

The cover features two classical paintings by Titian. The top painting shows a nude female figure with dark, curly hair, looking slightly to the left. The bottom painting shows a nude female figure with her eyes closed, looking downwards. The background is dark, and the text is overlaid on a dark horizontal band.

MARIA H. LOH

Titian *Remade*

REPETITION AND THE TRANSFORMATION
OF EARLY MODERN ITALIAN ART

GETTY RESEARCH INSTITUTE

This page intentionally left blank

A detailed oil painting of a hand, likely a woman's, holding a ring. The hand is the central focus, rendered with soft, realistic shading and visible brushstrokes. The ring is a simple band with a dark, oval-shaped stone. The background is dark and textured, with a woven basket-like structure made of brown, fibrous material visible in the lower half. The overall mood is intimate and contemplative.

Titian *Remade*



MARIA H. LOH

Titian *Remade*

REPETITION AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF EARLY MODERN ITALIAN ART

PUBLISHED BY THE GETTY RESEARCH INSTITUTE

The Getty Research Institute Publications Program

Thomas Crow, *Director, Getty Research Institute*

Gail Feigenbaum, *Associate Director, Programs*

Julia Bloomfield, *Head, Publications Program*

Jeffrey M. Hurwit, Jacqueline Lichtenstein, Alex Potts, and Mimi Hall
Yiengpruksawan, *Publications Committee*

***Titian Remade: Repetition and the Transformation of Early Modern
Italian Art***

Paula Findlen and Genevieve Warwick, *Editorial Consultants*

Rebecca Frazier, *Manuscript Editor*

Michele Ciaccio, *Production Editor*

© 2007 J. Paul Getty Trust

Published by the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles

Getty Publications

1200 Getty Center Drive, Suite 500

Los Angeles, CA 90049-1682

www.getty.edu

11 10 09 08 07 5 4 3 2 1

Front cover: Padovanino, *Self-Portrait* (detail), ca. 1625–30. See p. x

Half-title: Padovanino, *Self-Portrait* (detail), ca. 1625–30. See p. x

Frontispiece: Padovanino, *Triumph* (detail), ca. 1614–20. See p. 90

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Loh, Maria H., 1971–

Titian remade : repetition and the transformation of early modern
Italian art / Maria H. Loh.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-89236-873-0

1. Padovanino, 1588–1648—Criticism and interpretation. 2. Titian,
ca. 1488–1576—Influence. 3. Painting, Italian—17th century.

4. Imitation in art. 5. Repetition (Aesthetics) I. Title.

ND623.P144L64 2007

759.5—dc22

2006038238

Contents

vii	Acknowledgments
1	Introduction. "A Death in Venice"
17	Chapter 1. The "Delicious Nude": Repetition and Identity
53	Chapter 2. "The Future Is History": Repetition and Difference
85	Chapter 3. <i>Io Triumphe, Io Triumphe</i> : Repetition and Becoming
129	Chapter 4. Ancients and Moderns: Repetition and History
163	Conclusion. Sublime Trees and Deterritorialized Branches
179	Postscript
181	Works Cited
191	Illustration Credits
193	Index

This page intentionally left blank

Acknowledgments

THE CHALLENGE OF HISTORY in a post-Foucauldian discipline is not to painstakingly reconstruct things as they were (or, inevitably, as we think they were) but to examine the discourses that enabled a certain representation of an “age” to emerge, to attend as closely to the facts that are illuminated as to the ones that are left in the dark. We may believe with Fox Mulder and Dana Scully that “the truth is out there,” but we must pay attention to the ways we frame that “truth” and always be open to other interpretations. History, like life, is a retrospective tale. A decision made today with great deliberation may in fact amount to very little down the road. An unscripted, coincidental encounter may become a momentous occasion in hindsight.

In the book of my memory, several felicitous incidents coincided to become such coincidences for me. This serendipitous combination of events is what made this book possible, and there are many individuals I wish to thank. To begin chronologically (the narrative structure of “choice” for historians), first I wish to acknowledge Jean-Marc Poinot, a man who has surely forgotten me and a man I never thought at the time would be so pivotal in things to come. In 1995, he taught me in a course at the Université de Rennes II on “The Originality of Contemporary Art” and introduced me to the writings of Rosalind Krauss and Walter Benjamin and the work of Sherrie Levine. Second, I wish to thank my Ph.D. advisor, Philip Sohm, one of whose many great insights over the years of good counsel and friendship was to send me off to an internship at the Peggy Guggenheim Collection in 1998, where I discovered Titian, Tintoretto, Veronese, and an artist named Padovanino. Third, I would like to thank Alina Payne, whom I owe *tante cose*. In 1999, Alina encouraged me to apply for a job at the British School at Rome, where I met Andrew Hopkins, who is the fourth person in this chronology of gratitude. It was Andrew whose work on Baldassare Longhena made me see the poetic possibilities of seicento Venice, which brought me back to Padovanino.

Philip, Alina, and Andrew (and some sheer luck) helped me find my way to the Getty Research Institute, where I spent two overwhelming years as a predoctoral fellow from 2000 to 2002. In the first month there, I met (the real, genuine) Sherrie Levine and Elizabeth Cropper, someone from the past and someone from the future, although I did not know this yet. From this moment on, things became less linear. During the first scholar seminar we revisited another old friend, Walter Benjamin, and his essay “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction”; that was the beginning of a long series of stimulating intellectual conversations and

friendships. Among the individuals I met in this happy time, I want to thank the following for the incredible generosity they extended to a graduate student working on an artist nobody rated from a period nobody found interesting in a city otherwise populated by so many artistic geniuses: Malcolm Baker, Mieke Bal, Tim Clark, Hubert Damisch, Georges Didi-Huberman, Jill Dunkerton, Jennifer Fletcher, Charles Harrison, John Hyman, Kajri Jain, Martin Kemp, Juliet Koss, Sherrie Levine, Jacqueline Lichtenstein, Michael Lobel, Andrew Perchuk, Lisa Pon, Ingrid Rowland, Rani Singh, Ernst van Alphen, Anne Wagner, Aidan Weston-Lewis, and, last but certainly not least, Alastair Wright, whose infinite patience with and careful attention to my seemingly unending drafts began with the first chapter of my dissertation and continued through the first draft of this manuscript. Above all, however, I am most grateful for the continuous support that Thomas Crow, Gail Feigenbaum, and Julia Bloomfield have extended to me.

Somewhere within this retrospective narrative, various other people intervened, interrupted, and interceded. I wish to thank in particular Michele Ciaccio, James Clifton, Elizabeth Cropper, Neil de Marchi, Jas Elsner, Miguel Falomir, Johanna Fassel, Paula Findlen, Rebecca Frazier, Marc Gotlieb, Ketty Gottardo, Francesco Guardiani, David Kim, Joseph Koerner, Dian Kriz, Evonne Levy, Dominique Loder, Martin McLaughlin, Alex Nagel, Ugo Ruggeri, Jannon Stein, and Genevieve Warwick for their varied and various contributions, as well as the kind and patient staff at the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Getty Research Institute, British Library, and Warburg Institute. I am indebted to the J. Paul Getty Trust, the Gladys Krieble Delmas Foundation, and St. Hilda's College in Oxford (specifically, the Joanna Randall-MacIver Junior Research Fellowship) for funding the research for this book. The draconian British system of the RAE and the encouragement of my colleagues in the department of history of art at University College London helped bring sudden closure to this project. In particular, I wish to thank Rose Marie San Juan, whom I first met in 2002 when she (and Joanna Woodall) invited me to speak at a conference on doubles. She would return to London in 2005 in another role as my colleague, proofreader, and friend at University College London. The best parts of this book reflect the collaborative input of these people, while the mistakes and oversights I acknowledge as my own.

In closing, I should return to the very beginning and express my infinite gratitude to my parents, Jimbay and Yeedeheh Loh; to my brothers Gabriel, Nathaniel, and Ariel; and to Ron Leung, whose support on so many levels and at so many moments has demonstrated that there is much repetition in love. Finally, I wish to thank the reader, who I hope will take this conversation to new and better places that I myself could not have envisioned.

Dedicated to the memory of my grandfathers, Zhao You-pei and James Loh.

Titian *Remade*

FIG. 1. PADOVANINO

Self-Portrait, ca. 1625–30,
oil on canvas, 102 × 88 cm
(40¹/₄ × 34³/₄ in.)

Padua, Musei Civici, Museo d'Arte
Medioevale e Moderna



“A Death in Venice”

Meanwhile, let us not forget that every invention and every discovery consists in the interference in somebody’s mind of certain old pieces of information that have generally been handed down by others. What did Darwin’s thesis about natural selection amount to? To have proclaimed the fact of competition among living things? No, but in having for the first time combined this idea with the ideas of *variability* and *heredity*. The former idea, as it was proclaimed by Aristotle, remained sterile until it was associated with the two latter ideas. From that as a starting point, we may say that the generic term, of which inventions is but a species, is the fruitful interference of repetitions. — GABRIEL TARDE¹

On 18 April 1665, Ascanio Varotari, son of Il Padovanino (Alessandro Varotari), gave his father’s *Self-Portrait* (fig. 1) to the city of Padua, his father’s birthplace. Padovanino made the painting some time between 1625 and 1630, and it seems to have remained in his possession until his death in Venice in the summer of 1649. In this regard the self-portrait was a very personal statement, an image that the artist held before his eyes for some twenty years. The artist’s children would have grown old under its gaze, and it would have resonated in the wake of the subject’s eventual death. The representation took on a new commemorative meaning when Ascanio donated the portrait to the city, as evidenced by the marble plaque that accompanied the painting.

Alessandro Varotari, the Paduan Protogenes.

Let another recoil from the greatness of the epithet.

You who have practical knowledge of art

will find reason for that great name

even in this one image in which he represented himself.

Ascanio, his son and assistant, gave this painting to the city as a gift

and in doing so returned Alessandro to his fatherland.

Just as the inborn talent of the father by its distinction

prompted the son’s devotion to his country,

by the favors of both, he thus repays such a fatherland.²

For the father, the portrait was a visual testament of a certain moment in his career as an artist. For the son, it became a reminder and a remainder of his lost father. For Padua, it symbolized the restoration of one of its native sons. For each, the significance of the work was linked to a previous intention and altered by a subsequent intention, whether the artist's, the father's, the son's, or the state's.

The *Self-Portrait*, a visualization of the artist's sense of self at about age forty, was at once a public and a private testament. As a self-portrait, it inevitably contained an autobiographical element; as a work of art, it necessarily positioned itself in a dialogue with an imagined viewer. Padovanino's self-image can be understood as the artist's will and testament—a document composed to be reread at a later point in time. But what personal narrative was being told when Padovanino gave form to this image? And how did that narrative change when Padovanino looked back on this image at the end of his life?

This *Self-Portrait* is highly unusual. Padovanino does not represent himself as a painter in the act of painting himself—what Joseph Koerner summarized as the intense “moment of self-portraiture” in which the artistic self and image are simultaneously absorbed in “the double activity of looking and representing.”³ Instead, Padovanino chose another “moment” in which the painter and his image are fully transformed into an objectified body and opened up to the inspection of an implied gaze. Padovanino shows himself in profile, a position that might be described as “not looking” or as “represented” (to nuance Koerner's phrase). He looks neither at himself as he captures his own likeness nor at the implied viewer. By placing himself in profile, he effectively renounces any claim as a viewing subject, and with this gesture he insistently underlines his status as a thing viewed.

Padovanino's *Self-Portrait* thus departs from convention because it constructs the artist's identity through the performance of a body that is already *other*. Rather than using self-portraiture to master and produce a bodily likeness, the image reveals the strangeness of the self. Selfhood in this instance is not simply a question of bodily resemblance but is instead defined through alterity—the otherness of the self. Beyond an empirical record of physical or external likeness, Padovanino's representation stages a “self” that corresponds with an internal image. In this startling *mise-en-scène*, the artist complicates the traditions of self-portraiture by representing his “self” with a monochromatic bust of an older man, broadening the construction of self-identity with yet another body. This sculpted figure has been identified as Plutarch or, elsewhere, Titian.⁴ I would like to suggest a third possibility, that this portrait-within-the-portrait is drawn from Padovanino's conflation of his own father, Dario Varotari the elder, with Titian. Father and son are both remade as Titian.

A self-portrait is, if nothing else, an attempt to record how the artist imagined himself at a given point in time and, to some extent, how he hoped others might see him at another moment in time. Or—to restate the problematic—every self-portrait is a fraught representation, whose meaning is produced in that instant when the psychodynamics of the autobiographical project brush up against the more objective, representational act of painting. A self-portrait is deliberately constructed and, therefore, subject to wishful thinking: it incorporates the active fantasy life of its author. The self-portrait is also unconstructed, betraying unconscious desires. Intention, then, is both conscious and unconscious, accommodating and insolent.

In the *Self-Portrait*, Padovanino, the author, addresses himself to his readers. These “readers” are, at once, the artist himself, his contemporaries, his predecessors, and his successors. The relationship that is being inscribed in this painting is not about death; instead, it is about authors who return as their own readers, and readers who, through reading, become new authors.⁵ This scenario generates questions about intentionality and reception: How did Padovanino’s son—as well as Padovanino’s fatherland, to which the son returned the father—read the image? How did the artist receive his self-made doppelgänger on the eve of his death? Was the author able to retrace his intention in that image? Where does this unusual self-portrait fit within the artist’s overall oeuvre, and why did Padovanino, contrary to all generic conventions, choose to represent himself with Titian? In short, to what will did the *Self-Portrait* testify?

Let me propose a short answer: the painting is a testament of Padovanino’s willful self-inscription not only as Titian redivivus but also as the self who became Padovanino. In this regard, the *Self-Portrait* tells a story about the construction of subjects and identities, about the repetition of others in order to become oneself—a self that was always-already *other*. Padovanino represents himself with an image of Titian and, in the process, authors his own story for himself, for other readers, and for authors-in-the-becoming. The dynamic between Padovanino and Titian is not defined by the unidirectional flow of influence from the “master” to the “imitator.” Instead, the relationship shows history to be a continuous process of retrieval and projection. This response generates a different set of questions about intentionality and reception: What kind of history is being written through this double portrait? How does Padovanino become himself by remaking Titian, and, of equal importance, how is Titian remade through Padovanino’s intervention? Moreover, did Padovanino’s representation of himself as well as his understanding of Titian coincide with subsequent readings? Did posterity read their stories sympathetically?

For Titian, the fact that generations of artists chose to imitate him reinforced his position in the history of art as a great artist. For Padovanino, the verdict was not so kind. Imitators, rather than being seen as instrumental in the construction of artistic identity, are usually discredited for a lack of originality. Jacob Burckhardt accused Padovanino of an inability to get “beyond the imitation of Titian and [Veronese]” and for mixing “with these studies a somewhat lifeless idealism.”⁶ Giuseppe Fiocco tried to make excuses, calling Padovanino a *Tizianesco* shipwrecked in the seicento, but John Steer described him as someone who “produced ham-fisted pastiches after Titian.”⁷ Rudolf Wittkower blamed Padovanino for an “academic eclecticism” that perpetuated itself in the paintings of his pupils.⁸ And Adolfo Venturi went so far as to say that this “effeminate copyist” smothered the flames of Titian’s coloring with his gloomy pink tints, mass-producing Tizianesque forms with sluggish ease.⁹

For historians focused on master plots and narratives of greatness, the fate of Venetian painting in the seventeenth century inspired little passion. Trapped between the death of Jacopo Tintoretto and the birth of Giovanni Battista Tiepolo, the Venetian seicento was represented as a conservative, reactionary period that tried to recuperate the lost values of a faded golden age. Elsewhere in Europe the seventeenth century produced masters such as Caravaggio, the Carracci, Nicolas

Poussin, Diego Velázquez, Bartolomé Estebán Murillo, Peter Paul Rubens, Anthony van Dyck, and Rembrandt, but artistic production in Venice was best characterized as an “eclectic slumber,” whose dreamers were latecomers at best and emasculated parasites at worst.¹⁰

Yet, in his own time Padovanino was a celebrated painter. The English ambassador and poet Sir Henry Wotton championed him as the best portraitist of his day, enthusiastically recommending the painter to Robert Cecil, first earl of Salisbury, as “our rising Titian.”¹¹ Francesco Scannelli identified him in *Il microcosmo della pittura* (1657) as one of the best storytellers of his time, and Marco Boschini praised him as Titian’s “Vice-Author,” “heit,” and “adoptive son” in the *La carta del navegar pitoresco* (1660).¹² Padovanino’s paintings appeared in the prestigious collection of Leopold Wilhelm, archduke of Austria and governor of the Spanish Netherlands, as well as in elite Florentine, Roman, and Venetian collections.

Whether Padovanino “truly” was as good as these men believed him to be is not the point. The more urgent concern is his *Nachleben*, or afterlife: What happened to Padovanino? How did the same painter promoted as “our rising Titian” come to be seen later as an “effeminate copyist”? How did one of the “best storytellers” of the seicento end up maligned as a producer of “ham-fisted pastiches”? These questions bring me to the larger critique, which underlies this study, of the types of subjects art historians seek to construct from the fragments of the past. Studies on early modern artists remain largely influenced by two dominant methodological approaches: the monographic enterprise inspired by Giorgio Vasari’s biographical model and the contextual paradigm drawn from the lessons of social art history. Both possess many virtues, but both have shortcomings as well. In spite of the much-publicized death of the author, there remains an insistence in certain camps on a history of “great masters,” a history in which events progress in a linear, teleological manner, a history that relies on the decisive, life-changing innovations of great men, a history that can overemphasize artistic agency. The social historical alternative, in its most extreme form, tends toward a reduction of artists to producers of material goods posited against a separate category of consumers; along the way, it occasionally overlooks the pictorial intelligence and specificity that distinguish a painting from a chair, or a painting from a drawing. The former approach runs the risk of romanticizing authorial intention and of ignoring the historical specificity of taste, while the latter may overstate the shaping powers of society and underplay the importance of artistic ambition.

Caught between these two methodological approaches, artists such as Padovanino—perceived to be followers rather than leaders—are predetermined to play the role of the loser. Their stories become the sad tales of men who either were too weak to attain greatness or victims of a social system beyond the individual’s control. Padovanino belongs to neither category. Well into the nineteenth century he was perceived as a successful and popular painter and remembered as a devoted citizen, a wise master, a good father, and an excellent friend.¹³

What we know about Padovanino is somewhat limited.¹⁴ Born Alessandro Leone Varotari in 1588, Padovanino trained in his hometown of Padua until his relocation to Venice in 1614. His father, Dario Varotari the elder, was a painter; his mother, Samaritana, was the daughter of a painter named Giovanni Battista

Ponchino; Padovanino's elder sister, Chiara, was also a painter.¹⁵ His father died in 1596 or 1598, around the age of fifty-seven, following an accident while painting a fresco.¹⁶ During his early years Padovanino is reported copying the frescoes in the Scuola del Santo in Padua, which Titian had painted one hundred years earlier.¹⁷ He was married in 1612 to Caterina Mesa in Padua.¹⁸ In 1614, Padovanino moved to Venice.¹⁹ In 1615, one year after this transfer, he enrolled in the artist's guild.²⁰ Sometime after 1614 but before the end of 1615, Padovanino made an important journey to Rome. It was in this period that he made the copies of Titian's bacchanals (Francis Haskell's assertion that Padovanino "rushed to Rome" to copy the paintings for Cassiano dal Pozzo shortly before their removal to Spain in 1637 is incorrect).²¹

In 1618, Padovanino completed one of his first major Venetian commissions, the *Victory of the Camotesi over the Normans* (fig. 2), an enormous history painting, and proudly signed the canvas "ALEX VAROT. / RII. PATAVINI / 1618." In August 1619, he received payment for some cartoons of mosaics he designed for San Marco.²² In the 1620s, he completed an extensive series of works in Santa Maria Maggiore. In the 1630s, he was invited to paint a tondo for the ceiling of the Libreria Marciana, and he also participated in the competition to design the most important Venetian church of the seventeenth century, Santa Maria della Salute. When the Salute was eventually completed by Baldassare Longhena, one of Padovanino's paintings was installed on the high altar.²³ Padovanino spent his remaining years in Venice, producing numerous works and instructing diverse students; he eventually died there in 1649, leaving behind three sons: Dario, Ciro, and Ascanio.²⁴ Two centuries later, he had slipped quietly into oblivion and was only occasionally pulled out of the wilderness of historical amnesia to serve as an example of how Venetian art lost its way after the deaths of the Renaissance masters.

Padovanino's *telos* reads like the personal histories of countless other sixteenth-century artists of varying degrees of fame and talent. Yet Padovanino's very ordinariness is what makes him such an extraordinary subject for analysis. Padovanino and artists like him reveal the constructedness of historical identities and of history itself, of the counterexamples that must be censured, exaggerated, or otherwise transformed for the forward-marching master narrative to cohere. My reason for engaging with Padovanino is not to rehabilitate him as a great artist, for this would force him into an unwelcome position within the very art historical canon and discourse that seeks to label him as a belated imitator slinking about in Titian's shadow. The hostility that Padovanino has inspired from art historians indicates that the critical paradigms of art history have failed to help us see Padovanino and have predictably judged Padovanino a failure. Rather than continuing to squint at Padovanino through these distorting lenses, it is more productive to shift our critical vantage point.

To be clear from the start, this book does not want to be a monograph. It will not plot the artist along some emancipatory narrative, advancing from early to mature to late style with increasing sophistication and mastery, and it will neither lament Padovanino as a victim nor claim a greatness that has been wrongfully denied. The subject of this book is doubled: first there is Padovanino the historical figure, the constituting subject who represents, and then there is "Padovanino" the cipher, the constituted subject who is represented. Both figures stand somewhere

FIG. 2. PADOVANINO
*Victory of the Camotesi over the
Normans, 1618, oil on canvas,
510 × 587 cm (200³/₄ × 231¹/₈ in.)
Milan, Pinacoteca di Brera*



between monographic and contextual approaches, gathering together the critical threads of each without becoming fully entangled in the methodological bind of the one or the other.

I do not claim that either method (or any other) has somehow become inadequate. Instead, I want to use them to open up new interpretive possibilities. In the place of a biographical or strictly sociohistorical reconstruction of Padovanino—the man, the art, the life and times—I wish to write a history, using Padovanino as an example, about artistic decisions and engaged spectatorship in early modern visual culture. The trajectory of this specific painter enables me to clarify the more complex issues of how artistic identity and agency are negotiated in a work of art and how these elements are subsequently remade through each new viewing circumstance. Rather than reinscribing the institutions of the artist, the masterpiece, originality, and genius, I offer the more deconstructed categories of the self, the work of art, artistic strategies, and historiographical framing.

The demotion of Padovanino from notable painter to unremarkable hack makes evident two things: first, the unwillingness of scholars to value imitators as inventors and repetition as a form of originality; and second, the complexities of fixing intention in any singular agent. To clarify these remarks, let me turn to the insightful observations of an old hand, an author whose remarkable prescience requires some revisiting. In 1930, Erwin Panofsky mapped out a theory about the relationship between originals and copies in a somewhat prophetic editorial letter titled “Original und Faksimilie Reproduktion,” which appeared in the German periodical *Der Kreis*.²⁵ Panofsky’s communiqué was written in response to a polemic surrounding the growing practice of using facsimile or substitute reproductions in the exhibition of sculptural and architectural groups in museums.²⁶ Among other points, the contention centered on the lure of the reproduction—that is, the dilemma of authenticity versus deception in the aesthetic experience and to what extent the viewer could be educated or manipulated. Panofsky refused to endorse either the “moral pathos” propagated by the “original fanatics,” on the one hand, or the ahistoricity of the “fac-similistes,” on the other hand.²⁷

Copies, he argued, possessed their own intellectual benefits: they made the inaccessible accessible and provided records of lost works. Following a Platonic line of reasoning, Panofsky stated that the work of art was already a reproduction after nature (itself an expression of a metaphysical concept) and, therefore, always-already an imitation of an imitation. Drawing from Renaissance imitation theories based on Aristotelian mimesis, he then explained that the work of art aimed precisely to deceive the viewer insofar that it was a sensory or aesthetic deception rather than an ideological or political one. Panofsky articulated with great insight that a copy does not necessarily seek to “replace” an original; rather, it repeats an original “intention.” To make his point, Panofsky explained the concept of a “musical intention,” which can be performed several times without harm to the original “intention.” For the same reasons, he concluded, a good reproduction of a painting by Paul Cézanne aims not to convince the viewer that he is standing before the original but to communicate through a specific “reproductive optic” the intention of the original work of art.²⁸

The name that demands to be uttered here is that of Walter Benjamin. Let me say a few words so that we can move beyond “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction,” Benjamin’s oft-quoted essay, which did not appear until six years after Panofsky’s letter. I mention this *not* to suggest another chronological hierarchy of priority (I am not interested in whether A influenced B), but to underline why Benjamin’s text is inappropriate to my analysis of early modern visual culture. Although Panofsky and Benjamin shared an abiding interest in how intention was produced in the moment of aesthetic experience and how that moment could be manipulated or enhanced by the reader’s knowledge of previous images, the difference between the two is profound; and while this is not the place to map out the complex relationship between the two texts, the following distinctions should be made.

Panofsky’s concerns were humanistic and pedagogical. His enterprise was iconographical and philological. He wanted to chart the continuity and transformation of visual symbols and motifs and optimistically saw this continuity as cultural accretion, the reception of inherited knowledge. Rather than focusing on the aura of the original artwork, Panofsky’s letter suggests that each performance instantiates its own moment of authentic experience in which originality is continuously renegotiated between the multiple intentions of the author, the reader, and the work. Panofsky’s argument about the integrity of “originals and facsimiles” attends to three significant displacements, to which I shall return over the course of this book: first, the idea of a “work” of art is divested from the material object and reinvested in the performance or materialization of the intention; second, “intention” slides from the subjective monopoly of the artist toward the more unpredictable domain of reception; third, “originals” and “reproductions” no longer stand diametrically opposed to each other but exist instead in a state of mutual dependency.

In contrast to Panofsky’s humanist perspective, Benjamin feared that reproductions would end up as commodified substitutes supplanting original or authentic experiences and would ultimately serve to create contrived, ready-made emotional responses. In the hands of the wrong powers, this could lead to the destruction of individual initiative in the sociopolitical realm. Benjamin’s article was written in opposition to the rise of fascism and the aestheticization of politics at the expense of a politicization of aesthetics, rather than in the more scholarly, although no less ideologically engaged, context of the renewed *Kopienkritik* debate. What Benjamin overemphasized, and what many art historians have unfortunately chosen to take up, is the issue of the loss of aura from original to reproduction. This question must be contextualized within Benjamin’s anxieties about fascism and not misapplied to reinforce a heroic modernist discourse, which champions the primacy of “originals” and the “great artists” that give birth to them. Early modern modernity, furthermore, cannot and must not be seamlessly conflated with modernism. The heroic narrative of twentieth-century avant-gardism is still a far cry from the historical experience of an artist like Padovanino (and even Titian, for that matter), whose sense of being-in-tradition had not yet been so violently shaken.

This returns me to Panofsky, whose fluid model of originals and facsimiles brings me to another critical theme: the relationship of the whole to its parts and vice versa. The stature of figures such as Titian—and this goes to the heart of my argument—is made possible in part through the posterior intervention of artists

like Padovanino in very much the same way that “originals” come into being only when the existence of “copies” alters our perception of the alleged original work. Possessing a *Venus and Adonis* by Titian and possessing a *Venus and Adonis* by Titian just like the one your neighbor already owns are two very different experiences. In other words, the identity of two distinct selves is formulated through a process of codeterminacy; if anything, it is the presence of the copy that bestows aura upon the “original.” If Panofsky’s argument leads us to this conclusion about the relationship between originals and reproductions, Gilles Deleuze can help us come to an analogous conclusion about the more complex process of subject-formation. Deleuze’s philosophy of repetition as “differentiated becoming” plays a fundamental part in my analysis of Padovanino’s relationship vis-à-vis Titian and so deserves careful explanation here.

Deleuze can help frame the Padovanino phenomenon on two levels. In general terms, Deleuze’s theorization of repetition-as-becoming is especially germane, for it challenges developmental narratives in which external agents “influence” the subject in a unidirectional manner. In the traditionalist view, Padovanino (the subject) is necessarily posited as an inferior and belated imitator to a great master like Titian (the external agent). Deleuze would have it that external agents (here, Titian) function as “temporary appurtenances” and “provisional possessions” that alter the subject’s (Padovanino’s) perception of things while, at the same time, they are transformed by their “interindividual” engagement with the subject.²⁹

In more specific terms, the sense of “double belonging” that emerges from Deleuze’s discussion of the baroque fold can be employed to redress the historical specificity of Padovanino’s story. The notion of “double belonging” explains a conception of the self as a doubled entity.³⁰ Drawing upon the writings of Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz, Deleuze sought to articulate a philosophy of repetition as *difference* (instead of resemblance) and of existence as a state of *becoming* (rather than one of being).³¹ Using the image of the fold, Deleuze mapped out a philosophy of subjectivity that emphasized the importance of alterity in the process of subject-formation and self-perception.

For Deleuze, the fold represented a theory of repetition and existence as an open process of becoming. “Folding-unfolding,” “enveloping-developing,” and “involution-evolution” reflect a process without teleological constraints and orderly narratives.³² This process acknowledges not only how something repeated moves back in time in order to advance forward in a rippling effect but also how something repeated belongs to a larger entity while also being different in its specificity.

Deleuze’s anti-humanist argument was, in essence, a challenge to the autonomy of the Cartesian subject: René Descartes (and Panofsky to a certain degree) defined the individual as a coherent subjectivity, which is a fundamentally humanist position.³³ Deleuze shifted the domain of identity-making from the subject to the connectedness of the subject with other subjects. Thus, in the place of the centered, thinking individual whence all meaning is produced—the Cartesian ego—Deleuze repositioned the self as a fluid monadic entity whose self-perception is modulated by the continual state of flux that both surrounds and distinguishes it, that acts upon it and against which it acts. In the confrontation with an *other*, multiple identities simultaneously come into being.

This scheme illustrates another Deleuzian contention: desire is about making connections; it is not about lack. In *L'abécédaire*, Deleuze uses the example of a dress to illustrate this point: one does not simply desire the dress, but the whole context of the dress—the “aggregate” or “assemblage” of social relations that connects the desiring subject to other desiring subjects through the dress.³⁴ As such, desire becomes an organizational principle; it is life enhancing and is directed toward the production of collective interests. In *Anti-Oedipus* and *A Thousand Plateaus* (published in French in 1972 and 1980, respectively), Deleuze and Félix Guattari argued against what they saw to be a Freudian and capitalist determination of desire as lack. In the place of this “neurotic” model, they proposed a theorization of individuals as “machines” who necessarily connect with other machines to generate significant meaning.³⁵ Desire is a “flow” that forges necessary links: “Desire constantly couples continuous flows and partial objects that are by nature fragmentary.”³⁶

In the social realm, then, desire organizes and activates isolated bodies into “machinic assemblages” that share common interests and goals in a productive manner. The Deleuzian assemblage or network, however, is not a tree-like, or “arborescent,” structure in which authority is ordered through vertical, hierarchical channels of influence and individuals are allotted a predetermined position within that system of power: master/slave; master/pupil; master/copyist.³⁷ Instead, Deleuze and Guattari offered the “rhizome” as a model for envisioning an affective space in which social relations are mapped out through horizontal lines of connection.³⁸ A rhizome is a root structure with multiple overlapping chronologies and no discernible point of origin; it “has no beginning or end; it is always in the middle, between things, interbeing, *intermezzo*.”³⁹ Whereas the tree imposes a system of filiation ordered around superiors and inferiors, the rhizome is about alliance, connection, and heterogeneity, about the kind of causal interpenetration in which new stems graft onto old filaments and transform the nature of both in the same instance.

Deleuze returns us to Padovanino and returns Padovanino to us. From a Deleuzian perspective, both the writing of history and the formation of identity become incessant processes of mutual inflection and constant revision that require us to think of them as belonging to a reflective and changeable narrative rather than a strictly linear, teleological causality. Titian becomes possible not only because of Giorgione but also because of Padovanino; Giorgione, in turn, is inflected because of the way Padovanino transforms Titian, and so on. History and identity result from the connectedness of individual subjectivities, not the self-sufficiency of the Cartesian ego and the humanist individual.

Deleuze and Guattari also provide us with an alternative to the agonistic model of influence as anxiety, advanced by Harold Bloom, in which belated “sons” struggle against the authority of strong “fathers” in an oedipal melodrama. In this view, the latecomer must defeat his formidable predecessor to find his own artistic voice.⁴⁰ Padovanino’s relationship to Titian can be structured around a familial model inasmuch as it illustrates Seneca the younger’s metaphor about good imitation being akin to the process in which a viewer can detect in the face of the son the traits of the father, without denying to either their own sense of identity.⁴¹ There is, however, no murderous intent, no deep-seated anxiety or resentment posited toward the father as the source of the son’s inspiration. Deleuze and Guattari’s critique in *Anti-Oedipus*

of Freud's fixation with universal familialism, therefore, provides me with the means to de-oedipalize Padovanino's story and direct the argument away from a Bloomian positioning of the belated artist as a morose, anxious, rebellious son—an argument that would lead us back to the inevitable trap of naturalizing artistic genius.⁴² "Great masters" do not descend from the stars as Vasari would have us believe but are the constructs of multiple forces and discourses (as Vasari's *Vite* ironically enough demonstrates all too well).

More significant, the anti-oedipal formulation effectively breaks the binary that structures the economic model of supply and demand that would argue for Padovanino's identity simply as a producer of Titian knockoffs or that would situate Padovanino as a latecomer. The motivation of collectors to acquire Padovanino's paintings intersects with Padovanino's motivation to produce artworks. Deleuze and Guattari's rhizomorphic model of social relations shows us that we can no longer explain Padovanino's success solely as the result of a seventeenth-century desire—a nostalgic longing—for "Titians" in a market depleted of such paintings. This is not to deny that Padovanino did make copies; he was often asked to do so when paintings were sold off to foreign collectors.⁴³ Copy-making was, after all, a common activity of seventeenth-century artists. Rubens, for instance, was charged by the king of Spain to undertake such tasks, and his skill in imitating Titian even led one of his contemporaries to call him their "new Titian" (*nuevo Ticiano*).⁴⁴ However, replicas were exceptions rather than the rule for most artists. Moreover, there was always an awareness that the "copies" after Titian or others were also "originals" by, say, Padovanino, or Rubens—a doubling rather than a reduction of authorship. Collectors did not narrow-mindedly perceive Padovanino vis-à-vis a lack of available paintings by Titian, nor did the artist perceive his own role as a supplier of such works. Padovanino's overall production is too varied to support such a totalizing argument.

Proceeding from a Deleuzian reading, this book will argue that Padovanino's motivation to produce artworks is positioned in relation to his perception of Titian's motivation toward a similar end in which desire directed the artist toward the generation of new interests in, new connections between, and new possibilities with old forms. Instead of the standard historical model structured around influence and priority, this book will expand upon those moments of intervention and interdependency that make evident the Deleuzian "double belonging" that ties Padovanino to Titian and vice versa. Padovanino clearly cultivated a self-image in his own portrait and in his other paintings that was based on the positive perception of him as an *other* Titian. Hence, rather than disavowing the repetitive quality of his work, I want to explore it in its utmost specificity. What did Padovanino's insistent quotation of Titian signify for the artist? How was it received, and how did this perception alter Padovanino's trajectory? Did these attitudes mutate with time? Answering these questions will allow me to demonstrate the way Padovanino came to be made through repetition and how Titian was remade in that same act.

The concept of codeterminacy is not simply an old postmodern trope; we do well to remember that modernists also felt very strongly about this collective sense of identity.⁴⁵ T. S. Eliot, for one, maintained in "Tradition and the Individual" that just as poets could not create in a historical vacuum, old texts could not be but transformed by the "supervention" of new texts.

What happens when a new work of art is created is something that happens simultaneously to all the works of art that preceded it. The existing monuments form an ideal order among themselves, which is modified by the introduction of the new (the really new) work among them. The existing order is complete before the new work arrives; for order to persist after the supervention of novelty, the *whole* existing order must be, if ever so slightly, altered; and so the relations, proportions, values of each work of art toward the whole are readjusted; and this is conformity between the old and the new.⁴⁶

The following chapters will examine Padovanino's individual response to the specific circumstances—the “*whole* existing order”—in which he operated: his relationship, at once respectful and confident vis-à-vis Titian; not only his standing within the networks that interpellated him as a subject but also his position within a history that he was authoring himself. This process will be examined in four chapters through four of Padovanino's paintings: the *Self-Portrait*, *Sleeping Venus*, *Venus and Adonis*, and *Triumph*.

Chapter 1 opens with the *Sleeping Venus*, which was painted around 1625, at about the same time as the artist's *Self-Portrait*. The latter is a complex dramatization of the self, and the former is an inspired variation of Titian's *Sleeping Venus* in Dresden. If Padovanino's *Self-Portrait* is a meditation upon the process of exchange between continuous and discontinuous temporal moments—between absences and presences, between the identity of authors and readers, and between subjectivity and objecthood—the *Sleeping Venus* and, to a greater extent, the *Venus and Adonis* read almost as vestiges of that process. Rather than staging the encounter between the two painters in such an overt manner, as in the *Self-Portrait*, Padovanino's repetition of Titian in the *Sleeping Venus* and the *Venus and Adonis* pushes us to reflect upon the issue of representational alterity from another perspective. The viewing experience becomes a dialogic one that compels the spectator to look at the image through his or her memory of other images rather than simply at the image itself and to see difference in spite of the obvious resemblance. Padovanino's painting evades the malady of interpretosis that seeks iconographical closure and disclosure; instead, it pushes us to think through the critical implications of this kind of self-aware repetition.

To situate the historical specificity of Padovanino's quotationalism, however, one needs to understand the way Titian employed repetition in his own practice and how contemporary viewers engaged with the repetitive element in each artist's work. Chapter 1 will map the sociological implications of repetition within the homo-social context of the early modern workshop and court.⁴⁷ The contextualization of Titian's multiple originals within this intensively self-conscious arena serves to illustrate two things: first, the way resemblance operates in the formation of group identity, and, second, the circumstances under which repetition becomes desirable.

This returns us in chapter 2 to Padovanino's ersatz Titian. Is there a way to speak about Padovanino's “derivative” images without resorting to tropes of nostalgia, atrophy, and decline? The Deleuzean frame offers one possibility; film theory offers another. A word of caution here. The study of painting and film is gauged by fundamentally and materially different concerns. I do not mean to suggest that look-

ing at films is equivalent to looking at static, two-dimensional works of art. They belong to two distinct historical moments and engage very different kinds of embodied spectatorship. I would, however, argue that interesting and productive things can happen at the jagged boundary between them. Studying repetition in painting by looking at repetition in film unexpectedly offers us another “double belonging,” in which our perception of the one is indelibly modified by the other. Film theory is not used here as a theoretical *appliqué*, but as a Brechtian strategy. It is the unexpected confrontation as much as the anticipated disjunction between the two disciplines—art history and film studies—that can shock us out of our old ways of seeing so that we might envision a different history and another methodological space for artists like Padovanino.

Bruce Kavin’s useful distinction between the *repetitive* and the *repetitious* in film and literature will help outline an aesthetic of repetition, or an “optic of repetition” (to adapt Panofsky’s “reproductive optic”). The lessons drawn from film and literary theory, to be sure, will not propose some totalizing solution to the problematic nature of Padovanino’s insistently repetitive imagery. Instead, they serve to reframe and to redirect our attention to the historical grounding of Padovanino’s imagery within early seicento neo-Venetianism. Works that made deliberate reference to artworks of the past, such as Padovanino’s *Sleeping Venus* and *Venus and Adonis*, would have appealed to a certain type of engaged spectator who would have taken pleasure in comparing and contrasting the similarities and differences between the image and all its rhizomorphic connections.

By the beginning of the seicento, a century of Titianesque seriality had enabled the establishment of a shared visual encyclopedia of Venetian clichés among educated viewers and informed artists. This diffusive neo-Venetianism was also bolstered by the relocation in 1598 of the bacchanals by Titian and Giovanni Bellini from the d’Este court in Ferrara to the Palazzo Aldobrandini in Rome. Padovanino’s encounter with the bacchanals in Rome in 1614 is but one of many similar discovery tales. His experience, however, cannot be overgeneralized; it was fundamentally different from that of Poussin, Rubens, or van Dyck. What Rome offered Padovanino, but not these other painters, was critical distance: Rome enabled Padovanino to experience the alterity of Venetian style. Ironically enough, then, what Padovanino offered to Venice, he found in Rome. Rome was where Padovanino’s aesthetic conversion occurred. Rome was where the young artist was able to remake his own history and to triumph as an *other* self through what Tarde referred to as the “fruitful interference of repetitions.” Padovanino gave back to Venice a sense of itself at a specific point when Venetian viewers had forgotten Titian’s full potentiality. The developments fostered by Caravaggio and the Carracci in early seicento Rome enabled Padovanino to envision an alternative outcome for Venetian style: one based on the light and naturalism of early Titian rather than on the abstract, claustrophobic space of late Tintoretto and Palma Giovane.

The third chapter focuses on Padovanino’s ambitious *Triumph* and the inscription of the individual into the larger historical narrative that he himself was authoring. The *Triumph* resulted from the artist’s encounter with Titian’s bacchanals and Rome’s neo-Venetianism circa 1614. The painting was a proficient pastiche of the gamut of “old master” styles available to Padovanino at this time. To explore this

theme further, Padovanino's *Self-Portrait* is summoned back into the discussion. Both paintings speak about artistic will and ambition, but each tells a different story: one is performed in the voice of a young man; the other is the testament of a mature artist. In no uncertain terms, the *Self-Portrait* stages the spectacle of repetition as history and history as repetition.

Padovanino's neo-Venetianism represents yet another instance of "double belonging" that bound together informed spectators on various levels. First are the connections forged between artists and nonartists. Second is the conversation between artists in Venice and Venetians abroad. Third is the relation between ancients and moderns. Drawing on the evidence from the debates of the period about *antioggidiano* (the cult of modernity) and *marinismo* (the marvelous style of Giambattista Marino), chapter 4 will situate Padovanino's modernity within the *paragone* (or comparison) between *antichi* and *moderni* in the early decades of the seventeenth century. What did it mean to be "modern" circa 1614, and did it mean the same thing in 1649, at the end of Padovanino's life? Did the artist gaze upon his own *Self-Portrait* and recognize the same narrative of becoming? And did his heirs read this life story as a tale about modernity?

In wrenching the writing of art history from a discourse that secures privileged seating for its "great masters," this book proposes instead a history of *artistic strategies* that is attentive to the very constructedness of its own discursive project. Moving beyond an allegiance to Western canons and master narratives, this study seeks to uproot the arborescent structure of imitation, in which great masters grow like branches from the same tree of influence, so as to study repetition or the rhizomorphic lines-of-becoming that enabled a provincial seventeenth-century artist to become "Padovanino" at a specific moment in time and then to be remade as another "Padovanino" at another moment in time.

Notes

1. Tarde, *Laws of Imitation*, 382.
2. For the Latin original, see this volume, pp. 163–64. On this painting, see Varotari, *Opere*, 119–22; Pietrucci, *Biografia*, 276; and Moschetti, “L’auto-ritratto,” 53.
3. Koerner, *Moment of Self-Portraiture*, 5.
4. Menin, *Elogio*, 43; cf. Moschini, *Della origine*, 90. Scholars have subsequently followed the identification of the figure as Titian.
5. On author-reader relationships, see Barthes, *Image*, 142–48.
6. Burckhardt, *Cicerone*, 205.
7. Fiocco, *Venetian Painting*, 11; and Steer, *Concise History*, 169.
8. Wittkower, *Art and Architecture*, 2:152.
9. Venturi, as quoted in Ruggeri, *Padovanino*, 7: “Mediocre, nel suo complesso è l’arte del Padovanino, che stempera nelle uggiose tinte rosate il fuoco del color di Tiziano. . . Una parentesi nella Venezia del Palma Giovane apre con la sua opera il roseo, effeminato Padovanino, che inoltra nel Seicento ristampando forme tizianesche con pigra facilità, e, d’un tratto, scuotendo la sua neghittosa temprà di copiatore, viene a rivelarci una personalità gagliarda, un’avidità insospetta di nuovo nel diverso orientamento della sua visione artistica.”
10. Wittkower, *Art and Architecture*, 1:72. Recent surveys on the Venetian seicento proceed chronologically, highlighting the “best” painters and the most important commissions throughout the century. Generally speaking, authors have a tendency to argue for the unique position of Venice and/or to optimistically read the period as one of international exchange (an ironic emphasis on *venezianità*, on the one hand, and the pivotal role of the *forestieri*, on the other hand). Although outstanding in the documentation and stylistic analysis of the Venetian seicento, such studies nevertheless reinforce the perception of the period as an artistic “dark age.” In spite of their good intentions, most writers seem compelled to begin with the usual apology that the seicento is not the Renaissance and to rehash (and, therefore, to perpetuate) old stereotypes about how the pervasive anxiety, neuroses, bitterness, and melancholia of the seicento manifested themselves in its art. See, for instance, Safarik, “La pittura,” 64: “un apparato illusorio cui tenacemente ci si abbarbica con l’angosciosa speranza di ripristinare antiche vestigia, di restaurare una storia ormai definitivamente scomparsa. È una pittura nevrotica, e questa perdita di ruolo univoco crea un sapore, in fondo, amaro e melanconico”; Pacciarotti, *La pittura*, 213: “La nostalgia della grande pittura del Cinquecento non cessava comunque di essere pungente tra gli artisti della Serenissima, ed è proprio intorno alla metà del secolo che rivisitando Tiziano, Tintoretto e Bassano”; and Pedrocchi, “Venezia,” 25: “Dunque, tra gli anni finali del Cinquecento e gli esordi del Seicento, la pittura veneziana . . . soffre evidentemente di scarsa originalità creativa. Il gusto dominante dei committenti e degli artisti appare infatti condizionato dalla tendenza ad un revival nostalgico ed inevitabilmente accademico della grande stagione cinquecentesca.”
11. Wotton, as quoted in Howarth, *Lord Arundel*, 37.
12. Scannelli, *Il microcosmo*, 265: “Alessandro Varotari detto il Padovanino; il quale si può dire, che frà gli ultimi mancati à nostri giorni sia stato facilmete il miglior d’ogni altro nella compositione dell’historia”; and Boschini, *La carta*, 198, 419: “Vice-Autore,” “Ereditario de quei colpi rari, / Adotivo fiol, con chiaro pato.”
13. Pietrucci, *Biografia*, 278.
14. Primary sources on Padovanino are drawn from Marco Boschini, Carlo Ridolfi, and an early-nineteenth-century biography by Lodovico Menin; the standard reference on Padovanino is Ruggeri, *Padovanino*.
15. For seventeenth-century references to Dario Varotari the elder, see Ridolfi, *Le maraviglie*, 2:87–92; Boschini, *La carta*, 429; Balducci, *Notizie*, 2:645–47; and Gualdo, *1650*, 60–61. On Chiara, see Ridolfi, *Le maraviglie*, 2:91; Boschini, *La carta*, 563; and Gualdo, *1650*, 88–89. Padovanino also had another sister, Paola; cf. Ruggeri, “Alessandro Varotari,” 109. Padovanino’s maternal grandfather, Ponchino, was a painter of considerable reputation who was responsible for the ceiling paintings in the meeting chambers of the powerful Consiglio dei Dieci in the Palazzo Ducale in Venice.
16. The date is 1596 according to Ridolfi, *Le maraviglie*, 2:91; it is 1598 according to Ruggeri, “Padovanino,” 749.
17. Boschini, *La carta*, 718 (*Breve istruzione*): “Alessandro pertanto principiò a copiare quei miracoli di Sant’Antonio di Padoa, dipinti a fresco da Tiziano, nella Scuola pure di Padoa dello stesso Santo, rimettendoli ad oglio con maniera così naturale che innamoravano chi gli vedeva; ed io pure ebbi fortuna di vederli, e di ricopiarli ancora.”
18. Carburlotto, “Una copia dal Padovanino,” 30.
19. Ridolfi, *Le maraviglie*, 2:92: “condottosi giovinetto à Venetia l’anno 1614.”
20. Fletcher, “Venetian Seventeenth-Century Painting,” 665; cf. Favaro, *L’arte*, 145.
21. Haskell, *Patrons and Painters*, 105.
22. Potterton, *Venetian Seventeenth Century Painting*, 38; cf. Pallucchini, “Contribuiti,” 121–25; and Ruggeri, “Padovanino,” 749.
23. On Padovanino as an amateur architect, see Hopkins, *Santa Maria della Salute*, 20–21.

