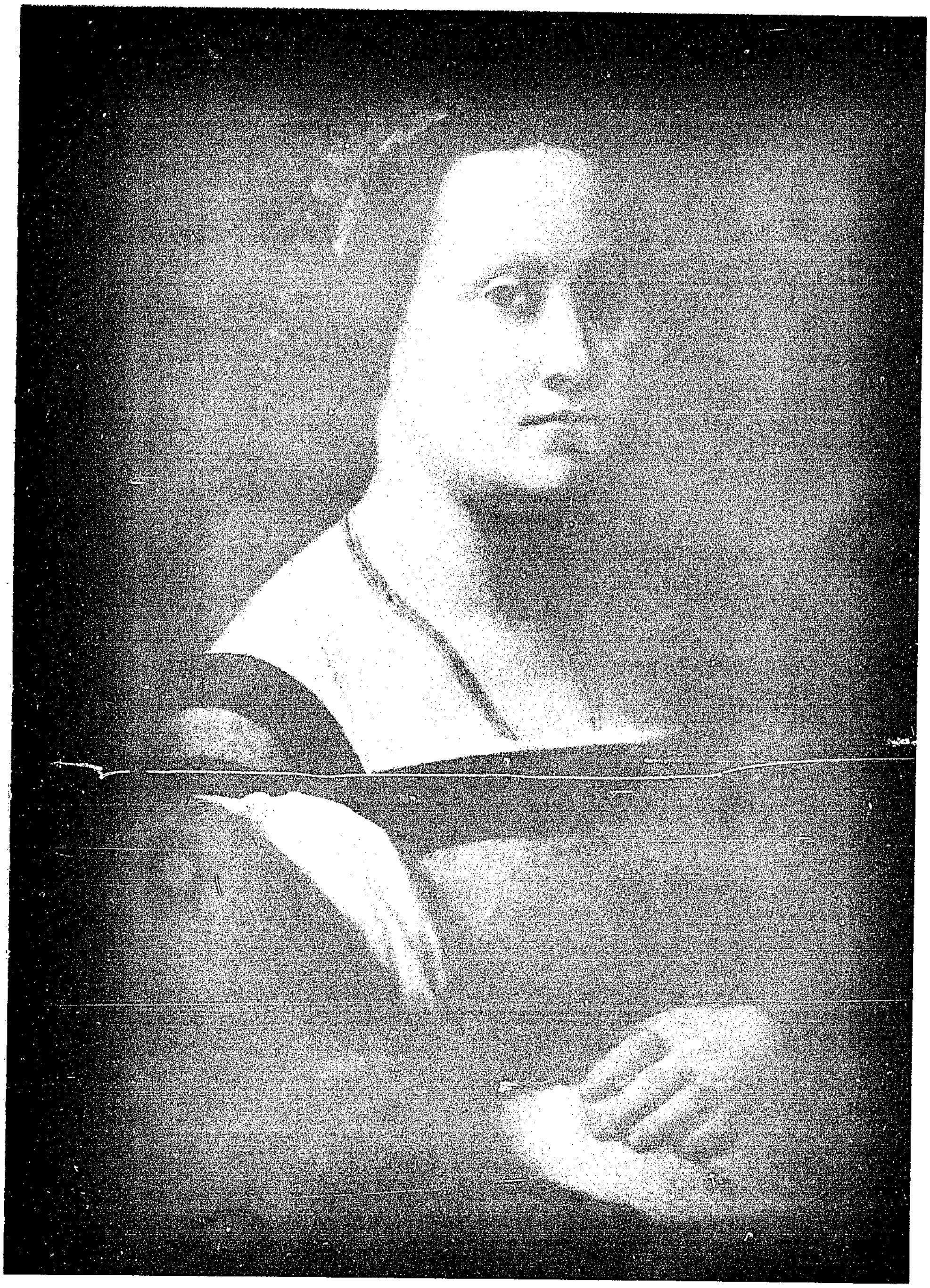


Fig. 108. Raphael. The Pregnant Woman.

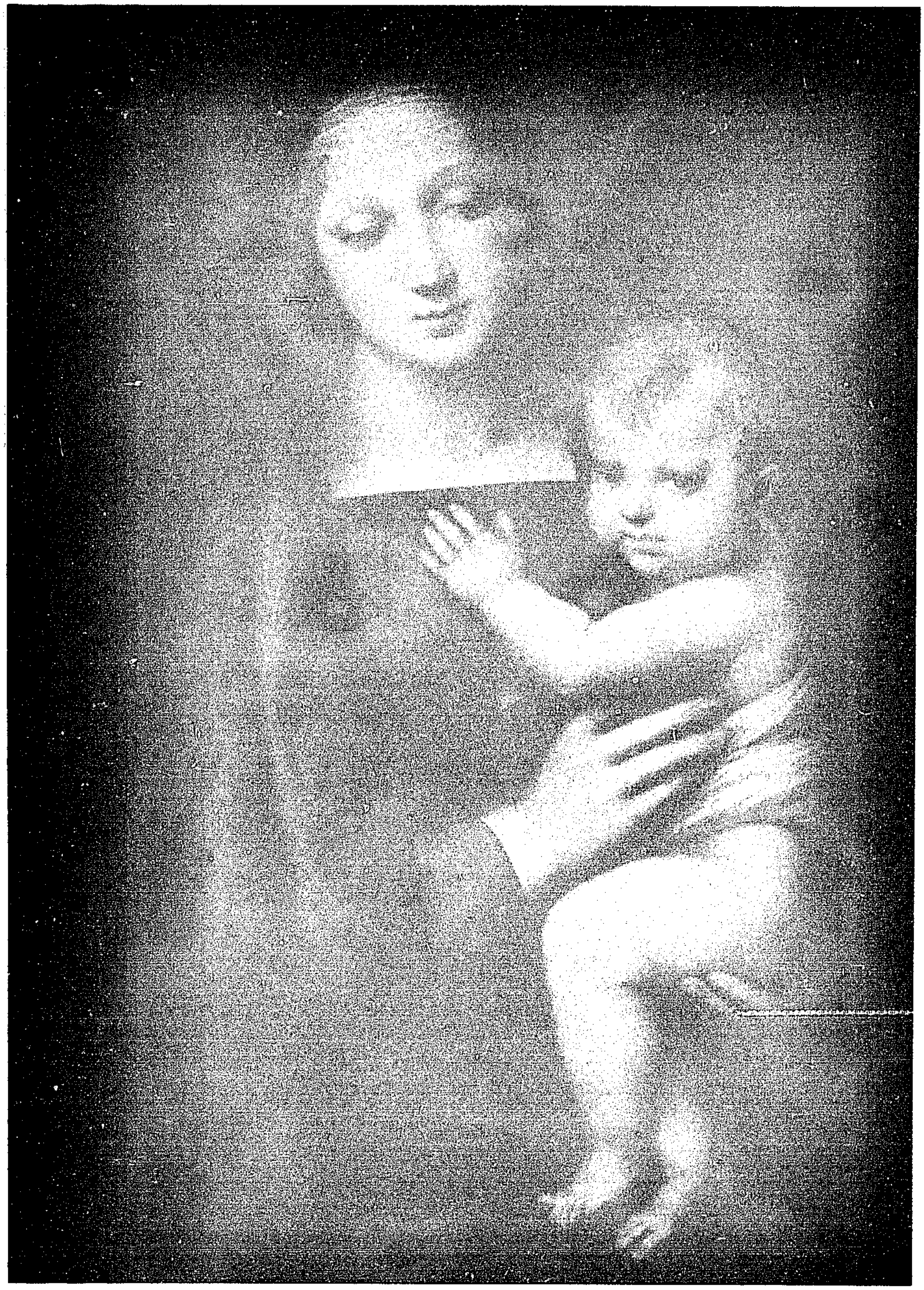


Fig. 109. Raphael. Madonna del Granduca.

is the most celebrated of his paintings of the Virgin. Mary has a feminine beauty that evolved from Perugino, Raphael's teacher, and from the inspiration of Leonardo. Yet, the painting is singularly Raphael's own ideal of a beautiful woman[139] and epitomizes the woman of the Florentine Renaissance at her very best. Here is the ideal of womanhood combined with the features of a Florentine lady. All the techniques of painting that took 200 years to develop are combined in perfect harmony in the fusion of the spirit and the flesh.

Michelangelo Buonarroti (1475-1564)

Michelangelo's androgenous figures seem to blur the polarities of sex in order to create super-human beings (Figure 110). Hermaphroditism as a concept was current in his day among the educated elite, although, in reality, hermaphrodites were condemned as monsters. Castiglione expressed the humanistic view that

> . . . . Male and female are by nature always together. . . and as one sex alone shows imperfection, ancient theologians attribute both sexes to God; hence, Orpheus said that Jove was male and female; and we read in the Holy Writ that God created man male and female in His own likeness; and the poets, in speaking of the gods, often confuse the sex.[140]

This concept was also a way to rationalize the existence of learned women. The very few elite women who could read and write

---

[139] A. Smart, The Renaissance and Mannerism in Italy, p. 136.

[140] Alexander, Lions and Foxes, p. 327.

