

Lavinia Fontana's Mythological Paintings

Lavinia Fontana's Mythological Paintings:

Art, Beauty, and Wisdom

By

Liana De Girolami Cheney

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**For Vera Fortunati, Maria Teresa Cantaro,
and Caroline P. Murphy**

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PREFACE

“[The imagination] ... inspires an audacious mental habit.”
—Marsilio Ficino, *The Book of Life* (Florence, 1489)

This book investigates one aspect of Lavinia Fontana's (1552–1614) emblematic and art historical *oeuvre*: her mythological paintings, in which she developed conceits about female beauty with the depiction of mythical personages such as Galatea and Venus. Fontana was the first female painter of the sixteenth century in Italy to depict female nudes as well as mythological and emblematic paintings that not only interpret a beautiful form but also manifest metaphorically the meaning of knowledge—as in her depictions of Minerva and Prudence. Her paintings reveal an appropriation of imagery and literature from Antiquity, a fusion between patronage and culture, and a humanistic pursuit of Mannerist conceits. Fontana's secular imagery provides a challenging *paragone* (comparison) with the male tradition of *history painting* during the sixteenth century; and her work paved the way for new subjects to be depicted and interpreted by female and male painters of the seventeenth century.

The purpose of this study is to call attention to the importance of Fontana's artistic contribution to the study of art and nature. Not only was she the first sixteenth-century female painter to engage in the study of the nude form in painting but she furthermore portrayed herself as a pregnant woman. Extensive modern scholarship by Romeo Galli, Maria Teresa Cantaro, Vera Fortunati, and Caroline Murphy has focused on Fontana's life and career: extant documents and inventories; the *catalogue raisonné* of her attributed and known drawings and paintings; and, in particular, her portraits and religious paintings. Recently, studies by Daniele Bemati, Fausto Gozzi, Enrico Maria Dal Pozzolo, and Stefania Vai have focused on specific mythological paintings, shedding new light on Fontana's artistic career. The most recent exhibition and comparative catalogue between Sofonisba Anguissola and Lavinia Fontana at the Museo del Prado in Madrid, curated by Leticia Ruiz Gómez, will stimulate further research on the art of Lavinia Fontana.

My studies on Lavinia Fontana began in 1987, focusing on her self-portraits, including one discovered in Seattle (now in a private collection) and a religious painting of the Holy Family with SS. Francis and Margaret

discovered in Boston in a private collection (now at the Davis Museum, Wellesley, MA; hereafter *Holy Family*). More recently, my research on Fontana has turned toward her mythological paintings. I have presented papers on this topic at conferences of the College Art Association, the Renaissance Society of America, the Southeastern College Association, the South-Central Renaissance Association, and the Symposia on Female Artists in Boston, MA, and Oxford, UK. This book complements the scholarship of Cantaro, Fortunati, Murphy, Benati, Dal Pozzolo, and Vai on Fontana. Hopefully it will generate new impetus into the study of female artists of other centuries—not just in terms of their lives, careers, socio-political patronage (Whitney Chadwick), and specific gender issues (Mary Garrard and Linda Nochlin) but also in terms of emblematic historicism and mythological manifestations, capturing the ample creativity of female painters in their respective cultures.

The first chapter of this present book lays out the emblematic sources that Lavinia Fontana employed in her work. Chapter 2 provides a brief overview of Fontana's life and career, drawing the reader's attention to fundamental issues of the artistic status of a female painter during the sixteenth century as well as to socio-political circumstances. The next chapter deals with Fontana's self-portraits and poetical inspirations in her self-imaging in relation to her male and female contemporaries (Parmigianino, Giorgio Vasari, Sofonisba Anguissola, and Barbara Longhi). Chapter 4 focuses on Fontana's mythological images of Venus as a celestial and terrestrial manifestation of the concept of beauty. This chapter considers the mythological theme of Venus and its stylistic and iconographic sources, discussing the paintings held at the State Hermitage Museum in Saint Petersburg, private collections in Bologna and Venice, Fundación Casa de Alba, Palazzo Liria in Madrid, and at the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Rouen. Concepts of beauty and application of these literary influences are examined with reference to Antiquity, folklore, and mythology. The following chapter elaborates on the mythological representation of Galatea as an image that emblematically personifies Fortune and Venus. The sixth chapter considers an interpretation of the Roman Goddess Minerva with a dual symbolism as a manifestation of peace as well as moral virtue. This chapter also explores the mythological theme of Minerva, discussing the paintings held at the Pavirani Collection in Bologna and at the Borghese Gallery in Rome. Concepts of wisdom are analyzed both in terms of Antiquity and as emblematic sources. Chapter 7 discusses an allegorical symbolism of wisdom not manifested by the Roman Goddess Minerva but visualized through an emblematic depiction of a human virtue, prudence. This chapter also focuses on the theme of moral virtues as personified by female imagery