24. For sources on Padovanino's sons, see Pallucchini in Boschini, *La carta*, 428 n. 29; and Walberg, *Marian Miracle Paintings*, 148–49, 149 n. 29.
25. "Original und Faksimilie Reproduktion" was first published in 1930 in a special edition of *Der Kreis: Zeitschrift für künstlerische Kultur*; it was reprinted in 1986 in *Idea, Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunsthalle* and translated into French in 1995 in *Les cahiers du Musée national d'art moderne*. The absence of an English translation undoubtedly contributes to the reason why it has been overlooked for so long.
26. This debate extended from the *Kopienkritik* controversy that energized early historians of Roman art in the previous century. On the issues surrounding *Kopienkritik*, *Idealplastik*, and *Meisterwerk*, see Perry, *Aesthetics of Emulation*, 78–110.
27. Panofsky, "Original und Faksimiliereproduktion," 46.
28. Panofsky, "Original und Faksimiliereproduktion," 46.
29. Deleuze, *The Fold*, 115.
30. Deleuze, *The Fold*, 1.
31. Deleuze explained Leibniz's metaphor of the two floors as a model for the simultaneous unity and disunity of the body and soul; see Deleuze, *The Fold*, 119: "The two floors are and will remain inseparable; they are really distinct and yet inseparable by dint of a presence of the upper in the lower. The upper floor is folded over the lower floor. One is not acting upon the other, but one belongs to the other, in a sense of *double belonging*" (emphasis added).
32. Deleuze, *The Fold*, 1.
33. This conviction is perhaps most clearly articulated in Burckhardt's account of the rise of the Renaissance individual; see Burckhardt, *Civilization of the Renaissance*, 70–88.
34. Deleuze in *L'abécédaire*, chap. 4 ("D comme Désir").
35. For a discussion of "desiring machines," see Deleuze and Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus*, 1–45. The concepts of the "machine" and machinic assemblages, aggregates, or couplings should be situated within Deleuze and Guattari's critique of psychoanalysis's neurotization of society and their implementation of an ethics of engagement in the social field. Their concept of the "machine," therefore, is about making significant and productive connections. Colebrook explains: "A machinic becoming makes a connection with what is not itself in order to transform and maximize itself" (Colebrook, *Deleuze*, 57). Deleuze and Guattari suggest that "a schizophrenic out for a walk is a better model than a neurotic lying on the analyst's couch. A breath of fresh air, a relationship with the outside world. . . . There is no such thing as either man or nature now, only a process that produces the one within the other and couples the machines together . . . the self and the non-self, outside and inside, no longer have any meaning whatsoever" (Deleuze and Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus*, 2).
36. Deleuze and Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus*, 6. Deleuze's and Guattari's most-often quoted example reads: "the breast is a machine that produces milk, and the mouth a machine coupled to it" (p. 1). Claire Colebrook offered the equally illuminating example of a man (the "man-machine") who connects with a bicycle (the "bicycle-machine") and in doing so turns the latter into a means of transport rather than a purposeless amalgamation of metal and rubber, while through causal interpenetration, the bicycle transforms the man into a cyclist rather than a body without a function; see Colebrook, *Deleuze*, 56.
37. See comments on the writings of Pierre Rosenstiehl and Jean Petitot in Deleuze and Guattari, *Thousand Plateaus*, 16–17.
38. For an in-depth discussion of the "rhizome," see Deleuze and Guattari, *Thousand Plateaus*, 3–28.
39. Deleuze and Guattari, *Thousand Plateaus*, 27.
40. On the anxiety thesis, see Bloom, *Anxiety of Influence*; and Bloom, *Map of Misreading*. For a critique of Bloom, see in particular Greene, *Light in Troy*; and Ricks, *Allusion*.
41. Seneca, *Ad Lucilium*, 281 (no. 86): "Even if there shall appear in you a likeness to him who, by reason of your admiration, has left a deep impress upon you, I would have you resemble him as a child resembles his father, and not as a picture resembles its original; for a picture is a lifeless thing."
42. See especially Deleuze and Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus*, 58–152. An ethical aversion to the totalizing system represented by both Descartes and Freud drives Deleuze and Guattari's critique of Cartesian subjectivity and Freudian psychoanalysis. In Deleuze and Guattari's view, both systems of thought reduce consciousness to a single factor (father, mother, phallus, ego, and so on). In the place of the doubting neurotic lacking the power to act, they encouraged a productive rebellion against what they saw as a frantic oedipalization of society.
43. Boschini, *La carta*, 57, mentions a Padovanino painting after a Giorgione portrait in the Ca' Grimani that went to the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm in Brussels. Various seventeenth-century writers note that Padovanino replaced a Veronese that was sent to France; see Ridolfi, *Le maraviglie*, 1:325; Sansovino, *Venetia (1663)*, 163; and Boschini, *Le ricche minere*, 58.
44. Spanish poet Lope de Vega, as quoted in Ligo, "Two Seventeenth-Century Poems," 351; on Rubens, see the discussion in chap. 2, pp. 76–77.
45. See, for instance, Fried, *Manet's Modernism*.
46. Eliot, *Sacred Wood*, 44–45 ("Tradition and the Individual").
47. Drawing from ideas first introduced by Claude Lévi-Strauss and René Girard, an early theorization of homosociality is made in Sedgwick, *Between Men*. Not to be confused with homosexuality and homoeroticism, homosociality refers to the manufacture of power relations, which occurs between men; it is about men dominating one another in the social arena.

The “Delicious Nude”: Repetition and Identity

Lying upon a magnificent expanse of rich sienna-colored material and set against a pendulous drape of crimson, Padovanino’s nude goddess reposes in an atmosphere of sumptuous light and color (fig. 3). The arabesques that sweep across the composition in lazy diagonals modulate the rhythm of the painting. The face of the sleeping figure is drawn with heavy eyelids and full lips that repeat the curving lines of the drapery behind her; the faintest hint of red graces her left cheek. Her body stretches across the canvas. One arm is tucked under her head, resting upon two embroidered cushions; the delicate highlighting on the thick tassels echoes the crown that rests upon her reddish-brown mane. Her other arm is partially hidden in the shadows cast by the scarlet veil; the hand curves to conceal her sex. Her right leg is bent at the knee, and the lower half disappears beneath the weight of the outstretched left leg. Beyond the slumbering figure in the foreground, and partially covered by the mass of vermilion on the left, is a view onto a lonely landscape. The rolling hills, burning in saffron tones, further emphasize the languorous feeling of the image. In this secondary plane, the light radiates from a hidden source on the right side of the picture, while in the foreground the body glows beneath the viewer’s gaze. The landscape is a generic Venetian backdrop, reminiscent of countless images by Giovanni Bellini, Cima da Conegliano, Giorgione, Titian, and others: a low horizon obstructed by layers of sloping hills, dotted with the occasional house in the distance, skies slightly overcast by ample cumulonimbus clouds. The lighting is soft. The setting is pastoral. The mood is slightly elegiac.

This description conveys an idea of what the image looks like, but it fails in spite of its concerted ekphrastic effort to get at the *punctum*—the significant detail—that distinguishes this image from any other: namely, that Padovanino’s *Sleeping Venus* is recognizably based on a Titianesque referent. What matters is not that this body belongs to Venus, but that this particular body belongs to Titian’s Venus. Until the name of the old master is invoked, no amount of formal or even iconographical analysis will get to the heart of the matter. A telescopic, almost vertiginous, feeling arises from the tension between the act of looking at this picture and the act of filling in the *lapsus* that is generated by the elements within it. Looking at Padovanino’s painting, one cannot help but see other images. A meta-picture is created in the mind of the beholder, a *musée imaginaire* where multiple images slip in and out of view.

FIG. 3. PADOVANINO
Sleeping Venus, ca. 1625,
oil on canvas, 110 × 150 cm
(43 ³/₈ × 59 ¹/₈ in.)
Private collection



At first glance, Padovanino's image is unquestionably a reappearance of Titian's *Sleeping Venus* in the Dresden Gemäldegalerie (fig. 4); looking more closely, she morphs into Titian's *Venus of Urbino* in the Galleria degli Uffizi in Florence (fig. 5). The elements are represented in a different configuration, the forms are slightly altered, and the props are rearranged. In Padovanino's version, the goddess is depicted reclining *en plein air* like the Dresden Venus. Yet, just as in the *Venus of Urbino*, she is framed on the left side of the painting by a ponderous expanse of cloth. In Titian's painting this curtain is green; in Padovanino's it is red. Padovanino's Venus, like the one in Dresden, is asleep, whereas the Urbino Venus is awake. Contextualizing Padovanino's seemingly innocuous painting by referring to what immediately appears to be an obvious source unexpectedly turns into a complex endeavor. A close examination of Padovanino's *Sleeping Venus* not only reveals its referential nature but also discloses Titian's repetition of the woman's body from his own *Sleeping Venus* to the *Venus of Urbino*.

FIG. 4. GIORGIONE
(ITALIAN, 1477–1510)
[HERE ATTRIBUTED TO TITIAN]
Sleeping Venus, 1508–10,
oil on canvas, 108.5 × 175 cm
(42 ³/₄ × 69 in.)
Dresden, Staatliche
Kunstsammlungen, Gemäldegalerie
Alte Meister

FIG. 5. TITIAN
Venus of Urbino, 1538,
oil on canvas, 119 × 165 cm
(46 ⁷/₈ × 65 in.)
Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi



MULTIPLE ORIGINALS AND THE *TOUT-ENSEMBLE*

From the start it would seem that Titian understood the importance of strategic repetition as both an efficient *modus operandi* and a means of effective self-promotion. He is known to have retained studio copies—*modelli*, *abbozzi*, and *ricordi*—of his best works so that original copies could be issued from the workshop at any given point.¹ In many ways, the history of Renaissance painting is a history of the great workshops. This is especially true in Venice. On the one hand, these studios represented an extension of the medieval custom of the family *bottega*, or workshop, and were not unique to Venice. On the other hand, the inherent conservatism of Venetian institutions may have had something to do with the continued authority of dynastic workshops in Venice, where the first official artist academy was not established until 1682. The Vivarini, Bellini, Vecellio, Negretti, dal Ponte, Caliari, and Robusti all built names for themselves as a result of the collective efforts of their brothers, sons, nephews, pupils, and daughters: Tintoretto's daughter, for example, was a painter in her own right; Jacopo Bellini's daughter married Andrea Mantegna, adding his collaborative power to her father's workshop.

Let me begin, then, with a piece of seventeenth-century gossip that appeared in 1648 in Carlo Ridolfi's biography of Titian's student, Polidoro da Lanciano.

it is told that on leaving his house [Titian] sometimes left behind the keys to the room where he kept his prized things; but as soon as he had gone [his assistants] made copies from the pictures, while one of them stood guard. At some later time Titian would unwittingly rework the copies made by his assistants, which would then pass for pictures from his own hand. Thus, many works actually by the disciples have been credited to the master.²

This was probably a seventeenth-century legend, hyperbole at best, which fused together two rumors: first, that Titian's students copied his works without his knowledge; and second, that Titian passed off studio copies as his own paintings. At the same time, there is some truth in this rumor, for Titian and his workshop produced and reproduced replicas of some of the successful paintings he designed.

Not all early modern spectators were as concerned as Ridolfi about the unique authorship of these workshop pictures. Commenting on the normality of serial production in the early modern workshop, the French critic Roger de Piles remarked in 1699 that "there is hardly a single painter who has never repeated one of his works either because it pleased him or because someone asked him for a similar work." Underlining his point, de Piles added that "Titian successfully repeated the same painting up to seven or eight times, as one performs a successful comedy."³ A few years later, de Piles reiterated: "The care that [Titian] took in judiciously ordering all his works led him to repeat the same composition [*le tout-ensemble*] on several occasions in order to avoid new struggles. One sees several paintings of the Magdalene and of Venus and Adonis by his hand in which he has changed only the background so that there is no doubt that they are all Originals."⁴ In spite of their differing conclusions, Ridolfi's anecdote and de Piles's observation illustrate how collaboration in the workshop often blurred the distinction between works executed by the master and those painted by his assistants or in collaboration with his assistants.

The manufacture of Renaissance paintings was more often than not a group effort. The master usually provided a model—the *invenzione* in early modern Italian terms, the *tout-ensemble* in de Piles’s—but several different originals could be drawn from that “first copy.” In early modern dictionaries, the concept of an “original” was usually founded on its position within a sequential set; it was “a thing, painting, text, or something similar that is the first to have been made, and from which follow the copies.”⁵ Filippo Baldinucci noted in his definition of “copy” that it was “a work that is not made of one’s own invention but is drawn precisely from another’s and *may be better, poorer, or equal to the original.*”⁶ At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Giulio Mancini made the following analogy regarding paintings: “Concerning texts and books one calls the first non-copied version [*primo scritto non copiato*] an archetype [*archetypo*], the same goes for painting, one speaks of the first to be made [*prima fatta*], or originals [*originali*] as they say, and originated [*originaria*] of those that are copied or made secondly [*secondariamente*] from another such as an archetype.”⁷ *Archetypo* is an “original” in the sense of an Ur-type. By qualifying *scritto* with *primo*, Mancini’s syntax implies that the difference between the “original” and “copy” was that one preceded the other in execution—*primo* rather than *secondariamente*—but that both were drawn from an originating type, or the *archetypo*.

The “original” was understood to be an immaterial concept, implying such notions as *invenzione*, *disegno interno*, *cosa mentale*, and *idea* rather than suggesting a physical and finite object. Significantly enough, de Piles explained that the artist held the “original” in his mind and executed the “copy” on the canvas.⁸ Historically, then, the relationship between an “original” and its “copies” both is organic and rests upon its codeterminant position to the other element. What we now refer to as originality, therefore, was initially defined by its position in a potentially infinite series of repetitions: chickens from eggs hatched by other chickens, and so on. Priority was important in terms of chronological situatedness, but it was not a guarantee of quality. The valency of a given artwork depended upon the other works that contextualized it and upon the social context in which it resonated.

If Ridolfi suggested that Titian often touched up canvases begun by his assistants, it is also true that Titian initiated works that he then asked his assistants to complete. In 1568, Niccolò Stoppio reported that Titian finished off studio copies with “two strokes” of his brush, which he then sold “as his own.”⁹ Tintoretto was also infamous for this practice. In the seventeenth century these authenticating touches were referred to as “the icing on the cake.”¹⁰ Paolo Veronese’s brother, Benedetto Caliari, reassured his patron, Jacopo Contarini, that once Contarini had chosen the subject he desired, Benedetto would himself make the design for the picture, then Veronese’s son Carlo would transfer the composition onto canvas so that his other son, Gabriele, could execute it.¹¹ Thus, from the collaboration of Veronese’s brother and two sons, an autograph “Veronese” was produced without any direct contribution of the master. Such paintings were referred to as a “Veronese”—or a “Titian” or a “Tintoretto”—and accepted as such because the master accepted responsibility for the product. Regardless of whether he painted it entirely in his own hand, it still belonged to a *tout-ensemble* that he claimed as his own.

Unlike Michelangelo, who preferred to work alone, and Raphael, who died too young to sustain his well-organized workshop—but like his Venetian predecessors

and contemporaries—Titian successfully built a name for himself over the course of a century, not only through his talent but also through his managerial *savoir faire*; his untiring letter writing; his strategic gift giving; the collective effort of his sons, nephews, and pupils; and, later on, the posthumous interference of his imitators and followers. Original copies or, more to the point, “multiple originals,” played an important role within Titian’s practice, and repeatability was a built-in intention for many of his inventions.

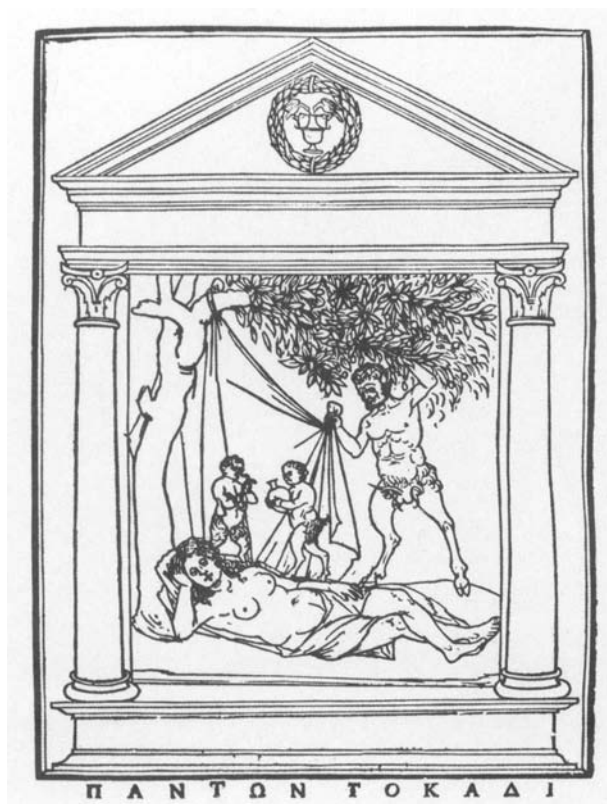
Repetition did not diminish the aesthetic value—the aura—of each of these “Titians” as “originals”; instead, it inflated the desirability of the *tout-ensemble* with each new performance. De Piles’s idea of the *tout-ensemble* can be roughly translated as “composition” inasmuch as it refers simultaneously to a formal composition that can be physically discerned within a work of art and to an artistic composition, a conceptual invention, or, to return to Panofsky’s example, a “musical intention” that is instantiated in the moment of performance. De Piles’s sense of the interconnectedness of parts to the whole finds a certain affinity with Eliot’s concept of the “*whole existing order*” that shifts, adjusts, and redefines itself every time a new element is introduced into the paradigm. After all, although the term *tout-ensemble* conveys a sense of unity, it refers to a wholeness that is produced from the coming together of individual parts (as in a musical ensemble).

The *tout-ensemble* also signals to the potentialities of the Deleuzian machinic assemblage and rhizome, concepts that move the work of art beyond formal and stylistic analysis and take the discussion of repetition and meaning production into the social realm. Here Titian resonates with greatest force only when he is connected into an aggregate of other “machines”: Padovanino; Guidobaldo Della Rovere, duke of Urbino; Titian’s workshop assistants; and even Titian himself.¹² Different machinic couplings, however, produce different effects. Titian linked to the duke of Urbino, for instance, results in an aggregate unlike Titian-Padovanino or even Titian-Titian. Likewise, the significance of Titian’s *Sleeping Venus* intensifies when it is inserted within a matrix of contesting subjectivities: the painter’s own *Venus of Urbino* and Padovanino’s *Sleeping Venus*. Within this early modern culture of multiplicity and transversal association, the significance of a given artist, collector, or work was no longer determined solely by chronological priority or an arborescent schema based on fixed hierarchical identities (originals versus reproductions, patrons versus painters, masters versus imitators), but by the horizontal lines of connection that establish significant relations between individual entities.

The Dresden *Sleeping Venus* is itself a site of contestation. It has been variously attributed to Giorgione, Titian, and both Giorgione and Titian. In the nineteenth century it was also linked to Sassoferrato, to an “unknown Venetian,” and briefly even to Padovanino.¹³ The complicated provenance of this particular painting and Giovanni Morelli’s cavalier attribution to Giorgione, which was based on a pithy line in Marcantonio Michiel’s *Notizia d’opere di disegno* (written between 1525 and 1543), need not be reviewed here.¹⁴ After all, whether or not Titian was directly inspired by a Giorgionesque prototype, scholars have long suggested that the reclining figure was based on a woodcut of a sleeping nymph (fig. 6) in Francesco Colonna’s illustrated romance, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (1499).¹⁵ Colonna’s nymph is itself derived from a type represented by the ancient Roman statue of the sleep-

FIG. 6.

The fountain of the sleeping nymph, 1499, engraving, 16.5 × 12.5 cm (6½ × 5 in.) From Francesco Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (Venice: in aedibus Aldi Manutii, mense decembri, 1499), book one, signature e1 recto



ing Ariadne, or Cleopatra, which artists would have known through copies, replicas, drawings, medals, and other reproductive images.

The reinforcing power of a consensus secured through repetition claimed “Titian” as the inventor of the Dresden type—the sleeping female nude. Here I should distinguish between the empirical subject named Tiziano Vecellio, the ontological construction “Titian,” and the epistemological system that came to be recognized as the Titianesque. What holds my interest is not that the Dresden painting must inarguably *be* by Titian, but that the Dresden type came to be *perceived* as such regardless of its “real” authorship. In other words, the subject of analysis comprises the rhizomorphic field in which the *Sleeping Venus* came to be connected to Titian’s name and to the strategies of repetition that linked it to the Titianesque for the artist and his contemporaries and then for Padovanino and his contemporaries.

One of the immediate results of Titian’s transfer of the reclining female nude into large-scale canvas painting was a vogue among sixteenth-century viewers for this new class of highly alluring, extremely collectible, nonreligious cabinet or chamber pictures. The Titianesque nude became an identifiable and highly coveted type with collectors, and artists experimented with the different possibilities to push the genre to new levels. In the decades following the appearance of Titian’s *Sleeping Venus*, almost every Venetian painter tried his hand at this genre. Titian’s near contemporary, Paris Bordone, was perhaps one of the more successful and prolific in this category, and serial repetition was a common element in his practice as well.¹⁶

Bordone painted several canvases based on the Titianesque motif. In one version, now in Warsaw (fig. 7), the artist depicted the divinity awake and gesturing

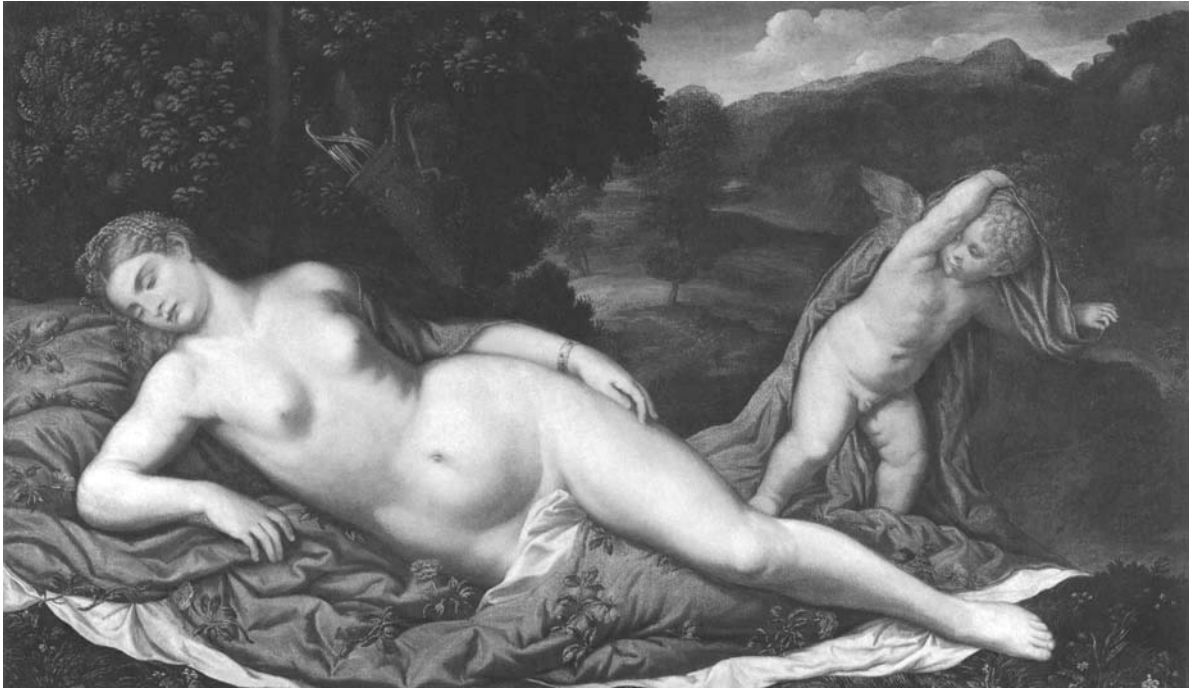
FIG. 7. PARIS BORDONE
(ITALIAN, 1500–71)
Venus with Cupid, 1545–50,
oil on canvas, 95 × 143 cm
(37 1/2 × 56 3/8 in.)
Warsaw, Muzeum Narodowe
w Warszawie



toward a Cupid. Bordone repeated this general format in two other pictures in which the goddess is shown asleep. In one reinterpretation, now in the Ca' D'Oro (fig. 8), Venus reposes, heavy with sleep, while Cupid pulls back the sheet to unveil her heavenly body, which is a close repetition of the body in the previous painting.¹⁷ In the other, more titillating painting in the Galleria Borghese (fig. 9), Bordone added a satyr to the scene. In this canvas, the sleeping nude is again accompanied by Cupid, while the satyr hovers ominously above her motionless body.¹⁸ In much the same way that Titian's Venus alluded to ancient and possibly Giorgionesque prototypes of reclining nymphs, this double entendre would have given the informed viewer a second degree of pleasure. Moreover, many Venetian artists and collectors would also have been able to connect the Cupid in the Ca' D'Oro and Borghese paintings with a putto that appeared in an ancient Roman relief, known as the "Trono di Saturno," in the Grimani collection in Venice.¹⁹ The spectator who was familiar with the Grimani piece as well as the other performances of Bordone's *tout-ensemble* would have experienced a triple entendre, or third degree of pleasure.

FIG. 8. PARIS BORDONE
(ITALIAN, 1500–71)
Venus Sleeping with Cupid,
1545–50, oil on canvas,
86 × 137 cm (33 7/8 × 54 in.)
Venice, Ca' D'Oro

FIG. 9. PARIS BORDONE
(ITALIAN, 1500–71)
Venus, Cupid, and a Satyr,
1545–50, oil on canvas,
122 × 148 cm (48 1/8 × 58 1/4 in.)
Rome, Galleria Borghese



VENUS, DANAË, LEDA, A NAKED WOMAN, AND A NUN:
REPETITION AND PARAGONE

The viewer who gazes upon one of Bordone's paintings of a female nude *with* a cupid or satyr is informed by the knowledge that similar images *without* these secondary characters might also exist. That is, rather than focusing the gaze upon a singular, closed image, the spectator imagines the generic possibilities in which significant meaning is produced simultaneously from multiple intentions. Bordone's *tout-ensemble*, to be sure, intersects here with Titian's *tout-ensemble*, forming a machinic coupling in which all the elements take on a new or reformulated intention. Looking at Bordone's *Sleeping Venus*, one can also envision Titian's *Sleeping Venus* and many other such permutations. Bordone's painting was made in response to Titian's painting and to others like Titian's, which were made in response to previous images in an ongoing series of machinic couplings.

Repetition affects subjectivity even when one repeats oneself. Auto-repetition is often modified by what others have said in the interim of the initial utterance. The appeal of the reclining nude for the artist is situated within this ever-changing field. This was true not only for Bordone but also for Titian. "What I have said twice or more ceases to belong to me," Gérard Genette explained, because "by repeating myself, I am already imitating myself, and on that point one can imitate me by repeating me. What I say twice is no longer my truth but a truth about me, which belongs to everyone."²⁰ In this sense, repetition linked Padovanino's *Sleeping Venus* to Titian while renting it away from his authorial control. Titian's subsequent female nudes were as much a response to his own *Sleeping Venus* as they were to all the other sleeping Venuses that were painted in the meantime. This was certainly the scenario when, in the mid-1530s, he returned to confront his own cliché.

The deliberate and strategic repetition of Titian's reclining nude begins, in one sense, with the *Venus of Urbino*. This painting was perhaps an attempt to repeat the early success of the Dresden *Sleeping Venus*. With the subsequent painting, Titian remade an old favorite and opened up the hermeneutic possibilities of the genre by relocating the setting to the boudoir and redirecting the gaze of the female figure outward, addressing the implied viewer. The effect must have worked, for the *Venus of Urbino* filled the eyes and hearts of the European elite with great envy. Upon seeing it in Pesaro in 1543 at the palace of Guidobaldo Della Rovere, duke of Urbino, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, grandson of Pope Paul III, wrote to his agents and entreated them to approach the Venetian painter for a similar image. Giovanni Della Casa, the papal nuncio in Venice, acted on Alessandro's behalf. What ensued was a subtle game of courtly negotiation in which titles, egos, reputations, and art played an integral part in the reciprocal admiration that blossomed between princes and painters.

What type of game was being played out in the manufacture of these paintings? What were Alessandro's motives in requesting his own version? What kind of machinic assemblage was created through the connection made between the two men of position and Titian? Being Guidobaldo's social equal, if not superior (on account of his ecclesiastical title and papal grandfather), Alessandro coveted his associate's exquisite picture. (He was not alone in this desire: Charles V, king of

Spain, was also negotiating the acquisition of a reclining Venus from Titian.)²¹ Titian was more than happy to oblige, for he had his own motivation. First was his well-known desire for fame; second, he hoped to sway the cardinal, in his capacity as a relative of the pope, to obtain a benefice for his son Pomponio.²² Titian, who rarely ventured beyond Venice except at the call of emperors and princes, and now cardinals and popes, traveled to Rome in 1545 to complete and deliver the painting to the cardinal in person.

This painting, with which Titian intended to surpass his own *Venus of Urbino*, was the first in a long series of paintings representing Danaë and the golden shower (fig. 10). The Farnese *Danaë* was a departure from the formula used for the *Sleeping Venus* and the *Venus of Urbino* some years before, and it was undoubtedly a response to Titian's subsequent encounters with the paintings of other artists. The work of Bordone is one candidate, but that of Michelangelo is the usual suspect against whom art historical comparisons are made. The pose of Titian's nude has been linked to Michelangelo's reclining figures in the Medici Chapel and, more specifically, to the *Leda and the Swan* (fig. 11), which had been commissioned by Alfonso d'Este, duke of Ferrara, in 1529.²³ Coincidentally, Titian was in Ferrara in that very year, working on the restoration of Giovanni Bellini's *The Feast of the Gods* (see fig. 30). Michelangelo's painting never made it to Ferrara. It was subsequently sent to the king of France and later disappeared. It is, to a certain extent, irrelevant whether Titian actually saw the Michelangelo painting in question, for in all likelihood he would have known about it. Copies of the painting (a lost painting that we know only through these copies) circulated shortly after it was painted. Vasari, for one, brought a copy of the *Leda* with him to Venice in 1541, which he sold during his stay to Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, the imperial ambassador in Venice.²⁴ Perhaps this was the version that Titian saw.

We know from Vasari that Titian and Michelangelo did eventually meet in the mid-1540s. The meeting must have profoundly transformed the self-perception of both artists, although in Vasari's account it was, expectedly, the Venetian old master who had the most to gain from Michelangelo's art: "Michelangelo and Vasari, going one day to visit Tiziano in the Belvedere, saw in a picture that he had executed at that time a nude woman representing Danaë, who had in her lap Jove transformed into a rain of gold; and they praised it much, as one does in the painter's presence."²⁵ If Titian indeed borrowed the pose of the *Danaë* from Michelangelo's *Leda* and if, as Vasari claimed elsewhere, Michelangelo never married because his art was his mistress, one might be tempted to push this anecdote to suggest that the *Danaë* must have appeared almost adulterous to poor old Michelangelo, at least from the Vasarian perspective of things.

There is an amusing print by Nicolas Vleughels (artist and president of the Académie de France in Rome at the beginning of the eighteenth century) that stages the moment when Michelangelo and Vasari arrive in Titian's studio and are taken aback by Titian's dexterous appropriation of *Leda* (fig. 12). The reaction of the two visitors implies that Titian's alleged theft was not lost on them. Vleughels's image appeared as the frontispiece to his French translation of Lodovico Dolce's *Dialogo della pittura* (1735). Dolce, one of Titian's closest friends, wrote the *Dialogo* largely as a defense of the Venetian tradition. It features Pietro Aretino, another of Titian's



FIG. 10. TITIAN
Danaë, 1544–46, oil on canvas,
 118.5 × 170 cm (46³/₄ × 67 in.)
 Naples, Museo Nazionale
 di Capodimonte

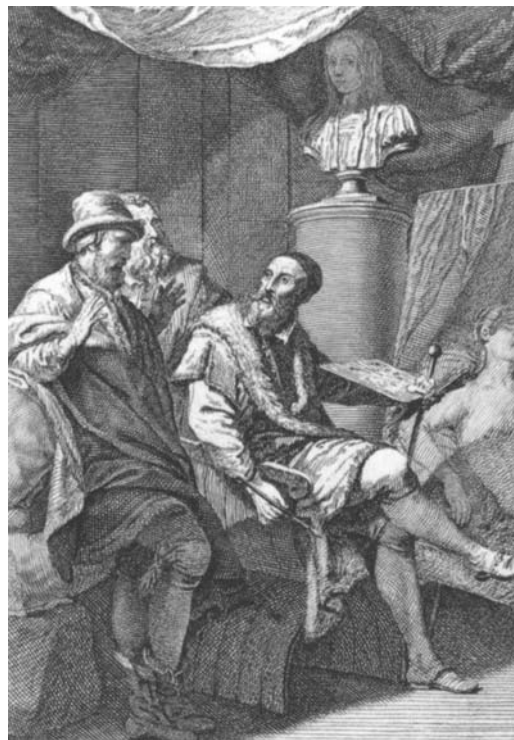
allies, as one of the main speakers who responds to the *campanilismo*, or regionalism, demonstrated in Vasari's biographies of the Renaissance artists. Dolce begins the revision of Michelangelo's reputation with the promotion of Raphael. In the frontispiece, Vleughels depicts a "faintly smirking bust" of Raphael emerging from the dark shadows of the Venetian artist's studio.²⁶ Raphael's sweet grace is then trumped by Titian's infinite greatness. In the specific context of the *Dialogo*, Titian is championed as the most celebrated of the three old masters, and the gesture of the Florentine artist could only have been one of recognition and respect.

The encounter between the three Renaissance superstars underlines the theme of artistic egos and rivalry that became so dear to the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century narrative of Renaissance genius.²⁷ Reading the confrontation depicted in Vleughels's image, one can conclude in the context of Dolce's larger ideological project that Michelangelo's arms are raised in chagrin (like Vulcan searching for the man who has caused Venus to make a cuckold of him) rather than feigned admiration—"as one does in the painter's presence" (*pace* Vasari). According to Dolce in the *Dialogo* and Vleughels in his postscript to the *Dialogo*, Michelangelo gazed upon Titian's painting in great "amazement" (*maraviglia*) and "surprise" (*sorpresi*).²⁸ Vasari, however, was less generous: he recounts that as he and Michelangelo leave the studio, Michelangelo remarks that Titian would have been an excellent painter if only he had studied drawing (here Vasari unwittingly makes his hero sound like a churlish, rankled lover).²⁹ Rona Goffen has gone so far as to suggest that the *Danaë* was Titian's "attack on Michelangelo's art—not his preferred subject matter but, more



**FIG. 11. AFTER
MICHELANGELO**
(ITALIAN, 1475–1564)
Leda and the Swan, after 1530,
oil on canvas, 105.4 × 141 cm
(41½ × 55½ in.)
London, National Gallery

FIG. 12. NICOLAS VLEUGHEL
(FRENCH, 1688–1737)
*Vos Animaes Grandes Aetas
Tulit Alma Leonis*, engraving,
17.2 × 11.7 cm (6⅞ × 4⅝ in.)
From Lodovico Dolce, *Dialogo
della pittura di M. Lodovico Dolce,
intitolato l'aretino... = Dialogue
sur la peinture de Lovis Dolce,
intitulè l'aretin... à la fin on y
parle du merite, & des ouvrages
du divin Titien* (Florence: per
Michele Nestenus & Francesco
Mouïcke, 1735), frontispiece



fundamentally, his *style*.”³⁰ This may be overstating the point. Homosocial rivalries were inevitably marked not only by competitive aggressivity but also by a form of emulative identification borne from genuine admiration—a paradoxical envy that inspires the individual to be at once like the other against whom he positions himself and to do or be better than this designated other.

Instead of interpreting the meeting of Michelangelo and Titian as the first skirmish in an “art war,” it is more productive to reflect upon the rhizomorphic field in which even such “great masters” openly borrowed from each other. Rather than a direct hierarchical line of influence that would chronologically lodge Michelangelo before Titian, a Deleuzian model of double belonging better emphasizes the historical significance of their interaction. On the one hand, Titian’s *Danaë* was made in response to his own *Venus of Urbino* and undoubtedly as a challenge to Michelangelo’s various reclining figures; the *Danaë* was itself a response to the Titianesque type (which can be continuously extended backward and forward, like Deleuze’s example of the self-perpetuating fold). Michelangelo, on the other hand, must have been at least a little amazed and surprised to see how Titian had remade his—Michelangelo’s—remake of the Titianesque nude in Michelangelesque terms. And, ultimately, both artists would have been fully aware that they were engaged in a collaborative *paragone* with the art of the ancients. In all likelihood, the two painters were great admirers of each other’s art, and the implicit tension of *disegno* (design) versus *colorito* (color) was written into the meeting by Vasari and subsequent authors. Over a century later, Gian Lorenzo Bernini would repeat the anecdote to his French guide, Paul Fréart de Chantelou, with a slightly different emphasis.

Later when we were discussing the Lombard painters, [Bernini] told us how Paul III, at the time when he was building the Farnese Palace, had taken Michelangelo to look at a *Venus* [sic] painted by Titian, who was then in Rome. When he had had a good look, the Pope asked him what he thought of it; he answered, “The Lord knows well what he does, for if those painters (speaking of Titian) knew how to draw, they would not be men, but angels.”³¹

Bernini’s Michelangelo is less contemptuous than Vasari’s.

The Titian-Michelangelo moment underlines the way each subsequent author-reader remade “Titian,” “Michelangelo,” and “Raphael” to suit his or her agenda: Vasari to champion Michelangelo; Dolce to champion Titian; Bernini to link himself with the old masters of the past; Vleughels to establish a canon of excellence in the academy; and Goffen to stress the theme of Renaissance rivalry. This is essentially a question about the intentionality of the viewer. Regardless of whether one wishes to side with Vasari’s and Goffen’s unimpressed “Michelangelo,” or with Dolce’s, Vleughels’s, and Bernini’s impressed “Michelangelo,” the anecdote demonstrates how the work of art provided a forum in which artists were able to challenge one another through formal and stylistic means. The work was a discursive site where artistic conversations (respectful and otherwise) took place. Repetition as citation could be construed as a form of compliment even when (and on occasion *especially* when) the imitation aimed at correcting and surpassing the source image. Such encounters were not necessarily inscribed in a melodrama of artistic jealousies and discord; instead, they were the very type of incident that enabled artistic progress.³²

Looking beyond the emotional drama enacted in Vleughels's eighteenth-century engraving and returning to the historical immediacy of the Farnese commission, one might also remember that in changing the identity of the heroine from Venus or Leda to Danaë, Titian might have been alluding to another painting he knew well: Correggio's *Danaë* (fig. 13), owned by Federico II Gonzaga, duke of Mantua, who was yet another of Alessandro's princely counterparts.³³ Titian's *Danaë* was, in a sense, a meta-painting—a painting about painting. It was a synoptic picture in which Titian blurred central Italian, Emilian, and Venetian motifs into one image: the finely chiseled, masculine, Michelangelesque idiom of taut flesh and rippling musculature melted away beneath Titian's brush; Correggio's shy Danaë became a voluptuous woman embraced by Titian's incandescent color and energetic brushwork. Titian's *Danaë*, therefore, was a dialogue between several sets of different speakers: Titian with himself; Titian with a generation of Venetian painters such as Bordone; Titian with Michelangelo; Titian with Correggio; Titian with his patrons; and his patrons with one another. In Alessandro's case, the *Danaë* was not only a beautiful image but also a monument that attested to his eminent position as a distinguished patron of the arts and as a man of taste.

FIG. 13. CORREGGIO
(ITALIAN, CA. 1489–1534)
Danaë, ca. 1531, oil on canvas,
161 × 193 cm (63³/₈ × 76 in.)
Rome, Galleria Borghese



Titian's deference to Michelangelo in the *Danaë* was a clever compliment to his Roman patron. The Gonzaga citation would have equally flattered the cardinal who now possessed his own Titian nude, which was described to him by Della Casa as even more exciting than the Urbino Venus, who "looks like a Theatine next to this one."³⁴ "Theatine" in this sentence is usually translated as "nun," but, to cite Bernardine Barnes's analysis of the term in connection with the reception of Michelangelo's *The Last Judgment*, the appellation "Theatine" was used as a term of abuse to refer to any "ultra-conservative Catholic" killjoy.³⁵ It is striking that in praising Alessandro's new picture, Della Casa chose to emphasize Danaë's sexiness. Both Della Casa and the cardinal were concerned with the erotic quality of the painting, and the quality of the painting in surpassing its prototype seemed to rest upon this element.³⁶ Consequently, in satisfying the wishes of his eminent patron, Titian had to compete not only with Giorgione and Bordone, on the one hand, and with Michelangelo and Correggio, on the other, but also with himself as he shadowboxed his way to becoming his own and greatest emulator.

An X-ray published in 1977 revealed that at an early stage the design of the background of the Farnese *Danaë* had been an exact duplicate of the *Venus of Urbino*: beyond the recumbent figure in the foreground the same set of maids and servants busied themselves in front of an identical *cassone*, or wedding chest, placed before a similar window.³⁷ At some later point, possibly upon his arrival in Rome, Titian changed the background. He blocked the view to the outside with the darkened silhouette of a Corinthian column. He replaced the attendants in the background on the right with a startled Cupid in the foreground. The underdrawing reveals Titian's artistic process—the abandoned decisions and chosen innovations undertaken to transform the same theme again and again.

In the case of Alessandro's picture, iconographic analysis tells us that Titian intended to portray Danaë rather than Venus or Leda. Flattering the classical education of the beholder may not have been the most urgent motive, however. Although the beholder would have experienced a certain pleasure in identifying the various art allusions that were being made, part of the seduction of such images resided in the polyvalence of the figure. Ambiguity offered its own form of aesthetic pleasure. After all, the female nude needs to do nothing more than show herself; narrative becomes an incidental bonus or, for other viewers, a cumbersome distraction. Writing about a *Sleeping Venus* in the Casa Marcello in Venice, which was begun by Giorgione and finished by Titian, Ridolfi described the figure as a "delicious nude Venus."³⁸ On a very basic level, as a literary and pictorial *conchetto*, or conceit, the "delicious nude" was simply that: delicious. Because these images were emptied of devotional purpose, they could be appreciated for entirely nonreligious motives; there was, consequently, no immediate moral danger in iconographic ambiguity but, instead, plenty of pleasure to be gained. Hubert Damisch referred to this complex, multivalent pleasure as a "premium of pleasure" and "a surplus-enjoyment factor"—*un plus-de-jour* in which both sensual and intellectual gratification were further enhanced by a "satisfaction associated with the prestige" that the image could confer upon its owner and vice versa.³⁹

Surplus pleasure also manifested itself in the ambiguity of early modern titles. Bernini's mistaken memory of the Danaë as a "Venus" in his account to Chantelou,

for instance, is very telling. In early correspondence, the *Venus of Urbino* was itself mentioned simply as that painting of “the naked woman” (*la donna nuda*); only in 1568 was it christened as a “Venus” by Vasari.⁴⁰ Della Casa referred to Alessandro’s *Danaë* as “a female nude” (*una nuda*), even though her iconographical significance was clear from the downpour of gold coins that she receives in her lap.⁴¹ Vasari, ever the literalist, identified her as Danaë, but Dolce described her simply as “the loveliest of nude figures [made] for the Cardinal Farnese.”⁴² In a 1574 letter to Antonio Pérez, secretary to Philip II, king of Spain, Titian himself referred to the “Pardo Venus” as a “nude [woman] with the landscape and satyr,” listing it among the paintings that he had sent to Spain, but for which he had not yet been paid.⁴³ The canvas was then described by Gonzalo Argote de Molina in 1582 as “Jupiter transformed into a satyr, contemplating the beauty of the lovely Antiope, who is asleep,” and in a subsequent inventory of the collections at El Pardo, drawn up between 1614 and 1617, it was confusingly (and tellingly) referred to as “the Venus Danaë with a satyr at her feet.”⁴⁴

We should not, however, jump to anachronistic conclusions and see such images as “mere pin-ups,” “sex objects,” or “pornography for the elite,” for this would reduce them to the role of passive objects waiting to be animated by the active male gaze, and these paintings were anything but passive objects.⁴⁵ On the contrary, these works of art represented an active force that pushed the male gaze not only to see self-consciously but also to behave in a manner conditioned by that awareness. As in all homosocial rivalries, “woman” is the vehicle that men use to gain domination over one another. A doubled emphasis, therefore, directs our attention to the social function of repetition in shaping the way men look at images of women as well as to the way men look at *other* men looking at images of women.

PRESTIGE FETISHES: REPETITION AND HOMOSOCIAL IDENTITY

What were the social implications of repetition from the perspective of the collector? Did he merely purchase what was available in the artist’s studio, or did he actively seek to purchase something that resembled those works already owned by his aristocratic friends? Alessandro seems to have wanted something recognizably similar to, but also identifiably better than, Guidobaldo’s painting. Titian’s subsequent recycling of the *Danaë* also suggests that collectors desired a certain degree of similarity. Deliberate repetition, therefore, was “not to be seen as a symptom of an identity of views, but rather as a strategy for achieving it.”⁴⁶ This emulative desire was paradoxical, combining the desire to own something *similar* to what others possessed with a demand that the collector’s version be somehow *unique* in and of itself as well—to be recognized as part of the group but simultaneously above it, a first among equals.