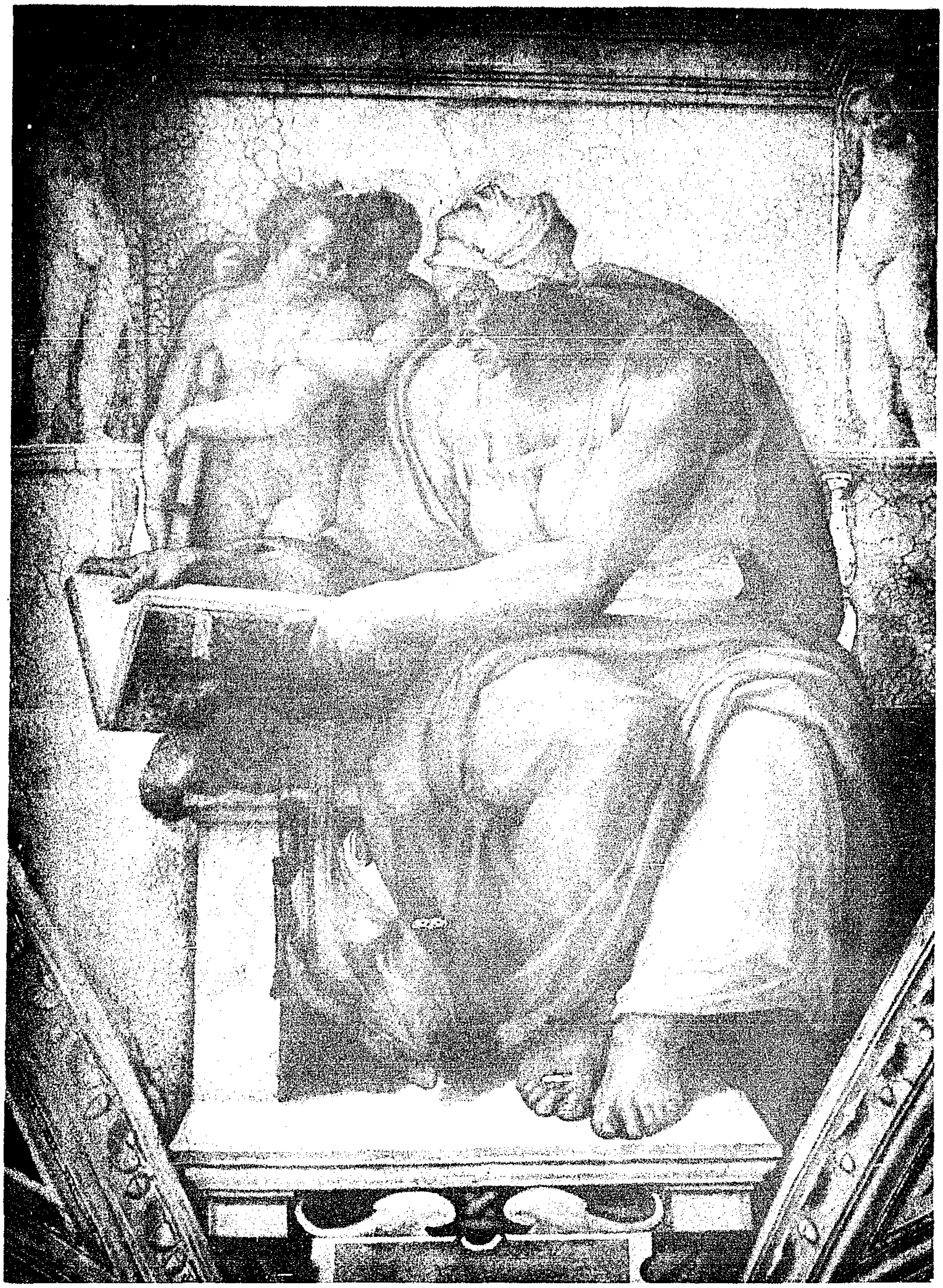


Fig. 110. Michelangelo. The Androgenous Cumaen Sibyl.

and converse were praised by men of learning as having "virago" (man, virile), the mind and courage to think like men.[141] The term "virago" was the Renaissance man's highest compliment to a woman. It meant that she was almost equal to man in learning.

Michelangelo considered himself a sculptor rather than a painter, but, in either medium, Michelangelo is the ultimate genius of Renaissance art. The fleeting moment of the human spirit is frozen into all his work. The "Pieta" sculpture in St. Peter's Cathedral expresses the neo-Platonic doctrine that physical beauty reflects divine spirit which is eternal, never aging.[142] The Madonna is young and beautiful; therefore, it is certain that her soul will remain forever beautiful, too.

"Holy Family" also known as the "Doni Tondo" is the only surviving portable work by Michelangelo (Figure 111). The spiraling twists, turns and rhythm must have been inspired by Leonardo's "Virgin and Child with Saint Anne" (Figure 101) but the figures do not move as gracefully as those by Leonardo. Once again, young Mary and old Joseph are positioned in their respective zones with Joseph behind Mary. Here, also, is another application of classical

---

[141] Since it was considered a fact that only men make good rulers, the exceptional women who ruled nations obviously possessed virago, for example, Queen Elizabeth I in a later period.

[142] Plumb, The Renaissance, pp. 107-111.

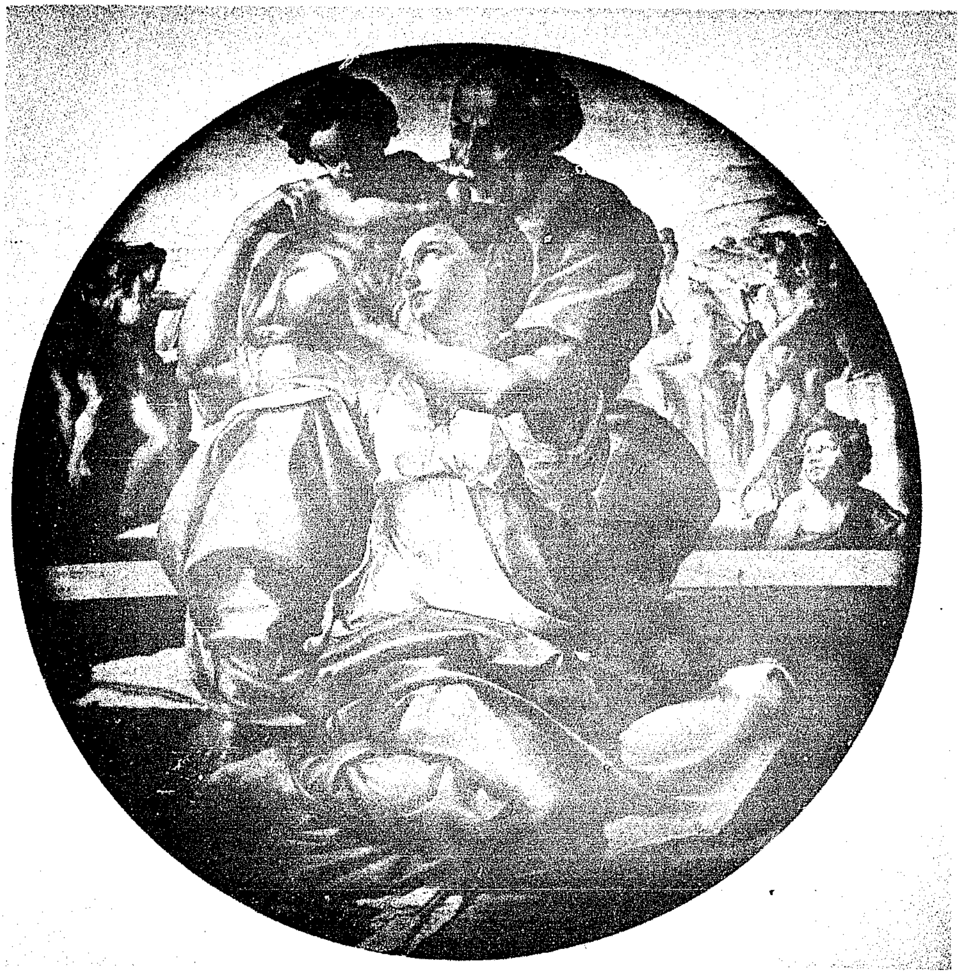


Fig. 111. Michelangelo. Holy Family.

antiquity to the Christian story; the monochromatic boys in the background symbolize the classical ideal state of man.[143]

Michelangelo owed much to Masaccio by way of inspiration and he was reported to have spent much time studying the Masaccio nude figures of Adam and Eve (Figure 74), but Michelangelo goes far beyond Masaccio in the musculature and in the convolution of his figures on their own axes. Michelangelo's use of "contraposto" expresses the High Renaissance ideal of movement. Contraposto is the combination of two opposing movements in a single attitude which produces tension in the figure.[144] It is energy waiting to be released. It is the humanistic expression of love.

Titian (1477-1576)

Until 1500, the Renaissance art movement had developed in central Italy with Florence as its center. With the rebuilding of Rome, the Papacy began to attract the great artistic geniuses to St. Peter's Cathedral. In Venice in the meantime, Georgione and his pupil, Titian, were creating a High Renaissance of art that showed an Oriental influence, while at the same time Titian worked in the Florentine Mannerist style.

Titian's "Venus of the Sea" (Figure 112), who is shown standing thigh-high in water, is only a distant relative to Botticelli's

---

[143] Goldstein, Lecture, 21 November 1980.

[144] Smart, The Renaissance and Mannerism in Italy, p. 109.