such as Prudence. It integrates a study on Fontana's female patronage of allegorical subjects in Monte Carlo (Maison d'Art à Monaco) and Bologna (Pinacoteca Nazionale), viewing them not only in terms of theory of art—beauty, aesthetics, and taste—but also as ethical responses to the Counter-Reformation. The eighth chapter interprets an enigmatic painting, *Cleopatra*, in which Fontana fused both conceits of beauty and wisdom in a historical personage. A Coda reflects upon Fontana's fascination for the nude body in the depiction of mythological figures.

All of these short essays relate to Fontana's artistic and cultural environment in Bologna and Rome. These cultural issues are connected to the influences of classical, medieval, Renaissance, and Mannerist traditions on literary sources, as well as the gender patronage revealed in the humanistic, emblematic, mythological writings, and theoretical artistic writings, e.g., Andrea Alciato (1492–1550), Achille Bocchi (1488–1562), Vincenzo Cartari (1531–1569), Gabriele Paleotti (1522–1597), Pierio Valeriano (1477–1558), and Giorgio Vasari (1511–1574).

Fontana's criteria of art and beauty and wisdom are inherited from the Mannerist conception of beauty, in particular based on that of her father Prospero's fellow painter Giorgio Vasari. In his prefaces to the *Vite (Lives of the Artists)*, Vasari explained what he meant by beauty, which consists of the study of nature, the capturing of nature through its imitation, and the surpassing of nature by improving on it. His ideals on beauty derive jointly from the classical conception of physical beauty and from the Neoplatonic notion of spiritual beauty. That is to say, for Vasari, the classical concept of beauty means a creation of a beautiful image from the combination of parts of the body commensurately and proportionately arranged as a whole, as represented in a *disegno* (drawing), which reveals the first sign of artistic creativity. For Vasari, Neoplatonic spiritual beauty means the manifestation of vivacity, radiance, and grace in the image, which is conceived through the mind (intellect) and the visual perception (sight). Thus, in this *disegno*, Vasari honors the artists for creating beauty, elevating them into intellectual and celestial realms.

Disegno is the imitation of the most beautiful parts of nature in all figures, whether in sculpture or in painting; and for this it is necessary to have a hand and a brain able to reproduce nature with absolute accuracy and precision (Giorgio Vasari, Preface III, *Vite*). Thus Fontana's mythological paintings incorporate not only Mannerist aesthetics but also the sense of humor and enjoyment of inventing a Mannerist conceit under the cloud of controversial visual and moral reforms.

This book is primarily a thematic study on the representation of some mythological figures (Venus, Galatea, Minerva), considering also

some allegorical moral and practical virtues visualized in the imagery of Prudence and Cleopatra by a female painter, Lavinia Fontana. This study does not intend to be a *catalogue raisonné* of Fontana's mythological paintings or her *oeuvre*. It does not address issues of connoisseurship, dating, disputations among scholars regarding attributions, and all scholarship associated with Fontana. The book is merely a short interpretative iconographical and iconological study on an aspect of Fontana's inventiveness as revealed in some of her mythological paintings.

The book is intended first and foremost for students of the humanities (classical, emblematic, and mythological studies), art and literary criticism, and lovers of Italian culture. The student and interested reader may use the book for specific research into female Italian paintings and culture, as well as for larger issues in sixteenth-century painting and the history of female patronage and taste. Omnibus survey books on female paintings tend to opt for one, or at best a couple, of the artistic endeavors of each period. This book will provide an essential complement to any study of sixteenth-century Mannerist paintings or art.