Two critical models come to mind here: Thorstein Veblen’s theory of the leisure class and Norbert Elias’s notion of prestige fetishes within court society. In *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899), Veblen, an early-twentieth-century American social theorist, defined such peer-determined behavior as “pecuniary emulation” based on “invidious comparison.”⁴⁷ The acquisition of “trophies” or “tangible evidences of prowess” provided the incentive for emulation, which ensured that the

exemplary members of a given community could be visibly distinguished from the lower classes by the similar types of goods they amassed. In Veblen's model, "honorific consumption" was necessarily conspicuous and defined by "honorific costliness."

Elias's sociological model of behavioral patterns within early modern court society offers a historically grounded case study for Veblen's economic theory. According to Elias, the exclusivity of the post-feudal court was specifically marked by "status consumption," or the collective acquisition of prestige fetishes, which came to be recognized as normative indices of power.⁴⁸ Within the highly self-conscious arena of the aristocratic court, Elias pointed to the development of a "bodily culture," in which the individual's fear of public shame transformed itself into a regime of self-regulation and rigid conformity. "The increased tendency of people to observe themselves and others," Elias concluded, "is one sign of how people . . . moulded themselves and others more deliberately than in the Middle Ages."⁴⁹ Within this class-specific context, repetition functioned in a regulatory and productive fashion: repetition bred familiarity and in a certain sense sanctioned certain types of imagery as acceptable and even desirable by the larger peer group.

The target audience for Titian's reclining nudes was composed predominantly of aristocratic male spectators. Guidobaldo was a descendant of Pope Julius II as well as the nephew of Federico, who was the son of Isabella d'Este and the nephew of Alfonso d'Este, duke of Ferrara. Alessandro, for his part, was the son of the duke of Parma as well as the grandson of Pope Paul III. Titian made the *Danaë* for Alessandro in response to his interest in the *Venus of Urbino*, which Titian had painted for Guidobaldo. Titian also painted a stunning portrait of Alessandro's younger brother Ranuccio Farnese, as well as a portrait of Alessandro with his other brother Ottavio and with their grandfather Paul III.⁵⁰ Titian provided three bacchanals for Alfonso d'Este's private study (*il camerino d'alabastro*) in Ferrara, which emulated his sister Isabella's study (*lo studiolo*) in Mantua. Titian painted Isabella's portrait as well as that of her son, Federico (who owned Correggio's *Danaë*; see fig. 13).⁵¹ These individuals formed a machinic assemblage in which Titian, although a social inferior, figured as an intense point of exchange.

From a sociological perspective, repetition, as Edward Said wrote, "is the frame within which man represents himself to himself and to others."⁵² It is concerned with self-fashioning and the presentation or performance of one's self-identity vis-à-vis an *other* presence. Although some degree of social mobility was possible within the rigid social structure of sixteenth-century Italy, the process of defining oneself was not without anxiety. Judging from the competition between these well-connected men to attain similar female nudes from Titian, the symbolic or cultural capital of these works operated well beyond the level of simple aesthetic gratification. Machismo camaraderie was reinforced through an "erotics of repetition." These paintings played into certain social customs, such as collecting, that served to strengthen group identity; they became requisite "prestige fetishes"—objects that members of the same social circle were expected to own. They were part of a system in which resemblance was desirable and productive and opened up a symbolic arena in which homosocial struggles were fought. Della Casa's comment to Alessandro—"that [painting] that Your Excellency saw in Pesaro in the duke of Urbino's room looks like a Theatine next to this one"—was about surpassing one's

peers in a manner that would be universally recognized and applauded as a victory. Stealing another's honor, therefore, yielded additional pleasure for both the artist and the patron.

The moment of collective viewing represented another terrain of contestation, unleashing a complex and perilous game of courtly compliment and flattery. Beautiful paintings of women functioned as an invitation to eloquent discourse, offering the male viewer the opportunity to wax poetic and to judge with eloquence, spontaneity, and *sprezzatura*—a certain effortless grace—in the company of his male peers. The “delicious nude” depicted pleasurable subject matter, but it was also a site for social exchange in which the anxieties of male identity were played out.

Elizabeth Cropper's analysis of idealized portraits of beautiful women underscored the homosocial nature central to such confrontations (even if she did not frame the problematic in such terms). “The portrait of a beautiful woman,” she argued, “belongs to a distinct discourse from which the woman herself is necessarily absent.”⁵³ The “emergence of the affective beholder,” Cropper suggested, was “deeply bound up with the Petrarchan culture of desire.”⁵⁴ *Petrarchismo*—the tradition of courtly love poetry—and the embryonic discourse of aesthetic judgment were bound by homosocial affectation: the lament of the dejected lover was but an excuse to discourse with other men. Likewise, images of female beauty provided the pretext for flaunting one's eloquence within the social circle. “Woman” was the cipher that enabled men to parade their prowess and power in front of one another. For instance, Titian's portrait of the Spanish ambassador's mistress inspired Pietro Aretino to write a sonnet that begins:

Stealthily Titian and Love,
having taken up their brushes and arrow in contest,
have made two examples of a lovely lady,
and dedicated them to Mendoza, the noble lord.

So that he, proud of such divine favour,
so that he can follow such a goddess, as if his star,
with ceremonies befitting her
keeps one in his chamber, the other in his heart.⁵⁵

To “Titian and Love, having taken up their brushes and arrow in contest,” the poet naturally wishes to add his own art in a *paragone* between nature, painting, and poetry.

As in the Renaissance garden and court, where dialogues concerning the nature of beauty, love, and woman were rehearsed time and again (often without solutions) in the rarified environment of the courtly *studiolo* or *camerino*, discussions about paintings often took an analogous form of erudite competition. This is documented in the numerous dialogues about painting that were written in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As recreational conversation pieces, paintings of female nudes enabled the spectator to participate in the dialogic and ekphrastic forms so dear to Venetian art writers and so central to Renaissance humanistic discourse. One such dialogue, by Paolo Pino, opens with two men contemplating a

FIG. 14. TITIAN
Venus and Adonis, ca. 1555–60,
oil on canvas, 160 × 196.5 cm
(63 × 77 3/8 in.)
Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum



“truly divine spectacle,” in which twenty-five Crotonian women are asked to reveal themselves so that the male artist can produce a single image of a nude Venus.⁵⁶ Dolce writes to a Venetian nobleman about the gorgeousness of Venus’s naked buttocks in Titian’s *Venus and Adonis* (fig. 14).⁵⁷ And Boschini ecstatically proclaims that “a painting without a nude is like / a meal without bread.”⁵⁸

“UN BUON PALMO DI DIFFERENZA”: REPETITION AND DESIRE

Texts in which works of art were described and praised provided a certain amount of delight that was shared between the author and the silent reader, or the reader and the silent listener. Such occasions seem to have taken place in the socially engaged arena of Italian courts. This was not idle boudoir banter between the boys. The stakes were much higher, and the anxiety of being trumped by the words of another courtier pushed the subject into a precarious position of relentless self-fashioning. In the fabulous seventeenth-century satire *Il principe hermafrodito* (1640), written by the notorious antipapalist Ferrante Pallavicino, a painting of a sleeping Venus is brought out for the delectation of a prince who is, in the satire, a woman in disguise.⁵⁹ As one might expect, the author spends several lines describing the beauty of the painting, which stirs the “sentiments of the eyes” and the “passions of the soul.” But what is more telling is the context in which the encounter unfolds, for the painting is brought out so that the prince may judge it. When the prince proclaims suddenly that the figure is in fact a god and not a goddess, the dumbfounded courtiers, afraid to contradict the prince in such a highly homosocial forum, are at a loss for words and can respond only by applauding the prince’s exquisite sense of humor.

This spectacular short story describes the strategic nature of the beholder’s response, which is performed within a male-dominated public space governed by ego, honor, and *sprezzatura*. The Renaissance court was regulated by the ethic of the joke—an exclusively male humor that slipped willingly, if not insistently, into the obscene.⁶⁰ The courtiers are taken aback when the prince does not step into his expected role as Paris, Venus’s judge. Instead of repeating the anticipated pleasantries about female beauty, the prince’s unusual response causes temporary anxiety and threatens the order within the homosocial court. Because the prince is the figure of authority, his remarks are reframed within the limits of male humor and acceptability.

The reader is aware of the prince’s true identity and follows along with the protagonist—a woman in a man’s world trying to out-man the men through some gender trouble. In a wonderful line, the prince concludes that “a good six inches” (*un buo[n] palmo di differe[n]za*) separates “that image [of the sleeping Venus] and a man.”⁶¹ Dramatic irony places the reader in a position of power, colluding simultaneously with the subversive female self and the official, authoritative male self that is the mask. Beyond the wonderful gender complications related in the anecdote is evidence of the predetermined social and cultural expectations that operated through and were molded by repetition. This was true for both the aristocratic spectator and the artist. Repetitive artworks negotiated and fixed relations between peers and between social unequals.

The majority of Titian's serialized nudes were made in the second half of the sixteenth century, a period characterized by an increasing tendency toward social conformism. This shift can be charted, for instance, through the sudden popularity of etiquette manuals in the same period. Della Casa published a manner book called *Il galateo* (1558), which saw a minimum of eight Italian publications by the end of the 1560s and an additional ten before the end of the century, including translations into French, English, Latin, and Catalan.⁶² Della Casa also wrote a treatise outlining proper behavior between social superiors and inferiors, the *Trattato tra gli amici superiori et inferiori* (1559), which was often bound with editions of *Il galateo*. The obsession with public grace and decorum was demonstrated in other publications, such as Stefano Guazzo's *La civil conversatione* (1574), which was reprinted at least eighteen times by 1600 and which underlines, again, the importance of both self-fashioned conduct and eloquence in the court.⁶³ The increase of control over aristocratic social behavior was recorded through the rise in the number of treatises on the definition of nobility, the rise in sumptuary laws, and the rise of a literature devoted to the theme of nobility and honor—the *scienza cavalleresca*, in which the art of the dialogue, the response, and the duel featured as the main points of discussion.⁶⁴

Some authors attribute the increased pressure among the upper classes to conform to prescribed and internalized behavioral patterns to the shifting definition of nobility in post-feudal Europe. Elias, for one, marked this change as one based on a shift away from the fear of physical violence to one based on the fear of public shame. Genevieve Warwick has contextualized this “neo-feudal veneer of noble behavior” within the connoisseurial culture and intricate gift economy that emerged in the seventeenth century.⁶⁵ Within the post-Tridentine circuit of heightened behavioral surveillance, such conditions became even more magnified as the social elite were especially careful not to transgress the boundaries of acceptability. Honor, as Stephen Greenblatt demonstrated, was only lost in the “disapproving gaze of others.”⁶⁶ The artistic strategy of serial repetition, therefore, functioned as a sociological strategy for crafting aristocratic hegemony, ideology, and taste.

Federico, Alessandro, and Charles V were not the only men of influence who desired to possess a Titian *donna nuda*. In 1553, Titian made another *Danaë* for Philip II (fig. 15). Philip was inspired to acquire his own copy after he allegedly saw the Farnese *Danaë* in Genoa in 1548 during the negotiations to join the cardinal's brother Ottavio with Charles V's illegitimate daughter and Philip's half sister, Margaret.⁶⁷ The Cupid in the Farnese painting was replaced by a maid, sitting on the edge of the bed, seen from behind, and holding out her apron in front of her to catch the shower of gold. Into this version Titian also cut and pasted the little sleeping dog that first appeared in the *Venus of Urbino*. Careful inspection of this canvas reveals that the goddess's left hand rests, in fact, between her legs. This is difficult to see in reproductions, and even in Philip's time the privileged viewer would have had to be close to the painting to see this detail. The erotic implications of this picture, therefore, become not only more manifest in the placement of the hand but also more voyeuristic in the looseness of the brushwork that solicits close examination.

During this period, another *Danaë* (fig. 16) found its way out of Titian's workshop and into the collection of Cardinal Montalto. The painting remained in Rome



FIG. 15. TITIAN
Danaë, 1553–54, oil on canvas,
129 × 180 cm (50⁷/₈ × 70⁷/₈ in.)
Madrid, Museo del Prado

FIG. 16. TITIAN
Danaë with a Nurse, ca. 1555,
oil on canvas, 135 × 152 cm
(53¹/₄ × 59⁷/₈ in.)
Vienna, Kunsthistorisches
Museum





FIG. 17. TITIAN
Venus with an Organist,
 ca. 1545–48, oil on canvas,
 148 × 217 cm (58 ¼ × 85 ½ in.)
 Madrid, Museo del Prado

until 1600, when it was sent by Montalto to Emperor Rudolph II in Prague as a gift.⁶⁸ Here, the little pup has disappeared, replaced by a pink rose that sits upon the bed; the position of the maid is now reversed so that she faces the viewer and lifts a platter (instead of her apron) above her head to gather the coins. In this reinterpretation of the Danaë motif, Zeus's face appears in the golden rain cloud. The execution of this picture is dry and less dramatic. Titian's own repetitions and variations and the workshop reproductions yielded a panoply of *Danaë*: with/without dog; with/without maid; with/without Cupid. Some were clumsy replicas and others were simply breathtaking. In spite of the inconsistencies in quality, the sheer quantity of Danaë paintings coming out of Titian's workshop clearly point to the desirability of this design among the European elite throughout the sixteenth century (and well into the seventeenth).

The demand was extraordinary. Titian was able to repeat the *donna nuda* formula in his *Venus and Cupid* series in the second half of the century. One of the earliest versions was painted around 1545 for Charles V, who then gifted it to his powerful secretary, Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (fig. 17).⁶⁹ In the cardinal's picture, Venus, stretched out on a rich silk cloth with a gold embroidered edge placed on top of a white bed, listens to the whispers of a small Cupid at her shoulder. His left arm tenderly hugs her; he looks at her, but her eyes do not meet his. Her body is adorned with jewels: an intricate bracelet on each wrist, a discreet ring on her left pinkie, a string of white pearls shimmering around her neck and braided through her golden hair, and magnificent earrings that outline the edge of her face.



FIG. 18. TITIAN
Venus with an Organist and a Dog,
 ca. 1550, oil on canvas,
 136 × 220 cm (53³/₈ × 86⁵/₈ in.)
 Madrid, Museo del Prado

Like the Urbino Venus and the Farnese Danaë, this goddess is portrayed in domestic surroundings. Her pose is similar to that of the Urbino Venus; Titian has simply reversed the composition, left to right. This simple inversion, however, changes the way one reads the painting. Instead of moving from the viewpoint of the reclining woman, the reader's eyes are now led across the body and canvas by the inconspicuous, shameless gaze extending from the male organist on the left. Sitting on the edge of the bed, he plays the elaborate organ in front of him but has turned around to inspect the divine spectacle behind him.⁷⁰

The tension between the desire for the same and the invention of the new was enacted and reenacted in the multitude of repetitions that emerged from the Venus and Cupid with musician theme. In each of the subsequent performances there is a discernible change in mood and setting from the previous image. Later versions seem almost as if they were made to order, with the reclining nude represented with one, two, three, or all the following options: musician (organist or lute player), Cupid, dog(s), pastoral landscape or garden scene.

In another version (fig. 18), this one in the Museo del Prado, the Cupid is exchanged for a large pillow, and Venus plays with a small hound by her side.⁷¹ It differs from the other version in other aspects, too.⁷² The physiognomy of the musician, for one, is different—he has grown up and sports the mustache of a mature man. This detail is reflected also in the increased size of the sword that hangs off his left hip. The general details of the pastoral backdrop are the same, but the skies have darkened, changing the overall mood of the image. The substitution of the Cupid

with a dog opens the nude figure's identity to the subjective fantasies of the individual interpreter. At the same time, this detail also makes the image more mundane. The erotic charge may have been heightened for those viewers who looked upon the woman as any *donna nuda*. But for other viewers, a loss of interest may have come with the loss of divinity. Again, on the one hand, the differences point to the heterogeneity of the audience that projected different desires and meanings onto these images; repetition, on the other hand, played into the homogeneity of the shared social background and expectations of these men.

There are many more examples of each of these Titianesque archetypes, and a similar argument can be made for his small devotional images, but the general idea of repetition as serial production needs no further illustration. From the multiple originals that might have coexisted, one can infer that patrons did not mind possessing a repetition of an extant invention, although sometimes they requested something slightly different in the repetition. For instance, in 1564, Philip II's Venetian agent, García Hernández, was charged to negotiate the purchase of Titian's *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence* altarpiece, which he had created in the mid-1550s for the Santa Maria Assunta dei Gesuiti. In a letter to his patron, Hernández replied that rather than paying 200 scudi for the original, a decent workshop copy by Titian's best pupil, "Geronimo Ticiano" (Girolamo Dente), could be acquired for one-fourth the price.⁷³ On this occasion Philip II agreed to buy the copy, but only if the picture differed from the first, for then there would be two instead of one—that is, two originals.⁷⁴

Slight alterations in details customized or personalized the Titianesque invention for subsequent users. In some cases patrons simply were not too concerned. On one occasion in 1534, the cardinal of Lorraine wrote to Titian about a "painting of a woman" that he had seen in the artist's house and asked if he might purchase it. When the cardinal was told that it was being sent to Ippolito de' Medici, he replied by requesting a replica.⁷⁵ In 1573, when the duke of Urbino ordered a painting of the Madonna from Titian, his only request was that it be made "diligently by one of his pupils."⁷⁶ It was enough that the work came out of Titian's workshop.

There is no doubt that Titian's women were mass-produced in the workshop; they had, after all, become bravura pieces and prestige fetishes coveted in princely circles throughout Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as each picture's provenance confirms. Like a franchise or trademark, Titian's workshop marked certain works "authentic" even when they were not unique paintings made in the exclusive hand of the master. The flexibility of the product to appear simultaneously familiar and individual was in many ways the key to a successful workshop. The guarantee of uniformity assured the patron that the product was acceptable within the larger consumer group, and the possibility of customized products provided options within the *tout-ensemble*—the difference within the repetition.

"TITIAN PAINTED AND INVENTED THIS": THE AUTHOR REMADE

The polyvalent nature of the Titianesque *donna nuda* could be appreciated on a number of levels. On one occasion for a specific group of viewers, such paintings may have been esteemed for their use value; under different circumstances, the

same pictures might have been appreciated instead for their exhibition value. This is not to suggest, however, a free-for-all in which any “meaning” had become equally meaningful or completely meaningless. Although Titianesque nudes were open to multiple and varied desires, the particular audience for whom they were made was predominantly male and aristocratic. A certain predictability would have shaped the interpretive process. Gender- and class-specific expectations would have informed the manner in which spectators from within this circle would have gazed upon Titian’s women. It was also a matter of context and depended in part on who was looking at the image and with what intentions.

For Guidobaldo, the experience of looking at the *Venus of Urbino* with Giuliana Varanno, his young wife, was surely a very different one from that of looking at it with Alessandro. For Titian, looking at the *Danaë* with Alessandro was certainly not the same as with Michelangelo and Vasari. For an interpreter like Vasari, predisposed to iconographic readings, the “meaning” of the *Venus of Urbino* might have been linked with its mythological references. At the same time, in another interpretive moment, the same viewer may have responded aesthetically. Instead of a “Venus,” Vasari might also have seen the same image as a beautiful example of the “modern style” in Venice.⁷⁷ In the masculinist arena of the early modern court, paintings such as the *Sleeping Venus*, *Venus of Urbino*, and *Danaë* were prized as homo-social trophies. Within that same setting, these images also functioned as ritualistic talismans, inspiring the creation of beautiful children.⁷⁸

In an attempt to provide a sociocultural explanation for the iconography of Titian’s *Sleeping Venus*, one art historian famously claimed that the image represented the goddess in the process of fondling herself and was used to ensure the sexual satisfaction of the bride (this, it was argued, was based on the early modern belief that simultaneous orgasm increased the chances of conceiving).⁷⁹ The *Sleeping Venus*, therefore, functioned as a matrimonial and procreative totem. There is perhaps an element of truth in this bold thesis, and yet such arguments run the risk of overdetermining the influence of the social upon the aesthetic. That is, the sexual explanation has little to say about the fact that the *Sleeping Venus* remains a magnificent large-scale oil painting of a nude woman in a gorgeous landscape painted by one of the most important artists of the time. Moreover, it seems rather far-fetched to commission someone of Titian’s reputation to paint an erotic image destined for such an end. Surely the use value of a Titian was determined to a larger extent by its exhibition value as a “Titian” rather than the inverse. A similar argument can be made against those art historians who would insist on Padovanino’s identity primarily as a copyist. On the rare occasion when Padovanino agreed to make a copy after a Renaissance painting, in what manner were the faux “Titian” and authentic “Padovanino” esteemed? In other words, what did Padovanino and, of equal importance, what did his viewers gain from this repetition?

By the seventeenth century, the “Titian” *donna nuda* had become standard fare in elite collections. The 1603 inventory of the Aldobrandini collection in Rome, for instance, describes “a large painting by Titian of a sleeping, nude Venus with Cupid.”⁸⁰ Likewise, Christina, queen of Sweden, owned a “Titian” Venus, which was subsequently acquired by Pompeo Azzolino for Livio Odescalchi, duke of Bracciano, and registered with great detail in an 1689 inventory as “a painting of a sleeping,

nude Venus resting on a bed strewn with roses, her right hand placed above her head, and her left hand covering her private parts . . . a small cupid at her feet pricks [Venus's] left hand with a dart. Splendid life-size figures by Titian with a view onto a beautiful landscape."⁸¹ In 1645, John Evelyn recorded seeing "two naked Venus's by Titian" in Florence and two more in Rome.⁸² In a 1652 treatise on painting, Pietro da Cortona reported seeing "a very beautiful sleeping nude woman" by Titian in the *camerino* of a Lombard duke and several other similar works in the collections of Cardinal Berlingiero Gessi and Giovanni Paolo Sanfelice.⁸³ Such sightings were not limited to Italy. On 25 April 1615, Sir Dudley Carleton purchased a *Sleeping Venus* by Titian in Italy for the earl of Somerset, and this canvas later reappeared in the inventory of the collection of the earl of Arundel; "Titian" Venuses of this type also appeared throughout Spain and elsewhere in this period.⁸⁴

Titian's de facto authorship was further reinforced through the print medium. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Valentin Lefebvre and Johann Gottfried Saiter published prints after a particular *Sleeping Venus* that was in the Venetian collection of Ottavio de Tassis. Several versions of these prints specified: "Titian invented and painted this."⁸⁵ In another especially interesting seventeenth-century print by Pieter Claesz Soutman, a Titianesque nude is pictured sleeping in an ambiguous setting with the base of a Corinthian column and a dramatic landscape just visible in the background (fig. 19). "Titianus Pinxit" is again visibly marked in the lower left-hand corner. This construction is, in a sense, a conflation of several Titianesque motifs: the reclining, nude body of the *Sleeping Venus*; the domestic sumptuousness of the *Venus of Urbino*; the classicizing loggia of the Farnese *Danaë*; and the tempestuous skies of Titian's post-1550 *poesie*. It provides a good *summa* of what "Titian" had come to signify by the beginning of the seventeenth century, when the print was made.

In the final analysis, these primary sources reiterate three points. First, regardless of who invented the motif, Titian came to be identified as its rightful author. In other words, regardless of "original" authorship, a motif that entered Venetian pictorial vocabulary at the end of the fifteenth century as something typically *all'antica* was transformed through the "fruitful interference of repetition" into something perceived to be Giorgionesque by early-sixteenth-century viewers, and then as something essentially Titianesque by subsequent generations of viewers. Second, it is evident that a multitude of Venus paintings by "Titian" were in circulation in both Titian's and Padovanino's lifetime. Logistically, it is safe to conclude that some but not all these alleged "Titians" could have possibly come out of the artist's workshop. Third, the construction of a certain idea of "Titian" and the Titianesque was made possible by the phenomenon of the multiple original from within the artist's workshop and of reproductions made beyond the artist's immediate authority. Moreover, it was precisely this transhistorical and multimedia campaign of repetition that effectively equipped early modern spectators with an optic of repetition in front of which works like Padovanino's *Sleeping Venus* necessarily and intentionally positioned themselves.

It remains to be seen how seventeenth-century spectators responded to works such as Padovanino's *Sleeping Venus*. Boschini identified Padovanino in *La carta* as the best painter of female nudes, just as others had previously identified Titian.



FIG. 19. PIETER CLAESZ SOUTMAN (DUTCH, CA. 1580–1657), AFTER TITIAN
 Sleeping Venus, 1600s, etching, 21.4 × 32.9 cm (8½ × 13 in.)
 Rome, Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe

Boschini, as we might recall, was quite the gastronome. Unfortunately he did not comment on our specific *Sleeping Venus*; he did, however, describe many of Padovanino's other paintings of Venus. He has Thalia (the muse of comedy) stand before a painting in the Palazzo Correr of a "Venus in love with the beautiful Adonis" and exclaim, in a sequence of excited quatrains,

Oh what an alluring waist! Oh what tits!
 What curves! What knees! Oh what a beautiful chest!
 Everything is made [*impastai*] of sugar and sweets!
 This marvel comes from divine hands.

Now, what heart uses words to paint
 A nude Venus (for example)?
 Whoever gazes upon you there, if he is foolish,
 He dances [*bala*] with you; and if he is wise, he remains alone.

No, no, let's not be deceived; but (let's be serious)
 What could be more touching [*più colpo*] and excite us more?
 To name the Lover and then to say:
 I seize her there [*qua toco*] and I take her there.

Her legs are like a fire that burns your heart
 Possession is sweet; sweetness takes possession of you
 Love wants to take pleasure more in painting
 Than in actions or words.

Most fortunate Adonis it is upon you that befalls
The enjoyment of such great delight twice
In heaven and on earth you have Venus close to you
Body against body, hand in hand, mouth upon mouth.⁸⁶

The Correr painting is lost but would probably have resembled Padovanino's other *Venus and Adonis* in the Palazzo Montecitorio in Rome (fig. 20).

Boschini's wit, which works on so many levels, helps frame the discussion of the *repetitive* in the next chapter. The verb *impastare* (to knead) has a much more tactile connotation than I have been able to suggest here; it links back thematically to the bread of Boschini's meal (the nudes in the painting) and locates the aesthetic experience in the spectator's body. The use of *colpo* and *toco* in the third quatrain alludes to both the touch of the hand and the stroke of the brush, conflating an eroticism that extends from the artist with an eroticism located in the eye (and elsewhere in the body) of the beholder. The verb *bala* (dance) is a polite euphemism for much more lascivious activities.⁸⁷ The line that reads "possession is sweet; sweetness takes possession of you" (*el possieder è miel, che ve indolcisse*) is far more erotic than my paraphrastic translation can convey. In one metaphorical construction, "honey" (*miel*) describes not only how satisfying it is to possess something, but also the bodily response triggered by erotic possession; likewise, *indolcisse* refers both to the penetration of a body by a syrupy agent as well as a body that is itself overcome by an ecstatic sweetness.

Like Bembo's participation in the *paragone* between nature and (Titian's) art, Boschini's suggestion that poetry cannot surpass the pleasures offered by painting—"Now, what heart uses words to paint / A nude Venus (for example)?" (*Mo che core a depenzer (per esempio) / Una Venere nua con el discorso?*)—can only be read as an instance of ironic (and disingenuous) self-effacement. Painting, however, enables the spectator to envision vicarious fantasies of possession: "Love wants to take pleasure more in painting / Than in actions or words" (*Talché più con pitura se gioisse: / ché fati, e no parole, vuol Amor*). The description of the painting itself as a "Venus in love with the beautiful Adonis" (rather than a "beautiful Venus in love with Adonis") underlines the homosocial nature of the picture that Boschini then develops in the last quatrain, where the speaker positions himself with the "most fortunate" Adonis, who is able to taste the sweetness denied to the spectator.

To be sure, Boschini's text is situated at a historical moment well beyond the moral rigidity of post-Tridentine Italy and firmly entrenched in the sly and wicked humor of the seicento. While the basic physiological-poetic response remains consistent, and while Boschini resorts to an entire lexicon of clichés conventionally used to describe Titian's *donne nude*, he tries in that same moment to take his ekphrasis one step farther. The mask of humanist sophistication is thrown aside and Petrarchan tropes of love are abandoned in favor of a more explicit—more modern—vocabulary.⁸⁸ Boschini's encounter with Padovanino's *Venus and Adonis* is historically distinct from Dolce's experience of Titian's *Venus and Adonis* (see fig. 14). If anything, Boschini is an intensification and a continuation of the tradition that preceded him in very much the same way that Padovanino's nudes reframe Titian's women in a way that Titian himself could not have imagined. Like

FIG. 20. PADOVANINO
Venus and Adonis, ca. 1625,
oil on canvas, 161 × 192 cm
(63³/₈ × 75⁵/₈ in.)
Rome, Palazzo Montecitorio



Padovanino's art, Boschini's poetry positions itself within an intentionally *repetitive* aesthetic in which the explicit *paragone* between past and present authors produces a certain type of pleasure for the informed reader familiar with the tradition that is being called forth and troped for new ends.

The discussion thus far has focused on the process through which stylistic codes are constructed by the artist through an experimentation with and the repetition of typological categories and, then, consolidated by collectors in their search for familiar, established patterns. In the next chapter, I will explain the *repetitive* logic that informed Padovanino's *Sleeping Venus* and that extended from and was essential to both Renaissance workshop and collecting practices. This chapter was concerned with the construction of paradigms—how Titian employed repetition to establish a certain style as his own and how in doing so he contributed to the definition of a Venetian art. I will now turn to what happens to the syntagmas, or images, once they are open to interpretation and translation and to how artists repeated and transformed the past.

Notes

1. Tietze-Conrat, "Titian's Allegory," 128, 130; Pignatti, "Abbozzi and Ricordi," 73; and Falomir, "Titian's Replicas," 63–64.
2. Ridolfi, as quoted in Fisher, *Titian's Assistants*, v–vi; cf. Ridolfi, *Le maraviglie*, 1:227:

Furono gli Discepoli detti in poco differente tempo in casa di Titiano; e si racconta, che nell'uscir, ch'egli faceva di casa, lasciava à bella posta le chiavi nel camerone, dove teneva le cose pregiate, ma non tantosto partito, quelli si davano à far copie delle opere più belle, stando un di loro alla scorta. Poscia à qualche tempo ravisando Titiano i quadri, raccoglieva le copie fatte da Discepoli, le quali da lui ritocche passavano per i di sua mano; e di qui è, che molte cose de i Discepoli si stimano del Maestro.
3. Piles, *L'idée*, 107–8: "Il n'y a presque point de Peintre qui n'ait répété quel'un de ses Ouvrages, parce qu'il lui aura plu, ou parce qu'on lui en aura demandé un tout semblable. . . . Titien a répété jusq'à sept ou huit fois les mêmes Tableaux, comme on joue plusieurs fois une Comédie qui a réussi."
4. Piles, *Abregé*, 254–55: "Le soin qu'il prenoit de concerter judicieusement le Tout-ensemble de ses Ouvrages, lui a fait répéter plusieurs fois les mêmes compositions pour éviter de nouvelles peines; & l'on voit de sa main plusieurs Tableaux de Magdeléne, & de Venus & Adonis de sa main, où il a seulement changé le fond, afin qu'on ne pût douter qu'ils ne fussent tous Originaux."
5. *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca*, 578: "Si dice a quella cosa, o pittura, o scrittura, o cosa simile, che è la prima a essere stata fatta, e dalla quale vengon le copie." For an extended discussion of this topic, see Loh, "Originals."
6. Baldinucci, *Vocabolario*, 39: "Copia. Fra' nostri Artefici, dicesi quella opera che non si fa di propria invenzione, ma si ricava per l'appunto da un'altra, o sia maggiore, o minore, o eguale dell'originale" (emphasis added).
7. Mancini, *Considerazioni*, 1:327: "delle scritture e libri si dice archetypo come primo scritto non copiato, così della pittura, se prima fatta o originali come dicono, o copiata et secondariamente fatta ad esempio d'un'altra come l'archetypa, cioè originaria."
8. See marginal note by de Piles in Dufresnoy, *L'art de peinture*, 71: "L'Original dans la Teste, et la Copie sur la Toile"; and Piles, "Remarques," 229: "Copie de ce que vous avez dans l'esprit."
9. Stoppio, as quoted in Spear, "Divine" Guido, 256.
10. Boschini, as quoted in Sohm, *Pittoresco*, 68: "il zuclero sopra la torta."
11. Brown, "Replication," 113.
12. For an explanation of the Deleuzian concept of the "machine," see the discussion in the introduction, pp. 9–10.
13. See Hübner, *Verzeichniss*, 113, for the Sassoferrato attribution; Fogolari, "La Venere," 235, for the discussion on the "Sconosciuto veneziano"; and *Catalogue*, 218 (no. 324), where the Dresden *Venus* is identified as: "Alessandro Varotari, surnommé Padovanini. / 324. Vénus couché sur un lit de repos. Sur t. 6'6" de l. 4' de h."
14. Michiel's early-sixteenth-century "inventory" of the Marcello collection in Venice recorded the presence of "La tela della Venere nuda, che dorme in uno paese con Cupidine, fu de mano de Zorzo da Castelfranco; ma lo paese e Cupidine furono finiti da Titiano" (Michiel, *Notizia*, 169). This line formed the basis upon which Giovanni Morelli attributed the Dresden painting, in 1880, to Giorgione. For the history of this canvas, see Anderson, *Giorgione*, 307–8 (fig. 139); and Joannides, *Titian*, 300–301 (under the entry for Dresden, *Sleeping Woman*); concerning the problems with the Morellian attribution, see especially Fogolari, "La Venere."
15. See, for instance, Meiss, "Sleep in Venice," 213.
16. Palma Vecchio is another obvious example. Compare, for instance, the *Venus and Cupid* in the Norton Simon Museum in Pasadena with two paintings, both called *Nymph in a Landscape*, in the Courtauld Institute of Art in London and the Gemäldegalerie in Dresden, where the figures are virtual tracings of the same body.
17. Mariani Canova, *Paris Bordon*, 114, 95.
18. Mariani Canova, *Paris Bordon*, 111.
19. On this particular relief, see Sperti, *Rilevi*, 120–25. The Grimani collection of antiquities was ceded by Cardinal Domenico Grimani upon his death in 1523 to the Venetian state. They were displayed in the Antisala of the Biblioteca Marciana and were accessible to all Venetian citizens. Today they are in the Museo Archeologico in Venice.
20. Genette, *Palimpsests*, 79.
21. Hope, "Problems," 120–23.
22. Zapperi, "Alessandro Farnese," 160.
23. Panofsky, *Problems in Titian*, 146–47; and Jacobs, "Aretino and Michelangelo," 51.
24. Watson, "Titian and Michelangelo," 246.
25. Vasari, *Lives*, 2:791; cf. Vasari, *Vite*, 6:164: "Andando un giorno Michelagnolo et il Vasari a vedere Tiziano in Belvedere, videro in un quadro, che allora avea condotto, una femina ignuda, figurata per una Danae, che aveva in grembo Giove trasformato in pioggia d'oro, e molto, come si fa in presenza, gliel lodarono."
26. Levey, *Painter Depicted*, 42.
27. Vleughels added the following interpretation in a postscript to Dolce, *Dialogo*, 307–8:

Rimane a dire alcuna cosa del rame invariato, acciò servisse di frontispizio al libro. . . . Quanto al soggetto in quello rappresentato, che a molti sarebbe oscuro, è tirato,

per mio avviso dal Vasari nella Vita di Tiziano. Racconta egli essere stato un giorno insieme con Michel'Agnolo a visitar Tiziano nel tempo appunto, che questi era occupato in dar l'ultima mano alla tanto celebre Danae; e che restarono ambidui sorpresi dalla bellezza di questo quadro tanto per il colorito, quanto per la naturalezza, e vaghi tratti, che vedevansi in sì vezzosa figura.

28. Roskill, *Dolce's "Aretino,"* 110: "quella bellissima nuda per il Cardinal Farnese, che fu con maraviglia piu d'una volta veduta da Michel'Agnolo"; and Vleughels's postscript quoted in note 27.
29. Vasari, *Lives*, 2:791; cf. Vasari, *Vite*, 6:164: "Dopo partiti che furono da lui, ragionandosi nel fare di Tiziano, il Buonarruoto lo comendò assai, dicendo che molti gli piaceva il colorito suo e la maniera, ma che era un peccato che a vinezia non s'imparasse da principio a disegnare bene e che non avessero que' pittori miglior modo nello studio."
30. Goffen, *Renaissance Rivals*, 335.
31. Bernini is quoting Michelangelo in this passage, which appears in Chantelou, *Diary*, 108 (10 August 1665).
32. The locus classicus for this type of competition between artists is recounted in Pliny's tale of Protogenes' "clever incident" with Apelles, in which Apelles is pushed to retrace Protogenes' tracing of Apelles' self-portrait—one of the first palimpsests to be recorded in art literature; Pliny, *Natural History*, 321–23 (35.36.81–83).
33. Zapperi, "Alessandro Farnese," 165, notes that Titian would have seen this painting on one of his many visits to the ducal palace in Mantua in November of 1529, 1530, and 1532.
34. Della Casa's letter to Alessandro Farnese, dated 20 September 1544, was first published in Hope, "Neglected Document," 188–89; the passage cited reads as follows: "una nuda, che faria venir il diavol adosso al Cardinale San Sylvestro; et quella che Vostra Signoria Reverendissima vide in Pesaro nelle Camere del Signor Duca d'Urbino è una teatina appresso a questa"; cf. Zapperi, "Alessandro Farnese," 163.
35. Barnes, *Michelangelo's Last Judgment*, 78–82.
36. Zapperi, "Alessandro Farnese," 159–66, paints a touching portrait of a repressed, amorous Alessandro whose ailing papal grandfather pushed him into an undesired career as a cardinal; the *Danaë*, Zapperi argues, was "a euphemistic representation of the coupling of the owner with the courtesan," a veiled portrait of Alessandro's mistress, Angela, a certain courtesan in the house of "Signora Camilla." Della Casa, for his part, was not only the author of the influential Renaissance etiquette manual, *Il galateo*, but also was responsible for the establishment of the Venetian Inquisition (*Tre savi sopra eresia*) and the compilation of its index of prohibited books in 1549—the *Catalogo dei libri proibiti*.
37. Mucchi, "Radiografie," 300–302.
38. Ridolfi, *Le maraviglie*, 1:102: "Una deliciosa Venere ignuda dormiente è in casa Marcell[o], & à piedi è Cupido con Augellino in mano, che fù terminato da Titiano." Ridolfi is referring here to the same image that Michiel saw in the Marcello collection; see note 14.
39. Damisch, *Judgment of Paris*, 210–11.
40. "La donna nuda" was used in a letter between the duke of Urbino and his Venetian agent Leonardi; see Gronau, *Documenti*, 93 (no. xxxi). It was listed in a 1623 inventory as "una donna a giacere di Tiziano" and then in 1654 as "la Venere di mano di Tiziano" (Gronau, *Documenti*, 64–65). The painting was placed originally in the Villa Poggio Imperiale in Pesaro (where Alessandro would see it) and was later moved to the Palazzo Ducale in Urbino; in 1631, it went to Florence with Vittoria Della Rovere after her marriage to Ferdinando II de' Medici. When Peter Oliver made a miniature copy of the painting in the seventeenth century, it was described as "a naked woman on her back" in the 1638 inventory of the collection of Charles I; a painted copy after the Titian was registered as "una Venus en la cama" in a 1746 Spanish inventory; see Wethey, *Paintings of Titian*, 3:203–4 (no. 54). Vasari, *Vite*, 6:162, referred to it as "una Venere giovanetta a giacere con fiori e certi panni sottili attorno, molto belli e ben finiti."
41. See Hope, "Neglected Document," 188; and Zapperi, "Alessandro Farnese," 163.
42. Vasari, *Vite*, 6:164: "una femina ignuda, figurata per una Danae"; Roskill, *Dolce's "Aretino,"* 110: "e quella bellissima nuda per il Cardinal Farnese."
43. Titian to Antonio Pérez, as quoted in Wethey, *Paintings of Titian*, 3:161 (no. 21): "nuda con il paese con il satiro"; cf. Pedrocco, *Titian*, 221.
44. Wethey, *Paintings of Titian*, 3:161–62 (no. 21): "la Venus Danae con un sátiro a los pies." In the seventeenth century, the painting belonged to Charles I, king of England, and then to Louis XIV, king of France. At the sale of Charles I's collection in 1649, "the Great Venus de Parde, done by Tystian" was sold to a "Colonel Hutcheson, ye 8 November 1649 for £600." Subsequently, the canvas traveled to Paris where it was listed at various times as *Jupiter and Antiope* and even as *Venus and Adonis*.
45. Hope, "Problems," 119; and Ranum, "Refuges of Intimacy," 252. See instead Puttfarcken, *Titian and Tragic Painting*, 147–50, on such "erotic viewing."
46. Merlini Barbaresi, "Markedness Reversal," 107.
47. Veblen, *Theory of the Leisure Class*, 31–36, and *passim*.
48. See generally Elias, *Court Society*; and Elias, *Civilizing Process*, esp. 45–182, 363–447.
49. Elias, *Civilizing Process*, 68.
50. *Ranuccio Farnese* (1542; Washington D.C., National Gallery of Art) and *Pope Paul III with His Grandsons Alessandro and Ottavio Farnese* (1546; Naples, Museo di Capodimonte).
51. *Isabella d'Este* (1536; Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum) and *Federico Gonzaga* (1525–30; Madrid, Museo del Prado).
52. Said, *World*, 113.
53. Cropper, "Beauty of Woman," 190.
54. Cropper, "Place of Beauty," 175.
55. Aretino, as translated in Rogers, "Sonnets," 302.
56. Pino, "Dialogo," 97: "Spettacolo veramente divino."
57. Roskill, *Dolce's "Aretino,"* 214–15: "nell'ultime parti ci si conosce la macatura della carne causata del sedere."
58. Boschini, *La carta*, 380: "Un quadro senza nudo è come aponto / Un disnar senza pan."
59. The relevant passage from Pallavicino, *Il principe hermafrodito*, 9–10, reads as follows:
D'alcune vaghissime pitture, fù fatta Scena à gl'occhi di questo creduto Principe, da chi sperava contracambiata, con prezzo convenevole alle sue mani, una vaghezza degna de' suoi sguardi.
Eravi trà queste una Venere nuda, ch'in tale stato mostrava ben sì d'haver vestite le Gratie. Folgoreggiavano talmente

quelle bellezze, anco dipinte, che non era possibile il vedere à lor fronte habiti, che non incenerissero, come non poteano fermarsi cuori, che non ardessero. Giaceva addormentata, per avvertire, qualmente non favellava, stante, che dormiva. Chi vagheggiava queste effigie, rassembrava ben sì timido di non risvegliarla, mentre con una tacita ammirazione applaudeva à sentimenti dell'occhio, & alle passioni dell'animo. In somma, la delineatura di quelle membra, vivamente colorite, formavano un vino composto, gli eccessi della cui beltà necessitavano al dire, ch'ogni sua parte era dipinta.

Ravvisò il nostro Principe in quella imagine, un ritratto di se medesimo. Ricercò, chi rappresentasse, autenticando con lo suo stupore, Divinità in quell'Originale, che sù le tele, quasi sù altari, poteva render'adorabili le sue mentite sembianze. Fù risposto esser una Dea. All'udire questo aggiunto di femina, dove un'aggiustata proportione con le parti del proprio corpo creduto d'huomo, persuadeva altrimenti, sdegnossi quasi schernita da bugiarda risposta. Mortificò con rimproveri il mentitore, che haveva parlato, affermando quello esser'un Dio, non una Dea. Condannò la temerità di colui, ardato di contraddire alle publiche, & apparenti insegne di corpo virile. Argomentava dalla cognitione di se stesso; onde non era meraviglia, se un supposto falso, concepiva una conseguenza erronea.

Sorrisero i Cavalieri presenti à questa sua opinione, che stimarono introdotta, per ischerzo; non sapendo, che argomentasse logicame[n]te nella propria figura. Poteva dirsi, che la sostenesse virilmente; e però s'oppose à chi, più per dar campo à suoi scherzi, che per contraddire, motteggiò, che tra quel simulacro, & un'huomo, si trovava un buo[n] palmo di differe[n]za.