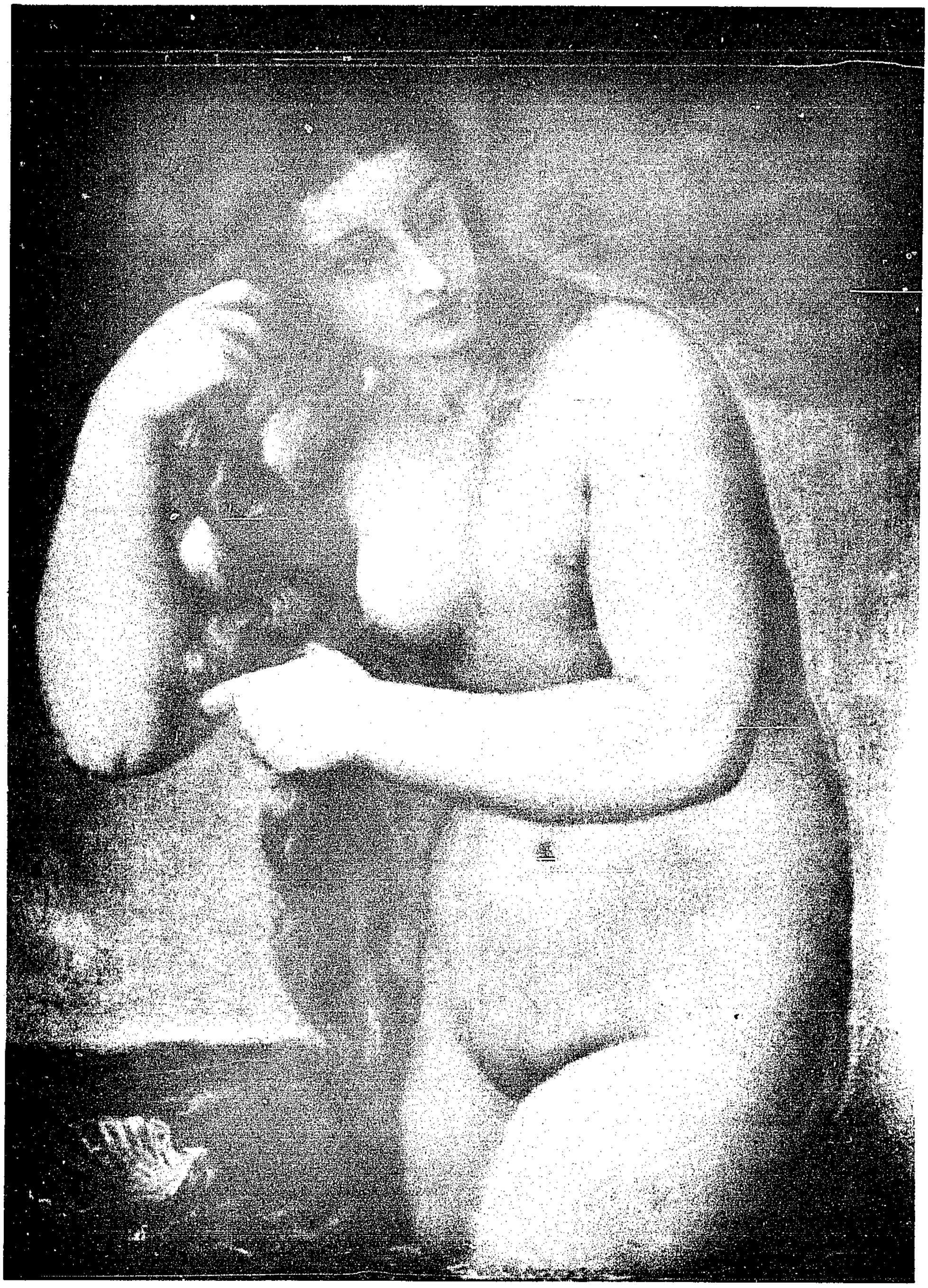


Fig. 112. Titian. Venus of the Sea.

"Venus Emerging from the Sea" (Figure 88). Botticelli's Venus was a virginal Venus with a nude body that reflected purity and intellectual innocence. Titian's Venus is a sensual and voluptuous courtesan wringing dry her long brown hair. Where Botticelli's Venus appears self-conscious, Titian's Venus seems quite aware of self. The small shell afloat on the water has virtually lost its meaning. Without it, there is no Venus, only a woman. Botticelli's Venus modestly drapes her long tresses to hide her pubic hair, but Titian's Venus is audaciously enticing. The Titian Venus is a tribute to the sixteenth-century concept of feminine beauty, a woman who was born for sensual love. The Botticelli Venus is the fifteenth-century Florentine ideal of feminine beauty: pale, elongated, somewhat detached and ethereal.

Titian's "Sacred and Profane Love," also called "Artless and Sated Love" is an iconography of the sixteenth-century interpretation of that physical and spiritual love concept promulgated by Marsillio Ficino (Figure 113). The clothed female figure with gloved hand represents the profane, the physical, the sensual love. She is in her earthly finery while the female nude, superior in attitude, represents spiritual love and virginal beauty. This painting shows how Renaissance man begins by accepting the pleasures of sensual love in the beauty of a particular woman and then finds himself uplifted to divine love and ideal universal beauty.

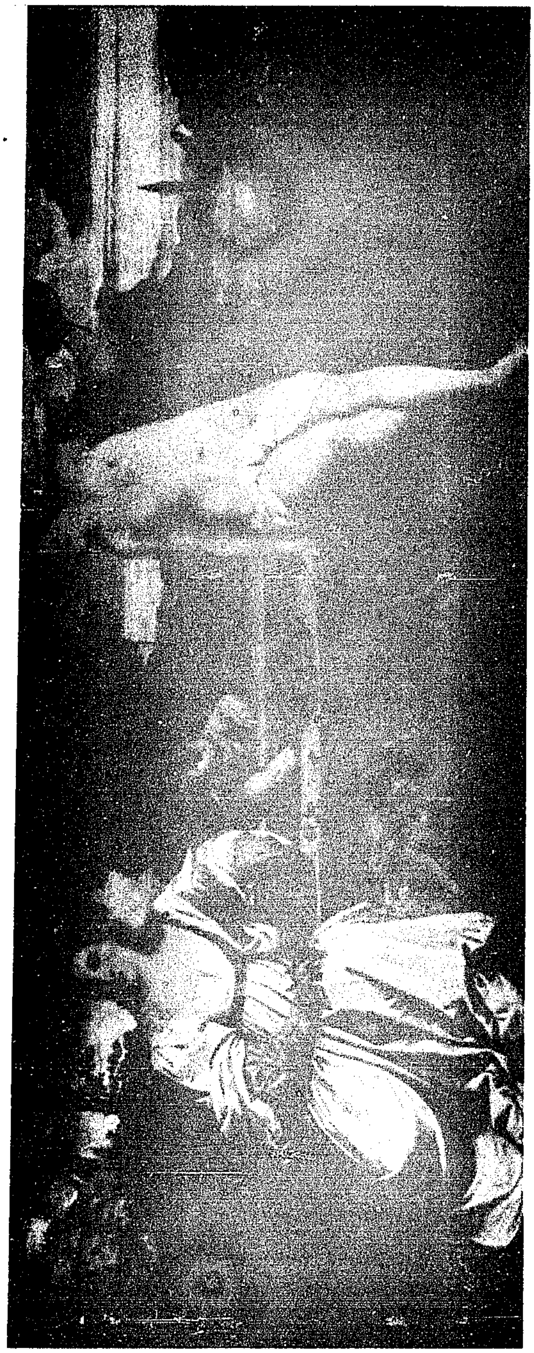


Fig. 113. Titian. Sacred and Profane Love.

Abstract Idealism-Humanistic Idealism, Teacher-Mother, Christian-Pagan

The Florentine Renaissance is considered to be the most brilliant and most artistically creative age in the history of mankind. The Florentine Renaissance was also an age of villainy. Inconceivable brutality existed side by side with genius. Great mansions loomed over the poverty of odoriferous city slums. Philosophers eulogized about love and beauty while lesser poets told crude tales of bawdiness and sex. It was an age of the double standard when a mistress was a necessary status symbol for a gentleman and illegitimate children were the rule, not the exception.[145]

The glorification of women was infused with condescension. A woman was not important for herself as an individual human being but for what she could do for her lover and what she could bring to the matrimonial alliance.[146] It was the rare and wealthy woman who could win freedom enough to express her own individuality and feel equal to all men.

Yet, the Florentine Renaissance was an age out of which bloomed a higher meaning of love than merely carnal knowledge. This was also an age in which a doctrine of good manners developed as a necessary tool for good business and interpersonal relations. The Florentine Renaissance was the age in which the iconography of

---

[145] Marek, The Bed and the Throne, p. 34.

[146] Ibid., p. 9.

woman was humanized. Mary, the majestic Queen of Heaven, became the suffering mother of Jesus and Venus, the goddess of classical antiquity, taught Renaissance man the eternal secrets of divine love.[147]

---

[147] Henry Anatole Grunwald, "Andre Malraux: The Gods in Art," Horizon, November 1958, p. 113.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The drama of the early and middle Renaissance took place primarily in the city-state of Florence in the province of Tuscany. There was a general shift from a belief in a theocentric universe to an exploration of an anthropocentric universe. The changing ideas resulted in the changing symbolic forms of woman.

During this period, the Florentine Renaissance man was the protagonist. Much is known about him, but there is little of substance that is known about the Florentine Renaissance woman. What is known about her comes partly through the literature and paintings created by the Florentine Renaissance man. The discovery of the 1427 census of Florence reveals some additional and surprising information from which we can surmise what the status of women was. Francesco di Marco Datini, the fourteenth century Tuscan merchant, also left some worthwhile inventory lists and letters that are invaluable to our understanding of the times. What is known, however, is that even though the Florentine Renaissance society was solidly male oriented, the culture of the age was fashioned to the tastes of the Florentine Renaissance woman. She was responsible for the eventual new breed of Renaissance gentleman.

It seems that all the appropriate stimuli coincided to produce the most creative age known to western civilization. The cult of the clan and the need of the famiglias to make others aware of their greatness attracted the most talented and creative young men of the period to Florence. Novelty, wealth and genius comprised the formula that stimulated the humanistic philosophy and the introduction of the empirical method. The iconographies of woman reflected this formula as the female morphology became emotionally finite and tactile.

In reality, the male heads of the 10 wealthiest families of Florence were in control of the city-state. Their aesthetic tastes were expressed in the art, architecture and literature of the Florentine Renaissance. As the patronage of the patriciate guilds died, the patronage of these great families supported the beautification and education of Florence. The artistic manifestations commemorated their Christian-humanistic philosophy. The understanding of this historical era, spanning 250 years, is limited by the predominating visibility, power and wealth of these few families.

From about 1300 to 1550, the iconographies of woman evolved from abstract idealism to humanistic idealism. There was little realism in the art of that age even though the renditions of the early Florentine Renaissance were met with approval by the masses. The Florentine art of the neo-Platonists, however, became more private and elite, but still remained humanistic. The artists throughout the period depicted woman as larger than life. Whether metaphysical or humanistic in philosophy, the paintings were idealistic.

The roles of the sexes in the Florentine Renaissance period remained traditional. The male roles were public, professional and financial leadership roles. The female roles were teacher and mother. Iconographies, as personifications of abstract ideas, adopted the roles allotted to the sexes by the Florentine culture and the roles were acted out according to the philosophy of that age. During the early Florentine Renaissance, the female iconographies were distinguishable and personified different abstractions. Only towards the middle cinquecento did the iconographies become blurred and plainly erotic.

Disease, famine and death haunted the daily life of Renaissance man. He was an urban man, a busy banker or merchant, sophisticated and internationally influential. He was egotistical and had pride in his city, his family and his possessions. He believed that the greatness of ancient Rome was his legacy.

As with men who had gone before him, the Florentine Renaissance man's destiny was to come to terms with his mortality. He sought to conquer the unknown through empirical inquiry and mathematics instead of with a synthesis of faith and reason as man had tried in the medieval period. He came to terms with his mortality through the establishment of patrilinear famiglias and he found the image of eternal life through portraiture.