CHAPTER 1

ALLEGORIES, PERSONIFICATIONS, MYTHOLOGIES, AND EMBLEMATIC TRADITIONS

“Tutto ha da aver significato”

(All must have meaning)

—Giorgio Vasari, *I Ragionamenti* (Florence, 1588)

This chapter explains some of the emblematic sources employed by Lavinia Fontana in the depiction of her secular imagery.¹ The emblematic sources include allegories, personifications, and mythological representations in literature and in the visual arts. As a consequence of her cultural academic milieu and her father’s artistic and patronage contacts, Fontana was aware of the sixteenth-century literary and visual printed traditions associated with emblematic and mythographic sources.

During the Italian sixteenth century, artists, humanists, philosophers, and patrons engaged in the formations of *concetti* (conceits) to be deciphered by an intellectual or courtly society. The *clavis interpretendi* (key for interpretation), of their meaning derived from iconographic and iconological sources. Literati, emblematisers, mythographers, or erudite patrons composed these conceits for the artist to visualize in drawings, paintings, masques, illuminated manuscripts, and decorations for their private or public dwellings or for their patrons’ personal aggrandizement and fame. These conceits involved various intellectual constructions ranging from a symbol to a personification. In art, for example, a symbol is an image or a sign used to signify an idea, e.g., a mirror for reflection. A visual metaphor incorporates a symbol plus an image or picture that refers to an artist’s specific meaning, e.g., a mirror used for self-portraiture, a reflection of the self. A visual allegory is a collection of visual metaphors composed by an artist, humanist, or theologian to indicate traditional and cultural meanings. Thus the mirror with its physical reflection may allude to an optical light phenomenon or, at the metaphysical level, to spiritual illumination reflecting beauty, which is the source of wisdom. A composed

personification employs a human figure with symbolic attributes to represent an abstract idea, e.g., the nude figure of Venus holding a mirror to symbolize beauty or the Janus head of Prudence holding a mirror signifying wisdom.²

With the expansion of the study of cultural meanings (hieroglyphs, classical myths, and medieval iconography), natural sciences (alchemy, the study of physical and metaphysical nature), and esoterism (ancient astrology, mythology, philosophies, and religions), humanists composed *impresae* (devices or insignias), for their erudite patrons. The *impresa* was designed for coats-of-arms, heraldic devices, book frontispieces, or medals to show off the erudition and playful coded rebus to foes and friends. It comprised two parts: a short *motto* (word), usually written in Latin and considered the soul of the *impresa*; and an image or *pictura* (figure), which was considered the body of the *impresa*. Paolo Giovio (1483–1552)—the physician, historian, prelate, and art collector who resided in Florence—was a master of this intellectual conceit or rebus. While writing a history for illustrious men, *Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium* (*Praise of Men Illustrious for Courage in War*, Florence, 1554), Giovio also composed a book on *Dialogo dell'impresae militari et amorose* (*Dialogue about the Military and Amorous Devices*), published posthumously in 1559.³ Giovio articulated five rules about composing an *impresa*: “(1) an adequate correspondence of body and soul (*pictura* and *motto*); (2) neither obscure nor too obvious; (3) pleasing appearance; (4) no human form; and 5) the motto not be in the vernacular of the person who chose the *impresa*, and the motto be brief without being ambiguous.”⁴

As the *impresa* was flourishing as an honorific illustration for members of the Italian courts and academies, the emblem, a visual and literary moral conceit, was emerging as a new artistic form in the printing presses. The emblem as a pictorial image representing a conceit was composed of three ingredients: a *motto*, an *inscriptio* (Latin inscription or vernacular language), as a title; a *pictura* (image), which formed a narrative with human figures, animals, and other objects; and a *subscriptio* (explicatory text), which made reference to an ancient text in order to explain the *pictura*.⁵ During the early conception of the emblem, a moral implication or overtone was intended. The promoter of this literary manifestation was the Milanese lawyer and humanist Andrea Alciato (1492–1550), who composed and wrote extensively about emblems, culminating in *Emblemata*, a book with a collection of emblems containing a moral message, which was published from 1531 onward in various languages—Latin, French, German, Spanish, and Italian.⁶