60. See Kolsky, "Women," 43, where the author discusses the inherently masculinist nature of courtly wit in a passage from Castiglione's *Il libro del Cortegiano* (1528) in which one of the speakers confesses: "Alcuna volta, pensando per quello esser arguti e faceti, in presenza d'onorate donne e spesso a quelle medesime, si mettono a dir sporchissime e disoneste parole."
61. Pallavicino, *Il principe hermafrodito*, 10.
62. Editions of *Il galateo* include the following: Milan, 1559; Florence, 1560, 1561, 1566, 1572, 1598; Rome, 1560, 1595; Venice, 1562, 1563, 1564, 1585; London, 1576; Lyons, 1573, 1598; Frankfurt, 1580; Lisbon, 1598.
63. Editions of *La civil conversation* include the following: Brescia, 1574; Venice, 1575 (through two different publishers), 1577, 1579, 1580 (also two editions), 1581, 1583, 1584, 1586, 1588, 1589, 1590, 1593; Paris, 1579; Lyons, 1582; London, 1586.
64. Donati, *L'idea*, 93–150.
65. Warwick, "Gift Exchange," 633; and Warwick, *Arts of Collecting*, 76–129, *passim*.
66. Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, 50.
67. Wethey, *Paintings of Titian*, 3:134 (no. 6), did not believe that the Farnese would have carried the painting to Genoa with them unless it was intended as a gift to the Habsburgs. This does not mean, however, that Philip could not have either seen a copy of the much valued *Danaë* or heard about the new acquisition from one of the Farnese (or a member of their entourage). Philip, who was by the 1540s one of Titian's most prestigious patrons, could easily have verified the identity of the painting Titian had made for the Farnese.
68. Wethey, *Paintings of Titian*, 3:135 (no. 7); cf. Ridolfi, *Le meraviglie*, 1:196, where he refers to Rudolph's "Danae famosa figura, che si vede in istampa."
69. Wethey, *Paintings of Titian*, 3:196–97 (no. 47).
70. Pozza, "La casa," 37, pointed out that this organ was in fact one of Titian's own possessions and that it had been given to him by Alessandro Trasuntino in exchange for a portrait.
71. Wethey, *Paintings of Titian*, 3:199–200 (no. 50). This version is often linked with the canvas that Ridolfi saw in the collection of the Venetian lawyer Francesco Assonica, although the elaborate costume seems more appropriate to a Habsburgian context; cf. Pedrocchi, *Titian*, 235 (no. 189).
72. See Falomir, "Titian's Replicas," 64–65 (and fig. 36, where Falomir superimposes the two paintings onto each other).
73. Fisher, *Titian's Assistants*, xiii–xiv, 32; see also Cole, "Titian," 105. The significant passage reads as follows:

En un monasterio desta ciudad está un quadro de San Lorenzo que hizo él muchos años ha, el qual es de la grandeza y manera que vuestra merced apunta en su carta, y los frailes me han dicho que le dieron por él doscientos escudos, y lo copiaría por cinquenta Geronimo Ticiano, deudo o criado suyo, que estuvo en su casa más de 30 años, y es el que mejor lo haze aquí despues dél, aunque no tiene comparación, y si Su Magestad quisiere dos, éste se havrá más presto.
- García Hernández to Gonzalo Pérez, 9 October 1564; as published in Mancini, *Tiziano*, 323 (no. 202).
74. See the marginal note written by Philip II in a letter from Gonzalo Pérez to García Hernández (Philip's secretary until 1566), 16–27 November 1564; as published in Mancini, *Tiziano*, 327 (no. 206): "haga sacar del pariente de Ticiano [Girolamo Dente] el quadro de Sant Lorenzo por los 50 ducados, y no por esto dexa Ticiano de hazer el otro, más que lo haga que sean diferentes el uno del otro, que desta manera puede haver dos."
75. Titian reported the story in a letter to Ippolito; as quoted in Tietze, "An Early Version," 200: "un quadro di una donna."
76. As quoted in Fisher, *Titian's Assistants*, 29: "orediamo che il s.r. Titiano non lavori piu lui di man sua, desideriano nondimeno che si vogli pigliar cura di farlo far diligentamente da uno di quei suoi."
77. Vasari, *Vite*, 4:8: "[la] terza maniera che noi vogliamo chiamare la moderna."
78. See, for instance, Leon Battista Alberti, *De Re Aedificatoria* (1452), as quoted in Rosand, "So-and-So," 109: "they say that [the hanging of beautiful images] may have a great influence on the fertility of the mother and the appearance of the offspring"; and Giulio Mancini, as quoted in Rosand, "So-and-So," 109, who explains that the function of "lascivious pictures" is "to arouse one and to make beautiful, healthy, and charming children."
79. Discussed by Goffen, "Renaissance Dreams," 699, where the author is identified as Giorgione.
80. Wethey, *Paintings of Titian*, 3:240 (no. L-13), where it is listed as no. 238 in the 1603 Aldobrandini inventory: "Una Venere con Amore, che dorme, ignudo, in quadro grande, di Titiano"; it appears with alternative numbers in subsequent inventories: no. 189 (1626); no. 238 (1665); and no. 171 (1682).
81. Wethey, *Paintings of Titian*, 3:241 (no. L-18): "Un quadro di una Venere che dorme ignuda a giacere sopra un letto

- sparso di rose; tiene la mano destra sopra il capo e con la sinistra si copra nelli parti . . . [sic]. Con un amorino in piedi che col dardo punge la detta mano sinistra. Con veduta di bel paese, figure grandi al naturale di Tiziano.” It was subsequently sold by Odescalchi’s heirs to the duc d’Orléans and appeared in the Odescalchi inventory of 1713 as a “Venere che dorme, di Tiziano . . . della Regina di Svezia.”
82. Evelyn, *Diary*, 2:414, 485.
83. Ottonelli and Cortona, *Trattato*, 294, 331, and 326: “in una Città principale di Lombardia in un camerino di un Duca, Titiano per compimento di quello, che vi havevano dipinto altri Pittori, vi fece due Quadri, in uno de’ quali era trà l’altre figure quella d’una Donna ignuda, e bellissima, che dormiva”; “[Signor Cardinal Berlingerio Gessi] haveva in un Quadro una Venere lasciva, & un Cupido in forma di gratiofo fanciullo, tutta opera dell’insigne, e famoso Titiano”; and “Il Sig Gio: Paolo Sanfelice Napolitano haveva in Napoli una bellissima Pittura di Venere tutta ignuda, con un Cupido appresso, che teneva in mano un pungente strale in atto di ferirla con dolce piaga d’amore. Era opera d’un famoso Pittore, & era tenuta molto cara da quel Signore per la sua gran perfettione, e nobilissimo arificio.”
84. Wethey, *Paintings of Titian*, 3:241–42 (no. L-15-7).
85. Lefebvre’s image is represented and listed in Lefebvre, *Notitia*, 6 (no. 29), as: “Tiziano Vecellio invento e depinse / Paese con Venere che dorme dell’unico Titiano, in casa del Sig. Barone Ottavio de Tassis in Venetia.” The inscription on Saiter’s print repeats this information more or less verbatim; see Chiari Moretto Weil, *Incisioni da Tiziano*, fig. 222. Tassis was a friend of Padovanino’s pupil, Pietro Della Vecchia, as well as one of the fictional speakers in Giovanni Volpato’s *La verita pittoresca* (1685), in addition to being cited as “mio Amigo” by Ecelenza in Boschini, *La carta*, 352.
86. Boschini, *La carta*, 670–71:
- Oh che vita legiadra! oh che tetine!
 Che fianco! che zenochi! oh che bel peto!
 Tuti impastai de zucaro e confeto!
 Ste maravegie vien da man divine.
- Mo che core a depenzer (per esempio)
 Una Venere nua con el discorso?
 Chi varda quella là, se ’l fusse un torso,
 El bala; e se l’è acorto, el resta un scempio.
- No no, no se inganemo; ma (sul sodo)
 Che cosa fa più colpo e ne infervora?
 Nominar la Morosa, o allora, allora
 Vederla, e poder dir: qua toco, e godo?
- Le zanze è fiamme, che ve brusa el cuor;
 El possieder è miel, che ve indolcisse;
 Talché più con pitura se gioisse:
 Ché fati, e no parole, vuol Amor.
- Felicissimo Adon, zà che te toca
 Goder sì gran delicia dopiamente,
 E in Cielo e in tera aver Venere a rente,
 Nua per nua, man con man, boca con boca!
87. On the double entendre implicit in the eroticism of dancing, Boschini’s friend, the Incogniti poet Giovan Francesco Loredan, fabulously wrote: “Il Ballo è una lussuria de’ piedi, che non conviene, che a’ bollori della gioventù” (Loredan, *Lettere*, 305).
88. See Findlen, “Humanism,” for an excellent discussion on the link between pornography and modernity.

“The Future Is History”: Repetition and Difference

Drawing from Denis Mahon’s and Charles Dempsey’s studies on eclecticism and the Carracci, Elizabeth Cropper skillfully reassessed the issue of early seicento imitation through the themes of originality, artistic reputation, and plagiarism.¹ Her analysis confirmed the positive reception of Domenichino’s *Last Communion of Saint Jerome* altarpiece (1614; Vatican City, Musei Vaticani, Pinoteca Vaticana) in spite of the artist’s visible borrowings from previous artists and reaffirmed Domenichino’s position as a great master. For Cropper, the controversy over imitation is situated within the early seicento debates over Giambattista Marino’s *L’Adone* (1622), but it is directed toward the eventual reification of novelty within the modernist binaries of master/pupil, authenticity/forgery, originality/plagiarism, and real/fake and the eventual need for a legalization of intellectual copyrights.² While my concerns are similar to Cropper’s, my emphasis here is very different. First, I am interested not in the issue of plagiarism, but in demonstrative repetition—imitation that trades on identification, and emulation that underscores historical difference. Second, I am concerned with the critical possibility of messy binaries and in examining the discourses that try to master them. I want to attend more closely to a Proustian sense of time in which characters do not fully realize the import of events until much later—a sense of time constructed by repetition.

With images like Padovanino’s *Sleeping Venus* and *Venus and Adonis*, the pleasure brought forth by the sight of a particular “delicious nude” was doubled as the viewer recalled Titian’s *Sleeping Venus* and *Venus and Adonis* and other similar images in the viewer’s memory. For the beholder who could see through the ruse, a surplus pleasure resulted from his or her ability to participate in this inter-representational dialogue and to see multiplicity in this singular body. Padovanino’s *Sleeping Venus*, however, was by no means unique: other artists refashioned Titian’s Dresden Venus for new intentions as well. In an early-seventeenth-century painting in Darmstadt (fig. 21), she is represented on a bed covered with roses that is staged against a particularly Germanic landscape. In another, especially comical, seventeenth-century interpretation in the Dulwich Picture Gallery (fig. 22), the recumbent woman is shown asleep in a loggia, with a mischievous cupid standing over her and angling an arrow toward her sex in a highly suggestive manner. The handling of the paint is rather dull, and the style is somewhat pedestrian and dry. Nevertheless, the well-trained eye can easily identify the Titianesque allusion in the



FIG. 21. AFTER TITIAN
German adaptation of *Sleeping Venus*, 1600s, oil on canvas,
133 × 169 cm (52³/₈ × 66⁵/₈ in.)
Darmstadt, Gemäldegalerie
des Landesmuseums

FIG. 22. AFTER TITIAN
Variant copy of *Sleeping Venus*,
early 1600s, oil on canvas,
101.3 × 186 cm (39⁷/₈ × 73¹/₄ in.)
London, Dulwich Picture Gallery



painting. In these examples, the repetition was decisively strategic. The topographic specificity in the Darmstadt version was possibly directed at the cultural preferences of a northern collector. The repeated appearance of and the twist in the established formula in the Dulwich painting were certainly directed toward raising the eyebrow of the knowledgeable connoisseur.

As with Padovanino's *Sleeping Venus*, these paintings "work" when we see Titian in them, but they resonate all the more when we realize Titian is also not entirely there. Mancini suggested at the beginning of the seventeenth century that a copy is preferable to the original when it is painted so skillfully as to fool the viewer, because then it contains "the art of two artists."³ Boschini similarly wrote that successful copies "are laudable deceptions and worthy of envy."⁴ Hence, in addition to soliciting witty poetic displays from the spectator (and here I refer to Boschini's deliberately melodramatic response), artworks like Padovanino's *Sleeping Venus* position themselves within an aesthetics of the *repetitive* that is driven by a process of recognition, misrecognition, cognition; of avowal and disavowal; of possession and dispossession—a process encapsulated by the utterance "mine, yet not mine." The *repetitive* is a mode of give-and-take that is negotiated between the author, the work, and the reader in each new moment of viewing. Categorically speaking, paintings like Padovanino's *Sleeping Venus* and the two anonymous sixteenth-century *Venus*s cannot be considered either as replicas or as counterfeits because they belong to another species altogether—they are *repetitive* remakes.

DOUBLE TAKES AND REMAKES: THE SPECIFICITY OF THE *REPETITIVE*

To the informed viewer, remakes are necessarily marked by the presence of an always-already and a sense of *déjà vu*. Not all remakes, however, deploy repetition strategically. Remakes, too, differ in intention. Some may indeed share the intention of a forgery, others that of an homage. The difference between the two categories is considerable. The forgery seeks to profit from a misidentification, to conceal its indebtedness, and to remove any perception of historical or cultural difference. A forgery never wants to be found out, for then it will lose its monetary value.⁵ In contrast, the homage defines its own identity in relation to a previous intention, calls attention to this relationship, and stages an active *paragone* with the past—it wants to be found out. An homage positions itself in a symbiotic relationship with both the subject that is honored and the reader who confers upon the work an artistic value in the aesthetic moment of lateral identification.

Rather than adopt Thomas Greene's four categories of literary imitation (reproductive/sacramental, eclectic/exploitative, heuristic, and dialectical),⁶ which plot an arborescent hierarchy of value, I borrow the useful distinction between the *repetitious* and the *repetitive* made by Bruce Kavin. The *repetitious*, Kavin argued, manifests itself "when a word, percept, or experience is repeated with less impact at each recurrence; repeated to no particular end, out of a failure of invention or sloppiness of thought"; the *repetitive* comes into play "when a word, percept, or experience is repeated with equal or greater force at each occurrence."⁷ The *repetitious*

repeats without wanting to do so and with little difference constructed into the repetition: no reading in the second degree is expected by or from the audience. A *repetitious* work can be seen as an isolated event, and knowledge of its repressed sources adds little to enhance the viewer's experience of the work. The difference between the *repetitive* and *repetitious*, in short, lies in intentionality. This differentiation, however, should not be understood as a rigid binary used to divide artworks into a qualitative taxonomy of good and bad. Rather, the *repetitive* and the *repetitious* alert us to the different receptive modalities that are offered by the work of art.

Hollywood remakes of foreign films are often criticized in film studies for the transgression of what Kawin would deem *repetitious* repetition.⁸ A familiarity with Wim Wenders's *Der Himmel über Berlin* (1987) does not enrich a viewing of Brad Silberling's *City of Angels* (1998). Leonard Nimoy's *Three Men and a Baby* (1987) repeats Coline Serreau's *Trois hommes et un couffin* (1985) for an American audience without any allusion to the French comedy. There is no intertextual engagement between Blake Edwards's *The Man Who Loved Women* (1983) and François Truffaut's *L'homme qui aimait les femmes* (1977). These remakes do not actively seek to alter our perception of the previous version in any critical fashion. This is not to suggest that *repetitious* films cannot be successful or that all Hollywood remakes are necessarily inferior (thereby falling into the trap of fetishizing the "original" without further reflection); it merely signals that the *repetitive* has not played a conscious role in the manufacture of these particular films. They engage differently with their audiences and with their own historicity; no moment of double belonging exists.

In contrast, the *repetitive* is defined by an acute self-awareness. It re-presents the past in a strategic manner and expects its viewer to recognize both the repetition and the inevitable sense of difference that repetition unleashes. Unlike the *repetitious*, the *repetitive* work is conscious of its own belatedness and makes no apologies for this. It announces its alterity vis-à-vis an *other* and opens up a dialogue between the new film and the source film or films. Moreover, the *repetitive* remake seeks to revitalize the elements of the source text so that it can be seen anew and becomes relevant for a new audience. As Kawin emphasized, the *repetitive* depends "both on the inherent interest of the recurring unit and on its context."⁹ It addresses itself to an informed spectator, calling attention to its own constructedness and actively engaging an audience that is expected not only to recognize the direct quotations and oblique allusions but also to derive a certain amount of pleasure in being able to do so. In fact, the operation of the *repetitive* work hinges upon the viewer's ability to recognize the referents staged within. Sometimes even the knowledge that a repetition is taking place is enough to ensure the successful operation of the *repetitive*.

Genette illustrated this problematic with the utterance "Pierre est venu hier soir, Pierre est venu hier soir, Pierre est venu hier soir." Even in exact repetition, there is difference. Each identical component, he argued, differs from the other both materially and ideally, in that their copresence and succession identifies one as the first, the next, or the last.¹⁰ An original, in other words, only comes into its own when confronted with a reproduction.

In 1998, Gus Van Sant ambitiously reshot *Psycho* (1960), Alfred Hitchcock's black-and-white thriller, frame by frame. Vince Vaughn and Anne Heche were cast

in the leading roles previously performed by Anthony Perkins and Janet Leigh, and the remake was shot in color. Critics were ruthless, questioning why anyone would feel compelled to attempt what seemed to them to be an utterly futile project. One online reviewer lamented, “We’ve now officially entered the laziest period in the history of American popular culture . . . there’s no Van Sant in his own movie. On an artistic level, I consider this absolutely cowardly.”¹¹ The response indicated that originality and repetition were perceived to be fundamentally incompatible categories.

Slavoj Žižek, however, proclaimed Van Sant’s remake a “failed masterpiece, rather than a simple failure” and faulted the film only in that it did not go far enough in its repetition: “Ideally, what the film should strive for is to achieve the uncanny effect of the double: in shooting formally the same film, the difference would have become all the more palpable. Everything would have been the same—same shots, angles, and dialogue—but nonetheless, on account of this very sameness we would all the more powerfully experience that we are dealing with a totally different film.”¹²

The color remake of *Psycho* laid bare the formal qualities and historical weight of the original. Following Žižek, one can identify an ethic of the *repetitive* remake that pushes us to contemplate and to see new possibilities in history—that is, to make visible the choices not made, the paths not taken, and the alternatives not pursued. Hitchcock shot *Psycho* like a B movie on a small budget, over the course of a couple of months, in black and white, in a period when it was no longer fashionable to do so for the big screen. Van Sant’s *Psycho* reaches back in time, resuscitates, and breathes new life into an old intention. Most of all, it makes us look again at the *déjà vu* and shows us what we did not or could not see. History does not return in the remake to haunt us in an uncanny fashion; instead, a past we took for granted is defamiliarized, made relevant, and returned to us once more.

Van Sant’s *Psycho* stands as an extreme example of the *repetitive*. More often than not, artworks engage the *repetitive* in a more nuanced manner. Terry Gilliam’s film *Twelve Monkeys* (1995) is a significant example of this. An inspired remake of Chris Marker’s *La jetée* (1962), the movie begins with an onscreen acknowledgment of its source text in the credits that precede the story. The initiated spectator, aware of the extradiegetic narrative (the story told outside the movie) that frames *Twelve Monkeys* from the beginning, watches Gilliam’s remake with *La jetée* always already in mind.

Both films narrate the story of a postapocalyptic victim who is sent back in time to find the resources necessary to regenerate the devastated earth. The men are chosen for their ability to visualize the past. “The Man” (Davos Hanich) in Marker’s film and James Cole (Bruce Willis) in Gilliam’s film both witness a murder as a child. It is only at the end of the films that the significance of this childhood memory reveals itself. In both *La jetée* and *Twelve Monkeys*, the story opens and closes with this scene, which is unique for being both an analepsis (flashback) and a prolepsis (flashforward). The tag line of *Twelve Monkeys* is “The future is history,” which alerts the viewer to the diegetic narrative (the story told in the movie), that a meditation upon the past is at work in the present film. For the viewer who has seen *La jetée*, the twist ending is already revealed, and the experience of watching *Twelve Monkeys* is driven by dramatic irony and by the process of seeing how the same story will be retold once more.

The remake, as film theorists will remind, “is a species of interpretation” that “summons up both the internal and the external history of film in its relation to past films and past audiences: a film was made and now it is to be remade, revised, or even extended.”¹³ Engaging the spectator’s attention to this intertextual process is one of the primary intentions of the *repetitive* work. Gilliam’s insistent consciousness of his own indebtedness to previous films is made clear through a number of interwoven details in *Twelve Monkeys*. Into the self-aware remake of *La jetée*, Gilliam stitches a gorgeous homage to Hitchcock’s *Vertigo* (1958), a film that is itself about repetition and doubling—and, not coincidentally, a film that Marker himself drew upon.

In *Twelve Monkeys* the signal scene occurs as James Cole and Kathryn Raily (Madeleine Stowe) are running from the law. They abscond to the darkness of a desolate repertory cinema, where Kathryn disguises James with a wig and mustache. This part of the film opens with the scene, inserted from Hitchcock’s *Vertigo*, of Madeleine Elster (Kim Novak) and Scottie Ferguson (James Stewart) in the redwood forest at Cypress Point (fig. 23). Marker himself appropriated the *Sequoia sempervirens* scene for *La jetée* (fig. 24).¹⁴ Thus, in remaking *La jetée*, Gilliam retraces the lines that connect Marker to a larger history of film. As the scene unfolds, the two texts—*Vertigo* and *Twelve Monkeys*—are montaged, with the two dialogues unstitched and resutured, forcing the viewer to see the source film anew.



FIG. 23.
Scottie Ferguson (James Stewart)
and Madeleine Elster (Kim Novak)
at the *Sequoia sempervirens*
From *Vertigo*, dir. Alfred
Hitchcock, Universal Studios, 1958



FIG. 24.
The “Man” (Davos Hanich) and the
“Woman” (Hélène Chatelain) at the
Sequoia sempervirens
From *La jetée*, dir. Chris Marker,
Argos Films, 1962

Madeleine Elster: Here I was born and there I died. It was only a moment for you. You took no notice.

James Cole: I think I've seen this movie before.

Kathryn Railly: Shhh...

JC: ... when I was a kid I saw it on TV.

KR: Don't talk.

JC: I *did* see it before.

Scottie Ferguson: Have you been here before?

ME: Yes.

SF: When?

JC: But I don't...

SF: *When* were you born?

JC: ... recognize this bit [covers his eyes].

KR: What's the matter?

SF: Where? Madeleine, tell me.

ME: No!

JC: It's just like what's happening with us. Like the past, the movie never changes—it can't change—but every time you see it, it seems different because you're different. You see different things.¹⁵

Gilliam's brilliant intercutting of the *Vertigo* dialogue with the conversation between his two actors functions in such a way that the questions posed by the film within the film (*Vertigo*) can be read with the primary dialogue of the film (*Twelve Monkeys*). When James says, "I *did* see it before," Scottie responds, "Have you been here before? *When?*" acting as an extradiegetic guide within the *Twelve Monkeys* narrative. The enfolding of *Vertigo* within *La jetée* in *Twelve Monkeys* underscores the separate identities of the three movies while opening up a virtual dialogue that results from the interaction between the three. Within this heterochronic space, another series of voices can be heard.

Following the scene inside the theater, *Twelve Monkeys* cuts to an image of a statue of lions in front of the zoo, followed by a montage consisting of shots of animals at the zoo (a direct reference to the "timeless animals" in the natural history museum in *La jetée*) spliced with a close-up shot of Melanie Daniels (Tippi Hedren) being attacked in Hitchcock's *The Birds* (1963) and a slow-motion prolepsis in which a blonde Kathryn is seen running through the airport. The audience immediately understands this to be a dream sequence as James suddenly wakes up alone, with *The Birds* playing on the screen before him. He bolts out into the circular lobby, where Kathryn is making flight reservations at a nearby phone booth. She turns, now blonde, alluding to the famous Judy-Madeleine conversion scene at the end of *Vertigo* (figs. 25, 26). The camera sweeps in, framing Kathryn's face as she says, "We have 9:30 reservations for Key West." This geographical and cinematic marker, combined with Kathryn's beige trench coat and the way she wears her hair down (rather than up, as in Madeleine's signature chignon), creates a doubled reference to *Vertigo* and, more immediately, to Lauren Bacall's strong female protagonists in Howard Hawks's *To Have and Have Not* (1944) and John Huston's *Key Largo* (1948), both filmed in the Florida Keys. Kathryn reenacts the narrational thrust of Marker's film, but Gilliam's strong female character displaces the heroic masculinist drive in *La jetée*.



FIG. 25.
Kathryn Raily (Madeleine Stowe)
in the lobby
From *Twelve Monkeys*, dir. Terry
Gilliam, Warner Bros., 1995

The deliberate repetition of Hitchcockian motifs is also underlined by Gilliam's tactical use of color. The repetition of red and green, as many film historians have pointed out, structures the psychological tension in *Vertigo*. In the finale of Gilliam's *Vertigo* pastiche scene, the theater lobby is flooded with red neon lighting, and a red and a green flyer hangs next to a large poster of Hitchcock that is placed behind the phone booth where Kathryn is completing her call. As James and Kathryn embrace, the sound track quotes the Wagnerian crescendo from Bernard Herrmann's *Vertigo* sound track. In the Hitchcock film, this musical gesture is a flashback to the Cypress Point sequence, in which Scottie falls in love with Madeleine, as well as a flashforward to the celebrated 360-degree panning shot, in which Scottie recovers Judy as Madeleine in the ghostly green neon lighting inside the Empire Hotel. In the Gilliam film, James recovers Kathryn as the blonde woman who has eluded him repeatedly in his dreams. In *Twelve Monkeys* the neon light is red; in *Vertigo* it is green.

All the details in the *repetitive* work of art are intentionally staged—they are signposts for the audience, which is expected to recognize the repetition and to take pleasure in the differences. In *Twelve Monkeys* the dialogue again marks and comments upon this moment of recognition:

JC: I, uh, just didn't recognize you.
KR: Well, you look pretty different yourself.
JC: It was always you. In my dream. It was—it was always you.
KR: I remember you like this.
JC: You do?
KR: I felt I've known you before. I feel that I've always known you.¹⁶

It is precisely the instance of recall and identification that is uncovered in James and Kathryn's exchange.



FIG. 26.
Madeleine Elster (Kim Novak)
in the Empire Hotel
From *Vertigo*, dir. Alfred
Hitchcock, Universal Studios, 1958

Twelve Monkeys succeeds as a *repetitive* remake in its ability to hold its own while demonstrating the alternative forms that *La jetée* and *Vertigo* might have taken. The crucial distinction between the *repetitive* and *repetitious*, therefore, lies in the intention of the work—what does it do and how does it work? Hollywood remakes often do not make evident their constructedness; Van Sant's *Psycho*, Gilliam's *Twelve Monkeys*, and Marker's *La jetée* do. Like a forgery, the *repetitious* borrows without acknowledgment and does not intend its facture to be revealed. *Repetitive* works, however, respond to the intentions of previous works and solicit responses from works that are not yet made. The *repetitive* reveals itself in images that evade closure, whose intention is reinstated through a continuous engagement and negotiation with multiple horizons of expectation. It structures the creative process as a process of becoming that unfolds in the artistic trajectory from one work to the next work, and from one author to the next author, rather than fetishizing that process in the originality of a unique, self-sufficient masterpiece and in the agency of a single subject.

CREATING YOUR OWN PRECURSORS

The lesson of Van Sant's "failed masterpiece" and Gilliam's multivocal remake offers a disjunctive and critically engaged interpretive model with which to reconsider the operation of repetition in early modern painting. Although taken from a different historical context and fabricated in a completely different media, Padovanino's *Sleeping Venus* shares similar aesthetic concerns with its filmic successors. Padovanino's *Sleeping Venus* participates in the retrospective production of meaning in, and modifies our reading of, Titian's *Sleeping Venus* in the same way that Gilliam's appropriation of *Vertigo* renews Hitchcock's text in a way that Hitchcock

himself could not do—and all the more so because Gilliam does this through the intervention of Marker's *La jetée*. "[T]he difference between the present and the past," Eliot reminds us, "is that the conscious present is an awareness of the past in a way and to an extent which the past's awareness of itself cannot show."¹⁷ In other words, the *repetitive* makes difference historical and makes of the aesthetic moment a confrontation with this sense of alterity.

Padovanino's painting addresses itself to this type of hermeneutic dialogue and dexterity. This interpretive mode is articulated in early modern treatises on imitation as a process of recognition, misrecognition, and cognition. The seventeenth-century theorist Emanuele Tesauro, for instance, explained that "true imitation does not mean usurping metaphors and witty expressions exactly as you hear or read them; that way you would not be praised as an imitator but blamed as a thief. Imitating Praxiteles' Apollo does not mean transporting it from the Cortile Belvedere into one's own loggia, but carving another piece of marble to the same proportions, so that Praxiteles on seeing it would marvel and say, 'This Apollo is mine, yet it is not mine.'"¹⁸

Inherent in the aesthetic operation of the *repetitive* was this process of possession and dispossession, avowal and disavowal—a bifurcated vision that enabled the spectator to see simultaneous possibilities in one image. Writing about Padovanino's paintings, Boschini himself would resort to this critical ready-made: "It's not by Varotari, but is by Titian" and "It is Titian!" when in fact it was not.¹⁹ Titian's and Padovanino's sleeping Venuses are codependent in that the effect of each image is enhanced by the reader's knowledge of the other or, indeed, of the others—they are bound by a double belonging. Padovanino's repetition gains significance on account of its referential nature; Titian's picture resonates more forcefully because subsequent artists have marked it as an object to be remade.

This brings us back to Kawin's two categories: the *repetitious* and the *repetitive*. Padovanino's *Sleeping Venus* is fully entrenched in the logic of the *repetitive*, for it functions in its simultaneous affirmation of insistent resemblance, on the one hand, and in its historical distancing, on the other hand. It actively pays homage to the always-already. Moreover, in selecting Titian's specific model—the Dresden type—from a range of other possibilities, a conscious movement backward, an intentional archaism, is at play in Padovanino's image. "Anachronism," as Greene pointed out, "becomes a dynamic source of artistic power."²⁰ In bypassing the other models put forth by Bordone, Palma Vecchio, and others, there is a critical awareness of the historical specificity of the image that is being revived. Examining the meta-space of meaning production between the individual works by Gilliam, Marker, Hitchcock, and Van Sant also brings us to a different awareness of Padovanino's relationship to Titian and, in turn, of Titian's relationship to the forces of production that interpellated him as a creative subject.

Jorge Luis Borges pointed out in an essay on Franz Kafka that although "the word 'precursor' is indispensable" in the critic's vocabulary, "it should be cleansed of all connotation of polemics or rivalry": "The fact is that every writer *creates* his own precursors. His work modifies our conception of the past, as it will modify the future. In this correlation the identity or plurality of the men involved is unimportant."²¹ Situating Padovanino vis-à-vis his relationship to Titian, and mapping out

the trajectory from the Dresden Venus to Padovanino's *Sleeping Venus*, also reveals the process through which Titian and his viewers had to redefine "Giorgione" in order for the Titianesque appellation to hold. Examining the relationship between Padovanino and Titian reveals another bond of double belonging that attaches Titian to Giorgione.

Giorgione, after all, was the *other* self against whom the young Titian positioned himself. Vasari noted that contemporaneous spectators were often unable to distinguish Giorgione's paintings from Titian's. According to Ridolfi, writing a century later, this caused Giorgione some consternation at the Fondaco dei Tedeschi, where viewers misidentified "Titian" as the author of his figures.²² For Titian, the process of establishing and defining his own identity was facilitated by two significant and lucky coincidences. First, Giorgione had the misfortune of dying unexpectedly at the peak of his career and of having artists of an entire generation—Titian and Sebastiano del Piombo among others—appropriate his style as their own. Second, Sebastiano left for Rome shortly after Giorgione's death, not only effectively leaving Titian to become the most Giorgionesque of the early-sixteenth-century Venetian painters but also, and more to the point, transforming Giorgione into the most proto-Titianesque of the early-sixteenth-century Venetian painters. Titian, more so than any other, seized the female nude reclining in Giorgione's small-scale pastoral landscapes, relocated her to more heroic settings, appropriated the invention as his own, and in the process remade Giorgione's identity for subsequent generations of viewers.

By Padovanino's time, "Giorgione" had become an elaborate construct in itself.²³ Contrary to the lyrical, elegiac "Giorgione" that we believe we know today, Boschini, Federico Zuccaro, and Giovanni Pietro Bellori all saw "Giorgione" in the seventeenth century as a proto-Caravaggesque painter of smoldering pictures of soldiers, musicians, and card players.²⁴ Their understanding of "Giorgione" was filtered through what Titian had accomplished in the century after Giorgione's early death, in much the same way that our appreciation of "Titian" is shaped by the way his imitators renewed the valency of the Titianesque time and again in the wake of his death.²⁵ Titian and Vasari created "Giorgione" just as Padovanino and Boschini would create "Titian," each in their own image. Each subsequent author/reader remade the past so as to invent the future. To borrow the tag line from *Twelve Monkeys*, "The future is history."

In *Twelve Monkeys*, when Cole proclaims in front of Hitchcock's *Vertigo* that, "[l]ike the past, the movie never changes—it can't change—but every time you see it, it seems different because you're different. You see different things," he effectively summarizes Deleuze's statement that "[r]epetition changes nothing in the object repeated, but does change something in the mind which contemplates it."²⁶ In *What Is Philosophy?* Deleuze and Guattari reflected upon the "untimeliness" of art by pointing out how "[t]he young man will smile on the canvas for as long as the canvas lasts.... The young girl maintains the pose that she has had for five thousand years, a gesture that no longer depends on whoever made it."²⁷ Regardless of who sees the portraits, or where, or when, these smiling faces, these frozen figures, will still affect the viewer. The work of art will transform him or her emotionally, physiologically, politically, and so on. Deleuze and Guattari were by no means arguing for the

universality of categories such as beauty but were offering an observation about the need for individuals to engage continuously with the artifacts of the past so that new and meaningful connections can be made.

If the past doesn't change, but only our perception and reconfiguration of it, then we must attend more closely to those instances where history is remade, so as to understand the significance of such shifts in all their specificity. What did quoting "Titian" and the Titianesque (or, indeed, the past itself) mean for seventeenth-century artists and their implied readers? Art, as Mieke Bal argued, "is inevitably engaged with what came before it, and that engagement is an active reworking[;]... the work performed by later images obliterates the older images as they were before that intervention and creates new versions of old images instead."²⁸ The *paragone* of the present with the past—the creation of the new from the old—was a critical component in the very act of repetition. Padovanino's *Sleeping Venus* was directed toward engaging the interpretive attention and poetic skill of the spectator, and the examination of *repetitive* strategies placed his art into a social and cultural realm in which meaning was produced in the moment of viewing that lies beyond the picture frame. While the image will always remain the same, different bodies will connect with it, resulting in various productive associations through which different circuits of memory, knowledge, and power come into being.

"YOU SEE DIFFERENT THINGS": THE LESSON OF THE BACCHANALS

The preceding analysis seeks to demonstrate how meaning in the *repetitive* artwork is necessarily produced through the interconnectedness of subjects rather than through the totalizing agency of authors. The *repetitive* work suspends authorship in a state of flux: each author is held in relation to and is transformed by the others, so that new combinations of intentions are constantly being produced with each viewing experience.

Padovanino discovered Titian as a child in Padua, rediscovered Titian in Venice as a young artist, and remade Titian in Rome as a young man. Although Boschini noted Padovanino's early study after Titian's frescoes in Padua and his paintings throughout Venice, it was Padovanino's encounter with the bacchanals in Rome that irreversibly changed his art. His neo-Venetianism was made possible only by his absence from Venice. The imbrication of Venice in Rome and Rome in Venice enabled the young Alessandro Varotari to experience the constructedness of his own history, to rewrite that past, and in that same moment of recovery to become "Padovanino."

Before delving into the specificities of Padovanino's experience, let me say a word about the sudden ubiquity of the Ferrarese bacchanals (figs. 27–30) in the early seventeenth century. The story of these paintings recounts an instance of stylistic dissemination through the physical movement of original artworks as well as through the channels of reproductive media; it also makes clear how easily paintings moved beyond their initial point of manufacture and then beyond their intended site of reception. Titian's bacchanals moved first from his Venetian studio to Alfonso d'Este's court in Ferrara during the sixteenth century, then to the palaces

of the Aldobrandini and Ludovisi in Rome in the first half of the seventeenth century, then, ultimately, to Madrid under Philip IV. With each new performance, with each new viewing circumstance, the meaning of the cycle changed. As they were moved (and eventually divided), the context was modified, and those who saw the bacchanals again after having seen them in Ferrara saw the paintings anew — “every time you see it, it seems different because you’re different.”

This was already true for the young Titian, whose three canvases for the duke were mitigated in each instance by *other* intentions. In 1514, two years before his death, Giovanni Bellini completed *The Feast of the Gods* for Alfonso (see fig. 30). This was one of the first in a series of paintings destined for the duke, whose court painter, Dosso Dossi, had already commenced work on the duke’s so-called *camerino d’alabastro*. In the early stages of this project, Fra Bartolommeo was asked to provide a painting based on Philostratus’s description of the worship of Venus, but the painter died prematurely from eating too many figs (if we are to believe Vasari). At about the same time, Alfonso’s agents also solicited Raphael for the *Triumph of Bacchus in India*. Raphael sent a preliminary sketch in 1517, but three years later, he, too, was dead. In 1518, the duke commissioned from Titian the *Worship of Venus* (see fig. 27). Five years later, following Raphael’s unexpected death, Titian was asked to contribute two more canvases, the *Bacchanal of the Andrians* and the *Bacchus and Ariadne*, to replace his colleague’s unrealized work (see figs. 28, 29). In 1529, the duke also asked Titian to restore and modernize the damaged surface of Bellini’s canvas, which Dossi (or another artist) seemed to have attempted once before.²⁹

It was once thought that Titian took great liberties in this task — that he loosened the necklines on the gowns worn by the nymphs, for instance.³⁰ X-rays and pentimenti, however, suggest otherwise. Bellini clearly changed his mind at some point in the initial painting of the *Feast* and, probably trying to be more Titianesque, he dropped the nymphs’ blouses himself. Titian did, however, replace Giovanni’s happy forest with a more dramatic backdrop so that the new *Feast* would better complement the boisterous mood of his own pictures.³¹ It seems that the duke supplied both Bellini and Titian with canvas and stretchers of identical measurements, so it can be deduced that from the inception of the last paintings, Titian must have had both Bellini’s *Feast* and Raphael’s *Bacchus* in mind while he worked.³² Having completed the other pictures, Titian was undoubtedly pleased to be given the opportunity to remake his old master’s painting more in his own style. And here we have an example of Titian repainting Bellini, who was in his old age trying to paint like Titian in his prime — another instance of history folding over on itself, a double belonging that uproots rigid, hierarchical, arborescent models of influence.

In retrospect, Alfonso’s decision to have a cycle of mythological pictures made by the best painters of his age for his palace in Ferrara was certainly inspired (even if his artists seemed prone to die before fulfilling their commissions). At the time, however, it was hardly an original idea. Alfonso was participating in a family tradition, which his sister Isabella initiated in her palace in Mantua and which Federico, his nephew and Isabella’s son, would later repeat. The d’Estes and Gonzagas were repeating a custom, begun in early Renaissance courts, that had developed out of established medieval decorative cycles. Subsequent dynasties, like the Habsburgs, the Farnese, and the Aldobrandini, among many more, would uphold this



FIG. 27. TITIAN
Worship of Venus, 1518,
oil on canvas, 172 × 175 cm
(67¾ × 69 in.)
Madrid, Museo del Prado



FIG. 28. TITIAN
Bacchanal of the Andrians,
ca. 1523, oil on canvas,
175 × 193 cm (69 × 76 in.)
Madrid, Museo del Prado

FIG. 29. TITIAN

Bacchus and Ariadne, ca. 1523,
oil on canvas, 176.5 × 191 cm
(69 ½ × 75 ¼ in.)
London, National Gallery



FIG. 30. GIOVANNI BELLINI
(ITALIAN, CA. 1427–1516)

The Feast of the Gods, 1514/1529,
oil on canvas, 170.2 × 188 cm
(67 × 74 in.)
Washington, D.C., National
Gallery of Art



convention through similar commissions, as well as through the acquisition or forced appropriation of works belonging to other collectors.

And so, in 1598, over eighty years after the Ferrarese bacchanals were first made, the four paintings were seized from the ducal court of Cesare d'Este by Pietro Aldobrandini, nephew of Ippolito Aldobrandini, the newly elected Pope Clement VIII. The young Aldobrandini cardinal took the bacchanals to Rome, where they were installed in his palatial residence on the via Coperta.³³ Upon Pietro's death in 1621, and at the suggestion of his sister, Olimpia Aldobrandini senior (princess of Rossano Calabro), the *Andrians* along with the *Worship of Venus* were presented to Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi, whose uncle, Alessandro Ludovisi, had just become the new pontiff, Gregory XV. Olimpia's strategic gift secured the favor of the reigning Ludovisi family, demonstrating that by the beginning of the seicento Titian's paintings had become symbolic capital—prestige fetishes of a different order—as they traveled from one court to another. Like Pietro Aldobrandini, Ludovico was a papal nephew and, following tradition, he, too, had the paintings installed in his newly built palace, which was located between the Porta Pinciana and the Porta Salaria. Titian's bacchanals remained there until the cardinal passed away in 1632. Following long but unsuccessful negotiations with the French crown, Prince Niccolò Ludovisi (Gregory XV's nephew and Ludovico's cousin) then regifted the *Worship of Venus* and the *Andrians* to Philip IV in 1638, changing the viewing circumstances of the set once more.³⁴

Padovanino saw the four paintings sometime around 1614, less than sixteen years after their relocation to Rome (and nearly one hundred years since their invention in Venice), while they were still part of one monumental panoramic set in the Palazzo Aldobrandini. Again, Padovanino's experience was not unique. The encounter with the bacchanals was a rite of passage that belonged to an entire generation of early seicento artists. In the first half of the seventeenth century, Rome had become the most important center, after Venice, for seeing the treasures of the Venetian cinquecento. Titian's bacchanals were high on that list for artists and critics.

It is difficult to point to the precise reason why Titian's bacchanals resonated so powerfully at this specific point in time. They were by then among Titian's most famous works. In Giovanni Domenico Ottonelli's treatise for the Christian artist, *Trattato della pittura, e scultura, uso, et abuso loro* (written with Pietro da Cortona), the authors remarked that it is often suggested "that Titian achieved the greatest honor with the execution of the bacchanals," but then reminded their virtuous readers that Titian's religious paintings, like the *Martyrdom of Saint Peter* altarpiece in Santi Giovanni e Paolo (1526–30), ultimately gave him an even greater reward.³⁵ Reading between the lines, this passage would seem to suggest that painters were drawn above all to the bacchanals. Ottonelli and Cortona's reminder would have us believe that Titian's fame was established upon the bacchanals before his other (that is, religious) works. At least this seems to have been the case circa 1652, when the *Trattato* was published. De Piles, perhaps more so than any other early modern author, returned to the *Bacchus and Ariadne* in his numerous writings toward the end of the century with great emotion and admiration.³⁶

On a strictly technical level, the popularity of the bacchanals was certainly founded on the variety of poses, gestures, compositional solutions, and coloristic nuances that they offered to their viewer. Their noble provenance added another ele-

ment of surplus pleasure bound in prestige. Moreover, their constant exposure to audiences in various places and periods increased their appeal; especially timely was their display in Rome at a most auspicious moment in the history of its art: around the turn of the century, when Caravaggio and the Carracci were at their peak. These factors clearly provided Titian's series of bacchanals with optimal conditions for becoming one of the most important cultural monuments in both centuries.

The Aldobrandini heist was a crucial episode; the bacchanals became one of the most imitated and copied nonreligious cycles of the seicento, instantiating the Venetian revival of the seventeenth century. Numerous artists of different calibers made copies of each of the four canvases at various points, for various motives. Some copied the paintings for personal gain. Giovanni Andrea Podestà dedicated his engraved copies of the bacchanals to Cassiano dal Pozzo and Fabio della Corgna to gain favor within the Barberini circle.³⁷ Some were paid to do so. In 1630, an export permit was granted to Count Wilhelm Fugger to send a shipment of paintings—including an anonymous copy of Titian's *Bacchanal of the Andrians*—to his residence in Augsburg.³⁸ Baldinucci reported that the Florentine painter Giovanni Battista Vanni was paid 200 scudi for his copy of the *Andrians* that was given to an "important person."³⁹ Rubens, who made over thirty copies after Titian throughout his career and who owned eight works by the Venetian master, reproduced the two Titian paintings possibly based on other replicas.⁴⁰ The Netherlandish painter and collector Abraham Matthys was said to have amassed eight copies after Titian's *Worship of Venus* in his house in Antwerp, and the Habsburg archduke Leopold Wilhelm owned a copy of Titian's "Bachanale" that was attributed to Jan van den Hoecke.⁴¹ The speaker in de Piles's *Dialogue sur le coloris* refers to his copy of the *Bacchus and Ariadne* as "my painting by Titian," which he notes was made by an unnamed but "able artist."⁴²

Others made copies for their own records. According to one seventeenth-century source, Giuseppe Cesari, the Cavaliere d'Arpino, was said to have already copied "some of the pieces of Titian's bacchanals" while they were still in Ferrara; Boschini added that d'Arpino went to see them again when he was in Rome.⁴³ Van Dyck, an avid collector of Venetian paintings, transcribed the *Andrians* in his sketchbook and recycled many of these figures and compositions in paintings like his *Amaryllis and Myrtillo* (1631–32; Pommersfelden, Schloss Weissenstein).⁴⁴ The study of Titian's bacchanals marked an important point in the early development of Poussin and François Du Quesnoy.⁴⁵ They were said to have made sculpted copies of the *Worship of Venus*, and Poussin also seems to have made a painted copy of Bellini's *The Feast of the Gods*.⁴⁶ The tenderness of Du Quesnoy's sculpted infants is undeniably derived from Titian, and seicento spectators were quick to note the stylistic link between Poussin and Titian.⁴⁷ In terms of iconography and composition, Titian's impact is also visible in Poussin's numerous bacchanals of the 1620s and 1630s. The small infant who lifts his shirt to urinate in the foreground of Titian's *Bacchanal of the Andrians*, for instance, is reiterated verbatim in Poussin's *Bacchanal of Putti* (1626; Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica). Poussin also seems to have greatly admired the luminous nude in Titian's *Bacchanal*, for similar women are found reclining in Poussin's mythological paintings from this period, although the repetition is often not always as exact as the *conchetto* of the pissing putto.

FIG. 31. DOMENICHINO
(ITALIAN, 1581–1641)
The Hunt of Diana, 1616–17,
oil on canvas, 225 × 320 cm
(88⁵/₈ × 126 in.)
Rome, Galleria Borghese



Domenichino made at least three drawings, now lost, after the Titians.⁴⁸ In the seventeenth century, an informed spectator like Boschini was quick to elaborate and capitalize upon Domenichino's visible admiration for Titian. One of the most melodramatic passages in *La carta* is the *oratio ficta*, in which Domenichino laments the "exile" of Titian's *Worship* and *Andrians*, these "breasts" that "milked" and "nourished" his imagination.

Then when Domenichino
Saw the bacchanals appear,
The sensation made his heart melt,
With sighs and sweet tears;

[He asked]: could it be that a Rome worthy of her name
Would exile such great treasures,
Which had decorated her with such splendors,
And which carried her immortal emblem to the Heavens?

These are the breasts, and this is the milk,
That has nourished my genius in painting,
I know how to compose figures,
Only by having followed in those steps.⁴⁹

The skeptical reader is correct to object that this is yet another example of Boschini's hyperbolic *campanilismo* at play. Whether Domenichino actually said these words is moot (for the *oratio ficta* is by definition fictional). Yet when one *looks* at the paintings he produced in the early seventeenth century, the iconographic and stylistic reworking of Titian's bacchanals is undeniable.

As with the other artists mentioned above, the examination of Domenichino's subsequent works provides the visual evidence that corroborates the repetition. Consider, for instance, the background landscape in *The Hunt of Diana* (fig. 31), which paraphrases the basic compositional formula of the *Bacchanal of the Andrians*: the open vista onto the sunlit hill sloping on the right lies in contrast to the shady grove that creeps in from the left side of the picture. This painting, referred to as a "Triumph of the Nymphs" in 1620, was commissioned by Pietro Aldobrandini sometime around 1616, and it is tempting to accept Ann Sutherland Harris's theory that Pietro intended Domenichino's picture to be a pendant to Titian's *Andrians*, which was still in the Aldobrandini collection at that date.⁵⁰ Perhaps Domenichino made his drawings so that he could keep the *Andrians* in mind as he prepared his own composition. Perhaps *The Hunt of Diana* was intended as a subversively delightful reply to the *Triumph of Bacchus* in the same way that Padovanino's *Sleeping Venus* and *Venus and Adonis* responded to Titian's paintings of the same.