It was the destiny of the Florentine Renaissance woman to be alluring in appearance and to be the receptacle of her husband's seed, thereby perpetuating the patrilineage. The Renaissance woman's silhouette was reminiscent of the Minoan Snake Goddess (Compare Figure 7 with Figure 22). The clothing exposed the breasts and kept the legs in seclusion. Much emphasis was placed upon the visibility of the breasts and the invisibility of the female form from the waist downward. Florentine Renaissance man seemed to be preoccupied with the breasts as if they were the source of his very being. Even writers extolled the virtues of breast feeding. In art, one exposed breast signified motherhood (Figure 15) while both breasts exposed signified prostitution (Figure 37).

Teacher: Eve and Venus

In order to become a responsible man, the child is forced by nature to leave the paradise of his maternal matrix. Florentine Renaissance man was born in the city and he had to learn to deal with the complex problems of city survival. He also fantasized about the simpler, bucolic life. Woman had the role of helping man adjust to the realities of life. The task of taming and training man for civilization was left to woman. She taught him how to wear clothes, how to eat food and how to get along with his fellow men. A complaint of the Christian leaders of the Florentine Renaissance was that mothers spoiled their sons and sissified them by teaching them good manners. With knowledge came responsibility.

Masaccio shocked the world by personifying the teacher and the pupil in the nude, but this was a literal interpretation of the

Bible according to humanistic concepts (Figure 70). There is human emotion expressed in the slumped shoulders of Adam and the wailing mouth of Eve. God made Eve the instrument of man's knowledge. God expelled Adam from the maternal matrix, but it was Eve who taught man how to survive. By gaining knowledge, however, he also had to learn how to labor.

At the time of the Florentine Renaissance, the Adam and Eve legend was still given the interpretation of the Church Fathers. Eve was sinful because she caused the fall of man. As Adam and Eve were parents of the human race, so too, Masaccio's couple were the parents of all succeeding painted Renaissance nudes.

For the first time since before the Middle Ages human nude bodies were painted with sexual distinction. Neither one is androgynous, nor are the reproductive organs inoffensively covered by clothing. The seat of passion had been exposed. The interest in human anatomy was sparked. Although the male anatomy was studied as if there were an interaction of blood, flesh, and bones, the female anatomy was depicted for its spiritual value.

Botticelli's"Venus Emerging from the Sea"(Figure 88) developed physically since Masaccio's Eve had first seen the light of day, but even Botticelli's Venus is physically disproportioned and anatomically improbable. There is no hint of skeletal structure beneath the flesh; the body is elongated and the arms are disproportionately long; the body appears weightless as it is delicately balanced on tiny feet. The weight of the hair alone would be enough to throw back her head and break her neck. But she is a wonder of wonders. She is the best teacher iconography of the Florentine Renaissance. Here is Botticelli's Venus at the very moment when Renaissance man is at the height of his era and at his most brilliant and virile self.

Botticelli's Venus is related to her classical sister in that Botticelli was only interested in the surface of the female body and in conveying a sensual message. She appears soft and smooth to the touch and therefore enticing. She is modest: her glance is averted and she innocently awaits to be clothed with a flowered robe. The viewer's eyes are bombarded with stimulating sights and textures and the cool sea breezes feel moist against the bare skin. Botticelli's Venus invites the observer to touch, but not to use.

Eve took man out of the land of ignorance and gave him mundane knowledge. Botticelli's Venus Emerging from the Sea took the knowledgeable, sophisticated humanist and gave him a taste of spiritual eternity. She gave him carnal love that was a religious experience.

Botticelli's Venus expressed the essence of Ficino's Platonic Academy. Through her, Botticelli expressed the emotions of man's soul under the spell of love. Nothing further could be said on the subject. In time, the teacher iconography lost her purity and innocence. She became Titian's Venus of the Sea, sensuous and voluptuous (Figure 112). Titian's Venus had the ability to transport men to heaven, but she also reminded him that good times were to be had right here on earth. The background is sparse and the viewer is forced to concentrate on the symbolic shell, the hair and the broad hips. She is the naked courtesan of the Renaissance.

Titian would have been well acquainted with courtesans since they were abundant in the port city of Venice. The courtesan was the real flesh and bones teacher of Renaissance man. She dressed seductively in the height of fashion. She was a showy, beautiful and tangible status symbol. She was well-educated and entertaining. The courtesan lost value as a teacher and a status symbol in the middle of the sixteenth century at the very same time that the iconographies of women lost clarity and became earthy and erotic and even pornographic.

Mother: Mary and Venus

The state of Renaissance human relationships give credence to the theory that biological parenting may come naturally, but psychological parenting is learned. Because of the tremendous waste of human lives and the high mortality rate among children, it would have been emotionally hazardous for adults to form a strong and permanent bond between the parent and child. As for the son, he knew his father hardly at all while a youth and his young mother was more of an older playmate than she was a parent. Then, too, the probabilities were strong that his mother would have died before he reached adulthood.

The young male of the Florentine Renaissance had little opportunity to know or understand women, much less to experience love or to create an emotional bond with anyone. Under the circumstances, it is not surprising that homosexuality was prevalent. The boy must have been emotionally isolated. It is no wonder that woman seemed mysterious and inferior at the same time. This created an opportune condition for the cult of the Virgin Mary.

To the male adult, his mother must have been the goddess of his childhood who gave him life and acted as a mediary between himself and his distant father. His mother would be like no other woman. Since he could not envision his mother committing a sexual act, she would have been to him a virgin made fruitful by God. She would have been morally superior and spiritually strong. She was a protectress (Figure 76). She was the enthroned Madonna, majestic and larger than life (Figure 68). She was the abstract ideal of womanhood.

Technically, the humanization of the mother iconography could never have been executed without the discovery of perspective. Man became the reference point by which all other things were measured. When man made space relative to himself, Mary came in from outer space. Before this discovery, the image of Mary was placed against a two-dimensional gold leaf background (Figure 59). Her point of reference was immaterial. She was the image of a demigoddess who was venerated and the gold leaf was her ethereal radiance.

Metaphysically, the external nature of the painting was an imitation of the essential nature of reality. Reality was the abstract essence of the supernatural. The two-dimensional Italo-Byzantine icons were only images of the Virgin even though they possessed the essence and power of the Virgin herself. The Virgin was in heaven and nothing on earth could make her materialize.

The illusion of three-dimensional space was accomplished through the use of mathematical perspective. A two-dimensional surface became a stage set for the performance of a drama. The setting told the observer the time, place and circumstance. The scenery is earthly, not heavenly. The architecture and landscape are familiar to the audience who can relate to the action. In Perugino's"Adoration of the Magi"(Figure 103) all the players except for Mary are painted with individual human features. Mary came down from heaven to be among the mortals of the Renaissance. Here art became a spiritual reality, not merely an imitation. Through the interaction of the subjects, the artist gave the painting a life of its own.

In the"Primavera"(Figure 91), Botticelli's pagan Venus is the Earth Goddess who symbolizes Christian love. Here, too, the action takes place on a stage set. Life is renewing itself and Jesus is resurrected. Here, Venus, clothed, is pure and the giver of divine love. Mary is further humanized by coming in the guise of Venus.

Raphael's"Madonna del Granduca"is the loveliest of all Madonnas (Figure 109). She is the iconography of the universal, idealized, Florentine mother. She is spiritual, yet she is human. She is the young mother of every Florentine Renaissance man. She is enveloped in warm darkness which enhances her fine Florentine features. She does not possess ethereal radiance, but rather a warm, inner glow.

Implications for Today

After the Florentine Renaissance, the iconography of woman became plainly erotic. It became more sentimental and rapacious. Artists discovered the sensuality of light and how to paint it. They made the source of light come from inside the painting to show greater contrasts of light and dark. They let it play and glow upon the soft skin of woman. The distinguishing iconographies of the Florentine Renaissance seemed to fade and in their places appeared an iconography of woman as prey. The investigation of the iconography of woman after 1550 in Italy is beyond the scope of this study, but there are indications that the iconography deteriorated further.

The Renaissance Age,which began by questioning life and finding it precious, serves as the foundation upon which the present age of high technology has been built. The iconography of the Florentine Renaissance depended upon the painter's brush and the sculptor's chisel to give it form. To these tools, the present age has added photography, motion pictures,and television. Although the contemporary technology has advanced positively, the iconography which is produced by these advanced media has become a major cause for concern. Today the public is being assaulted by pornographic iconography in all media. If iconography is a set of symbolic forms which combine to personify a specific idea, what does the pornographic iconography of woman produced by the media of photography, motion pictures and television mean? How is man looking at his universe today? What is the information he is trying to convey?

In principle, Florentine Renaissance man was interested in the divine spirit of woman and what good she could do for his soul. Today, there are flesh and blood women posing as subjects in the production of pornographic iconography. There is no artist's sketch which interprets a message for us; what is seen is a real person, a female in motion consenting to the outrageous liberties that are taken with her body. Pornography personifies violence against women in the most degrading and demeaning forms imaginable. It personifies man's anger against woman. Could this anger be caused by intimidation?

Until the present time, man was secure in the knowledge that he had supremacy over woman. Old beliefs about male dominance were guaranteed truths that were transmitted from generation to generation. The biological determinism of women was the basis for generating the rationale that kept her within the confines of the iconographic parameters of teacher and mother. These metaphors were socially solidified by male self-interest and accepted as self-limiting by women. Woman's primary function was biological motherhood.

The technology that is being used to produce pornographic iconography today is the same technology that is changing the function of women in today's society. Woman's biological motherhood is no longer the major reason for her existence. Woman's body is no longer a mystery and has lost its magic as a reproductive machine. Thanks to modern medicine, woman does not need to be in a constant state of pregnancy in order to perpetuate the human race. In addition, the Church Fathers' concept of original sin has lost its stigma.

The roles of man and woman should be undergoing a process of reciprocity and this would be a cause for great upheaval in our lives. The man who lacks self-confidence in his sexual identity would be intimidated by the woman who attempts to crash the limits of her traditional parameters. The woman who feels too insecure to select from the new options presented to her is an unwitting accomplice in creating the pornographic iconography by submitting to indignities.