As a consequence of her artistic training, education, and familial, personal, and professional contacts, Fontana became aware of the literary and printed traditions associated with emblematic and mythographic sources. These included not only Andrea Alciato's *Emblemata* (Basel 1529; and the editions in Lyon 1531, 1546, 1546 and 1549; and Venice 1551) but also, in particular, Achille Bocchi's *Symbolicae quaestiones* of 1555 (reprinted in 1574 in Bologna as *Symbolicarum quaestionum, de universo genere quas serio ludeba, libri quinque*).⁷ Through Bocchi she was also influenced by Pierio Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica sive, De sacris Aegptiorum literis commentarii* (*Hieroglyphics, or, Commentary on Egyptian Wisdom*) (Basel: Michael Isengrin, 1556) and Horapollo's *Hieroglyphica* (Venice: Aldus Mautius, 1505).

It should come as no surprise that Fontana would draw upon Bocchi's work, as both she and her father, Prospero Fontana (1512–1597), were commissioned to create drawings for the engravings in Bocchi's emblematic volume. Bocchi (1488–1562), a close friend of Fontana, was a Bolognese humanist and teacher at the University of Bologna.⁸ He composed this moralistic emblematic volume under the influence of his friend, the classicist and emblematic Pierio Valeriano (1477–1558).⁹ This humanist scholar from Belluno, visited Rome in 1509 with an introduction to Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici, and he later became the classics tutor for the Medici family. In 1530, Valeriano returned to his native town and completed the *Hieroglyphica*. The text is dedicated to several scholars, including Achille Bocchi, Paolo Giovio, and Giorgio Valla (1447–1500). The tome consists of sixty books appropriating and elaborating on the symbols and hieroglyphs of the ancient Horapollo's *Hieroglyphica*, a fifth-century Neoplatonic treatise on ancient Egyptian hieroglyphs. In 1422, Cristoforo Buondelmonti, a Florentine geographer and monk, while visiting the Greek island of Andros, obtained a copy of Horapollo's *Hieroglyphica* (today in the Biblioteca Laurenziana, Plut. 69, 27). This precious manuscript became an important original source for Renaissance humanists, in particular for the Venetian academics and Greek scholars Aldus Manutius (1449–1515) and Giorgio Valla. In the Renaissance, Horapollo's text was only known as a reference in a *Suda*, a Byzantine encyclopedia of the tenth century, but in 1505, Manutius (the Aldine Press) published Valla's Greek translation of Horapollo's *Hieroglyphica*. Francesco Colonna (1433–1527) and Valeriano were both influenced by the Aldine publication. In Bologna, familiarity with Horapollo's writings was due particularly to the grammarian Filippo Beroaldo the Elder (1453–1505), who translated, annotated, and compiled some of Horapollo's hieroglyphs into a vocabulary of grammar for Bolognese students.¹⁰

Francesco Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (*The Dream of Poliphilo*), composed by the Venetian poet and Dominican preacher at the Church of St. Mark in Venice, was another major source of iconographical inspiration for Fontana. Colonna composed the mysterious allegorical and romantic tome, which was published by the Aldine Press (Aldus Manutius) in Venice in 1499. With her academic connections and experiences, Fontana must have been inspired by these emblematic texts and used them in her imagery.

These sources, in particular Alciato's book, were greatly influenced by the *Greek Anthology*, a series of cycles of Greek lyric and epigrammatic poems with a moral message, composed by unknown ancient writers interested in Greek legends and history.¹¹ In 1494, Janus Lascaris, a renowned Hellenist, first published the *Greek Anthology* in Florence.¹² In 1522, Alciato translated it into Latin and assimilated its moral implications in his emblem book. Other literary and epigrammatic sources for Fontana's imagery and symbolism probably included the humanist, historian, and physician Paolo Giovio's *Dialogo dell'imprese militari et amorose* (Florence 1551) and *Ragionamento delle Imprese* (Florence 1552)¹³ as well as Florentine literato Vincenzo Borghini's numerous letters and explanatory texts on programs of decorative cycles and literary subjects, later published as *Discorsi* (Florence 1584).¹⁴