NEO-VENETIANISM AND THE MYTH OF VENICE

The love affair with Venetian art did not stop there. With all this transregional movement and exchange, "Venetianness" became highly visible and highly desirable. The exposure to Venetian imagery in Rome and elsewhere also inspired painters to make artistic pilgrimages to the city itself. "Great masters" and countless others arrived to pay their respects to and to learn from the cinquecento and seicento masters: El Greco came as early as 1565; the Carracci passed through Venice on several occasions (Ludovico around 1578, Annibale in the early 1580s, Agostino in 1582 and again from 1587 to 1589); Rubens in 1600; van Dyck in 1622; Poussin around the same time; Cortona in 1637 and again from 1643 to 1644; Salvator Rosa in 1649; and Luca Giordano in the 1650s and again in 1665.⁵¹

Like the obligatory journey to Rome, the pilgrimage to Venice became a central moment of the artist's formation. In spite of their different stylistic preferences, Bellori, Baldinucci, Boschini, and de Piles agreed that Rubens perfected his color

technique from his study of Titian's paintings in Venice.⁵² Boschini added with wicked humor and much local pride that the northern master had to nurse on Venetian "milk" after six-and-a-half years of malnutrition in Rome (this passage, of course, recalls the one in which Boschini claims that Domenichino similarly "milked" off the teat of Venetian painting) and that, as a result, Rubens held "Titian in his mind as a lover holds his woman in his heart."⁵³ Analogous stories were told about other famous and not-so-famous artists, too. Agostino Carracci and Pietro Sorri both traveled to Venice "to refine" their talents, and Domenico Fetti went above all to "expand" and "reinforce his colors."⁵⁴ Domenico Riccio, Ermanno Stroiffi, Marcantonio Bassetti, and Mateo da Lecce became better painters from their study of paintings in Venice.⁵⁵ Having attained the "basics" of painting in Rome, Hans Rottenhammer then went to perfect his style in Venice and later married a Venetian.⁵⁶ Il Pomarancio was taken there by Vincenzo Giustiniani.⁵⁷ Baldinucci reported that another one of Giustiniani's protégés, Caravaggio, was studying Giorgione in Venice.⁵⁸

"There are more paintings in Venice than in all of Italy," exclaimed the Venetian tour guide to his foreign visitor in Francesco Sansovino's dialogue, *Delle cose notabili* (1601).⁵⁹ The profusion of artworks in Venice turned the city into a gallery of "infinite stupor and marvels."⁶⁰ Those of Titian's monumental works that were readily accessible for public viewing included the *Assumption* (1518) and the Pesaro family altarpieces in the Frari, the nocturnal *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence* in the Gesuiti, and the awe-inspiring *Martyrdom of Saint Peter* in the Santi Giovanni e Paolo. Boschini remarked that artists from all over Europe traveled to Venice so that they could copy Titian's *Saint Peter* altarpiece (not yet consumed by the fire of 1867).⁶¹ Boschini described the Palazzo Ducale as "a heroic painterly poem," decorated by the most celebrated artists of the world.⁶² Luigi Scaramuccia wrote that young artists could gain a great deal by looking at the paintings in that veritable "school," that "compendium" of Tintoretto's art, the Scuola Grande di San Rocco, which Boschini called the "treasury of painting, the fountain of drawing, the mine of invention, the epilogue of artifice, the movement of the figures, and the *non plus ultra* of the marvelous" and, also, an "arsenal of painting," a "residence of color, design, and invention," a "cabinet of painting," a "model of perfection," a "castle," a "rock," a "fortress," and a "coffer."⁶³ Similar metaphors were used to describe the church of San Sebastiano: a pictorial "garden" and a rich "treasury" of Veronese's brush.⁶⁴ And Santo Spirito was called a "Colosseum," an "archive," and a "compendium of [Titian's] painterly art."⁶⁵

And, then, there were all those painted façades that reflected the cinquecento in the watery avenues of the city. Looking at the whitewashed façade of the Fondaco dei Tedeschi today, it is virtually impossible to imagine the magnificence of this and other buildings in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when their walls were covered with paintings by Giorgione, Titian, Veronese, Palma, Tintoretto, and others.⁶⁶ The last vestiges of the severely damaged frescoes on the Fondaco dei Tedeschi were detached from the building in the twentieth century, but fragmentary evidence of the images that once adorned the walls can still be glimpsed from engravings. A seventeenth-century print reproduces a lost fresco by Veronese titled *Paternal Love Triumphant over Conjugal Love*, which was once on the Fondaco.⁶⁷ A contemporary

engraving of a view from the Ponte di Rialto shows in the background a detail of Titian's nude male figures on the nearby Fondaco.⁶⁸ And Antonio Maria Zanetti's *Varie pitture a fresco de' principali maestri veneziani* (1760) provides another collection of partial records.

A faint impression can also be gained from extant eyewitness reports. Giovan Battista Armenini, for instance, was deeply moved by the painted façades and described many of them in his treatise.

Going back to Venice, I remember one façade on the Piazza of S. Polo painted by Giorgione da Castelfranco. It is partitioned into squares, within which are divided and painted *storie* and different fantasies of very good things. Among the other *storie*, he made one in oil worked on plaster which remains almost undamaged in the inclement air; this is a great wonder to artists. Giorgione also painted the façade of the building called the Fondaco dei Tedeschi, with many and various figures, which is much praised for its fine coloration. Besides these, there is one on the Grand Canal painted by Giovanni Antonio Pordenone, where among other wonderful things is a Curtius on horseback, foreshortened very well, and a Mercury flying through the air which, turning everywhere, is the cause of great wonder for the people.⁶⁹

A house by the church of Santa Maria dei Miracoli was painted by Francesco Salviati; Veronese decorated the Casa Moresina with an image of the triumph of Neptune, surrounded by frolicking Nereids and *amorini*; more *puttini*, by Andrea Schiavone, could be seen on the front of the Casa Michiela; still more, which "appear to be made from flesh" by Santo Zago, were on a house near San Stae; "a nude woman" by Titian graced the façade of the Casa Grimani; and Tintoretto painted Michelangelo's *Dawn* and *Dusk* (from the Medici Chapel) on the Casa Gussoni.⁷⁰

It was no longer the book market, Boschini remarked, that drew people to Venice, but the paintings.⁷¹ "Venice" was seen as an enormous ongoing collaborative work rich with didactic value. Ottonelli and Cortona specified that it was above all "the famous Titian, the universal Veronese, and the marvelous Tintoretto" that lured these artists to Venice.⁷² Scaramuccia echoed this, referring to Venice as a "rich warehouse" dominated by this "glorious triumvirate."⁷³ All the canonic Renaissance painters provided their seicento heirs with something that would suit their individual tastes. The Florentine painter Francesco Ruschi arrived as a youngster with his father, and Giacomo Cavedone came to Venice where he, too, was "bewitched" by Titian.⁷⁴ Giovanni Antonio Fasolo and Lorenzo Pasinelli, however, were "entranced" by Veronese's style.⁷⁵ Van Dyck and Ludovico Carracci "followed" and "studied" Titian's paintings there, and Gioseffo Enzo copied Titian, Pordenone, and Tintoretto while in Venice.⁷⁶

The fascination, however, was not limited to the art of the recent past. While the authority of the recently deceased cinquecento masters provided much inspiration, foreign artists also benefited from their encounters and exchanges with living painters in the city. Heinrich von Valkenburg became a part of Aliense's studio, Francesco Maffei entered into the service of Sante Peranda, and Johann Carl Loth was sent to Venice, where he mastered the art of oil painting in Pietro Liberi's

academy.⁷⁷ Professional opportunities were numerous and various, and those employed ranged from unknown artists paid for small tasks to well-known artists engaged as art agents. Karel van Mander reported that Joris Hoefnagel went to Venice “to find work as an agent or as a solicitor” and later entered into the service of the duke of Bavaria.⁷⁸ The seventeenth-century German biographer Joachim von Sandrart noted that Johann Liss went to Venice because he “loved Titian, Tintoretto, Paolo Veronese, and Fetti” and that he “fared well in Venice.”⁷⁹ Established artists like the Neapolitan master Luca Giordano and the Genovese painter Bernardo Strozzi also went there to obtain important commissions and to make a living. Pier Francesco Mola was employed by a Venetian merchant to make copies of paintings in the city.⁸⁰ Such in situ copy work was not looked upon as lowly drudgery. An artist no less than Diego Velázquez, for example, was similarly employed by the Spanish monarch, who armed the painter with “the power of gold” to purchase and make copies of the best paintings in Venice.⁸¹ Venice offered ample employment to an entire range of talents, but it was also where aspiring artists went to satiate and train their imaginations.

The optical nature of Venetian style was as difficult to relate in flat, black-and-white reproductions as it was through the printed word, and this certainly contributed to the artist’s desire to see paintings in the flesh. When van Dyck traveled to Italy, he filled his “Italian sketchbook” with Venetian pictures and marginal notes detailing Titian’s chromatic selection. Other artists presumably did the same. In *Le finezze de’ pennelli italiani* (1674), Scaramuccia narrated the artistic peregrination of the young student, Girupeno, who is led through the different realms of painting by Genio—the “genius” of Raphael (in much the same way that Dante was guided by Virgil in the *Divine Comedy*). At one point in Venice, Scaramuccia writes:

[o]ur virtuous foreigners were overjoyed by the incredible and numerous works of art that were seen. As such, they could not think so soon about leaving. Instead, the loving Genio directed his beloved Girupeno back to his studies so that he could better see what remained in Painting. As a result of seeing so many good styles, he was able to engrave them upon the excellent mnemonic faculty of his mind. But in order to make his studies even more precise, the young student compared the most sophisticated works with one another, and then imagined those same works, and then other styles as well, in order to improve his practice. From this [foundation] he would be able to continue onward ever closer to perfection. But do not let the young artist exercise his brush just yet at this point. With pencil and pen, he should [re]copy and annotate the works by the divine Titian, the accomplished Veronese, and the tremendous Tintoretto.⁸²

Decades later, de Piles would reiterate the same lesson in the *Dialogue*: “I would like that Painters copy the works of Titian, and of others who have understood Color, for a continuous period of two or three years and that they focus all their efforts on understanding the artistry [in it], at least until they are at a stage where they can make use of the Colors [of the masters].”⁸³

What emerges from the evidence in van Dyck’s sketchbook and in these two passages is the exemplarity of Venetian style throughout the seventeenth century.

There is also a sense that both Scaramuccia and de Piles conceived of repetition as a means to a higher end—that is, mastery. Repetition trained the mind to recognize stylistic elements out of context.

Such repetition did not involve a simple, one-off sketch, but was to be thought of as a crucial part of artistic education and process. Certain elements such as the expression, gesture, and pose of figures could be gained from a close inspection of prints and painted copies. Other aspects dealing with the technical execution of these stories, such as the preparation of surfaces, the application of paint, the materiality of brushstrokes, the use of lighting effects, the richness of chromatic ranges, the subtlety of shaded areas, and the effects caused by certain canvas weaves, could only be gleaned from a close perusal of paintings.⁸⁴ According to Padovanino's son Dario, the expression "having an eye on the brush" (*haver ochio a penelo*) was Venetian slang for being well informed.⁸⁵ Looking at paintings, therefore, was as important in the painter's training as the more traditional requirement of studying antique statues and of making drawings after nature; it was, perhaps, even more important.

A general move away from the sculptural modeling of human forms can be noted at the turn of the century, when the cold "sculptural style" (*maniera statuina*) of the mannerists came under attack.⁸⁶ In the Carracci circle, for instance, a new emphasis was placed upon color and light.⁸⁷ The importance of naturalism in anatomical representation clearly placed Venetian style in an advantageous position, for Titian was thought to be *the* "flesh" painter par excellence.

PAINTING THE *PUTTO MODERNO*: THE MODERNITY OF VENICE

The triumph of Venetian painting over Tusco-Roman sculpture was expressed in other ways, too. Boschini, for instance, tells the following story. At a certain point in *La carta*, the two protagonists come across a young German student in the Scuola Grande di San Rocco who is busily copying Tintoretto's paintings. Engaging the young painter in conversation, Ecelenza and Compare come to learn about his travels in Italy. His first destination was Rome, where with great application he copied ancient statues and, in this manner, learned the art of *disegno*. After six years of labor, however, the artist became dissatisfied. Roman painters, he complains, made "excellent works" that were "diligently drawn," but these works were all "extracted from statues." Rome provided little encouragement, for "nobody ever paints except with a great amount of study and diligence," and it takes "great labor and much time" just to "successfully draw a head," which will always be in a "terse and diligent" style. These Roman paintings, he concludes, may "look good up close," but, "in reality, from a distance they are not so."⁸⁸

Boschini's emphasis on diligence (*diligentemente disegnatte; con sommo studio e diligenza; di maniera tersa e diligente*) throughout this passage parodies Vasari's complaints about the lack of grace in Paolo Uccello's paintings, which he attributed to the artist's excessive diligence.⁸⁹ The failings of the Roman works upon inspection "from a distance" is similarly, with Boschini, a facetious response to Vasari's charge that Titian's late works and all Tintoretto's paintings are illegible

up close.⁹⁰ In this sentence, *tersa* can be understood both as “laconic” or “dry in speech” and as “polished,” as with a statue that has been overworked. Boschini, therefore, seems to be implicitly linking the diligence of the Roman style with the *maniera statuina*. In this sense “extracted” (*ricavate*) might also be interpreted figuratively as “excavated.” Boschini made a pointed comment not only about regional stylistic failings but also about the inexorable obsolescence of Roman sources for the young artist.

The triumph of the modern over the antique, of painting over sculpture, and of Venetian style over Roman style is celebrated in a similar passage, where Boschini reported how van Dyck raved before the sight of Titian’s *Santo Spirito* paintings:

The oh so valorous Anthony van Dyck
Studied anatomy from these paintings
By copying this truth and this bravura,
Stating: “This time I will become famous,

For whomever does not make an impression with this style,
Whomever does not refine his grain upon this mill,
Will never produce bread this soft, white, and fine,
Nor will he attain good knowledge, this is the truth.

All of the statues that I drew from Rome
And all of antiquity I have sifted through a sieve.
All of this is a joke next to modern [painting]:
This is the ‘dough’ of flesh that can be kneaded.”⁹¹

Unlike the cold transcription of statues into drawings, the imitation of Venetian painting was at once a magical and an organic process, like cooking. Boschini’s bread metaphor (*el gran su sto molin; pan bufeto, bianco e fin; tamiso; impastà; che se doma*) points to how modern painting was a sensuous, hands-on experience that required the patience and devotion of a baker who could turn disparate ingredients (flour and oil or, metaphorically, pigment and oil) into a hearty loaf of bread. The trope suggested absorption, growth, and transformation and promised a worthwhile and nourishing end product.

The stony Roman past had become *too* old, and this crusty, dry, stale tradition could no longer sustain the creative imagination of a new generation of modern painters hungry for fame: “This time,” Boschini’s van Dyck proclaims, “I will become famous.” This point of view was not simply the overenthusiastic pronouncements of a self-confessed Venetophile. Interestingly enough, it was an issue of great concern to baroque sculptors. The modernity of Venetian painting as a model for imitation was made evident in Orfeo Boselli’s seventeenth-century treatise, *Osservazioni della scoltura antica* (1650–64), in which he contrasted the *putto antico* found in classical statuary and reflected in Renaissance works such as Raphael’s *Parnassus* and *Galatea* with the *putto moderno* represented by Titian’s tender infants and developed further by artists like Du Quesnoy.⁹² Likewise, in *De Imitatione Statuarum* (before 1640), Rubens warned that while it was necessary for painters to have a good knowledge of ancient sculpture, they had to guard against relying too much on the imitation of

sculpture, which could result in crude, stilted bodies and be destructive “to the point of the extermination of their art.”⁹³ Gian Lorenzo Bernini, too, cautioned that “in addition to drawing from bas-reliefs and antique statues, painters should have access to copies of pictures by artists who painted in the grand manner, which would be of help to them.” Here Chantelou specifically added that the Cavaliere “was referring to Giorgione, Pordenone, Titian, and Paolo Veronese rather than to Raphael.”⁹⁴

Boschini’s prejudice against sculpture, of course, was not shared by all his countrymen. There was, contrary to Boschini’s claims, a great deal of interest in antiquities, especially in early-seventeenth-century Rome. Later on, both Giovanni Battista Agucchi and Bellori would argue for the importance of studying ancient statues like the *Laocoön*, the *Borghese Warrior*, the *Farnese Hercules*, the *Belvedere Antinous*, the *Dying Seneca*, and so on.⁹⁵ Nor would sculpture be forever linked to antiquity. With Bernini’s generation, Du Quesnoy, Francesco Mochi, Alessandro Algardi, and others in the seventeenth century, sculpture would also undergo a modernization that enabled the medium to move beyond the authority of the classical past. At the beginning of the seicento, however, this was not yet the case. Painting was seen as the future of modern art, and Venetian painting was seen as one of its leaders.

One of the critical differences between baroque artists and theorists and their Renaissance predecessors was an increasing confidence in and focus on the achievements of their own time. In the first half of the seventeenth century, the cinquecento effectively supplanted antiquity as the dominant point of reference, and artists sought to advance the art of their predecessors rather than to regain a lost paradise in antiquity. Instead of nostalgically looking back to “antiquity,” to a “golden age” literally represented by fragmentary evidence, modern painters and sculptors could look to an immediate past to which they felt they still belonged on both spatial and temporal registers.⁹⁶ Instead of the pedantic reconstructions of the *Laocoön*’s missing arms (a project that obsessed the cinquecento), a young sculptor like Algardi could confidently remake the past by carving a new face on the remains of a Hellenistic body (fig. 32).⁹⁷

In the final analysis, the definition of a neo-Venetian style emerged from a fortuitous multimedia, interregional, and transhistorical collaboration. Artists traveled to Venice to see paintings or to work with living artists or both, and Venetian artists and paintings traveled abroad, too. When foreign artists could not make it to Venice, they had numerous other possibilities for viewing original Venetian works. The various relocations of Titian’s bacchanals permitted repeated (and different) viewing opportunities. The popularity of Venetian art ensured that paintings made it to far-reaching places. Even someone like Rembrandt, who never traveled to Italy, was able to compile a large album with almost all Titian’s works through his study of paintings and copies in Holland.⁹⁸

The “triumph” of neo-Venetianism was also abetted by a number of historical circumstances. The most consequential, perhaps, was the internal organization of Venetian *botteghe*. Multiple originals could be produced and sent off with swift efficiency. The lasting success enjoyed by Titian, Veronese, and Tintoretto owed a great deal to this system. Titian’s longevity also contributed to the popularity of Venetian painting in the subsequent century. Outliving most of his contemporaries,



FIG. 32. ALESSANDRO ALGARDI (ITALIAN, 1598–1654), RESTORER *Athena with a Serpent*, restored 1627, marble, height: 242 cm (95 ³/₈ in.) Rome, Museo Nazionale Palazzo Altemps

he was simply able to produce an enormous number of works, at once familiarizing and seducing all of Europe with his art. A second critical event in the establishment of neo-Venetianism was the untimely passing of Raphael, who died too young to have firmly established a substantial “old age” style.⁹⁹ Moreover, childless, Raphael was unable to direct the immediate legacy of his own art. With the sack of Rome in 1527, his talented pupils, which included Giulio Romano, disbanded, and they set off independently for other destinations and soon developed their own styles. Likewise, the ascendancy of neo-Venetianism coincided with Michelangelo’s declining reputation as the seventeenth century progressed. His most important late painted work—*The Last Judgment*—had come under scrutiny in the post-Tridentine period, and his most spectacular work—the Sistine ceiling—was immobile and

resisted easy reproduction on account of its sheer monumentality. Michelangelo was regarded above all as a great sculptor and architect, but seventeenth-century authors were increasingly critical of his excessive *licenza*, which could not be held to any rule and which resisted any discursive framing within the academic context.¹⁰⁰

Furthermore, post-Tridentine authorities increasingly favored artists like Francia, Perugino, Correggio, and Titian, whose styles inspired the very affective responses that Michelangelo described as typical of monks, nuns, women, and men of little judgment.¹⁰¹ In the end, it was not so much a question of Venetian art becoming *the* dominant idiom as the seventeenth century opened, for the influence of Raphael, Michelangelo, and Correggio remained indisputable. Instead, the so-called “triumph” of neo-Venetianism coincided nicely with a new interest in the emotive possibilities of the Venetian style in tandem with the increased accessibility and ubiquity of Venetian artworks in the major artistic centers and collections of the period.

It was under the exciting stimulus of this pan-European interest in early-sixteenth-century Venetian painting that Padovanino made the conscious decision to return to Titian’s early, classical style. This gesture can be compared with Poussin’s embrace of the luminosity and colorism of Titian’s Roman bacchanals. Or it can be contrasted with Rubens’s preference for Titian’s tempestuous late style. Padovanino, Poussin, and Rubens copied Titian extensively, and all three artists remade the “Titianesque” into their own pictorial language. In this act of selection, each artist endowed “Titian” and Venetian style with a sense of historical and critical specificity. But Padovanino’s experience was unique in some ways. Unlike Poussin and Rubens, who looked upon Venetian painting with eager and open eyes, Padovanino was looking at his own tradition through new eyes, and it is to this moment of discovery, rediscovery, and recovery that I now turn.

Notes

1. Cropper, *Domenichino Affair*, 103; Mahon, "Art Theory"; Mahon, "Eclecticism"; and Dempsey, *Annibale Carracci*.
2. On novelty, see also Loh, "New and Improved," 488–93.
3. Mancini, *Considerazioni*, 1:134–35: "alle volte avviene che la copia sia tanto ben fatta che inganni, anchorchè l'artefice e chi compra sia intelligente, anzi, quello che è più, havendo la copia et l'originale, non sappia distinguere. Che in tal caso intesi il serenissimo granduca Cosmo di f. m. haver detto simil copie dover essere preferite all'originali per haver in sè due arti, e quella dell'inventore e quella del copiatore."
4. Boschini, as quoted in Muller, "Measures of Authenticity," 149 n. 41: "e questi, tutto che siano veramente inganni, sono inganni lodeuoli, e degni d'invidia."
5. A good example of a "forgery" is the fantastic tale about the faked "stampa forestiera" in the scandal between Lodovico Cigoli and his two rivals, Gaspere Celio and Cherubino Alberti, discussed in Cropper, *Domenichino Affair*, 131–35. The print was a "hoax"; in such cases one never wants to be found out, yet the homage (and both Domenichino and Marino belong very much to this tradition) begs recognition from the reader. On forgery and intentionality, see the case study discussed in Loh, "Originals."
6. Greene, *Light in Troy*, 38–40.
7. Kawin, *Telling It Again*, 4.
8. The French have been most vociferous on this account; cf. Mazdon, *Encore Hollywood*, for a survey of this literature and for a more balanced critical assessment of the Hollywood remake phenomenon.
9. Kawin, *Telling It Again*, 4.
10. Genette, *Figures III*, 146.
11. Tartara, "Psycho."
12. Žižek, *Enjoy Your Symptom!* 206.
13. Braudy, "Afterword," 327.
14. In Marker's quotation, the voice-over narrates: "Ils s'arrêtent devant une coupe de sequoia couverte de dates historiques. Elle prononce un nom étranger qu'il ne comprend pas. Comme en rêve, il lui montre un point hors de l'arbre. Il s'entend dire que: 'Je viens de là'" (Marker, *La jetée*, 125–27). In Marker's 1992 bilingual book version of *La jetée*, the sentence "Elle prononce un nom étranger qu'il ne comprend pas" is translated as "She pronounces an English name he does not understand." Both renderings are annotated with an asterisked suggestion: "Hitchcock?" On Marker and Hitchcock, see Auler, *Vertigo*, 183–84.
15. *Twelve Monkeys*, chap. 35 ("The Movie Never Changes").
16. *Twelve Monkeys*, chap. 36 ("It Was Always You").
17. Eliot, *Sacred Wood*, 46.
18. Tesauro, "Aristotelian Telescope," 468; cf. Tesauro, *Il canocchiale*, 115–16: "Egli è vero, che l'imitare, non è usurpar le Metafore & le Argutezze qualquali tu le odi, ò leggi: peroche tu non ne riporteresti laude d'imitatore, ma biasimo d'involatore. Non imita l'Apolline di Prassitele chi transporta quella Statua dal Giardino di Belvedere, nella sua loggia: ma chi modella un'altro sasso alle medesime proporzioni: talche Prassitele vedendolo possa dir con maraviglia: *Cotesto Apolline non è il mio; & pur'è mio.*"
19. Boschini, *La carta*, 606:

Oh Varotari, celebre Pitor,
Quanto ben San Bastian ti rapresenti,
Che pien d'angustie, e cargo de tormenti,
Par che se veda, che 'l muoiva el cuor!

Là, chi l'osserva col capelo in man,
No puol far veramente de adorarlo;
Gh'è talun che ha savesto giudicarlo
Del Varotari no, ma de Tician.

Boschini, *La carta*, 427:

Compare, tuto è bel; ma a San Tomà,
Chi in Casa del Piovan no va a stupir,
No sa cosa sia el vivo colorir,
Né in fati cosa sia la Carità.

Quela sì che disé: l'è de Tician!
Se vede quele carne a palpar,
E 'l sangue per le vene a caminar.

On Giorgione and Pietro Della Vecchia, Boschini, *La carta*, 540, literally repeats the "mine not mine" formula:

Lu tra le cose bele e singular
Tien de sto Vechia pitura moderna,
Che al vechio la tien certo la lanterna,
E ghe mostra de l'arte el vero far.

Con un pugnal là una figura tresca,
E tien bizaro in testa un bareton;
De raso bianco la veste un zipon:
Figura in suma aponto zorzonesca.

Stago per dir, né la me par busia,
Che se Zorzon istesso la vedesse,
Che anche lu tra de lu se confondesse,
Col dir: l'ho fata mi; questa xe mia.
20. Greene, *Light in Troy*, 46.
21. Borges, *Labyrinths*, 236.
22. On the emphasis of *fratellanza* in Vasari versus *paragone* in Ridolfi, see Shiffman, "Artistic License," 41–43.
23. There is an immense literature on Giorgione's critical fortune. For the seicento, see Ivanoff, "Giorgione"; and Loh, "Originals." For subsequent periods, see Haskell, *Past and Present*; and Dédéyan, "Giorgione."

24. See, for example, Boschini, *La carta*, 709 (*Breve istruzione*):

l'Idée di questo Pittore sono tutte gravi, maestose e riguardevoli... si vede il suo genio diretto a figure gravi, con Berettoni in capo, ornati di bizzarre pennacchiere, vestiti all'antica, con camicie che si veggono sotto a' giupponi, e questi trinciati, con maniche a buffi, bragoni dello stile di Gio. Bellino, ma con più belle forme; i suoi panni di Seta, Velluti, Damaschi, Rasi strisciati con fascie larghe; altre figure con Armature, che lucono come specchi; e fu la vera Idea delle azioni umane.

On the link between Giorgione and Caravaggio, see Zuccaro, as quoted in Baglione, *Le vite*, 137: "Io non ci vedo altro, che il pensiero di Giorgione nella tavola del Santo"; and Bellori, *Le vite*, 202:

giunse in Venetia, ove si compiacque tanto del colorito di Giorgione, che se lo propose per iscorta nell'imitatione. Per questo veggonsi l'opere sue prime dolci, schiette, e senza quelle ombre, ch'egli usò poi; e come di tutti li pittori Venetiani eccellenti nel colorito, fù Giorgione il più puro, e l' più semplice nel rappresentare con poche tinte le forme naturali, nel modo stesso portossi Michele, quando prima si fissò intento à riguardare la natura.

25. This claim brings to mind the theory of the rhizome (see discussion above p. 10) and Baxandall's "excursus against influence" in *Patterns of Intention*, 60, where he challenges "the classic Humean image of causality" illustrated by the example of two billiard balls (X/Y) that hit each other: "An image that might work better for the case would be not two billiard-balls but the field offered by a billiard table... What happens in the field, each time Y refers to an X, is a rearrangement. Y has moved purposefully, impelled by the cue of intention, and X has been repositioned too: each ends up in a new relation to the array of all the other balls."
26. Deleuze, *Difference and Repetition*, 70.
27. Deleuze and Guattari, *What Is Philosophy?* 163.
28. Bal, *Quoting Caravaggio*, 1.
29. On this "restoration," see Goodal, "Titian Repairs Bellini"; Bull and Plesters, *Feast of the Gods*; Bull, "Feast of the Gods"; and Plesters, "Examination."
30. Walker, *Bellini and Titian*, 53–62; contra Bull, "Feast of the Gods," 367; and Plesters, "Examination," 375–76.
31. For the changes to the landscape that can be attributed to Titian, see Plesters, "Examination," 386–87.
32. Plesters, "Examination," 379. See also Titian's letter to Alfonso, dated 1 April 1518, in which he thanks the duke for the materials he has sent to him for the paintings; Vecellio, *Le lettere*, 13 (letter 5).
33. The full histories of the Ferrarese bacchanals can be found in Wethey, *Paintings of Titian*, 3:30–31 nn. 172–73, and 143–53 (nos. 12–15). The date is based on a letter from Aldobrandini to Annibale Roncaglia, published in Hope, "The 'Camerini d'Alabastro,'" 641, which confirmed that the paintings had left Ferrara by 1 December 1598.
34. On the French bid, see Garas, "Ludovisi Collection," 287–89; Le Pas de Sécheval, "Les collections Ludovisi," 69–73; and Wood, "Ludovisi Collection," 515–23. Mahon, *Studies*, 100 n. 167, suggested that Niccolò's gift was a token of gratitude to the king of Spain and to his viceroy, who stood in his place as the godfather of Niccolò's newly born son. However, it may have also had something to do with Niccolò's recent acquisition of the principality of Piombino through his marriage into the Spanish Mendoza family some years prior. *Bacchus and Ariadne*, as well as Bellini's *The Feast of the Gods*, remained in the Aldobrandini palace until they were sold during the Napoleonic era to Vincenzo Camuccini, a Roman artist and dealer.
35. Ottonelli and Cortona, *Trattato*, 202: "Che se alcuno dicesse. Titiano hà ottenuto grandissimo honore conducendo i Quadri de' Baccanali: rispondo, che maggior l'hà conseguito appresso gl'intendenti, facendo la Tavola di S. Pietro Martire, che, come cosa bellissima, si conserva in Venetia nella Chiesa de' SS. Giovanni, e Paolo."
36. In his commentary of Charles-Alphonse Dufresnoy's treatise *De Arte Grafica*, de Piles provided one of the most insightful analyses of the chromatic strategies that anchor Titian's painting: "Titien dans le Tableau qu'il a fait du Triomphe de Bacchus, ayant placé Ariadne sur l'un des costez du Tableau, & ne pouvant pour cette raison la faire remarquer par les éclats de la lumiere qu'il a voulu conserver dans le milieu, il luy a donné une écharpe de Vermillon sur une Draperie bleuë, tant pour la détacher de son fonds qui est déjà une mer bleuë, qu'à cause que c'est une des principales Figures du Sujet, sur laquelle il veut que l'oeil soit attiré" (Piles, "Remarques," 212–13). De Piles's admiration would be repeated again in *L'idée du peintre parfait* and in the *Dialogue sur le coloris*, where de Piles's two interlocutors, Damon and Pamphile, set off on a long conversation after their encounter with a copy of Titian's *Bacchus and Ariadne* (Piles, *L'idée*, 63).
37. Bartsch, *Illustrated Bartsch*, 45:82–84, B.6(172)–B.8(173); on the dedication of prints in early-seventeenth-century Rome, see especially Consagra, "Marketing," 87–96.
38. Garas, "Ludovisi Collection," 288 n. 9.
39. Baldinucci, *Notizie*, 4:539: "Pure nella città di Roma si messe a copiare un Bacchanale di Tiziano... Quest'opera gli fu pagata dugento scudi, e poi donata a persona grande."
40. Rubens also made copies of Titian's *poesie*. The Rubens-Titian copies feature as a standard trope in early modern texts; cf. Pacheco, *El arte*, 198–201: "copió todas las cosas de Ticiano que tiene el Rey, que son los dos baños, la Europa, el Adonis y Venus, la Venus y Cupido, el Adam y Eva y otras cosas; y de retratos, el de Lansgrave, el del Ducque de Saxonía, el de Alva, el de Cobos, un Dux Veneciano, y otros muchos cuadros fuera de los que el Rey tiene; copió el retrato del Rey Felipe II entero y armado"; Bellori, *Le vite*, 232: "essendo egli studiosissimo della pittura, s'invogliò de' più belli originali di Titiano, l'Europa, il Bagno di Diana, & altri li quali volendo il Rè donare à questo Principe fece copiare al Rubens per ritener le copie; se bene poi restarono con gli originali in Madrid, non essendosi quel matrimonio effettuato"; Baldinucci, *Notizie*, 3:696: "Era l'anno 1623... quando il principe di Galles s'era portato alla corte di Spagna per lo maritaggio dell'infanta, e volendo il re fare a quel principe, che molto si diletta di pittura, un grato dono, si risolvè di presentarli il quadro dell'Europa, il bagno di Diana con altri bellissimi originali di Tiziano, e deliberò che fossero copiati dal Rubens: ma siccome non ebbe effetto quel disegno matrimonio, così nè meno ebbero il dono; e le copie insieme con gli originali stessi restarono in Madrid"; and Piles, *Vie de Rubens*, 19–20: "le Roy luy fit faire les copies de quelques-uns des plus beaux Tableaux du Titien qui sont à Madrid, & entr'autres de l'enlèvement d'Europe, & du Bain de Diane, dans la pensée de faire un present des Originaux au Prince de Galles qui en

- avait témoigné une grande envie. Ce Prince estoit à la Cour d'Espagne pour le mariage de l'Infante: mais comme cette affaire ne se conclut pas, les copies demeurèrent à Madrid avec les Originaux" (this anecdote is repeated in Piles, *Abregé*, 387).
41. Belkin, "Titian," 145, 151 n. 18.
42. Piles, *Dialogue*, 2: "après avoir fait retourner une grande Bacchanale qu'un habile homme m'avoit copiée d'après le Titien: Voila, s'écria brusquement Damon, le sujet de notre querelle." Subsequently he referred to it as "mon Tableau du Titien" (p. 3).
43. Baglione, *Le vite*, 372 (marginal note): "Andò il Giuseppino a Ferrara col Cardinale Aldobrandino et copiò alcuni pezzi delle Baccanali di Titiano"; and Boschini, *La carta*, 43–44 (based on an anecdote told to him by Pietro Liberi):
- Quel degno Giosepin condusse un zorno
In quela Galaria cusì famosa
Lodovisia, che è ben maravegiosa,
El nostro Cavalier, de Vertù adorno.
- Daspò aver contemplà tante piture,
El disse: guardè qua sti Bacanali
Del gran Tician, supremi originali.
Guardè qua, se volé vive figure.
- Qua se vede el perfeto fondamento,
Cusì in dessegno, come in colorito.
Sti quadri a Roma ha fato tal profito,
Che tuti i guarda con so gran contento.
44. On van Dyck, see Loh, "New and Improved," 480, 482.
45. Bellori, *Le vite*, 271, 412: "[Du Quesnoy] si applicò tutto à studiare li putti di Titiano, con occasione che nel Giardino Ludovisi vi era il celebre quadro de gli Amori, che giuocando si tirano, pomi donato dopò al Rè di Spagna. Espresse Titiano mirabilmente i putti nell'età più tenera, e con delicatezza si avanzò sopra ciascuno. Se ne invaghì Francesco, e li tradusse in varij gruppi di mezzo rilievo, e seco insieme li modellava Nicolò Pussino sù la creta"; and "Fecero [Poussin] ancora studio sopra il Giuoco de gli Amori di Titiano nel Giardino Ludovisi, che hora si trova in Ispagna; li quail Amori essendo di ammirabile bellezza, Nicolò non solo copiaivali in pittura, ma insieme col compagno li modellava di creta in bassi rilievi, onde si acquisitò una bella maniera di formare li putti teneri, de' quali si sono veduti alcuni scherzi, e baccanali à guazzo, & ad oglio di sua mano, fatti in quel tempo." Cf. Félibien, *Entretiens*, 4:12 ("Huitième Entretien"); Baldinucci, *Notizie*, 3:701; Piles, *Abregé*, 460, 486; and Passeri, *Vite*, 86, 92, 351, for similar accounts.
46. For *The Feast of the Gods*, see Blunt, *Poussin*, 59 (pl. 94). A painted copy of the *Bacchus and Ariadne* in the Accademia di San Luca, Rome (inv. 231) is traditionally attributed to Poussin, although Cortona has also been named as the author; both attributions seem highly optimistic.
47. André Félibien, for one, commented in his biography of Poussin that "j'ai sù du Poussin même combien il estimoit sa couleur, & le cas particulier qu'il faisoit de sa maniere de toucher le paysage"; further on, Félibien adds: "Je vous ai parlé tant de fois de son intelligence à bien faire toutes sortes de paysages, & à les rendre si plaisans & si naturels, qu'on peut dire que hors le Titien, on ne voit pas de Peintre qui en ait fait de comparables aux siens" (Félibien, *Entretiens*, 4:12, 126 ["Huitième Entretien"]). Gazing upon one of Poussin's paintings, Bernini similarly remarked to Chantelou: "This is a beautiful picture. I said it must be more than forty years since it was painted. That doesn't matter, it is painted and colored in the manner of Titian" (Chantelou, *Diary*, 147 [24 August 1665]).
48. Spear, *Domenichino*, 2:193, cites an inventory compiled by a certain Raspantino in 1664, who lists three "Baccanaria di Titiano fatto dal Domenichini." Domenichino also made a painted copy (presently in the Pinacoteca Nazionale di Bologna) after Titian's altarpiece of the *Martyrdom of Saint Peter*; cf. Spear, *Domenichino (1581–1641)*, 434–35 (no. 31).
49. Boschini, *La carta*, 195–96:
- Quando el Dominichin ala presente
Se vede i Bacanali a comparir,
L'afeto ghe fa el cuor intenerir,
Col sospirar e lagremar dolente;
- Con dir: puol esser, che una Roma degna
Manda in esilio cusì gran tesori,
Che tuta l'adornava de splendori,
E al Cielo ghe inalzava eterna insegna?
- Queste xe quele tete, e questo è 'l late,
Che ha nutrido el mio genio in la pitura,
E se pur so formar qualche figura,
El so per seguirar quele pedate.
50. This theory is proposed by Harris, "Domenichino's 'Caccia di Diana,'" 93; cf. Spear, *Domenichino*, 2:192–93 (no. 52); and Spear, *Domenichino (1581–1641)*, 424 (no. 26).
51. See Lucco, "Forestiere' a Venezia," 485–522.
52. Bellori, *Le vite*, 247: "Circa il colore, hebbe il Rubens una stupenda libertà, egli studiò in Venetia, e mirò sempre à Titiano, Paolo Veronese, e Tintoretto con le osservazioni del chiaroscuro, e delle masse delle tinte" (and Baldinucci, *Notizie*, 3:700–701, repeating Bellori's text verbatim); Boschini, *La carta*, 81: "De longo lu se messe a tior licion / Con i peneli in man, con diligenza, / Dal gran Vecelio, arca de vera scienza; / Né 'l fu gazo to a elezerse el più bon"; and Piles, *Abregé*, 383: "Il alla d'abord à Venise, où il se fit dans l'Ecole du Titien des Principes solides pour le Coloris."
53. Boschini, *La carta*, 80–81, 83: "Un Rubens dale tete el nutrimento / Viense a tior de sta nostra gran Cità, / Daspò sie ani e mezo aver latà / A Roma, con so puoco zovamento" and "Ma l'aveva Tician cusì in la mente / Come Dama int'el cuor vero Moroso." The latter is yet another rhetorical passage inserted by Boschini into the mouths of two painters: the Flemish pupil of Frans Pourbus the younger, Justus Suttermans, and the Venetian painter, Ermanno Stroiffi.
54. Orlandi, *Ab[e]cedario*, 63, 326, and 134, respectively: "Per meglio erudire la penna, il bulino, ed il pennello, andò a Parma, ed a Venezia, e ritornò così dotto, diligente, aggiustato, e tenero, che pose in gelosia Annibale"; and "condusse a Venezia, dove potè erudirsi con lo stile maestoso di Paolo Veronese"; and "Andò poi a Venezia per dilatare la maniera, e rinforzarsi nel colorire." On Agostino, see Baglione, *Le vite*, 105; Bellori, *Le vite*, 109–10; and Baldinucci, *Notizie*, 3:325. On Fetti, see Baglione, *Le vite*, 155. On Sorri, see also Baldinucci, *Notizie*, 3:458: "condusse a Venezia... Sorri ebbe occasione di darsi allo studio delle opere di Paol Veronese."
55. Orlandi, *Ab[e]cedario*, 136, 138, 273, on Riccio, Stroiffi, and Bassetti, respectively: "Andò a Venezia per vedere i dipinti di Tiziano, e di Giorgione, ed ivi aggrandì la maniera sì a fresco come a olio"; "In Venezia cangiò maniera, aderendo con profitto maggiore al dipinto di Tiziano"; and "passò a Venezia, e nel copiare l'opere del Tentoretto, riportate sopra la carta, e toccate di chiaroscuro a olio, non ebbe chi lo

- superasse"; see also Boschini, *La carta*, 81; and, on Stroiffi, Scannelli, *Il microcosmo*, 266. For Lecce, see Mancini, *Considerazioni*, 1:222: "essendo andato a Venetia o altrove, avendo visto le cose venetiane, avesse fatto gran progresso per quella strada."
56. Orlandi, *Ab[e]cedario*, 200: "ebbe gl'incrementi in Roma, e si perfezionò sopra il Tentoretto in Venezia"; cf. Van Mander, *Lives*, 410; and Piles, *Abregé*, 381.
57. Baglione, *Le vite*, 292: "Hebbe buona fortuna, & a spese del Marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani, che seco il condusse, vide Venetia."
58. Balducci, *Notizie*, 3:681: "Portossi a Venezia, dove avendo dato d'occhio alle pitture di tutti i maggiori maestri, ogni altra maniera tralasciando, a quella solamente di Giorgione si attenne."
59. Sansovino, *Delle cose*, 35: "in Venetia son più pitture, ch'in tutto il resto d'Italia."
60. Boschini, *Le minere*, a5 (dedication): "infiniti stupori e meraviglie così."
61. The copy that is presently installed on the altar in the Santi Giovanni e Paolo is a sixteenth-century copy by Carl Loth. Boschini, *La carta*, 30:
- Le copie, che è stà fate de sta Pala
Da zoveni Todeschi, e da Francesi,
E da Fiamenghi, e da Pitori Inglesi,
El numero è infinito, che non fala.
- On the afterlife of the *Saint Peter* altarpiece, see Meilman, *Titian*, appendix IV.
62. Boschini, *Le minere*, 34: "Heroico Poema Pittoresco."
63. Scaramuccia, *Le finenze*, 112: "Scuola per appunto può con molta ragione riuscire ad ogni Giovane, che desiderio si ritrovi avere per giungere a gran segno nelle cose della nostra Professione"; Boschini, *Le minere*, 310: "Ben con ragione si può dire esser questa scuola l'Errario della Pittura, il Fonte del Disegno, la Minera dell'Invenzione, l'Epilogo dell'Artificio, il Moto perpetuo delle figure, & il non Plus Ultra delle meraviglie: essendo tutta dipinta dal Monarca dell'Arte, il Bizarro Tintoretto"; and Boschini, *La carta*, 122: "Questo xe l'arsenal, dove Pitura / Tien la moschetaria, tien i canoni...ghe xe la ressidenza / De color, de dessegno e d'invenzion.... Questo dela Pitura è 'l Gabineto, / E dele perfezion questo è 'l modelo.... Questo el Castel, la Roca e la Fortezza.... Questo è l'erario."
64. Boschini, *Le minere*, 332: "Veramente la Chiesa di San Sebastiano, per l'ornamento, che le rendono le vaghe Pitture, può dirsi esser un delizioso giardino; poscia che è tutta feminata de' più odorati fiori, che sijno scaturiti dal fertilissimo Penello di quel Paolo, che ben con ragione se li può dire il ricco Tesoriero della Pittura."
65. Boschini, *La carta*, 189: "Sto Colosso me par l'archivio istesso / De l'inteleto de quel gran Tician"; and Boschini, *Le minere*, 352: "il Compendio dell'Arte Pittoresca."
66. The unhappy vestiges of the Fondaco dei Tedeschi are in the Ca' D'Oro and Accademia in Venice today. Preserved at the Museo Civico in Bassano del Grappa, however, is the façade of the Casa del Corno, painted in 1539 by Jacopo Bassano, which can give the viewer a shadow of an idea of what Venice must have looked like in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. See Boschini, *Le minere*, 140–41; Sansovino, *Venetia* (1581), 135; Sansovino, *Venetia* (1604), 255; and Scaramuccia, *Le finenze*, 107.
67. Patin, *Pitture scelte*, 199.
68. Schulz, "Titian," 567. This is matched to Ridolfi's description of a "young man, erect and nude, who grips a cloth in the manner of a sail" (that is, a billowing cape) that was on the south façade of the Fondaco; the engraving is in the Statens Museum for Kunst in Copenhagen.
69. Armenini, *True Precepts*, 272–73; cf. Armenini, *De' veri precetti*, 231–32:
- ma ritornando a Venezia, io mi ramento d'una che fece già Giogione, ch'era da Castelfranco, la qual è su la piazza di S. Polo, nella quale, compartita a quadri compartiti e coloriti, sono istorie e diverse fantasie di cose assai buone; e fra l'altre istorie, egli ne fece una a oglio lavorata su la calcina, che sta forte a tutte l'intemperie dell'aria, quasi senza aver nocumento, et è di ciò di gran meraviglia alle persone dell'arte. Il medesimo dipinse la facciata del palagio detto il Fondaco de' Tedeschi, con molte e varie figure che, per il bel colorito che vi è dentro, vien commendata molto; et oltre a queste se ne vede una sul Canal Grande dipinta da Giovan Antonio da Pordenone dove, fra l'altre cose di meraviglia, vi è un Curzio a cavallo, il quale scurta molto bene et un Mercurio che vola per l'aria, il qual, girando per ogni lato, dà gran meraviglia alla gente.
70. Boschini, *Le minere*, 415 (Salviati); 418 (Veronese); 457 (Schiavone); 518 (Santo Zago): "che paiono di carne"; 473 (Titian): "Donna nuda"; and 476–77 (Tintoretto); cf. Zanetti, *Varie pitture*, viii–ix, on the Michelangelo citation.
71. Boschini, *La carta*, 67:
- Che cosa ha fato corer l'Universo
In sta Città per tior piture tante?
Libri a stampa? no mai, né dir prestante;
I quadri si: fa la Virtù sto verso.
72. Ottonelli and Cortona, *Trattato*, 194: "In oltre chi porrà mai in dubbio, che non siano opere d'universalissima perfezione quelle sacre molte, e grandi, che già condussero in Venetia il famoso Titiano, l'universalissimo Paolo, & il meraviglioso Tintoretto?"
73. Scaramuccia, *Le finenze*, 101: "Venetia sia un ricco Fondaco, ovvero un Celeste Mercato di Pittura" and "Paolo da Verona... Titiano... Tintoretto, triunvirato ben glorioso in Pittura per questa gran Città di Venetia."
74. Orlandi, *Ab[e]cedario*, 168, 178: "arrivò col Padre in Venezia con qualche pratica nella pittura, e fatti gli studj ordinarij, aprì scuola, e piacquero i suoi dipinti a quella Città"; "vide Venezia, e si compiacque sommamente del dipinto di Tiziano."
75. Orlandi, *Ab[e]cedario*, 204, 265: "invaghito de' dipinti del Zelotti, e di Paolo Veronese, si pose in pratica con quelli"; "passato a Venezia, tanto s'invaghi del fare maestoso, e profondo di Paolo Veronese, che mutò maniera, e risolse seguire que' portamenti, que' manti, e quella grandezza Paolesca."
76. Orlandi, *Ab[e]cedario*, 82, 259, and 185: "Segui l'opere di Tiziano in Venezia"; "s'affaticò sopra l'opere di Tiziano in Venezia"; and "si portò a Roma, ed a Venezia, dove fermossi gran tempo, disegnando l'opere di Tiziano, del Bordonone, e del Tentoretto." See also Malvasia, *Felsina pittrice*, 264, on Lodovico; and Bellori, *Le vite*, 254–55, on van Dyck.
77. Orlandi, *Ab[e]cedario*, 143, 164, and 216: "giunto a Venezia s'approfitto nella Scuola dell'Aliense" (cf. Balducci, *Notizie*, 3:561); "allievo di Sant[e] Peranda, poi contemplatore di Paolo Veronese"; and "fu mandato a Roma, dove studiò sotto il Caravaggio; parti dopo qualche tempo per Venezia, e nella scuola del Cav. Liberi si francò nel dipignere a olio."
78. Van Mander, *Dutch and Flemish Painters*, 283.
79. Sandrart, as quoted in Spear, "Johann Liss," 582, 586.