As biological determinism becomes less of a factor in role assignment, both men and women may gain greater confidence in themselves and each other. The iconography of woman may become that of companion and personify the idea of a union of equals. Instead of the iconography of mother, there will be a personification of shared parenthood. The parent-companion iconography will personify the concept of man and woman learning sublime truths from one another. The personification will represent equality and growth between the sexes--a union of equals.

Recommendations for Further Research

A. The concept of fashion began with the Florentine Renaissance. International communication and sumptuary laws were but two causes for the acceleration of fashion change. Fashion change as well as the socio-psychological attitudes of a period are reflected in the iconography of woman.

It is recommended that studies be made of dress and nudity in the iconography of woman in the periods between 1550 and the present. The neo-classic, impressionistic, and expressionistic periods would be especially apropos.

B. Contemporary life has changed drastically since World War II. We have now entered the Information Age with the transmission of digital data by satellite communication systems. There is no doubt that the Information Age will alter the iconography of woman as well.

It is recommended that a study be made to show what the effects of the Information Age has or will have on the iconography of woman.

C. This study has discovered two distinct and traditional iconographies of woman for the Florentine Renaissance period.

It is recommended that a similar study be made to discover what were the iconographies of man during the Florentine Renaissance period.

D. There is also a third iconography of woman, the lover, in the Florentine Renaissance period. At first, portraiture depicted the wives of men in high places; later portraits depicted mistresses of art patrons or the artists themselves.

It is recommended that a study be made of portraiture in the Florentine and High Renaissance to investigate the significance of the lover iconography.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Literary and Scriptural Works

Aristotle. Nicomachean Ethics. Translated by Martin Ostwald. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1962.

Aristotle's Poetics. Translated by Preston H. Epps. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1942.

Baumer, Franklin Le van, ed. Main Currents of Western Thought. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978.

Boccaccio, Giovanni. The Most Pleasant and Delectable Questions of Love (Filocolo). Translated March 1566 by "H.G.": Henry Grantham or Humphey Gifford. Revised by Thomas Bell. Garden City, New York: Halcyon House, n.d.

Burckhardt, Jacob. Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien: Ein Versuch. Stuttgart: Alfred Kroener Verlag, 1976.

Burckhardt, Jacob. The Civilization of the Renaissance Italy. Edited and abridged by Alexander Dru. New York: Washington Square Press, 1966.

Carlsen, G. Robert, ed. Western Literature: Themes and Writers. St. Louis: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1967.

Castiglione, Baldassare. The Courtier (Il Cortegiano). Translated 1561 by Sir Thomas Hoby. The National Alumni, 1907.

Castiglione, Baldesar. The Book of the Cortier, 1528. Translated by Leonard Eckstein Opdycke. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903.

Cellini, Benvenuto. Autobiography. Translated by Spencer Press. Reading, Pa.: The Spencer Press, 1936.

Cellini, Benvenuto. Autobiography. Translated by John Addington Symonds. New York: The Modern Library, n.d. (before Jan. 1929).

Cervantes, Miguel de. Don Quixote. New York: The Modern Library, 1930.

Dante's Divine Comedy. Commentary by Sergio Samek-Ludovici, narration by Nino Ravenna, translated by Peter J. Tallo. From illuminated manuscript of the fifteenth century. New York: Crown Publishers, 1979.

Downs, Norton, ed. Basic Documents in Medieval History. Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1959.

Erikson, Erik H. Young Man Luther: A Study in Psychoanalysis and History. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1962.

Farrington, Margaret Vere. Fra Lippo Lippi: A Romance. New York: G. P. Putnam, 1890.

Feagles, Anita. He Who Saw Everything: The Epic of Gilgamesh. New York: Young Scott Books, 1966.

St. Francis of Assisi. The Little Flowers. Translated by Abby Langdon Alger. Chicago: The Great Books Foundation, 1956.

Freud, Sigmund. Leonardo da Vinci: A Study in Psychosexuality. Translated by A. A. Brill. New York: Random House, 1947.

Fromm, Eric. The Forgotten Language. New York: Grove Press, 1957.

Grene, David, and Lattimore, Richmond. Greek Tragedies. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960.

The Holy Bible. King James Version. New York: Carroll Good, n.d.

Homer. The Odyssey. Translated by Theodore Alvis Buckley. New York: Arthur Hinds & Company, 1892.

Homer. The Story of Odysseus. Translated by W. H. D. Rouse. New York: Modern Age Books, 1937.

Homer. The Odyssey. Translated by E. V. Rieu. New York: Penguin Books, 1947.

Homer. The Odyssey. Translated by Robert Fitzgerald. Garden City: Doubleday & Company, 1963.

Knoles, George H., and Snyder, Rixford K. Readings in Western Civilization. Chicago: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1951.

Laymon, Charles M., ed. The Interpreter's One Volume Commentary on the Bible. Nashville: Abington Press, 1971.

Levin, Richard. *Tragedy: Plays, Theory and Criticism*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1960.

Lucretius. *Concerning the Nature of Things, Books I-IV*. Chicago: The Great Books Foundation, 1949.

Machiavelli, Niccolo. *The Prince*. Translated by Luigi Ricci. Revised by E. R. P. Vincent. New York: The New American Library, 1957.

Origo, Iris. *The Merchant of Prato, Francesco di Marco Datini*. Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1979.

Peck, Ira. *The Life and Words of St. Francis of Assisi*. New York: Scholastic Book Services, 1973.

Plato. *Great Dialogues*. Translated by W. H. D. Rouse. Edited by Eric H. Warmington and Philip G. Rouse. New York: The New American Library, 1963.

Plato. *The Republic*. Translated by Francis MacDonald Cornford. New York: Oxford University Press, 1952.

Plato. *The Republic*. Translated by B. Jowett. New York: Alfred Knopf, n.d.

Plato. *Timaeus*. Translated by Francis M. Cornford. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1959.

Plato. *The Trial and Death of Socrates*. Translated by F. J. Church. London: Macmillan and Company, 1892.

Plaut, W. Gunther. *The Torah, Genesis: A Modern Commentary*. New York: Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1974.

Sandars, N. K. *The Epic of Gilgamesh*. Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1960; reprinted 1979.

Schuster, M. Lincoln, ed. *The World's Great Letters*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1940.

Stone, Irving. *The Agony and the Ecstasy*. Garden City: Doubleday & Company, 1961.

St. Thomas Aquinas. *On Man*. Translated by Father Laurence Shapcote, O.P. Revised by Anton C. Pegis, 1911. Chicago: The Great Books Foundation, 1956.

Tuchman, Barbara W. A Distant Mirror: The Calamitous Fourteenth Century. New York: Ballentine Books, 1979.

Vasari, Giorgio. Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors and Architects. Translated by Gaston Du C. de Vere. Introduction by Kenneth Clark. Annotated by Michael Sonino. 3 vols. Translation of the 1568 ed. of Le vite de' piu eccellenti pittori, scultori e architetti. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1979.

Veblen, Thorstein. The Theory of the Leisure Class. New York: The New American Library, 1953.

Virgil. Aeneid. Translated by Fredrick Holland Dewey. New York: Translation Publishing Company, 1917.

Weinstein, Donald, ed. The Renaissance and the Reformation, 1300-1600. New York: The Free Press, 1965.

Fashion, Clothing and Textiles-Books

Bigelow, Marybelle S. Fashion in History: Western Dress, Prehistoric to the Present. Minneapolis: Burgess Publishing Company, 1979.

Bradley, Carolyn G. Western World Costume: An Outline History. New York: Appleton-Century Crofts, 1954.

Braun and Schneider. Historic Costume in Pictures. New York: Dover Publications, 1975.

Dorner, Jane. Fashion: The Changing Shape of Fashion Through the Years. London: Octopus Books, 1974.

Hill, Margot Hamilton and Bucknell, Peter A. The Evolution of Fashion: Pattern and Cut from 1066-1930. New York: Reinhold Publishing Company, 1967.

Hollender, Anne. Seeing Through Clothes. New York: Viking Press, 1978.

Koehler, Carl. A History of Costume. Edited by Emma von Sichart. Translated by Alexander K. Dallas. New York: Dover Publications, 1963.

Kybalova, Ludmila; Herbenova, Olga; and Lamarova, Milena. The Pictorial Encyclopedia of Fashion. Translated by Claudia Rosoux. New York: Crown Publishing Company, 1968.

Lang, Kurt, and Lang, Gladys. Collective Dynamics. New York: Thomas Crowell Company, 1961.

Northrup, Bell. A Short Description of Historic Fashion. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1925.

Northrup, Bell. The Story of Costume Told in Pictures. New York: Art Education Press, 1935.

Payne, Blanche. History of Costume from the Ancient Egyptians to the Twentieth Century. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1956.

Rudofsky, Bernard. The Unfashionable Human Body. Garden City: Anchor Press, 1974.

Santangelo, Antonio. Great Italian Textiles. New York: Harry Abrams, Inc., n.d.

Vecellio, Cesare. Vecellio's Renaissance Costume Book. New York: Dover Publications, 1977.

Waugh, Norah. Corsets and Crinolines. London: B. T. Batsfield, Ltd., 1954.

Wilcox, R. Turner. The Dictionary of Costume. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1961.

Wilcox, R. Turner. Five Centuries of American Costume. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1963.

Yarwood, Doreen. European Costume: 4000 Years. New York: Larousse and Company, 1975.

Art - Books

Amaducci, Alberto B. The Branacci Chapel and the Art of Masaccio translated by Paul Blanchard. Firenze: Instituto Fotografico Editoriale, 1978.

Bacou, Roseline and Viatte, Francoise. Italian Renaissance Paintings from the Musee du Louvre, Paris: Roman, Tuscan, and Emilian Schools, 1500-1575. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1974.

Bacou, Roseline and Viatte, Francoise. Italian Renaissance Drawings from the Musee du Louvre, Paris. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1974.

Baetjer, Katharine. *European Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art by Artists Born in or before 1865: A Summary Catalogue.* 3 vols. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980.

Berenson, Bernhard. *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance.* 2 vols. London: Phaidon Press, 1957.

Boardman, John. *Greek Art.* New York: Frederick A. Praeagor, 1964.

Briguet, M. F. *Etruscan Art, Tarquinia Frescoes.* New York: Tudor Publishing Company, 1961.

Canaday, John. *Michelangelo.* New York: Crown Publishers, 1979.