The sixteenth-century emblematic sources also drew from, and integrated in their literary constructions and poetical allusions, mythological sources that were available as printed books, such as Boccaccio's *Genealogia de gli Dei* (*The Genealogy of the Gods*), composed in 1360 (Florence: Anton Francesco Doni, 1547),¹⁵ Natale Conti's *Mythologiae* (*Mythologies*) (Venice: Aldine Press, 1551),¹⁶ Lilio Gregorio Giraldi's *De deis gentium* (*The Renaissance of The Gods*) (Basel: J. Oporin, 1548/1567), and Vincenzo Cartari's *Le imagini degli Dei degli Antichi* (*Images of the Gods of the Ancients*) (Venice: Francesco Marcolini, 1556).¹⁷

These manuals were compilations of medieval mythographies, hieroglyphs, and numismatic sources.¹⁸ They also served as commonplace books for sixteenth-century humanists and artists—a kind of figurative encyclopedia or “dictionary-album” for easy consultation when time was lacking for reading the primary texts in their entirety or when familiarity with them was lacking. Since these manuals became well known to sixteenth-century artists and literati, humanists copied information directly from them without feeling the need to credit their sources. Throughout the Renaissance, secular paintings were habitually painted according to the instructions of such humanists who assembled, assimilated, and adapted subjects from classical mythology into complex and allusive schemes.

With a moral overtone, these manuals contain verbal and visual representations of virtues, vices, passions, and temperaments, revealing in part a Renaissance Neoplatonic philosophy. The sixteenth-century theorists also postulated that the merit of the iconographical *invenzioni* (allegories, emblems, and *imprese*) lay in the artist's original and ingenious interpretation of a familiar myth or allegory.

In the sixteenth century, artists consulted emblematic and mythological manuals as a source for their visual conceits. Lavinia Fontana's father Prospero, for example, painted fresco decorations on themes of the Old Testament and episodes from the life of Ulysses in the *piano nobile* of the Palazzo Poggi in Bologna in 1550–1552.¹⁹ He later assisted the Florentine artist, historian, and writer Giorgio Vasari in decorations about the Medicean apogee at the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence in 1560–1568. In his decorative cycles, Vasari's artistic familiarity with these types of literary language and imagery of the emblematic tradition prompted him to impose standards on some of these images, much as the iconographer Cesare Ripa (1560–1622) would do for poetry in his *Iconologia* (*Iconology*).²⁰ Vasari, in the prefaces to his *Vite* (*Lives of the Artists*),²¹ and the Roman iconographer Cesare Ripa (1560–1622), in his *Iconologia*, concurred that the image should provide visual interest by showing beautiful elements and that its motto should be brief, containing two or three words or a line of verse left suggestively incomplete so to intrigue or tease the audience—in sum, a *Maniera* conceit. Both noted that an allegory (emblem) must assimilate, visually and verbally, its ancient sources. Vasari's referential and collective artistic approach to the appropriation of the emblematic tradition in the depiction of his imagery makes him a precursor to Ripa's visual and literary iconological method of his *figurazioni* (figures or images).²²

Thus Fontana benefited from this long-established emblematic tradition in the conceptualization and visualization of her *oeuvre*. In such emblematic and mythographic sources, Fontana found an extensive repertoire of images for her depiction of allegorical and mythological paintings. Her manner of composing images such as Minerva or Venus as a compendium of visual iconography for private viewing was similar to the literary practices of Alciato, Bocchi, Cartari, and Valeriano, and was also in accord with Giovio's explanation of how to depict an emblematic image or *impresa*.²³

Years later, Ripa continued to capture the symbolic meaning of an image and fused the Cinquecento visual and literary traditions in his emblem book, *Iconologia*. He referred to the emblematic image as *figurazione*. Ripa's *figurazione* or emblem of *iconografia* (*iconography*) is

described as a drawing of things that are depicted two- and three-dimensionally.²⁴ A woman holds a square and other measuring devices, with a compass at her feet, to assist in the drawing of natural forms. The ruler in her right hand alludes to appraisal, as intelligence is needed in order to judge drawings. Ripa's description of iconography revealed his understanding of the concept of drawing and its meaning according to the Mannerist tradition. Paradoxically, Fontana also assimilated and integrated the controversial writings of the Counter-Reformation about profane images as postulated by her friend, the Bolognese Bishop/Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti, in *Discorso intorno alle immagine sacre e profane* (*Discourse on the sacred and profane image*) (Bologna 1582).²⁵