80. Passeri, *Vite*, 391: "Si trattenne in casa di un Mercante Veneziano, il quale lo impiegava in farlo copiare le cose degli altri."
81. Boschini, *La carta*, 76–77: "L'ano mile sie cento e cinquantun / Fu Don Diego Valasques, gran sugeto, / Del Catolico Re Pitor perfetto, / In sta Città; no gh'è dubio nissun. / El fu mandà da quella gran Corona, / Per aquistar dei quadri a forza d'oro"; cf. Orlandi, *Ab[e]cedario*, 131: "Diego Velasquez Spagnuolo Pittore di Filippo IV, dal quale l'anno 1651. fu mandato in Italia per copiare; e comperare i migliori quadri, che ivi si ritrovassero. Spese in Venezia dodici mila scudi in due quadri di Tiziano, in due di Paolo Veronese, e nello schizzo del Paradiso del Tentoretto."
82. Scaramuccia, *Le finezze*, 113:
- Molto stavano lieti per l'incredibili, e copiose Opere vedute, i nostri virtuosi Forestieri, e per tal cagione non potean così tosto pensare alla partenza, anzi che à bello studio l'amorevolissimo Genio andava trattenendo il suo amato Girupeno, acciòche non solo commodamente potesse vedere quello che restava di Pittura, mà per mezzo di tante buone maniere avesse campo di stamparne nella sua memoria un'ottima retentiva. Così per appunto l'applicato Giovane facea, hor comparando assieme le più raffinate bellezze, hor indovinando le medesime per farsi buon pratico, ed'hora altri modi, onde se n'avesse ad incaminar sempre più alla perfettione. Non lasciava però già mai in questo tempo di esercitare il Pennello, e con quello il Lapis, e la penna in ricopiare, e notare l'Opere del divin Titiano, del compito Paolo, e del tremendo Tintoretto.
83. Piles, *Dialogue*, 56: "je voudrais que les Peintres copiasent sans discontinuer deux ou trois ans, des Tableaux du Titien, & des autres qui ont bien entendu le Coloris; & qu'ils fissent tous leurs efforts pour en découvrir l'artifice, jusqu'à ce qu'ils eussent pris une bonne habitude, & qu'ils fussent en état dese servir utilement de toutes leurs Couleurs."
84. On Boschini's brilliant and inventive analysis of form in modern Venetian painting, see Sohm, *Pittoresco*.
85. Varotari, *Il vespajo*, n.p. (found in a section at the end of the book, signature o1, titled "Modi figurati, e frasi Veneziane dilucidate").
86. See Sohm, *Style*, 28–33, 144–45, on the implications of *la maniera statuina*.
87. See Dempsey, *Annibale Carracci*; and Dempsey, "The Carracci Reform," 237–54.
88. Boschini, *La carta*, 125:
- Di quei Pittori [i.e., in Rome] l'opere son rare;
Ma da le statue sono ricavate,
E diligentemente disegnate,
Sì che a quel fonte fa bisogno andare.
- Doppo girata aver qualche contrada,
E nel disegno avermi approfittato;
Da varii Amici miei fui consigliato
D'aprirmi al Colorito anco la strada.
- Perché non si dipinge ivi giamai
Se non con sommo studio e diligenza;
E, per far una testa in eccellenza,
Ci vuol molta fatica e tempo assai.
- Sì che, perché non sono colpeggiate,
Ma di maniera tersa e diligente,
Son belle da vicin: ma veramente
Non son tali, in distanza collocate.
89. On the use of the term *diligenza*, see Muller, "Con diligenza," 274–75 n. 7.
90. On the "near/far" trope, see Barocchi, "Finito e non-finito," 221–35; and Sohm, *Pittoresco*, 43–53.
91. Boschini, *La carta*, 191:
- Quel Antonio Vandich, sì valoroso,
Ha fato notomia de sta Pitura,
Col copiar sto dasseno e sta bravura,
E dir: sta volta me fazzo famoso.
- Perché chi no colpisse in sta maniera,
E no masena el gran su sto molin,
Mai farà pan bufeto, bianco e fin,
Né 'l bon cognosserà; questa è la vera.
- Tute le statue ho dessegnà de Roma;
Tuto l'Antigo int'un tamiso ho messo:
Tute xe bagie a sto moderno appresso:
Questo è impastà de carne, che se doma.
92. Boselli, as quoted in Colantuono, "Tender Infant," 38:
- Ma vaglia il vero, che li moderni si sono presi la licenza di farli di minore età, et è certo che riescono più graziosi. L'honore di questa bella licenza è di Tiziano, il quale ne le sue mirabili Baccanali, et altri lochi ha dimostrato ciò che si può far di bello ne Putti. Sopra l'Opere di lui studiò questa parte Francesco di quesnoy fiamengo scultore incomparabile, et si avanzò tanto, che poi tutti hanno seguitato il di lui stile.
- On the *putto moderno*, see Colantuono, "Tender Infant," 37–44.
93. Rubens, as cited in Muller, "Rubens's Theory," 229.
94. Chantelou, *Diary*, 167 (5 September 1665).
95. Dates and locations of these works are: *Laocoön* (first century A.D.; Vatican City, Musei Vaticani, Cortile del Belvedere); *Borghese Warrior* (circa 100 B.C.; Paris, Musée du Louvre); *Farnese Hercules* (third century B.C.; Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale); *Belvedere Antinous* (circa second century A.D.; Vatican City, Musei Vaticani, Cortile del Belvedere); *Dying Seneca* (date uncertain; Paris, Musée du Louvre). On Agucchi, see Mahon, *Studies*, 61 n. 96, 65–67, 141–54, 245, and 253. On Bellori, see Cropper, "La più bella antichità," 146–47; and Cropper and Dempsey, *Poussin*, 23–63.
96. On the Renaissance misreading of antiquity, see Barkan, *Unearthing the Past*.
97. See Montagu, *Alessandro Algardi*, 2:398 (no. 115).
98. For instance, Alfonso Lopez, a Jewish merchant in Amsterdam, who was an acquaintance of Rembrandt, acquired several Titian portraits in the 1630s; cf. Rosand, "Titian's Dutch Disciple," 10; and Haskell, "Venetian Sixteenth-Century Painting," 47–48.
99. Like Michelangelo, Raphael became increasingly interested in architecture. In his final years, the construction of the Villa Madama was one of his primary concerns. Moreover, as Nesselrath has demonstrated, Raphael successfully subcontracted considerable parts of his commissions to his own pupils and other established artists like Lorenzo Lotto, minimizing his direct participation in his painted works; see Nesselrath, "Lorenzo Lotto." In this regard, the Carracci and the French Academy, and their reinvestment in Raphael's style, contribute significantly to his lasting influence into the seventeenth century.
100. For this reception, see Thuillier, "Polemiques," 353–91.
101. Warwick, *Arts of Collecting*, 135.

Io Triumphe, Io Triumphe: Repetition and Becoming

A commonly held belief for artists like Titian and Padovanino was that imitation provided the means by which an artist could improve upon the model and advance the development of art. This view had already been expressed in treatises on imitation published in mid-sixteenth-century Venice. “Imitation,” as Giambattista Giraldi insisted, “is always accompanied by emulation, which is none other than the resolute desire to surpass the one that is imitated.”¹ Imitation in itself was an easy thing, but good imitation demanded ambition and, above all, a confident sense of self—a will to become. It was not merely a question of surpassing the model but of becoming a model for future imitators.² Imitation was a fraught enterprise, for although it involved a *repetitive* demonstration of the best elements gathered from a historical canon, it also demanded the projection of the self into the historical text that was in-the-becoming.

Early modern artists were acutely aware of the dangers in this engagement. In Carlo Cesare Malvasia’s biography of the Carracci, for instance, Lodovico is heard telling Annibale that “to imitate a single master is to make oneself his follower and his inferior, while to draw from all . . . of them and also select things from other painters is to make oneself their judge and leader.”³ Here we are faced with the complex process of self-fashioning and identity formation. What did it mean for Padovanino to remake Titian—to become his judge and leader—and how did he become *himself* in that instance of double belonging? The past, according to Žižek, “appears in its ‘openness,’ in its possibility, only to those whose present situation is threatened by the same abyss, who are caught in the same deadlock.”⁴ In this regard, the fact that a young provincial painter from the foothills of the Dolomites could become “Titian” assured generations of subsequent artists that *that* trajectory was a historical possibility. The urgency of filiation, therefore, was not nostalgically projected backward by artists like Padovanino to a lost past but rather forward to a bright and imminently attainable future.

With Renaissance authors, as Philip Sohm noted, “references to antiquity were necessarily governed by conventions of respect that framed and restrained any declarations of rivalry and superiority.”⁵ By the seventeenth century, these conventions of politeness had worn thin. Painters like Padovanino and the Carracci were, after all, the grateful sons of a Renaissance golden age, rather than the abandoned Renaissance grandchildren of a lost antiquity. Seicento repetition, in short, was

anything but a melancholic or an archaeological enterprise of restoration and reconstruction; rather, it was an affirmative, progressive act of becoming.

BACK TO THE FUTURE: PADOVANINO'S TRIUMPH

Let us go back to the year 1614, when all four of the bacchanals were still hanging together in the Palazzo Aldobrandini on the via Coperta in Rome, for it was in that year that Padovanino saw them. Imagine Padovanino arriving in Rome around the age of twenty-six. He was no longer a young boy. By this time he had already attained a certain level of proficiency in the studio of his older sister Chiara, but he had not yet come into his own. What might have transpired in his mind as he stood before those paintings by his illustrious Venetian predecessors? He sees four monumental paintings, each measuring approximately 170 × 190 centimeters, exploding with color and light.⁶ Trees cast shadows against the glowing spectacle of flesh. Skies move rapidly from day to night, modulated by the continuous horizon line that undulates through the four paintings, uniting the bucolic rhythm of the set. The novelty and diversity of poses and expressions inscribe the pictorial space: strong bodies that arch; glowing female skin; dancers and musicians with cymbals; corpulent, inebriated, old men; putti fighting over apples or trying to catch a rabbit or dancing in a circle—figures in action as far as the eye can see. These paintings brought the dry classical texts to life, and Padovanino must have experienced quite a blow as he rediscovered an artist whose style he had studied so intimately. The effects of the shock were irreversible; Padovanino's idea of "Titian" was transformed.

How did Padovanino remake *this* encounter with Titian's text? Rome provided Padovanino with the necessary physical and temporal distance from which to comprehend his own tradition. He became an eyewitness to an alternative chapter in the history of Venetian art. Padovanino's discovery of the bacchanals was completely different from that of Poussin, Rubens, or van Dyck. Repetition prevents us from forgetting "the free decision involved in the act of becoming" for "if we observe the past as necessary, we forget that it is something that came into existence."⁷ In this regard, Rome enabled Padovanino to experience the alterity of Venetian painting; Rome enabled Padovanino to see Venetian style as it had been made and then remade through two decades of innovation and experimentation brought forth by the Carracci and Caravaggio and by their workshops, students, and assorted imitators. In the luminous vision of these painters, the story of Venetian style had been retold in drastically different terms. The Carracci and their followers drew on the color and light of Titian's early style, which emanated from within the pictorial space, rather than the contortionist figural groups that were emphasized by Tintoretto's fiery lighting. With the Caravaggisti, divine beings populated dark but minimalist compositional fields, inspired in part by Giorgione, rather than being crammed onto the orgiastic stages of late-sixteenth-century Venetian paintings.⁸

Padovanino's experience can be analyzed on two levels: the artist's unexpected discovery of the familiar (Venetian painting) on unfamiliar territory (Rome), and the *repetitive* encounter with the familiar (Titian's early style) seen through unfamiliar eyes and brought into focus through the lens of early seicento Rome. Padovanino

did not leave behind any written account of this momentous occasion in his life, but his paintings stand as visual affidavits of that unscripted instance. John Walker maintained that Padovanino was among the first artists to copy the bacchanals in Rome.⁹ He was certainly one of the only artists to see all four of the paintings together in one place prior to the 1621 Aldobrandini-Ludovisi division of the original set, and in this sense something peculiar did transpire. Rather than simply reproducing all four of the bacchanals, Padovanino only copied the three Titians (figs. 33–35) and then painted a fourth picture (see fig. 36) in which the past, present, and future compete and in which Roman figural groups are remade in the Venetian manner.

This is where the Renaissance canvas doubles over into the baroque fold. In his act of motivated rivalry with the past, Padovanino conspicuously excluded Bellini's *The Feast of the Gods* from the paintings that he copied in Rome. This absence is the *punctum* in the larger series that betrays the young artist's emulative motives and ambition. Padovanino literally pushed Bellini out of the picture and back into the past while placing himself in the same chronological relationship and historical position as Titian had once been in relation to Bellini, his precursor. This was not an act of oedipal anguish. It was not a guilt-ridden desire to blind the present to the onerous knowledge of the past. Instead, it was a decisive and forward-looking gesture of autocanonization: the inscription of the self within the larger, linear narrative of a history that he was in the process of rewriting.

In practice this was not so different from that moment in 1529 when Titian, himself in Ferrara, "restored" Bellini's *The Feast of the Gods* and added the other three canvases, but in theory Padovanino's gesture was significantly different. Unlike Titian, who had been commissioned by Alfonso to paint three additional bacchanals to complement an existing work from the artist's own time, Padovanino willingly and selectively reached back in time—almost an entire century had elapsed—and copied the three Titians and added a fourth. In theory, Padovanino's copying of the bacchanals was not any different from the moment some ten years later when Poussin and Du Quesnoy, too, would copy these same works in the Ludovisi garden. But in practice, it was. Boschini gushed,

These bacchanals are three pieces in all.

But Varotari of his own invention

added a fourth that is as beautiful and as good,

and which, next to the others, is a unique construction.¹⁰

Padovanino's fourth bacchanal left viewers speechless. Boschini wrote that Roman virtuosi and artists went to watch the young artist as he painted them and that jealous rivals, who mistook the picture to be by Titian, were converted into admirers.¹¹ Padovanino's *Triumph* (see fig. 36)—his "invention" and "unique construction"—was not seen negatively by his own contemporaries as empty derivation or servile pastiche but as an attempt to author the bacchanals once more—in short, to remake them.

Boschini clearly identified Padovanino's canvas as the *Triumph of Venus*.¹² Persistent iconographers have subsequently renamed it: first, as the "Triumph of



FIG. 33. PADOVANINO
Worship of Venus, ca. 1614–20,
oil on canvas, 175 × 178 cm
(69 × 70¹/₈ in.)
Bergamo, Accademia Carrara



FIG. 34. PADOVANINO
Bacchanal of the Andrians,
ca. 1614–20, oil on canvas,
175 × 188 cm (69 × 74 in.)
Bergamo, Accademia Carrara

FIG. 35. PADOVANINO
Bacchus and Ariadne, ca. 1614–20,
 oil on canvas, 175 × 185 cm
 (69 × 72⁷/₈ in.)
 Bergamo, Accademia Carrara



Tethys” (from about 1930), and, then, as the “Triumph of Thetis” (beginning around 1979).¹³ These new appellations may have been innovations based on the devoted attention of the collection’s curators, but in the end there is really no convincing reason to disregard Boschini’s original interpretation. Then again, there is no reason to assume that Boschini, even though a contemporary friend of the painter, necessarily reported Padovanino’s “intention” without embellishing the artist’s narrative for his — Boschini’s — own reasons. All three of these triumph themes were represented in the seicento, and no single reading can be privileged over the others as *the* correct one. The modern Tethys/Thetis attribution is further complicated by the fact that the two mythological names are often confused and conflated in modern Italian. These iconographical discrepancies, however, do not concern us, for I shall problematize these interpretations by proposing a fourth reading. The woman represented on the throne to the left may be Venus, Tethys, or Thetis, but the underlying narrative that is being told concerns Padovanino’s own triumph, and here the discussion moves from iconography to allegory.

THETIS: PORTRAIT OF THE ARTIST AS A YOUNG MAN

Padovanino’s *Triumph* is an allegory (fig. 36). It narrates one story in order to tell another. The mythological narrative functions as a means rather than an end. If iconography is an art of identifying figures and symbols with the meanings that

FIG. 36. PADOVANINO
Triumph, ca. 1614–20,
oil on canvas, 175 × 184 cm
(69 × 72½ in.)
Bergamo, Accademia Carrara



they represent, allegory is, as Craig Owens explained, at once an impulse, an attitude, a technique, and a perception, as well as a procedure; it operates through appropriation and confiscation rather than through original invention; it approaches its subject in a state of perplexity in order to lay claim to the culturally significant, so that it may replace or supplant meaning, rather than restoring or recovering lost and obscured ideas.¹⁴ It is here that the possibilities of iconography blur into those of allegory. If this painting illustrates the triumph of Thetis, what poignant significance can be glimpsed from beneath the veneer of this identification? Who is Thetis, and what might she have meant to Padovanino at this given moment in his career?

In Greek mythology, Thetis was a Nereid, the daughter of Nereus and Doris and, later, the mournful mother of Achilles.¹⁵ Desired by Zeus and Poseidon, she was ultimately abandoned by both when it was prophesied that the deeds of her son would “surpass his father’s and he’ll win a greater name.”¹⁶ In Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, she was married to Peleus, who captured her after a long chase during which the sea nymph transformed herself into diverse creatures in an attempt to escape her suitor:

There, as she lay lapped
In sleep, Peleus surprised her and, his fond
Entreaties all repulsed, assaulted her,
Winding his two strong arms around her neck.
And had she not resorted to her arts
And changed her shape so often, he’d have gained
The end he dared. But first she was a bird—
That bird he held; and then a sturdy tree—
That tree he fastened on; her third shape was
A stripy tigress—Peleus, terrified,
Released his hold on her and let her go.¹⁷

Perhaps this is the narrative enacted on the right in the *Triumph*, although it is uncertain as to why there are two male aggressors instead of one. Moreover, these aggressors are *ichthyocentaurs*, or centauro-tritons, and, therefore, could not possibly represent Peleus. Alternatively, perhaps, this is a postaggression marriage scene. Catullus wrote that all the Olympian gods attended the wedding of Thetis and Peleus.¹⁸ This is surely the scene on the left—but, then, where is the groom?

The fable of Thetis is, in fact, an all-too-appropriate allegory for understanding the underlying rationale for imitative and emulative strategies in the seicento. To push iconography into autobiography, one might suggest that Padovanino wished to be understood here as Peleus, trying to grasp Titian’s multifarious ideas. At the same time, perhaps Padovanino is dramatizing Thetis’s tale by transforming himself into different styles. On the one hand, we have a repetition of content (of the bacchanals, Ovidian myths, and so on); on the other hand, we find a repetition of form (of Titian’s early style with high Renaissance and early baroque styles). Certainly, this image can be read as a synoptic re-presentation of everything that is Titianesque in the other three canvases that make up the Ferrarese bacchanals.

Here another allegory suggests itself. According to Apollodorus, “Dionysus took refuge in the sea with Thetis, daughter of Nereus, and the Bacchanals were

taken prisoners together with the multitude of Satyrs that attended him.”¹⁹ Is this a more appropriate metaphor? Has Padovanino held the bacchanals—specifically, Titian’s bacchanals—prisoners? In a way, the answer to these questions is yes. This allegorical reading of iconography, again, does not mean to reduce intentionality to a primordial fact. It does not wish to suggest that on a given day in Rome, Padovanino read Apollodorus, saw the bacchanals, and made the *Triumph* in response to or with the intention of illustrating the text. Rather, the theme of abduction addressed in Apollodorus’s text can be read out of the *Triumph* as an allegory for the process of appropriation that underlies Padovanino’s painting. For instance, the tree that extends into the scene from the right-hand edge, one might say, has been transplanted from Titian’s *Bacchus and Ariadne*. The ring of putti dancing in the top-right corner against the shadow of the tree and the little winged putto crawling onto the plate on the left in the foreground have been kidnapped from the *Worship of Venus*. The man who bears the large bronze amphora on his shoulders in Bellini’s *The Feast of the Gods* and then again in Titian’s *Bacchanal of the Andrians* has been hired to carry the platter onto which the putto scrambles. The bacchanalian crowd and luscious nudes have been rented from the *Andrians*. The musculature and tonality of the men in the lower right-hand corner have been borrowed from Titian’s Laocoön figure in the *Bacchus and Ariadne*. The ship in the background of the *Andrians* has sailed into the background here, anchoring on the vanishing point at the center of the composition.

Following the Ovidian narrative of Thetis, then, we might rethink Padovanino’s *Triumph* as the metamorphosis of different visual figures and tropes. Or, if we push the logic of the Catullian/Apollodorian reading, the painting could be explained as the happy assembly of the art historical pantheon, both ancient and modern. The entire scene is undeniably dressed and lit in Venetian colors that have been executed with Venetian brushwork. Telltale Titianesque draperies in blue, red, and white, as well as the icy pink that Veronese would later appropriate and remake as his own, are strewn beneath and flutter about the commotion depicted. The short, dry, curling strokes of yellowish highlight upon overcast ultramarine blue skies signal late Titian. The method of silhouetting dark foliage (each leaf formed with one wide, deliberate stroke) against this dramatic, but well-known, crepuscular backdrop is by now a pedestrian cinquecento ready-made. The contrast of zones of white flesh against dark shadow in the foreground calls upon Tintoretto clichés as seen through the post-mannerist loupe of Palma Giovane.

At the same time, against this cinquecento Venetian screen Padovanino has projected Michelangelo’s reclining Adam, last seen in the Sistine ceiling, and itself a transformation of the Belvedere torso. The men blowing shells have been borrowed from the nearby set of Raphael’s *Triumph of Galatea* (circa 1512) in the Villa Farnesina, and the fluttering cape of Padovanino’s seated goddess seems to have been loaned from one of the women in Annibale Carracci’s Galleria Farnese ceiling (1597–1601), itself a *repetitive* interpretation of Raphael’s Farnesina frescoes across the river. Alternatively, Padovanino’s Thetis may be related to Guido Reni’s *Aurora* (1614) in the Casino Rospigliosi, itself an always-already of Annibale’s reinterpretation of Raphael. All these paintings would have been visible in 1614; however, it

would be too reductive to simply ask: did these works “influence” Padovanino? More to the critical heart of the matter is: how did Padovanino remake these figures? Focusing on repetition rather than influence returns us to an observance of the “free decision involved in the act of becoming,” because repetition, as Žižek reminded us, undermines the “image of history *qua* the linear process of the unfolding of an underlying necessity” and reveals it to be a “process of becoming.”²⁰

Rome is where Padovanino elected his free decisions. Rome (and this includes Venice remade in Rome) is everywhere visible in Padovanino’s *Triumph*, and it is clear that this painting could only have been made after Padovanino’s trip to Rome. The elegant retinue owes as much to Titian as to the Titianesque seen through the eyes of Carracci, Albani, Domenichino, and Reni. The two young recumbent women in the foreground are clearly inspired by a Titianesque ideal—especially the figure facing the viewer, who is a virtual citation of Titian’s wanton nude in the *Bacchanal of the Andrians*. The vermicular trio to the right seems to draw its inspiration not only from Tintoretto and Palma Giovane but also from certain religious images that date to the first two decades of the century. The attenuated musculature is simultaneously Titianesque and classical and thoroughly Roman and modern. The tension between the push and pull of the figures may have drawn from dramatic post-Tridentine martyrdom scenes such as Caravaggio’s *Martyrdom of Saint Matthew* (1599–1600) in the Contarelli Chapel in San Luigi dei Francesi. The strangely bent leg of Padovanino’s female victim appears like a disrobed revision of Annibale’s triumphant Virgin in the Cerasi Chapel in Santa Maria del Popolo. Annibale’s was a highly unusual design when he created it in 1601, but it did not go overlooked by other artists (his own pupil, Domenichino, repeated the pose, in reverse, for an octagonal ceiling painting of the same subject in Santa Maria in Trastevere fifteen years later).

The push toward visual synthesis, however, was not an easy one. Writing on baroque allegory, Benjamin reminded that “the synthesis which is reached in allegorical writing” is “not so much in the sense of a peace as a *trouga dei* between the conflicting opinions.”²¹ Even more so than Padovanino’s *Sleeping Venus*, then, the *Triumph* is representation about representation. It is art that performs the historicity of art rather than simply reciting a known iconographical motif. More so than any other of Padovanino’s paintings, the *Triumph* works like Gilliam’s pastiche scene, in which the primary text, *Twelve Monkeys*, comes into being through its confrontation with Hitchcock, Marker, Hawks, Huston, and others.

The *repetitive paragone* between authors and artists appealed to a certain type of aesthetic appreciation that looked upon a specific work of art as a physical element within a larger conceptual work of art produced from the mental comparison and contrast of the physical object on hand with an entire repertoire of previous works or intentions.²² If one of the immediate dangers of citation is the threat of authorial self-erasure, how then did Padovanino negotiate his own identity from that of his ancestors? Turning again to a close perusal of Padovanino’s *Triumph* as one such *other* space, let us attempt an alternative reading of the allegorical drama that is being performed.

Amidst the melee of sensuous female flesh, bronzed male bodies, floating babies, feathers and furniture, shells and jewels, horses, tree, and sky, and beyond the clever quotations and the disguised and borrowed lines, one figure stands slightly apart in the painting and is even quite easily overlooked at first glance. This caesura is the man quietly entering the scene on the right. Unlike the majestic flow and rhythm that orchestrate the frieze-like composition of Annibale's *Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne* (circa 1595–1605; Rome, Palazzo Farnese) and Reni's *Aurora* (1614; Rome, Palazzo Rospigliosi-Pallavicini), here the design is fragmentary—we move, in short, from the left-to-right sweep of the panning shot to the dramatic, disjunctive force of montage. Four self-contained units can be identified—the partygoers on the left with the enthroned nude, the two horsemen in the center, the triad of struggling contorted figures on the right, and the four putti in the trees—but this lone figure somehow seems to be in his own spatiotemporal continuum. Eyes directed in front of him, red cape billowing behind him, he reaches forward and propels himself into the spectacle with a sense of resoluteness that is not expressed by any of the other actors.

Is this Ovid's Peleus in hot pursuit of his flame? If so, what episode is being performed? If this young man is Peleus, then he belongs to an earlier moment in the narrative (the chase sequence). Is the woman struggling in the foreground then to be read as a synecdochic representation of Thetis's flight from her libidinous suitor? If we take these to be reasonable interpretations, the staging of the Ovidian fable occurs on several registers within the space of the painting. The parallel montage between the foreground (Thetis) and background (Peleus), and between the left screen (wedding) and right screen (chase), functions like a continuous narrative; it could be compared, in the generic models of literature, to the oblique and disjunctive literary styles (the *narratio obliqua* and *parlar disgiunto*) that were so popular with early modern poets like Marino and Torquato Tasso.²³ If this is the case, who then is this silent protagonist, and what drama is he enacting?

This brings us to our second heuristic conceit—Tethys, who was, *repetitively* enough, Thetis's grandmother. Tethys was the child of Heaven and Earth, and the sister as well as the lover of Oceanus, with whom she bore the Rivers and Oceanids, including Doris (Thetis's mother). Within the pantheon of divine creatures, Tethys served as Apollo's assistant, a muse or an instrument of poetic inspiration to the young artist.²⁴ And here is the question that the argument is pushing toward: is the young man in the *Triumph* Padovanino? That is, has the author projected himself beyond the physical threshold of the painting in the present and into the heterochronic, representational space beyond?

A certain physiognomic resemblance can be identified between this shadowy figure surfacing from the background in this picture and the self-possessed man depicted in Padovanino's *Self-Portrait* (see fig. 1). Both figures, seen in profile, are marked by large, deep-set brown eyes and a prominent chin and mustache. Is this an onscreen cameo, a delicious instance of self-inscription (one that begs parenthetical comparison with Hitchcock's appearances as a pedestrian in front of Elster's shipyard in *Vertigo*, a man walking two dogs—Hitchcock's own dogs—past a pet

FIG. 37. GIOVANNI CONTARINI
(ITALIAN, 1549–1605)
Verona Conquered by the Venetians,
ca. 1590, oil on canvas
Venice, Palazzo Ducale, Sala delle
Quattro Porte



store in *Birds*, and a cowboy outside Marion's office in *Psycho*)? It was not an uncommon practice to script oneself into the picture. Padovanino's compatriot and contemporary, Giovanni Contarini, for instance, represented himself as a soldier in a large battle scene, *Verona Conquered by the Venetians* (fig. 37), which, according to Boschini, "demonstrated his valor." The dramatic composition of Contarini's large canvas would later inspire one of Padovanino's first major commissions, the overwhelming *Victory of the Camotesi over the Normans* (see fig. 2). Contarini, in turn, was undoubtedly responding to Titian's monumental *Battle of Spoleto* (1537–38), which he would have seen in his lifetime and which had hung in the Palazzo Ducale until it was destroyed in the fire of 1577. In Boschini's description of Contarini's self-as-soldier in the battle painting, he doubles the function of the phrase *suo valore*, referring to the courage of the soldier (actor in the painting) as well as the confidence of the artist (author of the painting).²⁵

Can the mysterious figure in the large bacchanalian painting not be read as an allegory of Padovanino's artistic triumph in Rome? Is this not Padovanino striving for the poet's laurels, held out just in front of him by one of the carousing horsemen? The laurel crown was a typical ornament in bacchanalian scenes; it was also a common symbol of triumph. Raphael's image of Apollo in the *Parnassus* fresco in the Vatican (1509–10) was perhaps the most obvious Roman prototype for this figure, which found particular success in the seicento. The triumph theme, however, was also an important vehicle for the construction of a young artist's identity. Poussin was particularly fond of triumph scenes and repeated the theme in several paintings from the 1620s and 1630s, such as the *Triumph of David* (circa 1630) and *Parnassus* (1630–33), both in the Museo del Prado, and the *Triumph of Flora* (1628) and, especially, the *Inspiration of the Poet* (fig. 38), both in the Musée du Louvre. In each of these scenes, putti or young women crown the young male figure with laurels, bestowing fame and glory upon him through this symbolic gesture. In the last



FIG. 38. NICOLAS POUSSIN
(FRENCH, 1594–1665)
Inspiration of the Poet,
ca. 1629–30, oil on canvas,
183 × 213 cm (72 1/8 × 83 7/8 in.)
Paris, Musée du Louvre

FIG. 39. PIETRO TESTA
(ITALIAN, 1612–50)
Triumph of the Virtuous Artist on
Parnassus, 1644–46, etching,
42 × 57.8 cm (16 5/8 × 22 3/4 in.)
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
de France



image, the awestruck young poet appears with pen and tablet in hand before a seated Apollo, who guides the man, pointing to the right way, like the angel who inspires Saint Matthew. The poet, however, has temporarily paused in his writing and looks above him, distracted by a small putto who holds forth the possibility of two laurel wreaths. A second young putto in the foreground holds another wreath in one hand and a book in the other, reminding the young man of the fame that he seeks through his art.

More significant, however, is the comparison that can be made with Pietro Testa's etching *Triumph of the Virtuous Artist on Parnassus*, from the mid-1640s (fig. 39).²⁶ As with Poussin's paintings, Testa's print postdates Padovanino's *Triumph* by some decades, but a similar narrative about artistic fame and virtue is being constructed. The central figure in Testa's image is the Virtuous Artist, who stands with one arm held forth in the rhetorical pose of *acclamatio*, typical of classical triumph scenes in which the victor would have announced: *Io triumphe, io triumphe*. Above him Winged Fame arrives, trumpet before her, ready to lay a laurel crown upon his head. Testa's young artist is guided by Divine Wisdom, who holds aloft the torch that lights their path. He is greeted by the Muses, and Calliope is seen emerging from the background with her books, with Homer and Virgil following behind in the shadows. Venus sits upon the chariot to the left, hair covered with rose garlands; she has trampled over Father Time, who sits beneath her in the lower left-hand corner. Chained and bound, he frames the image compositionally and anchors it symbolically (much like the Michelangelesque nude in the lower left-hand corner of Padovanino's *Triumph*).

Padovanino's representation, however, is slightly different from the other Roman images from the first half of the seventeenth century. Rather than being the passive recipient of fame and glory (as in Poussin's and Testa's representations), Padovanino shows the allegorical "self" reaching forward; rather than being guided, the artist literally takes his future into his own hands. A generation later, Padovanino's student Giulio Carpioni would portray himself with similar Apollonian laurels firmly placed on his head in his *Self-Portrait* (fig. 40). Carpioni represents himself as the allegory of Painting, standing in front of a canvas that depicts a solemn procession of women and draped figures. Here is another serendipitous moment of double belonging: a similar processional group would appear in Antonio Canova's design for Titian's unrealized funerary monument, which would ultimately be used by Canova's students for the sculptor's own tomb, located across the nave from Titian's in Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari (fig. 41).²⁷

These early modern images circle around the theme of youthful triumph, of the struggle of moderns to become ancients, and they signal an important Deleuzean theme: repetition as the means to become. Testa's *Triumph of the Virtuous Artist on Parnassus* is a happy ending to a story begun in an earlier image—*Il liceo della pittura* (fig. 42)—in which the path of the young artist is mapped out in the inscription on the lower register: "Theory by herself is chained with bonds, and Practice alone is blind in her liberty, but he, who learns from great Masters in his tender years and then proceeds on his own to imitate the objects of Nature, enters the learned *Liceo di Pallade*."²⁸

FIG. 40. GIULIO CARPIONI
(ITALIAN, 1613–79)
Self-Portrait, ca. 1648,
oil on canvas, 91 × 78 cm
(35⁷/₈ × 30³/₄ in.)
Milan, Pinacoteca di Brera



FIG. 41. ANTONIO CANOVA
 (ITALIAN, 1757–1822),
DESIGNER
 Funerary monument for Antonio
 Canova, 1822–27, marble
 Venice, Santa Maria Gloriosa
 dei Frari



FIG. 42. PIETRO TESTA
 (ITALIAN, 1612–50)
Il liceo della pittura, ca. 1638,
 etching, 47.5 × 73.7 cm
 (18¾ × 29 in.)
 Los Angeles, Getty Research
 Institute



FIG. 43. TITIAN
Self-Portrait, ca. 1562,
oil on canvas, 96 × 75 cm
(37⁷/₈ × 29⁵/₈ in.)
Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu
Berlin, Gemäldegalerie



Padovanino claims his place in history as the legitimate heir to Bellini and Titian by literally hurling himself into the pictorial fiction of the *Triumph*. It is his moment of triumph. But rather than taking center stage (as Testa's young artist), Padovanino enters silently from the right, from the future of the narrative line of progression, rather than from the left. Psychologically, this compositional decision profoundly alters any conventional reading of the painting. In placing this "self" at the right margin of the image, Padovanino leads the eye of the beholder to this figure only after he or she has scanned the crowded space of the scene to the left. The inversion of the chronological process of left to right places this figure at the end of customary viewing practices. The young man is the last word, so to say. Yet his position turns our attention back into the painting itself, forcing us to re-view the terrain that we have just covered, pushing us to see what is known in a new light, repeating in order to mark difference.

Thinking back in time to Titian's own self-portrait (fig. 43), we see a trace of Titian's spirited animation in Padovanino's young man. The sense of having been interrupted by a presence outside the pictorial space, suggested by Titian's dynamic pose, pushes the image from a standard self-portrait as a visual record of the empirical self (Tiziano Vecellio) to a narrative of the ontological self ("Titian"). Both self-representations are about seizing opportunities, of remaking the past for the use of the present and of authoring one's own story. Rather than placing himself in the traditional pose of self-portraiture, Titian stages his own likeness as a self in action, the painter who stands apart from tradition, the man who chooses his own path. Padovanino, too, makes that decision in the *Triumph*.

Padovanino's young man is an image of the triumph of the will, and here we would do well to consider his resemblance to the illustration of *Volontà*, or Will, in Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* (fig. 44). In the commentary after the image, Ripa describes the winged youth as "a young woman" who is "poorly dressed in red and yellow



FIG. 44. CESARE RIPA
(ITALIAN, 1560?–1625)
VOLONTÀ, woodcut, image:
9.5 × 11 cm (3³/₄ × 4³/₈ in.)
From Cesare Ripa, *Nova iconologia*
(Padua: per Pietro Paolo Tozzi, nella
stampa del Pasquati, 1618), 578

FIG. 45. PIETRO TESTA
(ITALIAN, 1612–50)
*Triumph of the Virtuous Artist on
Parnassus*, ca. 1640s, oil on canvas,
129 × 190.7 cm (50⁷/₈ × 75¹/₈ in.)
Munich, Bayerische
Staatsgemäldesammlungen



with wings on her shoulders and feet; she will be blind, thrusting out her two hands in front of her, one after the other with the gesture of wanting to grab something.”²⁹ A painted version of Testa’s *Triumph* similarly shows the young man dressed in gold, with Divine Wisdom following behind in red (fig. 45). Testa and Padovanino have not reproduced Ripa word for word—they have changed the gender of *Volontà*—but they have repeated the symbolic import of the conceit, especially in their attention to the chromatic codes. The urgency with which Padovanino’s young man and Ripa’s *Volontà* push themselves is emphasized in Padovanino’s image by the dynamism of the red cloak and in Ripa’s by the wings. The headstrong nature of *Volontà* is communicated by the otherwise inexplicable intrusion of the disjunctive figure in Padovanino’s painting and by the metaphor of blindness in Ripa’s definition. Both figures, if we follow the definition of the term *volontà* in the *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca* (1612), express “the powerful ambition of the rational soul.”³⁰ Padovanino’s allegorical self is not literally taking flight; however, he is visibly placed higher than all the other figures in the painting, with the exception of the nude goddess seated on the throne.

Padovanino's overall composition is structured upon an upward movement of struggle. The small putto on the left tries to grasp all the shells as the woman on the right struggles to escape the centauro-tritons that are pulling her down. Venus/Tethys/Thetis, enthroned, towers above the crowd, with her pink robe billowing above her head. At the top of the canvas, putti fly up to the sky. Four men raise shells above the horizon line into the air. Two of these figures blow into conch shells in a gesture not unlike that depicted in the traditional personification of Fame, who announces her arrival with a gold trumpet; Testa represents precisely this type of winged female figure above his virtuous artist. In Padovanino's *Triumph*, one of the reclining women in the foreground stretches her arm upward, and the Michelangesque nude twists around, as if to stand up. Another nude woman with her back to us looks up at the triumphant goddess; her mouth appears to be open in speech. With her left hand she points to the top-right corner of the pictorial space, to the dark, empty non-space that is about to be occupied by Padovanino's allegorical self. Is she imploring the divinity to allow the young man a place in the picture, in the narrative—in history? The placement of her gaze, countered by the direction of her hand, establishes a pendulum effect that draws the spectator's attention from the female personification of Triumph on the left to the male persona of Will on the right. The forward-thrusting pose of the young man returns our gaze once more to the enthroned woman.

Near the inverted apex of this pyramidal structure is the face of a small child who is snuggled between the recumbent women. In his right hand he holds a piece of red coral, which may have fallen from the large plate to his right; with his other hand he lifts up a white piece of fabric. The symbolism of coral is rich and varied. In Christian iconography, coral represents the Passion of Christ, which, without overstating the connotation, is itself a narrative about transformative struggle. More appropriate in the present context, however, is the mythological allusion. In Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, coral is a symbol for Perseus's double triumph over Medusa and over the dragon that was to devour Andromeda.³¹ The boy's gaze, which is directed outward toward the implied spectator, is not without significance. Seated at the bottom of the inverted triangle that anchors the composition, the infant raises a stretch of white cloth, which one might poetically interpret as a canvas, linking the female personification of Triumph on the left and Volontà, or Padovanino's victorious *doppelgänger*, on the right. The smiling child serves a double function: the first is compositional; the second is allegorical. On the one hand, he is the Albertian figure who beckons the beholder into the drama that is unfolding in the pictorial space behind him; on the other hand, he represents the child whom Padovanino's young man once was. Or, as the narrator explains in Marker's *La jetée*, "He was the man whose story we are telling."

"ALL THINGS TO THIS TRINITY": BECOMING PADOVANINO

Padovanino seemed to have been especially fond of this bizarre geometrical construct consisting of triangles inscribed in circles. The symbolism of this strange conceit seemed to have had much valency in early modern visual culture. By the time

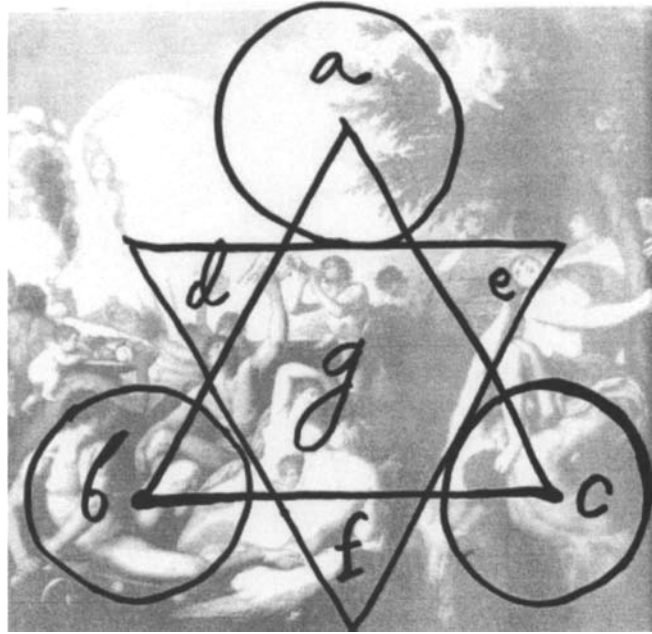
of Denis Diderot's *Encyclopédie* (1751–72), it had come to represent two things: coral and the Holy Trinity. Padovanino's proposal for the design of Santa Maria della Salute in Venice consisted of an abstract ink sketch depicting two equilateral triangles, one placed on top of the other, held down at three points by three circles. Andrew Hopkins described it as a "fanciful project," a *concetto* based on a triangle theme because the site of the church was formerly occupied by the church of the Santissima Trinità.³² If we take this plan and place it on top of the *Triumph*, the diagram and the composition of the painting align almost perfectly (fig. 46). In the letter that accompanied his application for the Salute commission, Padovanino wrote that rather than using "ordinary forms such as the perfectly circular, the rectangular, the oval, the square" he opted for the triangle as the basis of his "design for a new, and original Temple" so as to direct "all things to this Trinity."³³

While we should be cautioned against reading this as an intentionalist strategy determined by Padovanino's obsession with the motif, the allegorical implications of Padovanino's tripartite scheme can nevertheless be read into the *Triumph* and, to an even greater extent, the *Self-Portrait* in terms of a meditation upon the past, present, and future. If we listen to Padovanino's own words in the letter cited above, we understand that the artist cared deeply about producing something that was "new and original"—that is, something acutely conscious of its own historicity and its own position within a larger historical narrative. The Salute (built as a votive temple, marking the cessation of the plague in 1630) looked directly to Andrea Palladio's Redentore across the lagoon (similarly built in response to the plague of 1576); the architect of the Salute, Baldassare Longhena, was praised as a "new Palladio" in a 1644 poem.³⁴ With this in mind, let me return once more to the allegorical complexities of Padovanino's *Self-Portrait* (see fig. 1).

Padovanino's *Triumph* dates to circa 1614, the *Self-Portrait* to circa 1625 to 1630. When we compare these two representations of the artist, different narratives about the self can be identified. In the *Self-Portrait* the artist is noticeably older: his hair is longer, the color more ashen, and the facial features have become slightly more sullen; he is hardly the headstrong neophyte of the *Triumph*. Instead, Padovanino represents himself as a poised, mature man engaged in some sort of spiritual conversation with Titian, who appears as a bust on a bizarre red pedestal emerging from the darkness in the upper-left corner. Rather than reading these details as a *chronomachia* (a resistance to the imitation of the past), let me explain them as belonging to a *chronotopia* (a less combative enfolding of historical moments).³⁵

Everything in this portrait of the self has been carefully chosen and staged to perform and amplify the protagonist's psychological development. The spectral figure of Titian looks toward Padovanino's general direction. The book with the geometrical diagram lies open before the artist, but it is deliberately positioned for the viewer's eyes. The carefully stacked volumes visibly announce their venerable authors: Plutarch, Dante, and Boethius. The astrological sphere is specifically chosen as an index of Padovanino's scientific interests. The miniature plaster cast tilting in the foreground is a rhizomorphic figure. Its open legs mirror the placement of Padovanino's two elegant fingers on the celestial globe; its decapitated torso stares out at the viewer and also provides a link to the disembodied bust above. It is a

FIG. 46.
Overlay of *Triumph* and Santa
Maria della Salute proposal



representation of a well-known ancient fragment in the papal collection—the Belvedere torso. It also alludes to specific Michelangelesque models based on that same prototype—Adam’s torso in the Sistine ceiling and *Dawn* and *Dusk* (1524–31) in the Medici Chapel in Florence. In Padovanino’s Venetian context, the classical fragment is also an oblique reference to Tintoretto, who kept plaster miniatures of Michelangelo’s Medici tomb figures, which he, too, remade, for the façade of the Casa Gussoni.³⁶ It is possibly also an allusion to the ancient body beneath the reclining Michelangelesque male figure in the bottom-left corner of the *Triumph*. Within the overall composition of the *Self-Portrait*, this fragment is the work of art—an object of physical and intellectual manufacture—that connects the books of theory on the left with the practical manual on the right. The headless torso is not only a sign of the venerable past but also a reminder of how history can lie in ruinous disrepair without the investment of the modern artist—of how the “work” of art is to bring to fruition the potentiality of both theory and practice.