Carli, Enzo. *Giotto.* Milano-Firenze: Electa Editrice, 1952.

Chase, Alice Elizabeth. *Famous Artists of the Past.* New York: Platt & Munk, 1964.

Chastel, Andre, ed. *The Genius of Leonardo da Vinci: Leonardo da Vinci on Art and the Artist.* Translated by Ellen Callman. New York: The Orion Press, 1961.

Chierichetti, Sandro. *Siena: Its Art, Its Palio.* Translated by Studio Sandona. Siena: Italo Romboni, 1980.

Cianchetta, Romeo. *Assisi: Art and History in the Centuries.* Narni-Terni: Plurigrof, 1978.

Craven, Thomas. *Greek Art.* New York: Pocket Books, 1950.

Didron, Adolphe Napolean. *Christian Iconography: The History of Christian Art in the Middle Ages.* Vols. 1 and 2. Translated by E. J. Millington. New York: Frederick Ungar Pub. Co., 1968.

Di Marco, Liana. *Spoleto: Arte e Storia.* Narni-Terni: Plurigrof, 1980.

Ducati, Pericle. *L'Arte Classica.* Torinese: Tipografico - Editrice, 1952.

Edman, Irwin. *Arts and the Man.* New York: New American Library, 1939.

Ettlinger, L. D., and Ettlinger, Helen S. *Botticelli.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1977.

Fine, Elsa Honig. Women and Art. Montclair, New Jersey: Allanheld and Schram/Prior, 1978.

Freedberg, Sydney J. The Metropolitan Museum of Art Miniatures: Raphael - The Stanza della Segnature in the Vatican, 1508-1511. New York: Book-of-the-Month-Club, 1953.

Giotto. Milan: A. Lucini & Company, 1952.

Gombrich, E. H. The Story of Art. London: Phaidon Press, 1968.

Gombrich, E. H. Symbolic Images: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance. Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1978.

Greer, Germaine. The Obstacle Race. New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1979.

Gurrieri, Ottorino. Perugia: Arte e Storia. Narni-Terni: Plurigrof, 1981.

Harris, Ann Southerland, and Nochlin, Linda. Women Artists: 1550-1950. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976.

Hess, Thomas B., and Baker, Elizabeth C. Art and Sexual Politics. New York: Collier MacMillan Publishers, 1973.

Illustrated Handbook: Museum of Fine Arts. Boston: The Museum of Fine Arts, 1975.

Langer, Susanne K. Feeling and Form: A Theory of Art Developed from Philosophy in a New Key. New York: Scribner's Sons, 1953.

Lenzini, Margherita, and Micheletti, Emma. The Uffizi. Firenze: Bonechi-Edizione, 1980.

Lusini, Also. The Cathedral of Siena. Siena: Editrice Tipografia ex Cooperativa, 1950.

Mario, Romboni. Siena, Town of Art. Narni-Terni: Plurigrof, 1981.

Maxon, John. The Art Institute of Chicago. New York: N. Abrams, 1970.

Micheletti, Emma. Masterpieces of Pitti Palace. Translated by Peter W. Denzer. Firenze: Bonechi Editore, 1981.

Munsterberg, Hugo. *A History of Women Artists*. New York: Clarkson N. Potter, 1975.

Nickel, Helmut. *The Art of Chivalry*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, n.d.

Onieva, Antonio J. *A New Complete Guide to the Prado Gallery*. Translated by Patricia May O'Neilly. Revised by Myriam Finkelman. Madrid: Editorial Mayfe, 1966.

Paintings from the Kress Collection, National Gallery of Art. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institute, 1945.

Petersen, Karen, and Wilson, J. J. *Women Artists: Recognition and Reappraisal from the Early Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century*. New York: Harper and Row, 1976.

Pope-Hennessy, John. *Piero della Francesca*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1954.

Preliminary Catalogue of Painting and Sculpture, National Gallery of Art. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institute, 1941.

Ragg, Laura Marie. *Women Artists of Bologna*. London: Methuen, 1907.

Riley, Olive L. *Your Art Heritage*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1952.

Robb, David M., and Garrison, J. J. *Art in the Western World*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1942.

Sachs, Paul J. *The Pocketbook of Great Drawings*. New York: Pocket Books, 1951.

Salmi, Mario. *Luca Signorelli*. Firenze: Fratelli Alinari, 1927.

The Samuel H. Kress Collection. Raleigh: North Carolina Museum of Art, n.d.

Scherer, Margaret R. *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Miniatures: Michelangelo, 1475-1564*. New York: Book-of-the-Month-Club, 1953.

Shapley, Fern Rusk. *Early Italian Painting in The National Gallery of Art*. Washington, D.C.: The Beck Engraving Company, 1960.

Shapley, Fern Rusk. *Later Italian Painting in The National Gallery of Art*. Washington, D.C.: The Beck Engraving Company, 1969.

Sloane, Joseph C. *The William Hayes Ackland Memorial Arts Center: An Introduction to the Collection*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1958-1962.

Smart, Alastair. *The Renaissance and Mannerism in Italy*. London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1971.

Smart, Ted, and Gibbon, David. *Art Masterpieces of Florence*. New York: Crescent Books, 1979.

Smart, Ted, and Gibbon, David. *Art Masterpieces of The Louvre*. New York: Crescent Books, 1979.

Smart, Ted, and Gibbon, David. *Art Masterpieces in The National Gallery of London*. New York: Crescent Books, 1978.

Smart, Ted, and Gibbon, David. *Art Masterpieces of the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.* New York: Crescent Books, 1979.

Smart, Ted, and Gibbon, David. *Art Masterpieces of the Prado, Madrid*. New York: Crescent Books, 1978.

Sparrow, Walter Shaw. *Women Painters of the World*. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1905.

Standen, Edith Appleton. *Great European Portraits*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1953.

Standen, Edith Appleton. *Great Landscapes*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1954.

Standen, Edith Appleton. *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Miniatures: Women Artists*. New York: Book-of-the-Month Club, 1956.

Stanford, Charles W. *Masterpieces in the North Carolina Museum of Art*. Raleigh: North Carolina Museum of Art, 1972.

Stites, Raymond S. *The Arts and Man*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1940.

Tufts, Eleanor. *Our Hidden Heritage*. New York: Paddington Press, 1974.

Upjohn, Everard M.; Wingert, Paul S.; and Mahler, Jane Gaston. *History of World Art*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1949.

Vantaggi, Rosella. *Encounter with San Gimignano and Its Beautiful Towers*. Narni-Terni: Plurigrof, 1981.

Venturi, Lionello. *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Miniatures: Titian 1477?-1516*. New York: Book-of-the-Month Club, 1954.

Wechsler, Herman J., ed. *The Pocket Book of Old Masters*. New York: Pocket Books, 1949.

Weitz, Morris. *Problems in Aesthetics: An Introductory Book of Readings*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1959.

Zeri, Federico, and Gardner, Elizabeth E. *Italian Paintings: Florentine School*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1971.

Historical, Legal, Philosophical, Social - Books

Alexander, Sidney. *Lions and Foxes: Men and Ideas of the Italian Renaissance*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1974.

Bainton, Roland H. *Women of the Reformation in Germany and Italy*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1971.

Barfucci, Enrico. *How to Know Florence*. Edited by A. Arnaud. Translated by Hilda M. R. Cox. Firenze: Azienda Libraria Editoriale,1952.

Barzun, Jacques, and Graff, Henry R. *The Modern Researcher*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1977.

Bell, Susan Groag, ed. *Women: From the Greeks to the French Revolution*. Belmont, Cal.: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1973.

Bernardo, Aldo S. *Petrarch, Laura, and the Triumphs*. Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1974.

Bogardus, Emory S. *The Development of Social Thought*. Toronto: Longmans, Green and Company, 1947.

Bondanella, Peter, and Bondanella, Musa. *The Portable Machiavelli*. New York: Penguin Books, 1979.

Boulding, Elise. *The Underside of History*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1976.

Breasted, James Henry. *Ancient Times*. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1944.

Cassirer, Ernst; Kristeller, Paul Oskar; and Randall, John Herman, Jr.; eds. *The Renaissance Philosophy of Man*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1956.

Cartwright, Julia. *The Perfect Courtier: Baldassere Castilione*, 2 vols. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1927.

Chodorow, Stanley, ed. *The Other Side of Western Civilization: Readings in Everyday Life, The Ancient World to the Reformation*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1979.

Clark, Kenneth. *Civilization*. New York: Harper & Row, 1969.

Crump, C. G., and Jacob, E. F. *The Legacy of the Middle Ages*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932.

Diner, Helen. *Mothers and Amazons: The First Feminine History of Culture*. New York: Anchor Books, 1973.

Durant, Will. *The Story of Philosophy: The Lives and Opinions of the Greater Philosophers*. New York: Washington Square Press, 1969.

Easton, Stewart C. *A Survey of Ancient, Medieval and Modern History*. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1967.

Eliot, Alexander, et al. *Myths*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1976.

Erikson, Erik H. *Young Man Luther: A Study In Psychoanalysis and History*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1962.

Evans, Robert R., ed. *Readings in Collective Behavior*. Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1969.

Fromm, Erick. *You Shall Be as Gods*. Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett Pub., 1966.

Fuller, B. A. G. *A History of Philosophy*. New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1946.

Gies, Frances, and Gies, Joseph. *Women in the Middle Ages*. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1980.

Grosvenor, Melville Bell, ed. *The Age of Chivalry*. Washington, D.C.: National Geographic Society, 1969.

Hale, J. R. *Florence and the Medici: The Pattern of Control*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1977.

Herlihy, David. The Family in Renaissance Italy. St. Louis: Forum Press, 1977.

Hockett, Homer Cary. The Critical Method in Historical Research and Writing. New York: Macmillan, 1955.

Hogrefe, Pearl. Tudor Women: Commoners and Queens. Ames: The Iowa State University Press, 1975.

Holtby, Winifred. Women and a Changing Civilization. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1935.

Isaacs, Nathan and Radin, Max. Legal Relations. Vol. 6. New York: P. F. Collier and Son Corporation, 1939.

Janeway, Elizabeth. Man's World, Women's Place: A Study in Social Mythology. New York: William Morrow and Company Inc., 1971.