Today, scholarship on iconology, an approach to interpret the signification of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century images, has focused on the art-historical methodologies of Jean Seznec,²⁶ Ernst Gombrich,²⁷ Edgar Wind,²⁸ and in particular, Erwin Panofsky.²⁹ Panofsky differentiates three levels of interpretation: (1) pre-iconographical description; (2) iconographical analysis; and (3) iconographical interpretation or iconology.³⁰ A pre-iconographical description is accomplished when forms in a painting are interpreted as natural objects having their natural expressiveness. An iconographical analysis of the story is obtained when a series of symbols derived from traditional subject matter is identified as supporting either allegories or *invenzioni* (inventions).³¹ And an iconographical interpretation is established when a deeper understanding of the symbols has been achieved through considering themes and concepts as well as cultural and philosophical notions of the time. Panofsky's iconological method or artistic investigation fuses connoisseurship, the study of the art object, along with patronage and emblematic cultural meanings.

Fontana's academic experiences at the University of Bologna, first receiving a degree and then teaching art, provided her with a rich cultural background and significant aesthetic and intellectual knowledge. These assimilations extended to the apprehension of emblematic, mythological, and philosophical traditions as well as to the understanding of theoretical aspects in art, the use of materials, and the handling of artistic techniques.

The following chapters will discuss separately Fontana's various depictions of mythological and allegorical figures (or personifications) of Venus, Galatea, Minerva, and Prudence, by demonstrating these emblematic connections.

Notes

¹ It is not the intention of this chapter to review or analyze the historical development of such a complicated topic but just to highlight those sources that impacted, or may have impacted, Fontana's secular visual imagery.

² In *Iconology*, Cesare Ripa uses the term "figurations" (*figurazioni* or *images*) for the representation of human figures to embody an abstract conceit. See Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia* (Rome: Gio Gigliotti, 1603).

³ The first illustrated edition of Giovio's *Dialogue* was completed in 1551. A copy was given to Cosimo I de' Medici, while another copy with errors was published in Rome by Antonio Barré in 1555. After Giovio's death, his book was corrected and reissued in Venice in 1556 with the title *Ragionamento di Mons. Paolo Giovio sopra i motti e i disegni d'arme e d'amore che comunemente chiamiamo Imprese, Con un discorso di Girolamo Ruscelli, intorno allo stesso soggetto* by Giordano Ziletti all'insegna della stella. A new edition with a commentary by Ludovico Domenichini was also published in Venice in 1556 by the Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari press. This version was again published as *Giovio Paolo, Dialogo delle imprese militare et amorose di Monsignor Giovio Vescovo di Nocera, con un Ragionamento di Messer Ludovico Domenichi, ne medesimo soggetto* in Lyons by Guillaume Rouillé in 1559. See T. C. Price Zimmermann, *Paolo Giovio: The Historian and the Crisis of Sixteenth-Century Italy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995); Dorigen Caldwell, *The Sixteenth-Century Italian Impresa in Theory and Practice* (New York: AMS Press, 2005), 7; and Donato Mansueto and Elena Laura Calogero, *The Italian Emblem: A Collection of Essays*, *Glasgow Emblem Studies* 12 (Glasgow: Glasgow Emblem Studies, 2007).

⁴ See François Velde, *Imprese*, available at <http://www.heraldica.org/topics/impres.htm> (accessed September 2019); and Elizabeth See Watson, *Achille Bocchi and the Emblem Book as Symbolic Form* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

⁵ See Mara R. Wade, "What is an Emblem?" <http://emblematica.grainger.illinois.edu/help/what-emblem> (accessed December 2019).

⁶ See Alciato at Glasgow for editions of Alciato's *Emblemata* (<http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/>); and Andrea Alciato, *Emblemata* (Lyons: Macé Bonhomme for Guillaume Rouille, 1551).