Compositionally, the image is built up around the confrontation and resolution of contradictory influences. The severity of the dark colors that clothe the subject counterbalances the daring red overpainting that skirts around the contour of the earlobes, sits in the crease of the eyelids, runs across the bridge of the nose, and warms the slope of the neck and the lips of the artist. The missed glances that dissolve in empty space offset the insistent position of Padovanino’s body, which leans forward and twists backward in one complex movement. The apparent shallowness of the pictorial stage in the lower register of the picture complicates the bold vertical splitting of pictorial planes in the upper half. The lifeless stone bust and dusty books function as a foil to the incandescent red stand beneath the bust, the emphatic hand gestures, and the diminutive antique fragment, which is pushed forward and teeters precariously before the viewer. The indeterminable setting is divided between darker and lighter planes on the right, which then melt into a more

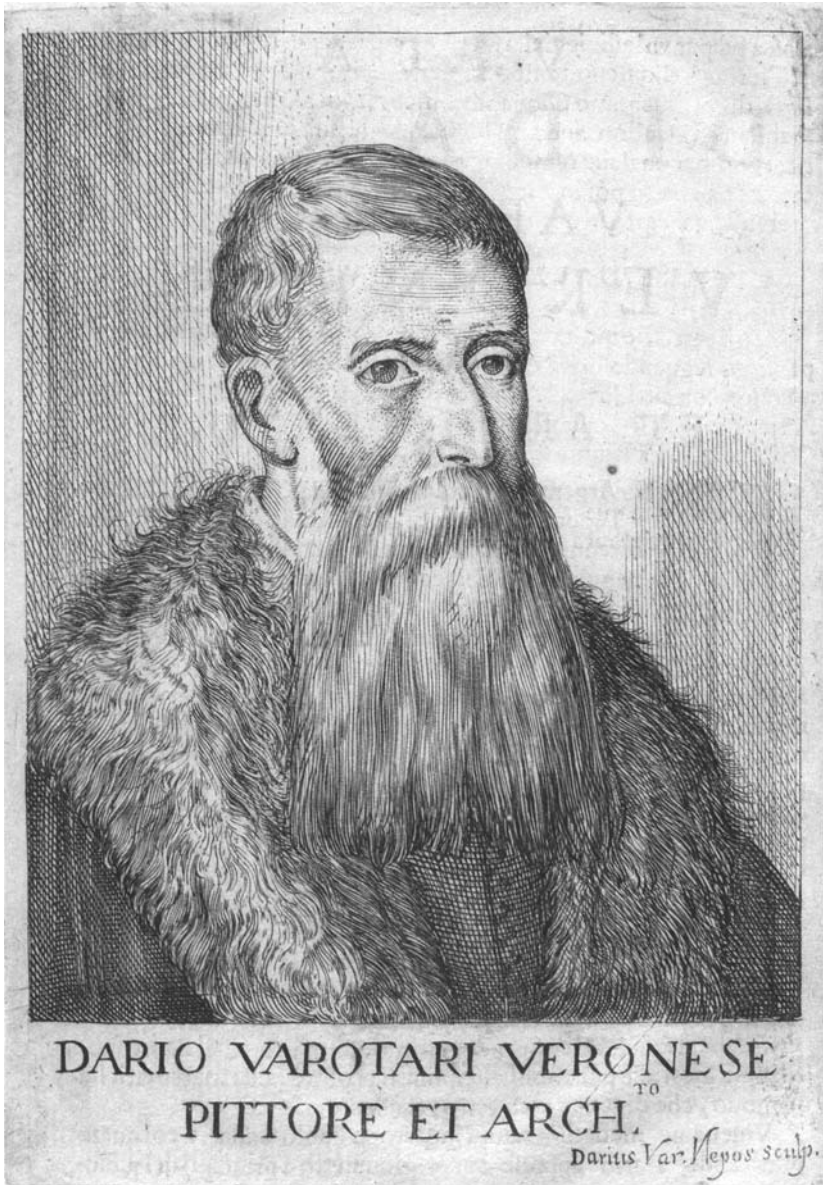


FIG. 47. DARIO VAROTARI THE YOUNGER (ITALIAN, ACTIVE 1650S)
 Dario Varotari Veronese, *Pittore et Arch.*, engraving, 17 × 12 cm (6¾ × 4¾ in.)
 From Carlo Ridolfi, *Le maraviglie dell'arte; ovvero, Le vite de gl'illustri pittori veneti, e dello stato*.... (Venice: presso Gio. Battista Sgaua..., 1648), part 2, p. 78

luminous background in the left half of the painting, only to be interrupted by a cast shadow that may belong to either the pensive sitter or the ghostly old master. This shadow emphasizes the artist's raised right hand, which seems to rest momentarily in front of Titian's unseeing visage. The formal logic in Padovanino's *Self-Portrait*—the push toward antithetical contrast and dialectical synthesis—serves to illuminate the imagined and imaged relationship between the artist and the remains of the past that he has staged around him.

The portrait bust in the corner was once identified as Plutarch.³⁷ This interpretation, however, is unlikely since the name of the Latin historian is already inscribed upon the spine of a book in the foreground beneath the statue. This type of doubling is illogical and *repetitious* in an otherwise economic image. Within the matrix of identifiable references, and by a process of elimination, Titian is the most

likely suspect, since he is the only figure of authority missing in the picture within this constellation of allusions. If the identification is not immediately obvious to us, the seventeenth-century viewer, already prompted to think of Padovanino as an *other* Titian, would have readily identified the oracular figure as Titian. If we compare the detail with Titian's Berlin *Self-Portrait* (see fig. 43), the physiognomic resemblance should be evident: the smooth, long beard; the generous width of the eyelids; the slight protuberance of the lower lip under which sits a distinctive, triangular wisp from his beard; the gauntness of the cheeks; and the lines that wrinkle across the forehead. Titian's self-image circulated in painted copies, book illustrations, engravings, and portrait medals, so early modern spectators would have been able to identify him. As with the Dresden type, the multimedia repetition of the visual stereotype enabled the determination of a certain visage that came to be commonly recognized as "Titian."

The only facial feature that is slightly off is the shape of Titian's nose, which is less severe in his own representations. The aquiline curve and the soft roundness of the tip of the nose are lost in Padovanino's bust. Curiously enough, Padovanino has made Titian's profile more like his own or, more to the point, like that of his father, Dario Varotari (fig. 47). In remaking the father figure, Padovanino has morphed the identity of his true father with that of the chosen father. It is tempting to read this as a family romance—the abandoned orphan calling forth the "good father"—but I am wary of projecting this Freudian diagnosis into the spectral figure. There is an undeniable element of wish fulfillment going on here, yet it was hardly a surprising gesture for a Venetian artist to align himself with Titian.

Padovanino's near contemporary, Palma Giovane, would similarly connect himself on his own funerary tomb (fig. 48) with both his famous uncle Palma Vecchio and with Titian, placing portraits of both "fathers" with his own below a large palm tree held up by two winged figures of Fame. Sansovino commented on the monument with the following pun: "Just above the door of the sacristy is painted a palm tree [*una Palma*] with two figures of Fame [*con due Fame*] who sound their trumpets; it was carried out by Jacopo Palma's heirs and dedicated to the Great Titian, Palma Vecchio, and Palma Giovane, whose portraits are sculpted in life size, accompanied by the following note: TITIANO VECELLIO, IACOBO PALMA SENIORI, IUNIORIQ. AERE PALMEO COMMUNI GLORIA M.DC.XXI."³⁸ Sansovino uses *una Palma* to refer at once to the tree that is depicted as well as to the artist whose tomb it decorates; the *due Fame*, in turn, signal to the allegorical personifications in the painting as well as to the artistic personae below—Titian and the elder Palma.

What clearly looks like an arborescent schema is upon closer inspection revealed to be a more rhizomorphic composition. First, from the perspective of historical revisionism, we know that it was Palma Giovane who orchestrated the entire apparatus (although Sansovino's passage suggests that it was "Palma's heirs" who erected the monument): he secured the right to that space above Vincenzo Scamozzi's sacristy door in Santi Giovanni e Paolo in 1620, painted the strangely shaped canvas within the following year, commissioned the busts from Alessandro Vittoria and Giacomo Albarelli, and had it all in place seven years before his death in 1628.³⁹ Second, in terms of the composition, Titian's portrait is placed visibly higher in the upper niche, while Palma Vecchio and Palma Giovane flank him on a

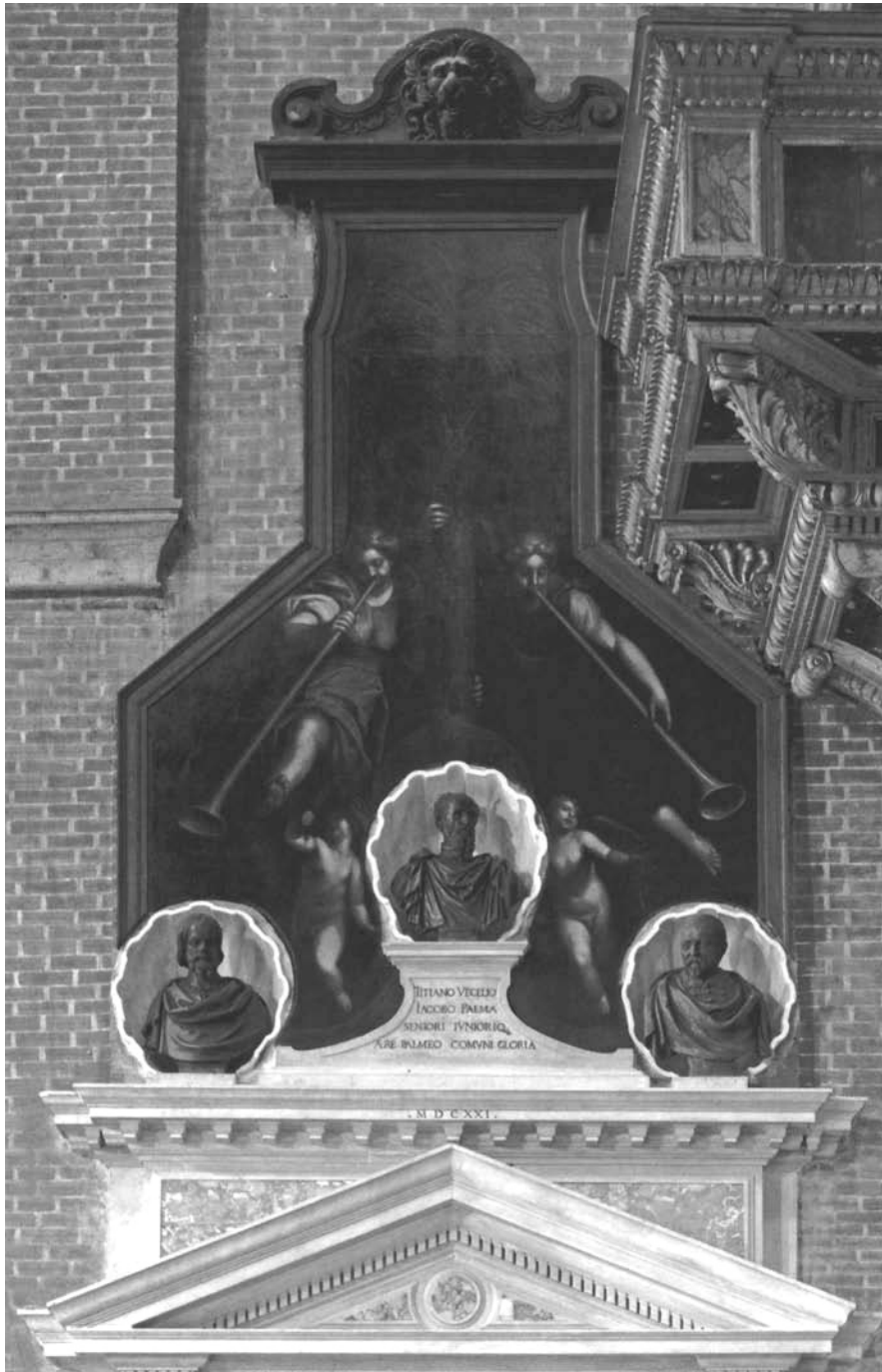


FIG. 48. PALMA GIOVANE
(ITALIAN, 1544–1628)
Funerary monument of Palma
Giovane, ca. 1620–21, mixed media
Venice, Santi Giovanni e Paolo

slightly lower register. Might Sansovino have rephrased his description as *una Fama* and *due Palme*? Both painters pay homage to Titian, and the young Palma respectfully acknowledges his uncle, Palma Vecchio. The elder Palma's connection with Titian increases the young Palma's reputation, and the two Palmas serve to intensify Titian's aura. The "palm" may grow from Titian, but it is upon the two Palmas that Fame directs its sweet music. At the same time, various lines connect the three venerable figures, binding one to the others and forming a larger machinic assemblage.

In many ways, Padovanino's self-representation, like Palma's funerary monument, addresses the issue of the sixteenth-century artist's sense of historical situatedness. The *Self-Portrait* is a telling confession of Padovanino's relationship with Titian at *that* point in his career. His body language narrates the rite of passage from imitator to emulator that he has traversed since the youthful painting of the *Triumph*. His torso leans forward, caught in the present moment of painting before an easel and, simultaneously, toward the viewer, oriented toward the future or the moment of viewing; yet his head is turned to address the figure behind him, who is situated in the past. The distinctive presentation of the artist's visage in profile underlines his status as a thing viewed. This particular pose is associated with the commemorative tradition of portrait medals and funerary reliefs, but it was an uncommon option in self-portraits. Significantly enough, one of the primary exceptions to this convention is Titian's Madrid *Self-Portrait*, in which he portrayed himself in this very pose (fig. 49). This is not an insignificant coincidence. Titian's two well-known self-portraits emphatically present the artist's body as a fully fashioned self, already a representation in the world, rather than as an object of empirical analysis, coming into being through the artist's eyes and hand. Both Padovanino and Titian, therefore, consciously choose to deny the rapt "moment of self-portraiture." Both deny the moment of exchange that connects the spectator's gaze with the artist's gaze upon himself and select an *other* moment in which the alterity of the artist's body is staged as a representation. Padovanino elects Titian's model as his own, thereby enfolding Titian's decision into his own and extending the potentialities of Titian's self-portraits through the same gesture.

This forward-backward movement is also inscribed in Padovanino's body language in the *Self-Portrait*. The circumspect positioning between past, present, and future articulates another crucial theme specific to the Venetian context. As Manfredo Tafuri demonstrated, the *triciptium* (an emblem representing the three ages of man) had a particular resonance within the Venetian patrician ideology of *memoria et prudentia*—a tradition that Padovanino would have felt to be his own.⁴⁰ This understanding of history—as time folding, unfolding, and doubling over in a *repetitive* process of becoming—is represented not only in Padovanino's *Self-Portrait* but also in numerous Venetian works ranging from Titian's *An Allegory of Prudence* (fig. 50), Titian's *Three Ages of Man* (1513–14; Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland), and Giorgione's *Three Philosophers* (1508–9; Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum); to Pietro Lombardo's funerary monument for Pietro Mocenigo (circa 1476–81) in Santi Giovanni e Paolo, where the doge's tomb is held aloft upon the shoulders of a young man, a middle-aged man, and an old man; and of course to the machinic construction of Palma Giovane's tomb in the same church.

In more than one sense, the subtle choreography of gestures in Padovanino's *Self-Portrait* dramatizes the Latin inscription that runs across the upper right of Titian's *Allegory*: "EX PRAETERITO PRAESENS PRUDENTER AGIT NI FUTURU ACTIQNE DETURPET" (To the past the man of today does well to turn so as not to put the future at risk). Panofsky pointed out that the portraits of the old man, the mature man, and the young man in Titian's allegorical self-portrait are compositionally placed to correspond with the three words—*praeterito*, *praesens*, and *futuru[m]*.⁴¹ Panofsky also suggested that the three figures in Titian's *Allegory* represented (from left to right)

FIG. 49. TITIAN
Self-Portrait, 1566, oil on canvas,
86 × 65 cm (33⁷/₈ × 25⁵/₈ in.)
Madrid, Museo del Prado

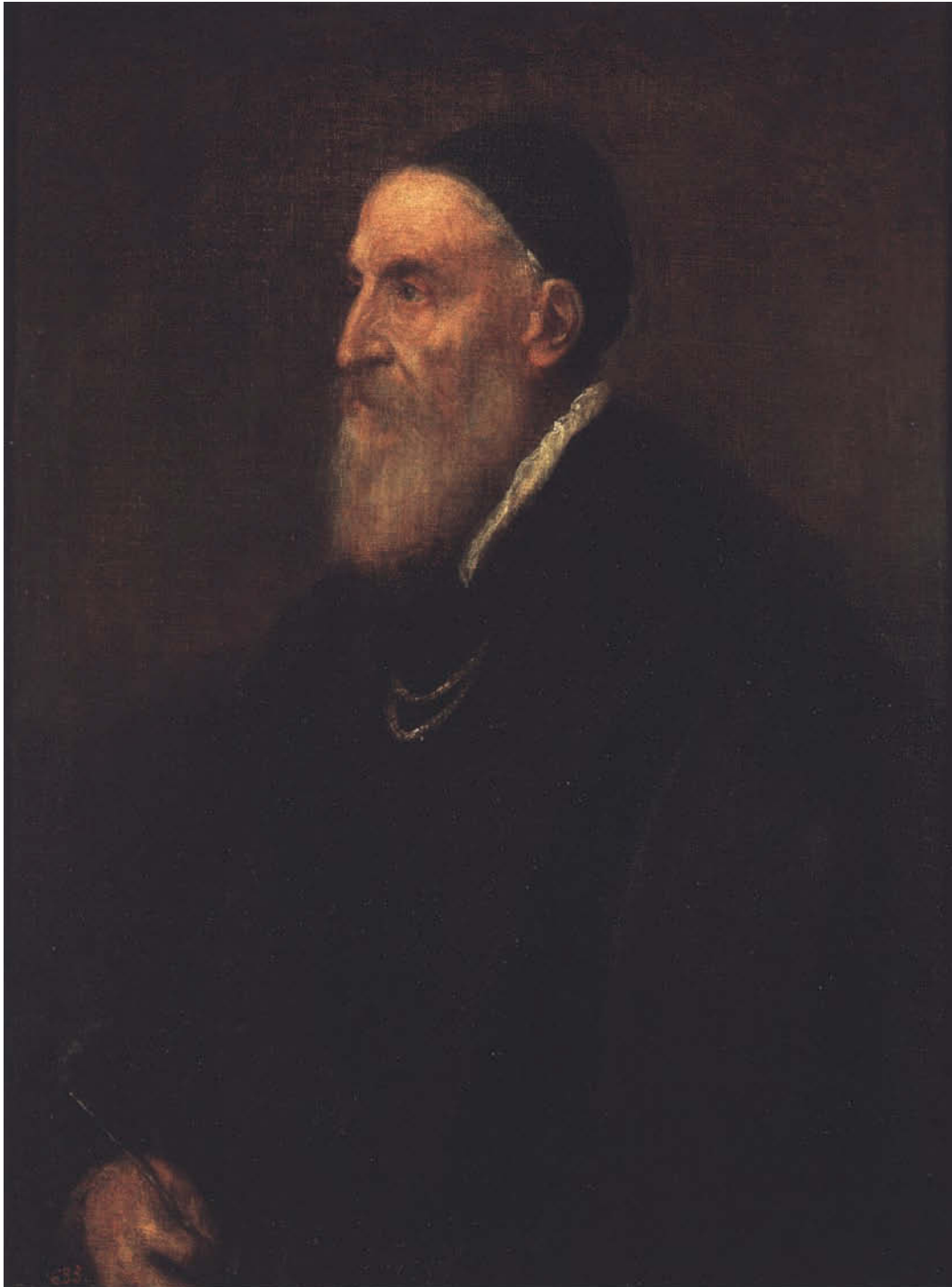


FIG. 50. TITIAN

An Allegory of Prudence,
ca. 1565–70, oil on canvas,
76.2 × 68.6 cm (30 × 27 in.)
London, National Gallery



the painter himself in his mid-eighties; his son, Orazio Vecellio, who was then in his forties; and his nephew, Marco Vecellio, who was in his twenties. The familial relationship was repeated in the zoomorphic imagery in which the lion stood for the “present, whose position between past and future is strong and fervent,” the wolf represented “the past, because the memory of things belonging to the past is devoured and carried away,” and the dog symbolized youth, who, “trying to please, denotes the future of which hope always paints a pleasant picture.”⁴² This was a common Renaissance emblem. Petrarch identified the three-headed animal as an attribute of Apollo, who was both the sun god and the paladin of poetic inspiration; Piero Valeriano illustrated it in a similar manner in the *Hieroglyphica* (1567); and Giordano Bruno further explained the meaning of this enigmatic symbol in a sonnet that began:

A wolf, a lion and a dog appear
At dawn, at midday, and at dusky eve:
That which I spent, retain, and may acquire,
That which I had, now have, or may still have.⁴³

The differences between Padovanino’s and Titian’s self-representations, however, are significant. For one, Padovanino has reconfigured the Venetian *triciptium* into two bodies. Second, whereas Titian represents himself in the *Allegory* as the “past” (the older man on the left), Padovanino clearly remakes himself as the “present” and the “future.” The literal illustration of Titian’s adage—“To the past the man of today does well to turn so as not to put the future at risk”—in Padovanino’s *Self-Portrait* is analogous to the more allegorical interpretation that Padovanino undertook in the *Triumph*. The tag line, in short, could read: “The future is history.” Or, to follow the remarks of the scientist in *La jetée*: “The only hope for survival lay in Time. . . . This was the aim of the experiments: to send emissaries into Time, to summon the Past and Future to the aid of the Present.” In the headstrong optimism of the *Triumph*, Padovanino constructed a beautiful allegorical tale about the young artist’s intellectual and professional maturation. In the subsequent self-portrait, he sought to re-present his achievements so as to justify his place within the tradition that he was helping to construct.

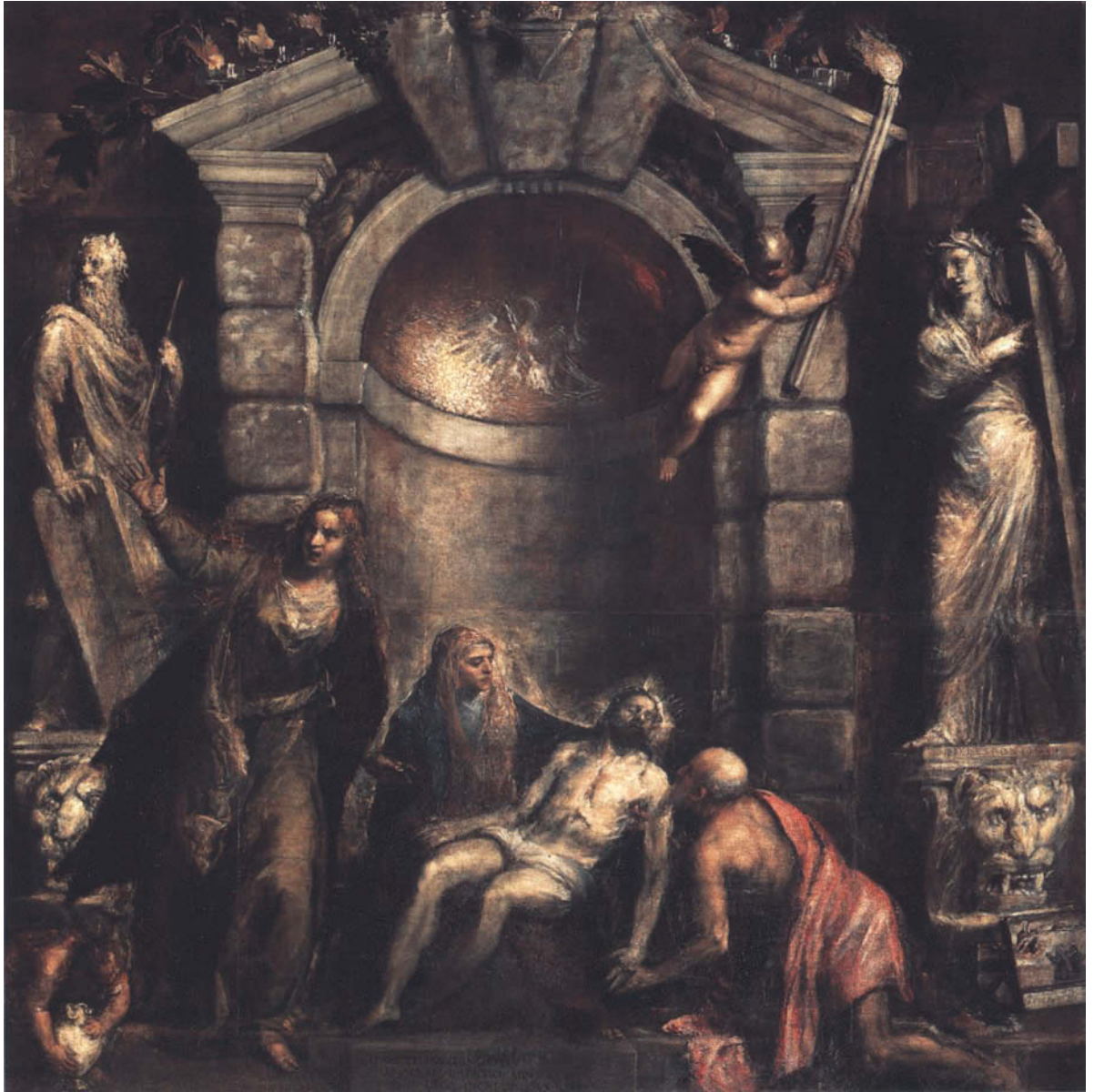
Looking back to the end of Titian’s life, we can also read Padovanino’s two paintings retrospectively through Titian’s *Pietà* (fig. 51), which Palma Giovane allegedly completed after Titian’s death. The line that Palma inscribed upon Titian’s last painting claims:

QUOD TITIANUS INCHOATUM RELIQUIT
PALMA REVERENTER ABSOLVIT
DEOQ. DICAVIT OPUS
(Because Titian left the work incomplete,
Palma respectfully completed
and dedicated it to God).

Upon first glance, there is nothing particularly striking about this sentence, but let us look a little closer at Palma’s choice of words. The verb *reliquit* can suggest both

FIG. 51. TITIAN

Pietà, ca. 1573–76, oil on canvas,
353 × 348 cm (139 × 137 in.)
Venice, Galleria dell'Accademia



the sense of the past (as in the noun *reliquiae*, “remains”), as well as a notion of the future (as in the expression *in reliquum*, “for the future”). *Inchoatum* implies both that which is begun (from the verb *inchoare*) and that which is undeveloped (as in the English adjective *inchoate*). The idea of advancement is implied in the verb *absolvit*, but it becomes even more evident in Ridolfi’s erroneous transcription of the line as *Palma reverenter perfecit*; the mistake was later repeated by de Piles.⁴⁴ *Absolvit* can be understood as to “finish,” to “release,” and to “discharge.” From this point of view, the inscription would suggest that in completing the painting, Palma takes over where Titian left off (an ambition reiterated in his funerary monument). In doing so he surpasses him, as Titian and Giorgione had done to Bellini, and as Bellini had done to his predecessors, and as Padovanino hoped to do with the *Triumph*. Recalling the Ovidian prophesy brings the lesson to heart: the son’s deeds would “surpass his father’s and he’ll win a greater name.”

Boschini projected Padovanino’s admiration for all the major cinquecento masters at one point or another in *La carta*. In front of Tintoretto’s *Christ before Pilate* (1566–67) in the Scuola Grande di San Rocco, Boschini has Padovanino exclaim, “That is knowledge! That is artistry! That is Painting! That is natural!”⁴⁵ Elsewhere Padovanino is taken aback by the paintings of Jacopo Bassano.⁴⁶ While both reports are probably fictive, or hyperbolic at best, they nevertheless point to the strategic promotion of Padovanino as a paradigmatic neo-cinquecentista within the larger historical program of Boschini’s *La carta*. Time and time again, however, Titian was *the* artist to whom Padovanino would be linked. Although Padovanino was clearly inspired by other sixteenth-century artists, it was the tenderness of Titian’s small groups—his Madonna and child with saints, Venus and Cupid, and so on—and the monumentality of Titian’s larger figures—especially the dynamic, muscular male characters—to which Padovanino returned over and over in his own work.

In one section of *Le minere della pittura*, Boschini went so far as to describe a painting by Padovanino to be “so beautiful that it would ‘Titianate.’”⁴⁷ On another occasion he referred to Padovanino as Titian’s “Vice-Author.”⁴⁸ Boschini also referred to him as “the excellent Varotari” and as “that magnificent Paduan, Alessandro, who ascends to Titian’s throne—the heir to those rare brushstrokes; the adoptive son with the brilliant impasto” that he “can manage as if he were the Master.”⁴⁹ Padovanino was clearly presented as Titian’s “heir” and “adoptive son,” rather than just one of many other imitators. Elsewhere Boschini called him “Alessandro de Tician” rather than “Alessandro de Dario” as one might expect.⁵⁰ This was not just the pronouncement of an enthusiastic fan; others made this connection as well.⁵¹ The relationship between Titian and Padovanino, therefore, was deliberately constructed as more than just stylistic sympathy.

THE FATHER REMADE: TITIAN’S PORTRAIT, PADOVANINO’S SELF

The *repetitive* artist embraced his historical situatedness and remade the father figure in his own image. The return of the past—of the familiar—did not occur as the anxious apparition of the uncanny but as an act of synthesis and as a gesture of wondrous restoration in which the repeated elements were transformed.

Repetition, rather than being a sign of creative deficiency, was seen as a prelude to emulation, and the goal of the emulative act was not to slavishly replicate the past “but rather to enter into dialogue with it, to seek the kind of ‘alterity’ through which self-knowledge becomes possible.”⁵² Titian was the alterity that Padovanino required; he was the symbolic other against whom Padovanino fashioned his own identity.

Authoring your own father, however, is not an uncomplicated task, and the paradox of this gesture can be read in the details of the otherwise controlled design of Padovanino’s *Self-Portrait*. His handling of the spatial relations between his own body and Titian’s spectral face is telling in its awkwardness. The monochromatic bust hovers in the corner almost like a phantom, and it is difficult to determine whether it is appearing into or disappearing from the scene. The corner of Padovanino’s palm gently rests upon the edge of the stand on which Titian’s image appears, perhaps as a sign of filial devotion. With a raised finger Padovanino gestures toward Titian. Pointing, a hand position used to call the attention of the audience to the speaker, was a standard sign of indication in ancient rhetoric. Roman orators, for instance, were known to call upon statues and images of illustrious forefathers for support when making a point in a debate.⁵³ And yet, this explanation is not entirely satisfying. The pose of the hand may be merely directing the viewer’s gaze to the bust, but, set in the context of the other details in the painting, Padovanino’s heavy pose seems to communicate more than this simple message.

The gesture is effectively a synthesis of several types. In John Bulwer’s seventeenth-century treatise on chirology, this gesture is defined as *invito*: “a vulgar [that is, common] *compellation* which we significantly use in *calling* for men whom we bid *to come near and approach unto us*.”⁵⁴ The raised hand was a common visual index of intimate conversation, and there is indeed something almost Shakespearean about Padovanino’s form of address and the spectral appearance of the father figure at his shoulders. Like Hamlet, is Padovanino the son bidding the ghost of the beloved father to speak? Must he repeat the past—perform it once again—to assume his throne? But, again, Padovanino’s hand is not quite as emphatic as the traditional representations of this gesture. In the eleventh book of Quintilian’s treatise on rhetoric, the orator is advised to accompany the response of surprise (*admirationi*) with “the Gesture in which the hand is turned slightly upward, closed by bringing the fingers in to it, one by one, starting with the little finger, and then opened again all at once in a reverse movement, and finally turned over.”⁵⁵ Following another convention, it is a sign of humility, a gesture depicted in paintings of Martha and Mary as personifications of modesty and vanity (fig. 52). Is Padovanino signaling backward to the past? Is this a sign of admiration, an expression of the *mos maiorum*? Or, is he pointing toward the future and underlining his own role in maintaining Titian’s legacy?

On the one hand, the relationship seems to be one of fathers and sons, or of ancients and moderns, much like the idealistic rapport illustrated by early-sixteenth-century authors such as Juan Luis Vives: “The good men amongst them [of the past] undoubtedly stretched forth their hands in friendship to those [of later ages] who, as they knew, would mount higher in knowledge than they themselves had reached. For they judged it to be of the very essence of the human race that, daily, it should progress in arts, disciplines, virtue, and goodness.”⁵⁶



FIG. 52. BERNARDINO LUINI
(ITALIAN, 1475–1533)
The Conversion of the Magdalene,
ca. 1510–20, oil on panel,
64.8 × 82.6 cm (25 1/2 × 32 1/2 in.)
San Diego, San Diego Museum
of Art

On the other hand, looking more closely at the *Self-Portrait*, a palpable sense of disjunction can be perceived between the two figures. Although Titian faces Padovanino's general direction, their gazes do not cross. Titian's eyes ought to see Padovanino but do not. Padovanino ought to address Titian with his gaze but does not. The two figures are represented within the same space, but that space seems somehow to be temporally fragmented. Although Titian is placed higher within the compositional space, Padovanino remains the active presence that animates the image. Titian almost appears as an image summoned from Padovanino's imagination, a vision onto which we—the viewers—are given an intimate glimpse.

The auratic presence of an old master is nearly unprecedented in self-portraiture in this period. Two notable exceptions are the self-portrait by Sofonisba Anguissola (fig. 53)—who represents herself in a painting that is being executed by her master, Bernardino Campi—and the self-portrait by Luca Cambiaso (fig. 54)—who shows himself painting a portrait of his father. The relationship between master and pupil that is presented in these paintings was real, however, not self-appointed, as was the link Padovanino made between himself and Titian. Tommaso Manzuoli's mid-sixteenth-century *Double Portrait* (fig. 55) perhaps comes closest in spirit to Padovanino's *Self-Portrait*. Like Anguissola and Cambiaso, Manzuoli portrays a young figure with a man presumed to be his master; like Padovanino, however, the young artist twists around in a similar manner to face the past in order to be guided and to draw inspiration from it. The older man in Manzuoli's portrait is, like Titian in Padovanino's *Self-Portrait*, looking down, and here he is literally steering the compass in the right hand of the young architect. The pupil's left hand, however, is firmly placed on the future, represented here in the promise of the finished work. The young man turns to his predecessor, as does Padovanino, and he

FIG. 53. SOFONISBA ANGUISSOLA
(ITALIAN, 1532–1625)
Portrait of Bernardino Campi
Painting the Portrait of Sofonisba
Anguissola, ca. 1559, oil on canvas,
111 × 109.5 cm (43¾ × 43⅙ in.)
Siena, Pinacoteca Nazionale



FIG. 54. LUCA CAMBIASO
(ITALIAN, 1527–85)
Portrait of the Artist Painting a
Portrait of His Father, 1575–80
Whereabouts unknown

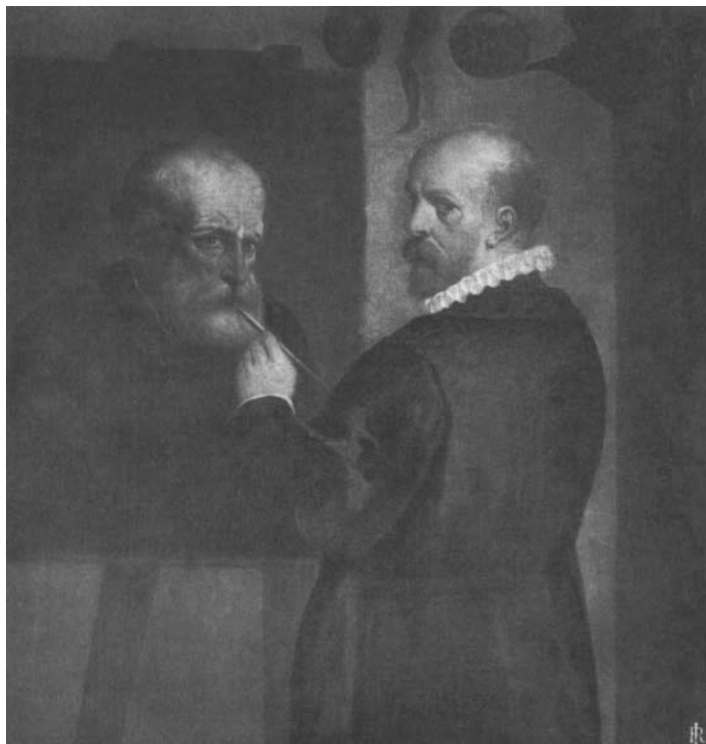


FIG. 55. TOMMASO MANZUOLI
(ITALIAN, 1531–71)
Double Portrait, 1556, oil on panel,
115 × 90 cm (45³/₈ × 35¹/₂ in.)
Naples, Museo di Capodimonte



does not look him in the eyes; the apprentice, like Padovanino, has stepped into his master's place at the drafting table and assumed responsibility for the work. The present, in short, derives its power from the past, and through the touch of the old man's hand the tradition is thus passed on to the younger generation.

This current of energy seems to flow in the same direction in Padovanino's painting; however, as in the *Triumph*, it is the present that seizes the past. In Padovanino's *Self-Portrait*, the bust can be identified as a statue because of the representational similarity to the other sculptural object in the image—the Belvedere fragment. Titian, therefore, has *become* old. Titian was himself once a young modern; here he has become an ancient as the torch of modernity is passed on to Padovanino and other painters of his generation. Rather than passively receiving Titian's legacy, Padovanino reaches back and wills his own future. Padovanino actively remakes himself as "Alessandro de Tician." In doing so, he hopes to become the next Titian for future artists.

The arrangement of the two painters in the *Self-Portrait* can be read either as a realignment of the Venetian *triciptium* theme or as an inverted Janus figure—one that looks in on itself. But Padovanino cannot stay in that position forever; like the young architect in Manzuoli's *Double Portrait*, he will eventually turn his back on the past so that he can look forward to the future—"To the past the man of today does well to turn so as not to put the future at risk." The double portrait is at once an indisputable testament of this seicento artist's consciousness of his artistic heritage as well as a manifesto of the mature artist's sense of self as the confident successor of the cinquecento, the son who will ensure the legacy of the father rather than overturn it.

In *The Origin of German Tragic Drama* (1928), Benjamin suggested that it was up to the allegorist to prevent the past from being consumed by melancholy:

If the object becomes allegorical under the gaze of melancholy, if melancholy causes life to flow out of it and it remains behind dead, but eternally secure, then it is exposed to the allegorist, it is unconditionally in his power. That is to say it is now quite incapable of emanating any meaning or significance of its own; such significance as it has, it acquires from the allegorist. He places it within it, and stands behind it; not in a psychological but in an ontological sense. In his hands the object becomes something different; through it he speaks of something different and for him it becomes the key to the realm of hidden knowledge; and he reveres it as the emblem of this.⁵⁷

In other words, it is only through a reinvestment in history that the past can continue to live on. The codeterminacy of the past, present, and future can be read in the circular space that Padovanino's body opens up within the composition of the image; it is also apparent in the strategic selection of books in the *Self-Portrait*.

As with the anomalous appearance of the Titianesque bust in the background, the inclusion of books with clearly indicated authors is also unusual in both Renaissance and baroque self-portraiture. While identifiable and unidentifiable geometry and anatomy books or architectural treatises are sometimes seen in artist portraits, it is rare to find books by specific writers. Padovanino's choice, therefore,

is not without significance (see fig. 1). “Plutar[ch]” and “Boetio” can be easily read on the spines of the two books in the corner, and, looking closely at the surface of the canvas, “Dante” can be read across the cover of the third book. To provide variety in the arrangement of the books, Padovanino rests the top volume upon and perpendicular to the other two. As a result, the visibility of the spine of this book is obscured by its placement. To correct this impediment, Padovanino inscribes Dante’s name on the front cover, finding an economic solution to a compositional problem.

What might these enigmatic men have symbolized for Padovanino? Were they chosen as symbols of Padovanino’s vast knowledge? Boschini waxed enthusiastically that painting, poetry, law, medicine, and religion blossomed in the virtuous house of the Varotari, from which ignorance was banished; Padovanino’s sons were indeed practitioners of these various disciplines.⁵⁸ Is this the portrait of the artist as a sophisticated humanist? This reading seems too banal and unsatisfying, for it does not say much about Padovanino’s achievements as an *artist*. A cursory glance might lead us to conclude hastily that this is a random selection of standard genres: Plutarch as ancient history; Boethius as medieval philosophy; and Dante as Renaissance poetry. But, it isn’t quite this simple. In circumventing pictorial convention, Padovanino constructs an unconventional image of himself through carefully chosen symbols that went beyond the standard formula of early modern self-portraiture.

The importance of Plutarch is perhaps the easiest to explain. His reputation as a Roman historian was well known throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. One of the earliest printed books in Europe was Plutarch’s *Lives of the Ancient Greeks and Romans*, published in Rome in 1470. By the end of the sixteenth century, the *Lives* had been translated into Italian (1482), Spanish (1491), German (1541), French (1559), and English (1579) and had appeared in various abridged editions as well. In Venice alone, versions were published in 1478, 1491, 1496, 1502, 1516, 1518, 1519, 1525, 1537, 1538, 1543, 1555, 1560, 1564, 1567, 1568, 1569, and 1570 under various titles: *Virorum illustrium vitae*; *Parallelae*; *Plutarchi vitae*; *Le vite di Plutarcho*; *Vitae Romanorum et Graecorum*; and *Ploutarchou parallela*. Plutarch was standard fare in the most basic humanist curriculum, and it is virtually inconceivable that Padovanino would not have come across one of these volumes either as a young child in one of the most important university towns of Europe or as a young man in one of the world’s leading publishing centers.

Was Plutarch merely a symbol for Padovanino’s interest in history? Or, approaching this question from another angle, what kind of historian was Plutarch? Padovanino could have chosen Herodotus, Livy, Tacitus, or some other classical author. The short response lies in Plutarch’s status as a historian of the *paragone*. The underlying structure of the *Lives*, after all, is comparative. A series of biographies of illustrious Greek figures is presented with Roman counterparts: Romulus is set against Theseus, Cicero against Demosthenes, and so on. Plutarch, therefore, was not merely the historian of the ancient Greek past; he was also the historian of the Roman present. From this perspective, one could suggest that Padovanino was constructing himself as the heroic Roman equivalent to Titian’s Greek precedent. History, according to the Plutarchan model, was a moral theater. With each performance, new actors would restage the virtuous lessons of their predecessors.

This model of history, at once competitive and repetitive, is also enacted, although differently, in the figures of Dante and Boethius. Plutarch was noted everywhere as an important source to be consulted. Neither Dante nor Boethius enjoyed the same distinction, however. Neither, for instance, was suggested in Armenini's reading list for artists.⁵⁹ Neither was mentioned by Scaramuccia in his index of "indispensable books for erudite painters."⁶⁰ Neither appeared in de Piles's list of books that were "the most useful for the profession."⁶¹ Neither was included in the sections regarding poetry and moral philosophy in Pellegrino Antonio Orlandi's early-eighteenth-century list of "useful and indispensable books" for students of art.⁶² Nor were they commonly found in inventories of libraries of seventeenth-century artists.⁶³

Padovanino's selection of Dante over more popular poets such as Ovid, Petrarch, or Tasso points again to a certain strategic archaism that looked to the authority of the past, but in a highly selective way. Perhaps Dante was symbolic of the journey already traversed, evoked by the retrospective, middle-aged voice that opens the *Commedia* (1310–14): "Midway upon the journey of our life."⁶⁴ In a similar manner, Padovanino's allusion to Dante may also refer to the self-conscious author in the *Vita nuova* (circa 1293), who simultaneously created and critiqued his own writing in two voices. Dante thus represents a mature Padovanino, who disassembles tradition piece by piece in order to remake it better and reflects upon what he has achieved, anticipating how future generations will see him. Or perhaps this is the Dante at the end of *Purgatorio*, where the modern poet parts from his venerable guide. Virgil, the "sweetest of all fathers," who had provided "safety" to the young poet in the *Inferno* and *Purgatorio*, is replaced by the poetic muse, Beatrice, who helps Dante realize his journey onward in the *Paradiso*.⁶⁵ From this perspective, Padovanino seems to be bidding farewell to the monochromatic Titian, who recedes into the background, as Padovanino, full of life and color, progresses onward on his own.

This interpretation of Padovanino's use of Dante finds a parallel in the previous reading of Plutarch. At the beginning of the seicento, certain *antioggidiani*—those who championed the cult of modernity—argued for Dante's superiority over the ancients, particularly Homer and Virgil.⁶⁶ Dante was seen as the founder of the Italian language, the modern who surpassed the ancients in poetry with his use of the vernacular.⁶⁷ It would seem, then, that Padovanino was also invoking the Dante of *De Vulgari Eloquentia* (1303–5) Within the *antioggidianismo* debates of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Dante came to be seen metonymically as the basis for a new system of representation that followed the ancients but surpassed them in the same step. To read iconography at once allegorically and autobiographically again, one can make a parallel between Dante and Virgil, on the one hand, and Padovanino and Titian, on the other. Both relationships are constructed upon a symbolic filial alignment between the author (Dante-Padovanino) and his honored forefather (Virgil-Titian). In both, the young author creates his precursor in order to repeat and remake him.

The inclusion of Boethius is the last piece of the puzzle. As an amateur architect somewhat obsessed by abstract measurements and proportions, Padovanino

may have been familiar with Boethius's treatises on musical harmony.⁶⁸ This explanation, however, does not quite justify the unusual citation, especially when Padovanino has indicated his interest in the mechanical arts and other sciences of measurement through props such as the astrological sphere. Like Dante, Boethius was another rhizomorphic symbol. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Ripa depicted "Philosophy according to Boethius" as a young woman with a scepter in her left hand and three books in her right hand; perhaps this image served as a model for Padovanino (fig. 56). The medieval writer was best known throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as the author of *De consolazione philosophiae* (circa 524), which not coincidentally had been an influential model for Dante's *Commedia*. Both texts constitute a sort of bildungsroman that follows the intellectual and psychological development of the main character. One of the underlying arguments of the *De consolazione* is the inconstancy of fortune and the importance of free will in the construction of man's destiny—a philosophy that seems to be enacted by the symbolic author in Padovanino's *Triumph*, who willfully grasps for the laurels of fame and glory.⁶⁹

De consolazione was used throughout the Renaissance as a convenient anthology of Latin prose and commentary, filled with valuable passages on ancient grammar, philology, mythology, geography, and so on.⁷⁰ Boethius was seen as a guardian of this tradition, a reputation that he achieved through his commentaries of classical authors such as Aristotle, Porphyry, and Cicero; his investment in the past prevented them from falling into ruin. Ennodius, writing to the young Boethius, declared that in the scholar's hands "the torch with which the ancients glowed shines with doubled fire . . . what hardly hath been the share of thy elders at the end of life, abounds in thee at the threshold."⁷¹ Given Padovanino's role as an interpreter and actor as well as a director and pasticheur, Boethius, in retrospect, was a most judicious choice. Boethius, as one scholar remarked, "set out, first to translate, and then to reconcile, Plato and Aristotle; to go behind all the other systems, even the latest and the most in vogue, back to the two great masters, and to show that they have the truth, and are in substantial accord."⁷² In Padovanino's time, Boethius was reputed to be "the greatest instructor ever."⁷³ Similar conclusions could be made about Padovanino. The *Triumph*, after all, could be read as an ambitious staging of the Venetian, Bolognese, and Roman schools, as well as the synthesis of high Renaissance style with an early baroque classicism that was in part a re-vision of the Venetian cinquecento. The *Triumph* was a testament of the young artist's mastery of his cultural legacy. Tradition was remade through a calculated strategy of direct citation and oblique allusion, stylistic absorption, innovation, and creative repetition.