Kelso, Ruth. Doctrine for the Lady of the Renaissance. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1956.

Kemp-Welch, Alice. Of Six Mediaeval Women. Williamstown, Mass.: Corner House Publishers, 1972.

Kendall, Carol, and Staley, Helen K. Trade Guilds that Influenced the Textile Industry of Western Europe: Twelfth through Fourteenth Centuries. Greensboro: University of North Carolina, 1964.

Kent, Francis William. Household and Lineage in Renaissance Florence. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977.

Kiesing, Felix M. Cultural Anthropology. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962.

Kristeller, Paul Oskar. The Philosophy of Marsillio Ficino. Translated by Virginia Conant. New York: Columbia University Press, 1943.

Leprohon, Pierre. Florence. Translated by David Macrae. Geneve: Minerva, S.A., 1978.

Levin, Harry. The Myth of the Golden Age in the Renaissance. New York: Oxford University Press, 1972.

Ludwig, Emil. Genius and Character. Translated by Kenneth Burke. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1927.

Lynes, Russell. The Tastemakers. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954.

Macadam, Alta, ed. Rome and Environs. London and Tonbridge: Ernest Benn, Limited, 1979.

Maclean, Ian. The Renaissance Notion of Woman. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.

Macy, John. The Story of the World's Literature. Garden City: Garden City Publishing Company, 1925.

Marek, George R. The Bed and the Throne. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1976.

Marrou, H. I. A History of Education in Antiquity. Translated by George Lamb. New York: The New American Library, 1956.

Masson, Georgina. Courtesans of the Italian Renaissance. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1975.

Mills, Dorothy. Renaissance and Reformation Times. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1939.

Miskimin, Harry A. The Economy of Later Renaissance Europe: 1400-1600. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.

Neale, J. E. The Age of Catherine de Medici. New York: Harper & Row, 1962.

Palmer, R. R., and Colton, Joel. A History of the Modern World to 1815. New York: Alfred Knopf, 1978.

Pescatello, Ann, ed. Female and Male in Latin American Essays. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1973.

Plumb, J. H. The Renaissance. New York: The American Heritage Publishing Company, 1961.

Pomeroy, Sarah B. Goddesses, Whores, Wives, Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity. New York: Schocken Books, 1975.

Pound, Roscoe. The History and System of the Common Law. New York: P. F. Collier and Son, 1939.

Pound, Roscoe, and Plucknett, Theodore F. T. Readings on the History and System of the Common Law. Rochester: The Lawyers Co-operative Publishing Company, 1927.

Qualben, Lars P. A History of the Christian Church. New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1942.

Rand, Edward Kenneth. Founders of the Middle Ages. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928.

Randall, John Herman. The Making of the Modern Mind. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1940.

Reinhold, Meyer. Greek and Roman Classics. Brooklyn: Barrows Educational Series, 1946.

Rosaldo, Michelle Zimbalist, and Lamphere, Louise, eds. Women, Culture and Society. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1974.

Salmon, Wesley C. The Foundations of Scientific Inference. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1975.

Schoen, Max; Schrickel, H. G.; and Ames, Van Meter. Understanding the World. New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1947.

Sowards, J. Kelly, ed. Makers of the Western Tradition: Portraits from History, vols. 1 and 2. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1975.

Speroni, Charles. Wit and Wisdom of the Italian Renaissance. Berkeley: University of California, 1964.

Staley, Edgcumbe. The Guilds of Florence. London: Methuen & Company, 1906.

Stone, Lawrence. The Family, Sex and Marriage: In England 1500-1800. Abridged Edition. New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1979.

Strayer, Joseph R. On the Medieval Origins of the Modern State. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970.

Thompson, James Westfall, and Johnson, Edgar Nathaniel. Medieval Europe, 300-1500. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1937.

Trinkaus, Charles. The Poet as Philosopher: Petrarch and the Formation of Renaissance Consciousness. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979.

Weinstein, Donald, ed. The Renaissance and the Reformation: 1300-1600. New York: The Free Press, 1965.

Whitfield, J. H. Petrarch and the Renascence. New York: Russell and Russell, 1965.

Willis, F. Roy. Western Civilization: An Urban Perspective. Lexington: D. C. Heath and Company, 1977.

Yates, Frances A. Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975.

Unpublished Sources

Blakemore, Robbie G. "Textile Design as Seen Through Venetian Paintings of the Italian Renaissance, 1425-1500." Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 1966.

Franck, Lavina. University of North Carolina, Greensboro, North Carolina. Lecture Notes on the History of Costume, Spring 1980.

Franck, Lavina. University of North Carolina, Greensboro, North Carolina. Lecture Notes on the History of Textiles, Fall 1979.

Goldstein, Carl. University of North Carolina, Greensboro, North Carolina. Lecture Notes on Italian Renaissance Art, Fall 1980.

The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies, Florence, Italy. "Villa I Tatti." Florence, 1980-81. (Mimeographed.)

Herlihy, David. College in Tuscany and Umbria, Associated Harvard Alumni. Taped Lectures, 6-24 June 1981.

Ledogar, Judith W. Bound Notebook for College in Tuscany and Umbria, Associated Harvard Alumni. 6-24 June 1981.

Ledogar, Judith W. "Why There Were No Great Women Artists of the Italian Renaissance before 1600." Paper submitted to Dr. Carl Goldstein, Department of Art, University of North Carolina at Greensboro, November 1980. (Xeroxed.)

Schantz, Roy. University of North Carolina, Greensboro, North Carolina. Lecture Notes on Women in the Early Renaissance, Directed Reading. Summer 1980.

Smith, Christine. College in Tuscany and Umbria, Associated Harvard Alumni. Taped Lectures, 6-24 June 1981.

Wolfinger, Judith W. "Florentine Painters of the Renaissance." Paper submitted to Dr. Edwin Zigler, Columbia University Fine Arts Tour of Europe, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, Summer 1954. (Typewritten.)

Journals

Art Institute of Chicago. Annual Report. Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1972-73.

Behling, Dorothy U., and Dicky, Lois E. "Haute Couture: A 25-Year Perspective of Fashion Influences, 1900-1925." Home Economics Research Journal 8 (July 1980):428-436.

Deruisseau, L. G. "Dress Fashion of the Italian Renaissance." Ciba Review (January 1939).

Genuth, Abigail. "Women and Exercise: Fatness, Fitness, and Fertility." Radcliffe Quarterly (September 1980):10-12.

Herlihy, David. "The Natural History of Medieval Women." Natural History March 1978, pp. 56-67.

Hillestad, Robert. "Dress: The Underlying Structure of Appearance." The Annual Journal of the Costume Society of America 5 (1980): 117-125.

Kersey, Shirley. "Medieval Education of Girls and Women." Educational Horizons 58 (Summer 1980):188-192.

Skjelver, Mabel R. "The Historical Method for Research in Home Economics." Journal of Home Economics 63 (February 1971): 107-112.

Solomon, Jolane. "What Determines Gender Identity?" Radcliffe Quarterly 66 (March 1980):11-14.

"Venice Between East and West." Ciba Review 3 (January 1940).

Magazines

Canaday, John. "Back to the Nude." Horizon, September 1963, pp. 90-97.

Canaday, John. "Giotto and Duccio." Horizon, Summer 1965, pp. 92-107.

de Franciscis, Alfonso. "Spectacular New Finds Made in Inexhaustible Pompeii." Smithsonian, October 1972.

de Marly, Diana. "The Establishment of Roman Dress in Seventeenth Century Portraiture." The Burlington Magazine, July 1975, pp. 443-451.

de Marly, Diana. "Indecent Exposure." The Connoisseur, January 1981, pp. 1-3.

Editorial. "The History of Costume as an Art-Historical Discipline." The Burlington Magazine, July 1975.

Ellis, William S. "Istanbul: The City That Links Europe and Asia." National Geographic, October 1973, pp. 501-533.

Gelman, David, et al. "Just How the Sexes Differ." Newsweek, May 18, 1981, pp. 72-75, 78, 81, 83.

Grosvenor, Melville Bell. "Homeward with Ulysses." National Geographic, July 1973, pp. 1-39.

Grunwald, Henry Anatole. "Andre Malraux: The Gods in Art." Horizon, November 1958, pp. 4-17, 112-117.

Judge, Joseph. "Minoans and Mycenaeans: Sea Kings of the Aegean." National Geographic, February 1978, pp. 142-185.

Lansdale, Nelson. "Mrs. Gardner's Palace of Paintings." Horizon, July 1959, pp. 26-41.

Liberman, Alexander. "This Fleeting Seduction." Vogue, November 1979, pp. 356-359, 393-396.

MacLeish, Kenneth. "Leonardo da Vinci: A Man for all Ages." National Geographic, September 1977, pp. 296-330.

Marden, Luis. "The Renaissance Lives on in Tuscany." National Geographic, November 1974, pp. 626-659.

Miller, Harry. "The Cobra, India's 'Good Snake'." National Geographic, September 1970, pp. 393-409.

Morris, Ivan. "Marriage in the World of Genji." Asia, 1968, pp. 71-73.

Morse, Robert. "The Frescoes of Thera: Spectacular Finds in Ancient Aegean Rubble." Smithsonian, January 1972, pp. 14-23.

Nochlin, Linda. "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?" Art News, January 1971, pp. 22-39, 67-71.

Origo, Iris. "The Education of Renaissance Man." Horizon, January 1960, pp. 57-73.

Robinson, Dwight E. "The Rule of Fashion Cycles." Horizon, March 1959, pp. 62-68, 113-117.

Sedgwick, John. "The Legacy of Minos." Harvard Magazine, March-April 1977.

Trevor-Roper, H. R. "The Sudden End of The Renaissance." Horizon, September 1959, pp. 28, 29, 120, 121.

Villiers, Alan. "First Voyages Around the World: Magellan." National Geographic, June 1976.

Weaver, Kenneth F. "Athens: Her Golden Past Still Lights the World." National Geographic, July 1963, pp. 100-137.

Wedgewood, C. V. "The Prince of Patrons." Horizon, July 1961, pp. 78-95.

Werner, Alfred. "The Vatican." Horizon, January 1962, pp. 22-49.

Wright, Christopher, and de Marley, Diana. "Fake?" The Connoisseur, September 1980, pp. 22-25.