⁷ Achille Bocchi, *Symbolicae quaestiones* (Bologna: Giulio Bonasone, 1574). The engravings were composed after the drawings of Prospero Fontana, assisted by his daughter, Lavinia Fontana. See Silvia Urbini, "Lavinia Fontana," ex. cat. entry 74, in *Lavinia Fontana of Bologna, 1552–1614*, ed. Vera Fortunati (Milan: Electa, 1994), 207.

⁸ See Urbini, "Lavinia Fontana," 207; and Caroline P. Murphy, *Lavinia Fontana: A Painter and Her Patrons in Sixteenth-Century Bologna* (London: Yale University Press, 2003), 16, 18, 52, and 54, for the association of Bocchi with the artists Prospero and Lavinia Fontana. See also the chapter on Minerva in this present book.

⁹ See Julia Haig Gaisser, *Pierio Valeriano on the Ill Fortune of Learned Men: A Renaissance Humanist and His World* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999).

¹⁰ See Brian Curran, *The Egyptian Renaissance: The Afterlife of Ancient Egypt in Early Modern Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), passim.

¹¹ Daniel Russell, "Alciato's Emblems in Renaissance France," *Renaissance Quarterly* 34 (1981): 534–54, esp. 549. Russell defines the importance of Alciato's emblem book in Cinquecento art and literature: "(It) served as a manual to train readers in a particular approach to artistic artifacts. It taught them to participate actively in the moralizing of visual arts."

¹² This version is known as the Planudean text because a monk named Maximus Planudes assembled the tome at the end of the thirteenth century. See Peter Daly, *Alciato's Book of Emblems*, at www.mun.ca/alciato, based on Peter M. Daly, *Andreas Alciatus*, 2 vols. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985); *Emblem Theory* (Nendeln: KTO Press, 1979); and Daniel Russell, "Emblems and Hieroglyphics: Some Observations on the Beginnings and the Nature of Emblematic Forms," *Emblematica* 2 (1986): 227–40, esp. 230. For Russell, Renaissance humanists employed hieroglyphics as a vehicle for "redefining the symbolic process with the context of Neoplatonic thought." See also Alison Saunders, *The Sixteenth-Century French Emblem Book: A Decorative and Useful Genre* (Geneva: Droz, 1988).

¹³ See T. C. Price Zimmermann, *Paolo Giovio* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001); and Dorigen Caldwell, *The Sixteenth-Century Italian Impresa in Theory and Practice* (New York: AMS Press, 2004).

¹⁴ See Domenico Maria Manni, ed., *Vincenzo Borghini's Discorsi*, 4 vols. (Milan: Classici Italiani, 1808–1809).

¹⁵ See *Boccaccio's Genealogy of the Pagan Gods*, trans. Jon Solomon (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, I Tatti Renaissance Library, May 2011).

¹⁶ See *Natale Conti's Mythologies*, trans. and ann. John Mulryan and Steven Brown, 2 vols. (Tempe, AZ: ACMRS, 2006).

¹⁷ See Mario Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery*, 2 vols. (1941; 2nd ed. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1975), Introduction, and 2:5, 36, and 139; Jean Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods* (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1961), 279–327; and Vincenzo Cartari, *Le immagini degli Dei degli Antichi* (Venice: Giordano Ziletti, 1571). There is also another edition of Cartari's work, illustrated by Giuseppe Salviati and etched by Bolognino Zaltieri and subsequently published by the Vincenzo Valgrisi Press in Venice in 1571. There is great variation in the spelling of the title of Cartari's work, and the title as appears here will be used consistently through the text.

¹⁸ See Seznec, *Survival of the Pagan Gods*.

¹⁹ See Lorena Vallieri, "Prospero Fontana pittore-scenografo a Bologna (1543)," *Drammaturgia* 11, no. 1 (2014): 34–368; G. Sassu, "Percorsi della Maniera: tra Giorgio Vasari e Prospero Fontana," *Arte e Bologna, bollettino dei musei civici d'arte antica* 5 (1999): 150–65; and Lorena Vallieri, "Prospero Fontana (Bologna 1512–Bologna 1597)," in *Pittura Bolognese del Cinquecento*, ed. Vera Fortunati Pietrantonio, 2 vols. (Bologna: Grafis, 1986), 1:343–47.