Newspapers

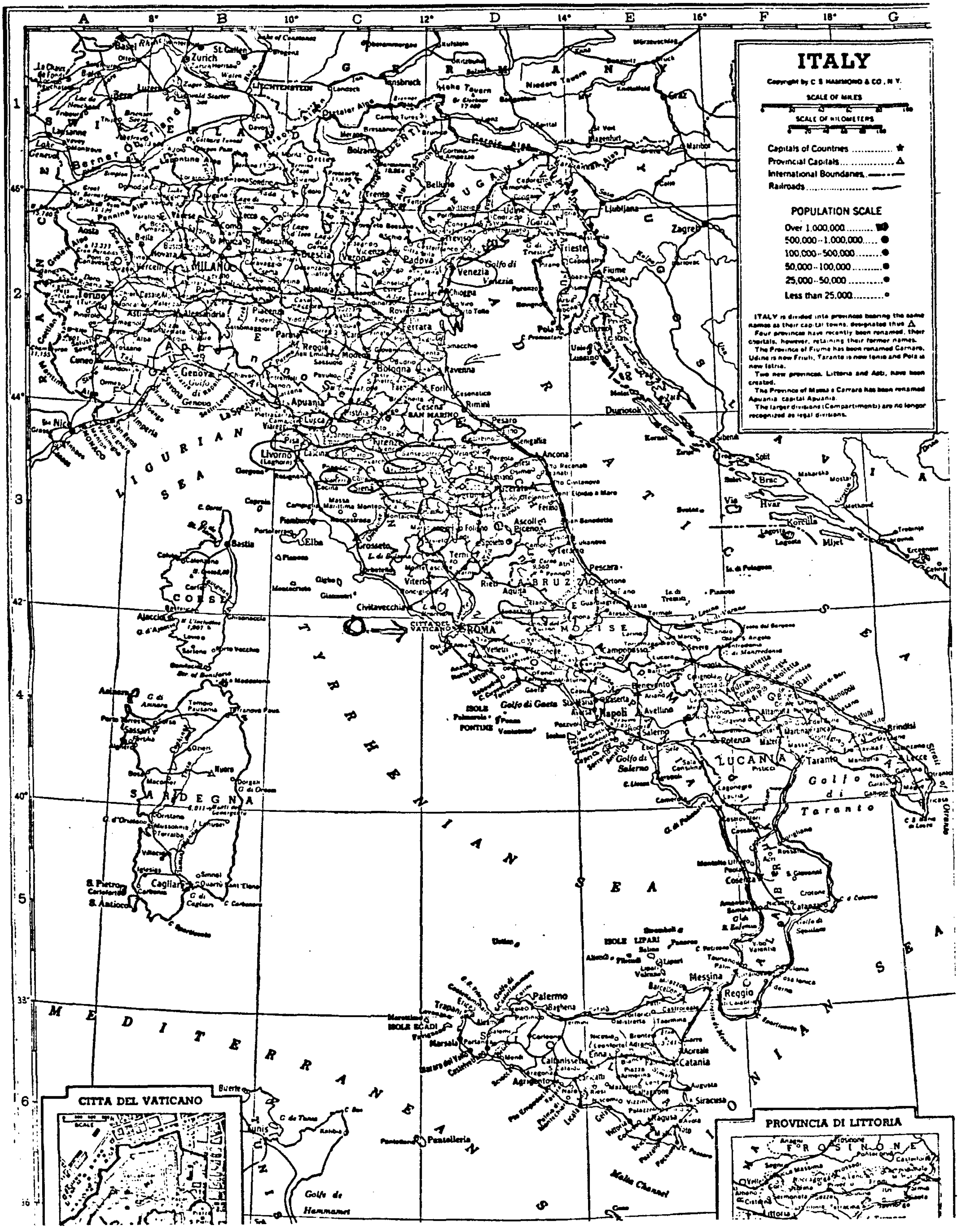
Douglass, Elisha P. "Birth of Jesus." Greensboro Daily News, 20 December 1980.

"Protestant-Catholic Study Alters Image of Mary." Greensboro Daily News, 23 December 1978, p. A2.

Shurkin, Joel. "Hysteria in Everyday Life." Chicago Tribune, 19 May 1974, p. 1.

"Study: Exercise Slows Puberty." Greensboro Daily News, 3 July 1980, p. D7.

APPENDIX A


ITALY
Copyright by C S HAMMOND & CO., N.Y.
SCALE OF MILES
SCALE OF KILOMETERS
Capitals of Countries .... ★
Provincial Capitals .... △
International Boundaries
Railroads
POPULATION SCALE
Over 1,000,000 ....
500,000 - 1,000,000 .... ●
100,000 - 500,000 .... ●
50,000 - 100,000 .... ●
25,000 - 50,000 .... ●
Less than 25,000 .... •
ITALY is divided into provinces bearing the same names as their capital towns, designated thus △
Four provinces have recently been renamed, their capitals, however, retaining their former names.
The Province of Fiume has been renamed Carnaro, Udine is now Friuli, Taranto is now Ionio and Pola is now Istria.
Two new provinces, Littoria and Asti, have been created.
The Province of Massa e Carrara has been renamed Apuania, capital Apuania.
The larger divisions (Compartimenti) are no longer recognized as legal divisions.
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
8°
10°
12°
14°
16°
18°
46°
44°
42°
40°
38°
36°
1
2
3
4
5
6
CITTA DEL VATICANO
PROVINCIA DI LITTORIA
FROSINONE
LIGURIAN SEA
TYRRHENIAN SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
IONIAN SEA
ADRIATIC SEA
CORSICA
SARDEGNA
SWITZERLAND
GERMANY
LUCANIA
ABRUZZI
MOLISE
Golfo di Taranto
Golfo di Gaeta
Golfo di Salerno
Golfo di Venezia
Strait of Otranto
Malta Channel
Golfo de Hammamet
ISOLE LIPARI
ISOLE EGADI
ISOLE PONTINE
LIECHTENSTEIN
MONACO
SAN MARINO
CITTA DEL VATICANO
ROMA
MILANO
Torino
Genova
Venezia
Trieste
Fiume
Bologna
Firenze
Napoli
Bari
Taranto
Brindisi
Lecce
Reggio
Messina
Palermo
Catania
Siracusa
Cagliari
Sassari
Bastia
Ajaccio
Livorno (Leghorn)
Pisa
Lucca
Apuania
La Spezia
Parma
Modena
Ferrara
Ravenna
Forli
Rimini
Pesaro
Ancona
Pescara
Perugia
Terni
Rieti
Viterbo
Civitavecchia
Grosseto
Siena
Arezzo
Aquila
Campobasso
Foggia
Benevento
Avellino
Salerno
Potenza
Cosenza
Catanzaro
Trapani
Marsala
Agrigento
Caltanissetta
Enna
Ragusa
Bolzano
Trento
Belluno
Udine
Treviso
Padova
Vicenza
Verona
Brescia
Bergamo
Como
Varese
Novara
Vercelli
Aosta
Alessandria
Asti
Cuneo
Imperia
Savona
Nice
Zurich
Basel
Bern
Lausanne
Innsbruck
Graz
Ljubljana
Zagreb
Split
Pola
Zara
Elba
Pantelleria
Tunis
Bizerte

APPENDIX B

FLORENTINE RENAISSANCE CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

d. 1226	Saint Francis Assisi
d. 1274	Saint Thomas Aquinas
d. 1302	Giovanni Cimabue
d. 1319	Duccio
d. 1321	Dante Alighieri
d. 1338	Giotto di Bondone
1348	Black Death
d. 1357	Simone Martini
d. 1374	Francesco Petrarch
d. 1375	Giovanni Boccaccio
1397	Founding of Medici Bank in Florence
1408	Donatello's "David"
1421	Brunelleschi's Foundling Hospital, Florence
1425	Masaccio's frescoes in Brancacci Chapel, Florence
d. 1428	Masaccio
1434	Beginning of Medici power in Florence under Cosimo
1434	Brunelleschi's dome on Florence Cathedral completed
d. 1435	Masolino
c. 1450	Invention of printing in Germany
d. 1455	Fra Angelico
d. 1455	Lorenzo Ghiberti

1462	Platonic Academy founded in Florence
1464	End of great Medici power of Florence under Cosimo
d. 1466	Donatello
d. 1469	Fra Filippo Lippi
1469	Dominance of Florence by Lorenzo di'Medici begins
d. 1470	Piero Pollauiolo
d. 1472	Leo Battista Alberti
1478	Pazzi uprising in Florence
1484	Strazzi Palace, Florence
d. 1488	Andrea del Verrocchio
d. 1492	Lorenzo the Magnificent
d. 1492	Piero della Francesca
1492	Columbus discovers the New World, Spain
1494	Invasion of Italy by Charles VIII of France
d. 1494	Domenico Ghirlandaio
d. 1494	Pico della Mirandola
1494-1498	Dominance of Savonarola in Florence
d. 1498	Antonio Pollauiolo
d. 1499	Marsillio Ficino
1505	Michelangelo's "David"
d. 1506	Andrea Montegna
d. 1510	Sandro Botticelli
1512	Medici Family restored to power in Florence

1503-1513	Pope Julius II, Rome
d. 1516	Giovanni Bellini
1517	Luther's attack against indulgences, Germany
d. 1519	Leonardo da Vinci
d. 1520	Santi Raphael
1513-1522	Pope Leo X, Rome
d. 1523	Pietro Perugino
d. 1523	Signorelli
d. 1526	Carpaccio
d. 1527	Niccolo Machiavelli
1527	Expulsion of Medici from Florence
d. 1529	Baldasar Castiglione
1530	End of Florence as independent city-state, second ascendancy of Medici
d. 1530	Andrea del Sarto
1530	Invention of spinning wheel in Germany
d. 1534	Antonio Allegri da Corregio
d. 1535	Sir Thomas More, England
1537	Cosimo I, Grand Duke of Tuscany. Medici hereditary Grand Dukes of Tuscany
1558	Dome and Nave of St. Peter's, Rome, begun
1494-1559	French-Italian Wars. End of Florentine Republic
d. 1564	Michelangelo Buonarroti
d. 1571	Benvenuto Cellini

d. 1572	Bronzino
d. 1574	Giorgio Vasari
d. 1576	Titian, Venice