The thread that binds the three authors together in the *Self-Portrait*, therefore, is the theme of the *paragone* between the past, present, and future. Plutarch marks the historical *paragone* between ages, Dante the literary *paragone* between poets, and Boethius the philosophical *paragone* between schools of thought. Each author represents a simultaneous evaluation and advancement upon the ancients by the moderns. Padovanino placed these traditions chronologically, with Plutarch at the bottom of the pile and Boethius and Dante on top. The vertical position of the last book carries the beholder's gaze up the length of the curious stand to where the

FIG. 56. CESARE RIPA
 (ITALIAN, 1560?–1625)
FILOSOFIA SECONDO BOETIO,
 con l'esposizione di Gio. Zarattino
 Castellini, woodcut, image:
 9.5 × 11 cm (3¾ × 4⅜ in.)
 From Cesare Ripa, *Nova iconologia*
 (Padua: per Pietro Paolo Tozzi, nella
 stampa del Pasquati, 1618), 191



phantasmic bust of Titian appears. The two men face each other without direct contact—Padovanino, looking back momentarily, raises his right hand, but his left hand remains firmly on the astrological sphere, which enables him to read the future in the signs of the present. As a painter and as a *modern* Venetian painter, Padovanino identifies sculpture as a medium of the past. Sculpture is reduced to the colorless but indispensable remains of ancestors and ruins. In this regard, Padovanino would have agreed with Boschini, some years later, that for an artist to be truly modern he must be a painter and, ideally, a painter in the Venetian style.⁷⁴

Padovanino's modernism, however, was not irreverent. Padovanino's *Self-Portrait*, more so than any of his other works, is a meditation upon the intertwined theme of repetition and the fragility of history. This relationship is evident in the structural strategies of the *Triumph* and the *Self-Portrait*. Reading from left to right in the latter painting (see fig. 1), we move from past, present, and future. The books that Padovanino selected from the humanist canon, in conjunction with the classicizing bust of the old master, occupy the historical zone to the left. The active and contemplative *moderno* sits in the center of the painting, holding the future in his

hand. In the foreground, the classical, liberal arts on the left are linked to the progressive, scientific arts on the right through the mediation of the fine arts in the center. The small cast of the Belvedere torso, much like the old master's bust, sits precariously on a ledge, and both figures remind the viewer of how easily the past may fall into ruin if the present does not act as its constant custodian. These props also function as ciphers that send the spectator to an anterior moment—antiquity and the cinquecento—that has already occurred and that now recurs with more significance and consequence than it had the first time around; they prepare us for future repetitions, which in turn will retrospectively inflect all the other moments that came before.

When Padovanino returned to Venice from Rome around 1614 or 1615 he installed his four bacchanals in his house near San Pantalon. Boschini mentioned them when he wrote about the misfortune of Titian's exiled bacchanals: "There are the copies in Venice, of an admirable style and of elevated and celebrated virtue. These are by the perfect and dignified hand of the Vice-Author (as he is called), that great Paduan who ran to Rome, enamored with fame, to make these copies." "You may see them," Boschini reminded, "when you wish."⁷⁵ In his guidebook to Venetian paintings, he similarly pointed out the "Museo del Varotari Padoano," where one could see "the delicacy of female bodies, the tenderness of infants, and the heroic deeds of knights."⁷⁶ Access and visibility, therefore, did not seem to be a problem, and copies were even made after Padovanino's original copies.⁷⁷

Boschini, as I noted early on, clearly referred to the *Triumph* as a *Triumph of Venus*. In closing, let me consider the allegorical significance of this fourth interpretation of Padovanino's *repetitive* painting. The enthroned female nude on the left-hand side in Testa's *Triumph* was similarly identified as Venus, but in Testa's image the triumph narrative clearly belongs to the young man rather than Venus. In 1614, Venus was an appropriate allegory for the ambitious, young Padovanino. Beginning with the story of Praxiteles' statue, which was so naturalistic that men would fall in love with her, the triumph of Venus tells the story of art's ability to move its beholder. Based upon pseudo-Lucian's *Amores* (written in the second century A.D.), similar anecdotes were reiterated about miraculous images of Venus that caused their viewers to fall in love with the work of art that represented her.⁷⁸ Armenini reworked the story in his treatise on painting: "Many writers say that Apelles, among his admirable works, painted a Venus of such surpassing beauty that it excited and astonished all Greece. They say likewise that the image painted by Zeuxis in Croton, and which was held so dear, was so near a living person that the most learned men of that city believed it to be alive, and only when they touched it did they realize it was a painted figure."⁷⁹

Painted or sculpted, Art thus vanquished her loquacious sister, Poetry, and the figure of Venus was employed to articulate this victory. Vincenzo Cartari repeated it in *Le imagini de i dei de gli antichi* (3rd ed., 1571).⁸⁰ Boschini used the topos to praise Veronese.⁸¹ Not only did Praxiteles' Venus draw men from all over the world to marvel at her beauty, but she also pushed them to commit acts of madness. The triumph of Venus, therefore, represents the double triumph of art in its selective, combinatory, idealizing ways to conquer the imperfections of nature and the triumph of beauty and the senses over intellect and authority.

As a trope for the triumph of art and desire, Venus is also found in the story of the judgment of Paris. It was during the wedding banquet of Thetis and Peleus that the uninvited deity of discord and competition, Eris, threw among the assembled goddesses a golden apple upon which was inscribed “to the fairest.” When Venus, Minerva, and Juno tried to claim it, Jupiter instructed Mercury to accompany them to be judged before Paris. As the story goes, Minerva offered knowledge to the hapless Trojan shepherd if he should choose to give her the apple; Juno guaranteed power; and Venus promised beauty. Paris succumbed to Venus. In fulfillment of her promise, Venus bestowed Helen of Troy—that most paradigmatic of Zeuxian women—to Paris, who unknowingly instigated the calamitous Trojan War. Venus, therefore, is also linked to *eris* or *paragone* among equals. In “choosing” Venus and in electing beauty over wisdom and fame, Padovanino demonstrated his intelligence through the vehicle of his art, and in doing so he attained authority. Padovanino may have been “excellent in copying,” but by remaking the d’Este bacchanals as he did, by adding the *Triumph*, the “unique construction” that was indisputably “his own invention”—a painting that “astonished” his viewers, “those Roman Virtuosi and artists,” and caused “wonder and marvel”—he also proved his “intelligence” (*ma tal sazo, el ghe dè del so inventar*).⁸²

It was through the repetition enacted in his youthful painting—through the *Triumph*—that Padovanino attained not only a higher level of consciousness from a psychological and philosophical perspective but also a triumph as an artist in his own right from an art historical point of view. This victory was then reiterated in the mature *Self-Portrait*. Whether subsequent centuries agreed with Padovanino’s self-canonization and whether they looked upon his attempts to improve the past as a success or failure is irrelevant here, for in the two works discussed, this artist’s desire for fame and glory cannot be denied. Repetition was written into the “intention” of Padovanino’s paintings, and repetition was his means to become himself and to begin anew.

Notes

- Giraldi, *Discorsi*, 158: “Et vuole la imitatione haver sempre compagna l’emulatione; laquale non è altro, che un fermo desiderio di avanzare colui, che l’huomo imita.”
- Giraldi, *Discorsi*, 158: “Et questo desiderio fa, che l’huomo non si contenta d’haver agguagliato chi egli segue. Ma cerca di tanto avanzarlo, che egli primo rimanga, & da gli altri in vece del primo, meriti egli di essere imitato.”
- Malvasia, as quoted in Summerscale, *Malvasia’s Life of the Carracci*, 74: “Oh che giubilo n’ebbe Lodovico! oh questo, dicono gli dicesse, è lo stile, Annibale mio, che mi piace: questo hai da tenere, perchè l’imitare un solo è un farsi di lui seguace, e l’secondo, che il tor da tutti, e sceglier dagli altri, è un farsi di essi il giudice, e l’caporione.”
- Žižek, *Enjoy Your Symptom!* 79.
- Sohm, “Ordering History,” 42.
- Titian’s canvases measure as follows: 172 × 175 cm (*Worship of Venus*); 176.5 × 191 cm (*Bacchus and Ariadne*); 175 × 193 cm (*Bacchanal of the Andrians*); and 170.2 × 188 cm (*The Feast of the Gods*). Padovanino’s copies are now in the Accademia Carrara in Bergamo. Their measurements are as follows: 175 × 178 cm (*Worship of Venus*); 175 × 185 cm (*Bacchus and Ariadne*); and 175 × 188 cm (*Bacchanal of the Andrians*).
- Žižek, *Enjoy Your Symptom!* 79.
- On late-sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century composition, see Sohm, “Baroque Piles.”
- Walker, *Bellini and Titian*, 112.
- Boschini, *La carta*, 199:
Sti Bacanali xe tre pezzi in tuto.
Ma el Varotari pur de so invencion
Gh’ha zonto el quarto, che è sì belo e bon,
Ghe apresso a quei l’è d’unico costruto.
- Boschini, *La carta*, 718 (*Breve istruzione*), 199: “di tal gusto gli imitò [i.e., Titian’s Bacchanals], che quei Virtuosi di Roma professori dell’Arte lo andavano a vedere ad operare, facendo stupori e maraviglie. . . [Padovanino] si rese mirabile a Roma non solo, ma cospicuo al Mondo tutto”; “L’ha da saver, che a Roma alcuni disse / Che l’giera valoroso de copiar; / Ma tal sazo el ghe dè del so inventar, / Che ancora, in veder questo, i se stupisse”; and a marginal note (on the same page): “El Varotari inventa el quarto Bacanal, per confonder i emuli invidiosi.”
- Boschini, *La carta*, 199:
Qua se vede Ciprigna trionfante,
Con Tritoni, Nereide e Galatea.
Capriciosa invencion, d’una monea
De fin metal, de peso trabucante.
Cf. Boschini, *La carta*, 718 (*Breve istruzione*): “una Venere trionfante sopra un Carro marittimo, cinta da vaghi Amorini, e corteggiata da Nereidi, Glauchi e Tritoni.”
- The “Thetis” attribution is already recorded in an engraving by Giuseppe Rosaspina from circa 1805 titled *Thetis*. A copy of this engraving is at the Achenbach Foundation for Graphic Arts, Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco (1963.30.36422). Nevertheless, the painting was listed under the title *Trionfo di Venere* in *Catalogo*, 24 (no. 435), as noted in Frizzoni, *Gallerie*, 18, and as late as Ricci, *Accademia Carrara*, 87. The title *Trionfo di Tètide* (usually translated as “Tethys”) then appears beginning with Ricci, *Accademia Carrara*, 83; Morassi, *La galleria*, 49; and Russoli, *Accademia Carrara*, 90. With Rossi, *Accademia Carrara* (1979), 251, the title changed to *Trionfo di Teti* (Thetis) and was reassigned as cat. no. 426, which is repeated again in Rossi, *Accademia Carrara* (1989), 165.
- Owens, “Allegorical Impulse,” 204–5.
- Apollodorus, *Library*, 1:15 (1.2.7).
- Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 256 (11.225); cf. Apollodorus, *Library*, 67–68 (3.13.5).
- Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 256 (11.240–47).
- Catullus, *Poems*, 98–127 (poem 64); cf. Xenophon, *Scripta minora*, 365–457 (1.8) (“On Hunting”).
- Apollodorus, *Library*, 1:327 (3.5.1).
- Žižek, *Enjoy Your Symptom!* 79.
- Benjamin, *Origin*, 177.
- This is the enduring lesson of Baxandall’s “billiard table” theory against influence; Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention*, 60.
- On these themes, see Rossi, “La peinture guerrière,” 67–108; and Hersant, “Disjonctions,” 339–52. For the classical source, see Apollodorus, *Library*, 1:5, 11 (1.1.3 and 1.2.2); cf. Hesiod, *Theogony*, 7, 13 (lines 130, 337, 360).
- See Hornblower and Spawforth, *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, s.v. “Tethys.”
- Boschini, *Le minere*, 12: “vi si vede un soldato con un’asta in mano, e braccia ignude a far prova del suo valore, & è il Ritratto dell’Autore Giovanni Contarini.”
- On this image, see Cropper, *Pietro Testa*, 224–27.
- Canova later transformed the abandoned design for Titian’s tomb into a funerary monument for Archduchess Maria Christina of Austria (1799–1805; Vienna, Augustinerkirche).
- Testa, as quoted in Cropper, *Pietro Testa*, 76–77: “La Teorica è per se stessa di legami avvinta, e la Pratica nella sua libertà è per se stessa cieca; ma chi in età di freschi anni ne’ gli studij della Pittura il buono d[i] gran Maestri apprendete; e poi avanzandosi ad imitare da se gli oggetti della Natura, entra nel dotto Liceo di Pallade, e vi ritrova, et intende le arti della Mathematica, unisce egli la Teorica alla Pratica; e spogliandole de’ loro difetti con felice accoppiamento dall’intelligenza, e dall’uso, a se acquista gloria di nome, et al mondo accresce pregi di virtù.”
- Ripa, *Iconologia*, 485–86: “Una giovane mal vestita di rosso, & giallo, haverà ali alle spalle, & a’ piedi; sarà cieca, sporgendo ambedue le mani avanti una più dell’altra in atto di volersi appigliare ad alcuna cosa.”

30. *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca*, 951–52: “Potenzia motiva dell’anima ragionevole, per la quale l’huomo desidera, come buone, le cose intese, o le rifiuta, come malvage.”
31. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 97 (4.745).
32. Hopkins, *Santa Maria della Salute*, 21.
33. See Hopkins, *Santa Maria della Salute*, 20–21, for Padovanino’s letter.
34. Lorenzo Longo, as quoted in Hopkins, *Santa Maria della Salute*, 116, 249 n. 36: “La pia Vergine istruì il nuovo Palladio, mostrando un modello che recò con sé dal cielo.”
35. On *chronomachia*, see Cropper, *Domenichino Affair*, 100.
36. Ridolfi, *Le maraviglie*, 2:42: “Sopra il gran canale dunque, nelle case de’ Gussoni, ritrasse in sua gioventù due delle figure di Michel’Angelo, l’Aurora e ’l Crepuscolo.”
37. Menin, *Elogio*, 43; cf. Moschini, *Della origine*, 90, who first suggested Titian.
38. Sansovino, *Venetia (1663)*, 70: “Ivi appresso sopra la porta della Sagrestia stà dipinta una Palma con due Fame, che suonano le trombe, fatta porre da gli Heredi di Giacomo Palma il giovane, dedicandola al Gran Titiano, à Giacomo Palma il Vecchio, & al sudetto Palma giovine, con li loro ritratti scolpiti al naturale; & la seguente nota: TITIANO VECELIO, IACOBO PALMA SENIORI, IUNIORIQ. AERE PALMEO COMMUNI GLORIA M.DC.XXI.”
39. Zava Boccazzi, *La basilica*, 251–54.
40. Tafuri, *Venice*, 11–12.
41. Panofsky, *Problems in Titian*, 103, 105. Panofsky also suggested (although no further evidence has been presented for this wonderful reading) that this triple portrait may have served as a cover picture for a wall safe, or *rispostigli*. The iconography, therefore, could be read in the context of both artistic and material inheritance.
42. Panofsky, *Problems in Titian*, 105.
43. Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica*, 229. Bruno is quoted in Panofsky, *Meaning*, 162.
44. Ridolfi is noted in Rosand, *Painting*, 200 n. 72; and Piles, *Abregé*, 279.
45. Boschini, *La carta*, 142: “Quela è dotrina! quello xe artificio! / Quela è Pitura! quello è natural!” See also Boschini, *La carta*, 123:
- Soleva el Varotari dir cusi:
Co’ arivo in sto Salon più che divin,
Devento un’oca, un zane, un mezetin;
Stago oto dì, che no xe ben de mi.
- E giera in la Pitura sì ecelente.
46. Boschini, *La carta*, 303–4:
- Quel Alessandro, quel gran Varotari,
Stupiva dela strada del Bassan,
Col dir: no so se gnanche el bon Tician
Podesse inventar colpi cusi rari.
- Quela maniera me rende incantà.
47. Boschini, *Le minere*, 387: “che Tizianeggia.”
48. Boschini, *La carta*, 198; cf. Sohm, “La critica,” 744.
49. Boschini, *La carta*, 419:
- Parti de l’ecelente Varotari,
Quel ecelso Alessandro padoan,
Che sentè su la sedia de Tician,
Ereditario de quei colpi rari,
- Adotivo fiol, con chiaro pato
Che ’l possa manizar come patron,
Comessario real del belo, el bon;
E quel che ’l farà lu, che ’l sia ben fato.
50. Boschini, *La carta*, 420.
51. See, for example, Wotton, as quoted in Howarth, *Lord Arundel*, 37.
52. Carron, “Imitation,” 568.
53. On the use of visual aids in ancient Roman oratory, see Aldrete, *Gestures*, 24–32.
54. Bulwer, *Chirologia*, 51, 115.
55. Quintilian, *Orator’s Education*, 5:136–37 (11.3.100); cf. Aldrete, *Gestures*, 14 (fig. 7).
56. Vives, *De Disciplinis* (1612), as quoted in Baron, “*Querelle*,” 105.
57. Benjamin, *Origin*, 183–84.
58. Boschini, *La carta*, 428–29, writing about Alessandro and his three sons—Dario, Ciro, and Ascanio:
- Quei che deriva e vien da quella Casa
Olisse de Virtù, stampa conceti,
Tre fradeli dotori, sì perfeti,
Che meglio che dir puoco è che mi tasa.
- Là fiorisse Pitura e Poesia,
E Leze, e Medesina, e Religion.
L’è un triunviratum d’ogni perfeccion:
E l’ignorancia de là xe bandia.
59. Armenini, *True Precepts*, 276–78; and Armenini, *De’ veri precetti*, 236, where he suggests Petrarch, Boccaccio, Ovid, and Apuleius instead.
60. Scaramuccia, *Le finzze*, 195–96: “Quali i Libri più necessarij per gl’elevati Pittori.” Virgil, Ovid, Tasso, Ariosto, and Marino are listed under the “Poesie diversi” rubric, and Giovan Francesco Loredan and Giovanni Francesco Biondi are suggested as notable authors of “Romanzi moderni.”
61. Piles, “Remarques,” 127–30: “les plus utiles à ceux de la Profession”; see also 131–32 for his list of texts specifically about art.
62. Orlandi, *Ab[ec]edario*, 405–7: “De Libri servibili, necessarij, & utili di Pittori, e Scultori.”
63. Boccaccio and Ovid were more common, although it seems that either Bernini or his brother Luigi possessed a copy of Dante; cf. the inventory in McPhee, “Bernini’s Books,” 444–47. For valuable information concerning the contents of libraries of Venetian artists, see Lux, “L’inventario,” 150, 152–54; Chiappini di Sorio, “L’inventario,” 152 n. 7; and De Kunert, “Notizie,” 565–67. Loth owned texts written by Alberti and another uncertain architectural treatise (possibly Scamozzi), as well as iconographical guidebooks such as those by Cartari and Ripa; Liberi, in contrast, was an extremely sophisticated reader and possessed dictionaries in three foreign languages in addition to an unusually high number of books about alchemy and books by Plato, Aristotle, Tesaurus, Marino, Boschini, and others. On the subject of libraries of late-seventeenth-century artists, see Panofsky-Soergel, “Artist’s Library,” 367–80; and Perini, “La biblioteca,” 2:673–85.
64. Dante, *Divine Comedy, Inferno*, canto 1, line 1: “nel mezzo del camin di nostra vita.”

65. Dante, *Divine Comedy, Purgatorio*, canto 30, lines 49–51:

Ma Virgilio n'avea lasciati scemi
di sé, Virgilio dolcissimo patre,
Virgilio a cui per mia salute die' mi.

66. On the Dante revival, see Salvatore, *Antichi e moderni*, 52.
67. See especially Salvatore, *Antichi e moderni*, 52, for his comments on Vincenzo Gramigna's *Paragone tra il valore degli antichi e de' moderni*; see also Gramigna's appraisal of Dante, as quoted in Salvatore, *Antichi e moderni*, 70:

Fa di mestiero l'haver riguardo ch'egli a tempo scrisse nel quale non pure non cresciuta era, ma nata a pena quella lingua; onde se altri in guisa di pietosa nodrice non l'havesse allevata, o negato, nutrendola, le havesse 'l latte, ella ne' primi anni che nacque sarebbe morta, o se non morta, a tal grandezza mai che forma acquistar havesse potuto, come ha fatto, di perfetta donna. Perciò egli che gran senno anche hebbe in questa parte, nodrilla e dove 'l proprio non bastava, procacciollo, e con bello avvedimento, di fuori. Nè già lo pigliò egli differentemente di ogni nazione, poichè male stato sarebbe acconcio al nodrire tenera complessione e delicata, quale quella è Italiana verginella, ma delle più gentili e delle meno lontane. Onde confuscolo e mescolato col suo natio 'nsieme parve che non altronde tolto, ma nato tutto fosse in una medesima parte.

68. On Padovanino's activities as an architect in the Salute competition, see Hopkins, *Santa Maria della Salute*, 20–21.
69. On this aspect of Boethius's writings, see Patch, *Tradition*, 41–43.
70. Black, *Humanism*, esp. 275–330.
71. Ennodius, as quoted in Patch, *Tradition*, 3.
72. Boethius, *Theological Tractates*, xiii.
73. Boccalini, *Parnaso*, 368: "Boetio, era il maggior Consulente che si trovasse."
74. See, for instance, the discussion of Boschini in chapter 2, pp. 75–79.
75. Boschini, *La carta*, 198:

Questi non è ala stampa, ma ben più
La vederà, quando che la comanda.
Gh'è le copie a Venezia d'amiranda
Maniera, e d'alta e celebre Virtù.

Queste è dela perfeta e degna man,
Anzi del Vice Autor (cusì el se chiama),
Che corse a Roma, inamorà per fama,
A far ste copie, quel gran Padoan.

76. Boschini, *Le minere*, n.p. ("Al Genio pittoresco," preceding the table of contents): "ivi vederemo la delicatezza de Corpi feminilli, la morbidezza de Bambini, e le Eroiche azioni de Cavalieri." Boschini and the younger Dario Varotari were close friends; see Boschini, *La carta*, 199 n. 3, for details; and Boschini, *La carta*, 548–50, for general comments on Dario. Dario also wrote the epigrams at the beginning of each *vento* in Boschini's text, as well as the Latin inscription beneath Boschini's portrait.
77. Ruggeri, *Padovanino*, 50. A second copy of the *Bacchanal of the Andrians* was noted by Levi, *Le collezioni veneziane*, 286, in an inventory of the Barbarigo collection; it was later sold in 1850 to the Russian czar and subsequently lost (no. 8 on the inventory: "Baccanale di Tiziano, copia del Padovanino, in tela, alt. m. 1.17, larghezza m. 1.27"). Ruggeri, "Alessandro

Varotari," 278 (fig. 13), also published another variant of the *Bacchanal of the Andrians* in which only the reclining nude is shown next to two dancers. Pallucchini, "Contribuiti," 122 (fig. 135), recorded a second *Worship of Venus* of a smaller scale (120 × 128 cm). Martini, *Pittura veneta*, 112, published a copy after the *Triumph of Thetis*. There is, however, little documentation on these works and nothing to deny the possibility that other painters were responsible for these second-generation Padovaninos. In the *Breve istruzione*, Boschini remarked that he himself made copies after Padovanino's oil copies after Titian's frescoes in Padua, and that Alessandro's sister was also responsible for a number of reproductions; cf. Boschini, *La carta*, 719 (*Breve istruzione*): "Chiara Varottari, Sorella del detto Alessandro, che, infervorata nelle operazioni del Fratello, si diletto d'imitarlo a segno, che molte copie di lei vengono tenute per originali del Fratello"; and Boschini's remarks in a letter published in Procacci and Procacci, "Carteggio," 100 (document 29): "Chiara, che molto fu imitatrice della maniera del fratello." Similar remarks are made concerning Lucia Scaligero (daughter of painter Bartolommeo and pupil of Chiara and Dario), as well as Padovanino's son, Dario Varotari, who also made engravings after his father's works. On Lucia, see Procacci and Procacci, "Carteggio," 101 (document 29); for Boschini on Dario as an imitator of his father, see Procacci and Procacci, "Carteggio," 100 (document 29): "Dario figliuolo dello stesso Alessandro il quale seguita con buon gusto la maniera del padre."

78. Pseudo-Lucian, *Amores*, 170.
79. Armenini, *True Precepts*, 104; cf. Armenini, *De' veri precetti*, 47: "Dicono molti scrittori che Apelle, tra le sue mirabili opere, dipinse una Venere di così eccellente bellezza, che commosse e fece stupire tutta la Grecia. Dicono parimente che la imagine, così tenuta cara, dipinta da Geusi a' Crotoniati, era tanto al vivo prossimana, che nella mente de' più savii di quella città non era creduta altrimenti, se non quando essi la toccavano, che fosse figura di colori."
80. Cartari, *Le imagini*, 468:

Onde, o a questo o a che altro avesse mente Prassitele, quel nobile scultore fece a quelli di Gnido una Venere tutta nuda di marmo bianchissimo, tanto bella che molti navigavano in Cipro tratti dal desiderio solo di vedere questa staoa, della quale si legge che si innamorò uno sì fattamente che, non avendo risguardo a pericolo alcuno né ad alcun male che gliene potesse intravvenire, si nascose una notte nel tempio ove ella stava et abbracciandola, stringendola e baciandola e facendole tutti que' vezzi che alle più delicate giovani si fanno quando son ben care, diede compimento al suo desiderio amoroso, donde rimase poi sempre certa macchia in un fianco della bella staoa.

81. Boschini, *La carta*, 664–65:

Pitura, dela statua assae più degna,
Che Prassitele in Gnido fè de piera:
Perché Paulo ala fin fece la vera
Efigie, e con quel più, che l'arte insegna.

E, come in Gnido tuti quanti allora
Quel simulacro a vaghizar coreva,
Cusì è rason che ognun qua corer deva,
A vaghizar quel bel che ve inamora.

82. Boschini, *La carta*, 199, 718 (*Breve istruzione*); see note 11 above.

Ancients and Moderns: Repetition and History

Two references present themselves when we look back at Padovanino's *Self-Portrait* (see fig. 1). The first is Bernard de Chartres's famous twelfth-century pronouncement: "We are dwarfs on the shoulders of giants." The second is the image of Aeneas bearing his aged father Anchises on his shoulders as they flee the burning city of Troy. Both tropes express the simultaneous gratitude and modesty of the moderns in the face of their ancestors; the second, however, is more assertive. While the first reference might be paraphrased as moderns on the shoulders of ancients, we would do well to keep the inverse—ancients on the shoulders of moderns—in mind, for the seventeenth-century moderns differed from their medieval predecessors in notable, historically marked ways.

By the beginning of the seicento, the art of the "first moderns" had become ripe for the picking. Annibale Carracci had no qualms about discussing his uninhibited appropriation of the past. Looking at Correggio, he confessed: "I like this clarity, I like this purity that is real, not lifelike, is natural, not artificial or forced." "Everyone," he concluded, "interprets it in his own way, I see it in this way: I can't express it, but I know what I must do and that's enough."¹ Selective repetition of the cultural heritage of the immediate and recent past (rather than the ancient and distant past) became a process of critical invention. It was not just an empty desire to copy but a competitive desire to do better, to transform the conventional and familiar into the new and improved, but not to alter it beyond recognition.

Again, a shift in attitude toward the past can be gauged by contemporary responses to ancient statuary. Annibale's refreshing candor and no-nonsense approach to artistic creation (much like Algardi after him) is also illustrated in his rejoinder to the pedantic rumination of his brother, Agostino, before the wreck of the *Laocoön*. "We painters," Annibale stated with concision, "speak with our hands."² Rather than fussing about with the dusty remains of the past, the modern artist was to advance; rather than obsessing with the archaeological method of postmortem reconstruction, Annibale invested in the future.

Essential to the notion of progress was that each epoch's achievements surpassed those of its predecessor. Moderns held the advantage because they possessed a better perspective of things—regardless of the present state of affairs, one always had the lessons of history. This sentiment is summarized in the touching moment when François Rabelais's Gargantua confesses to his son, Pantagruel, that although

he, the father, grew up in the ignorance of the dark ages, his son would grow strong in a new world of learning governed by intellectual heroism.³ Fundamental to this early modern sense of modernity was a confidence in the actuality of historical progress, a confidence linked to a period that held Michelangelo, Titian, and Raphael as the capable successors of an abandoned and derelict antiquity, that witnessed the “discovery” of the New World, that looked with Galileo and his telescopes onto hitherto unseen celestial bodies—in short, a brave new world that Bernard de Chartres’s contemporaries could not have imagined. For Padovanino, the debates around *antioggidianismo* and the sharp wit of authors like Marino, Tesauro, and Giovan Francesco Loredan (Venetian nobleman, senator, poet, and the founder of the Accademia degl’Incogniti) mark the specific historical and geographical stage upon which the young man in the *Triumph* was able to become “Padovanino” in the *Self-Portrait*.

ANTIOGGIDIANISMO: AGAINST THOSE WHO REVILE MODERNITY

Modernity is by no means an invention of the early modern period, but being “modern” came to take on new connotations that distinguished seventeenth-century moderns from their predecessors.⁴ The decades between 1610 and 1630 represent the historical span in which Padovanino’s *Triumph*, *Sleeping Venus*, and *Self-Portrait* came to be made. The first half of the seicento was interpellated by the multiple but intertwined discourses of *antioggidianismo* and *marinismo* (Marinism). To be sure, the early seicento dispute between *oggidiani* and *antioggidiani* was an extension of the sixteenth-century *questione della lingua* debates and a prelude to the French *querelles* of the later seventeenth century. Somewhat contrary to expectations, *oggidianismo* (from the Italian *oggi* for “today”) described the conservative attitude that denigrated modern life as one of irremediable decadence in contrast to a lost golden age, to which it turned its melancholic gaze. Authors used the words *oggidiane*, *oggidiare*, and *oggidire* to describe the act of criticizing the cult of modernity that the *antioggidiani* championed. The *antioggidiani* consisted of a group of disparate writers based in Padua and beyond who wrote primarily in the first four decades of the seicento—during Padovanino’s youth and maturity. In their various treatises, the *antioggidiani* willingly embraced their position in a history that they willfully recast in their own image, in a present that they were in the process of authoring, and in a future whose success would be ensured by their investments.

Vincenzo Gramigna placed imitation within the logical procedure that enabled progress to happen: “In painting, Zeuxis, Protogenes, Eupompus, and Apelles stole some parts from Sauria and Cratone, who were the founders of this art, but they did so not by imitating them, but by rendering their works more beautiful (which is what happened). In a similar manner, the Italian Poets lifted some things from Homer, but with such sophistication. And they adorned their works with such splendor that if Homer had been alive [he] would never have recognized his own construction.”⁵

Here we return once more to the heart of the *repetitive*, to the aesthetic moment of misrecognition, recognition, and cognition that unfolds in the utterance of “mine . . . not mine!” The early modern sense of being modern projected itself into a

vision of the future, rather than anxiously struggling with the influence of the past. In the passage above, Gramigna distinguished between simply “imitating” and “rendering *more* beautiful,” which suggests a critical and competitive engagement with history. It describes a transformative process, which for Padovanino began in Padua, where he diligently copied Titian in the Scuola del Santo, then in Rome, where he reproduced the bacchanals, and then in Venice, where he translated Titian’s style into his own pictorial vocabulary, which ultimately became a model for countless future artists.

Gramigna’s early formation follows a pattern similar to Padovanino’s. Born in Prato in 1580, Gramigna went to Rome between 1596 and 1610 where he worked in the service of the great Roman families, including the Borghese. Sometime in the 1620s, Gramigna wrote the *Paragone tra il valore degli antichi e de’ moderni*, in which he argued passionately for the moral, political, social, and artistic achievements of the moderns in the face of the reactionary *oggiadiani*. The *Paragone* is written as a dialogue between Momus, the god of laughter and advocate of the moderns, and Mercury, the messenger of the gods and defender of the ancients. Momus demonstrates the superiority of the moderns over the ancients in a series of triumphant rivalries. Hercules’ labors, he argues, are pathetic next to Columbus’s discovery of the New World. Alexander’s greatness pales before the magnificence of modern rulers such as Francis I, Charles V, and Suleyman the Great. Ancient poets like Homer and Virgil cannot compete with the great men of today: Dante, Ariosto, and, above all, Tasso.⁶

Homer, in particular, had become a favorite target of ridicule by this time. In 1607, the outspoken Paduan *antioggiadiano* Paolo Beni set out in the *Comparatione di Homero, Virgilio e Torquato* to demonstrate how Tasso transformed Homer and Virgil’s copper and silver into gold.⁷ In 1613, he wrote *L’anticrusca; ovvero, Il paragone dell’italiana lingua: Nel qual se mostra chiaramente che l’antica sia inculta e rozza: E la moderna regolata e gentile*, in which, as the lengthy half-title indicates, he argued that the style of the ancients was uncultivated and undeveloped, while modern Italian was structured and pleasing. This sudden change of heart toward classical literature occurred, in part, because early modern requirements for heroism had changed. Homer’s failure, according to the *antioggiadiani*, was that he diluted the heroic quality of his main character by assigning different virtues to separate characters: Achilles, for instance, was too charismatic. And although Virgil managed to synthesize Homer’s various protagonists into the one figure of Aeneas, Aeneas was still no rival to Tasso’s superhero, Goffredo. The protagonist in Tasso’s *La Gerusalemme liberata* (1581), Beni explained, surpassed all the ancient heroes, for he not only was a perfect fusion of Ulysses and Achilles with Aeneas but also possessed the thoroughly modern quality of Christian virtue.⁸

Another reason for the early modern reassessment of classical texts is that poets and critics only began to properly read and fully understand the classics in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, when close critical translations were being produced. Many of the earlier interpretations were found to be inadequate or in some cases incorrect. When the great epics had been translated and demystified with much scholarly attention, it became clear to the *moderni* that they were capable of doing much better themselves.

To demonstrate this central point, Alessandro Tassoni wrote the mock-epic *La secchia rapita* (1622), in which the abduction of Helen of Troy is reduced to the ludicrous theft by the Bolognese of a bucket from the Modenese.⁹ In one allegorical monument, Tassoni was able to critique both the destructiveness of the interregional wars between the two Italian cities as well as the genre of the epic poem, which extolled the literary achievement of the ancients and functioned ideologically to glorify such divisive battles as heroic. In 1620 and again in 1627, he published the *Dieci libri di pensieri diversi*, a treatise chronicling all the achievements made by the grammarians, dialecticians, logicians, natural and moral philosophers, doctors, princes, republican governments, legislators, military men, equestrians, historians, poets, orators, farmers, builders, tailors, musicians, astronomers and astrologers, geometers, cosmographers, and artists of his age.¹⁰ Tassoni was, as far as I have been able to ascertain, among the first authors to use the term *modernity* (*modernità*) to describe a perception of one's own time as distinctly advanced. In twenty-seven chapters, he detailed how in every discipline and field, moderns were triumphing over the achievements of the ancients. At one point he identified eight painters whose art, he argued, attested to the superiority of the moderns: "Let us pass on to our modern artists, among whom we can choose eight. If the Greeks had had these men, I am certain that they would have composed eight more tomes of novels [about them]. These [eight] are Titian, Raphael, Michelangelo, Andrea del Sarto, Parmigianino, Correggio, Albrecht Dürer, and Leonardo da Vinci."¹¹

The moderns advanced beyond the ancients in all categories: Dürer trumped Parrhasius in the representation of naturalistic details; Bassano shamed Parrhasius in the painting of animals; Correggio outdid Apelles in the beauty of his portraits; Parmigianino's and del Sarto's Virgins surpassed all the virgins of antiquity; Michelangelo's *The Last Judgment* overwhelmed even Timantes' greatness; and Titian vanquished both Zeuxis and Parrhasius in the portrayal of human emotion.¹² These were the men—the *moderni*—whom young artists should emulate, not the broken, lost men of a fabricated antiquity. Renaissance fathers had become a venerable canon of "moderns," even as they were being remade as "ancients" as a new generation of "moderns" stepped forth.

This was the point that the *antioggidiani* tried to make time and again. An investment in the present was a guarantee of a prosperous future. The *antioggidiani* reminded the men of the present that wallowing in a melancholic recollection of the past was an injurious waste of time. Several decades earlier, at the end of the sixteenth century, the Venetian poetess Veronica Franco wrote to Tintoretto: "I can't bear to listen to people who praise ancient times so much and find such fault with our own, who claim that nature was a loving mother to men of antiquity but that she is a cruel stepmother to men today. How far this is from the truth I leave people of good judgment to decide, less biased, I think, than these."¹³ Franco's point, like that of the *antioggidiani*, was simple: men of little judgment whine too much. These cantankerous old fogies were incapable of acknowledging all the good things that modernity made possible because they were too busy fantasizing about a lost golden age. Like Franco, Tassoni pointed out that it is easy to idealize the past because, being so far away, we are unable to see its faults.¹⁴ In the end, the myth of the glorious, classical past was revealed to be just that—a myth.

Gramigna reiterated this lesson in the *Paragone*, using the telescope as a persistent symbol of the triumph of the moderns and their ability to see more clearly than their predecessors had.¹⁵ The invention of the telescope, Momus joked, made the gods in the heavens visible to man on earth. Moreover, it gave man a belief in progress: “We have demonstrated that all those things, which others always told us over the course of time could not be imitated, cannot only be imitated but can be surpassed.”¹⁶ Like Bernard de Chartres’s medieval dwarfs, the moderns were able to see farther afield; unlike the dwarfs, who benefited from the physical strength of the prelapsarian giants, the sixteenth-century moderns were empowered by the possibilities of scientific discovery. The theme of science as an instrument of the moderns recurs in the *Ragguagli di Parnaso*, in which Trajano Boccalini dismissed the celebrated “greatness” of antiquity, pointing instead to the compass, the canon, the printing press, and the discovery of America as achievements borne from the magnanimity and freedom of the moderns.

The doubled theme of liberty and re-vision was an important one in the early modern discourse on modernity. It was not a question simply of seeing something up close but of seeing something anew. This point was taken up by baroque theorist Secondo Lancellotti in *L'hoggi di; ovvero, Il mondo non peggiore ne più calamitoso del passato*, which was published in Venice in 1623 and again in 1627. The forty-second discourse was titled, in rather baroque fashion, “That it is not true that the world today is worse, more malicious, or full of vice than in the past, and that this infamous golden age, which is not only celebrated by poets but believed in by our serious authors, never was and is but a mere dream of the ancients and modern *oggiidiani*.”¹⁷ Lancellotti, an early modern priest, argued from a theological perspective that this blessed epoch (*questo benedetto GIÀ*) could not have existed in human history because of Adam’s sin: the notion of a golden age can only refer to a prelapsarian Eden.¹⁸ Given this point of view, modern life, with its achievements, is no worse off than the mythic past of antiquity.

Modernity, however, was a highly contested terrain. The Venice-Rome dichotomy, demonstrated in Boschini’s enthusiasm for modern Venetian painting, was not simply a trope in art writing; there were deeper political implications. Regional stylistic identities figured in the ongoing polemic between the political superiority of “modern Venetian liberty” and the ruinous obsolescence of the “old Roman republic.”¹⁹ Likewise, in *L’anticrusca*, a protest against the Florentine Accademia della Crusca, Beni conflated the *paragone* between ancients and moderns with the struggle between modern Venetians (Paduans in this instance) and modern Tuscans. Both Petrarch, who “lived for a long time in Padua,” and Tasso, who “nursed on the milk of Paduan wisdom,” were remade as honorary compatriots so that Beni could champion his native land as the most modern of the modern.²⁰

Jumping on the bandwagon, Boschini similarly represented the freedom of modern Venetian painting as the only possible alternative to the obsolete art of the Romans. Like the freedom represented by the modern Venetian republic, the modern Venetian style, with its loose brushstrokes, its dramatic chiaroscuro, its dynamic composition, and its naturalistic *affetti* (expressions), was framed as a welcome alternative to the dusty remains of the dead Roman past. Padovanino was, within Boschini’s pantheon of *moderni*, a formidable leader. On Boschini’s “ship of pictorial

style,” the elaborate metaphorical construction upon which Venetian artists collaborated as a crew (Bellini as the shipbuilder, Giorgione as the patron, Titian as the captain, Tintoretto as the general, and so on), Padovanino was given the important role as standard bearer—the soldier whose responsibility was to ensure the survival of the unit.²¹

Writing about Padovanino’s *Triumph*, Boschini unfolded one metaphor after another to explain the doubled trajectory of becoming: “If Titian made his Infants so natural, Padovanino’s were nursed on the milk of life; if Titian represented Youth full of vitality, Padovanino did as well; if Titian delivered Manhood with such vigor, Padovanino gave strength and force to its limbs; if Titian made Old Age grave and respectful, Padovanino made it exemplary and full of majesty.”²² Padovanino was there at every step with Titian, and Boschini even dared to suggest to contemporary viewers that Padovanino’s paintings were “fresher and newer,” emphasizing (to tweak an old Titianesque trope) that Padovanino’s representation of “flesh really consisted of blood mixed with milk.”²³

Padovanino’s art intersected with the progressive, modernist discourse of *antioggidianismo*. Beni was a fellow Paduan. The *Comparatione* was published in 1607 when Padovanino was nineteen, and *L’anticrusca* came out in 1613, just as Padovanino was about to leave for Venice. The following year, when Padovanino was twenty-six, Tassoni’s *La secchia rapita* and Boccalini’s *Ragguagli* were printed in Venice, just as Padovanino was about to paint the *Triumph* in Rome. Gramigna was his contemporary by eight years; he was in Rome about five years before Padovanino, and the *Paragone* came out around 1627. That same year, Tassoni published in Venice his *Pensieri diversi* for the third time with its canon of moderns. Lancellotti’s *L’hoggidi* appeared in at least two different editions during the decade that coincided with the making of Padovanino’s *Sleeping Venus* and *Self-Portrait*.

Padovanino and his *antioggidiani* contemporaries, however, were not revolutionaries; they were not twentieth-century avant-garde modernists *avant la lettre*. Their sense of modernity was optimistic and progressive rather than rebellious and aggressive. They were not driven by what Norman Bryson referred to as a “continuous iconoclasm,” nor did they feel ill at ease with their sense of “being-in-tradition.”²⁴ This anxiety belonged to a generation of post-1789 artists who had witnessed truly murderous “sons” rise up against “fathers” deemed unfit to rule; these “sons” would sever the lines of legitimacy by means of a fantastically modern invention—the guillotine. In contrast, the early-modern moderns were not invested in the future at the expense and total destruction of the past, as the Italian futurists, for example, would one day be. Instead, they were concerned with the utility of the past—of history—as a guiding principle for readjusting the values of their own epoch.

MARINISMO AND THE SPECTACLE OF WIT

The place of repetition in the debate around *antioggidianismo* intersects with another major critical explosion in the Italian literary world between the 1610s and 1630s—the *marinisti* debates. Within the present contextualization of Padovanino’s sense of modernity, three significant phases can be identified in the

unfolding of this controversy over imitation, emulation, and the theft of intellectual property. The first series of confrontations took place between Marino and Tommaso Stigliani, culminating in 1614 when Tesauro published a letter in defense of Marino.²⁵ This was also the year when Domenichino unveiled the *Last Communion of Saint Jerome*, his altarpiece for San Girolamo della Carità (now in the Pinacoteca Vaticana), which would itself be caught up in a parallel scandal some ten years later, when Domenichino was accused of plagiarism. Significantly enough, 1614 was also the year when Padovanino was in Rome.

A second clash came in 1620, sparked by Marino's *La sampogna*. In the prefatory letter to poet and jurist Claudio Achillini, Marino explained with his usual aplomb, irony, and wit that "communion with other writers" was achieved "by translating, by imitating, or by stealing."²⁶ These categories were essentially three aspects of the same gesture. Translation did "not mean literal and word-for-word; but paraphrasing, and changing the details of the hypothesis and altering the episodes without ruining the substance of the original sentiment."²⁷ Imitation, in Marino's theory, "teaches us to follow the tracks of the most famous masters who have written before us."²⁸ And stealing was inevitable, for beautiful things are rare and great minds think alike.²⁹ The letter was written in response to the bad press he received in the aftermath of Stigliani's smear campaign in the 1610s. Marino was also preparing himself for the critical ink that he knew would be spilled in response to his epic poem *L'Adone*, published in 1623, which predictably shocked less-sophisticated readers with its antilinear plot, incessant digression and repetition, indulgent language play, outrageous eroticism, and undisguised pastiches.

A third episode in this saga occurred after Marino's death in early 1625, when Stigliani wrote *Dello occhiale*, which was a meticulous and pedantic analysis of all the literary failings of *L'Adone*. The heated debates of the 1620s also coincided with the debate over *novità* (novelty), exemplified by the furor over Domenichino's *Saint Jerome* altarpiece.³⁰ *Dello occhiale* was published in Venice in 1627, when Padovanino would have been back in Venice—around the time he might have been painting the *Self-Portrait* and the *Sleeping Venus* and even possibly reading Gramigna's *Paragone*, Tassoni's *Pensieri diversi*, or Lancellotti's *L'hoggidi*, all of which would have been available in Venetian bookstalls in 1627. *Dello occhiale* launched another series of counterreplies in which Stigliani was roundly humiliated as a churlish, inferior poet trying to claim ownership of lines that his critics maintained never belonged to him in the first place.

To be sure, Marino's defense of poetic theft was not particularly new. In the previous century, Giraldi had pointed out that Pietro Bembo's poetry comprised nothing but imitations of Petrarch and that Petrarch's texts were themselves imitations of Cicero.³¹ This type of poetic grafting was considered praiseworthy because, as Giraldi pointed out, "comparisons endow poetry with great spirit and great value."³² Lodovico Castelvetro had a slightly different view, writing in his 1576 commentary on Aristotle's *Poetics* that while "borrowed matter" is "refused a place in poetry, [it] is not only not refused in painting, but is greatly admired there," suggesting that the visibility of repeated material was more pleasurable than the audibility of the same.³³ In either case, the concept of shared authorship was an old Aristotelian trope, as the *antioggiadano* Lancellotti noted: "There are many books in one book,

and many authors speak through the mouth of one author. As we know, Aristotle said that we feel great delight when we see two equal forces (or two forces between whom we are unable to detect too much difference) come together in competition.³⁴ The confrontation between repetition and difference, therefore, produced much pleasure for the attentive reader.

Marino's art is structured around a highly self-aware deployment of literary devices—anastrophe (inversion), hyperbaton (displacement), chiasmus (which James Mirollo fabulously discussed as “sagging middles”), oxymoron (antitheses), onomatopoeia (manipulation of words as sounds), and iteration and reiteration.³⁵ An interest in sensuality draws attention to form, to the language itself, rather than the content or subject matter.³⁶ Both Marino's *L'Adone* and Padovanino's *Venus and Adonis* (as well as Boschini's Marinesque ekphrasis) remake an old love story in a decidedly new fashion: boy meets goddess, goddess loses boy. Looking back at Padovanino's interpretation (see fig. 20), one notes that his image is based on one of Titian's many paintings of the same theme (see fig. 14)—the very motif that so inspired Dolce's praise of Venus's bottom. However, unlike Titian's model, the erotic tension is made more intense in Padovanino's Marinesque interpretation. Instead of the confident hunter who takes leave of his divine lover, here Adonis visibly struggles, pushing back to release himself from Venus's lusty embrace. By turning her body around, Padovanino presents us with the allure of the soft feminine flesh from which Adonis must escape if he is to return to the masculine world of the hunt. On the left we have a comical glimpse of Cupid's tender bottom as he reaches for his arrows to help his mother delay Adonis's departure. As in Boschini's poetic conceit—“possession is sweet; sweetness takes possession of you”—the spectator is faced with the choice between virtuous abandon (which will result in the hero's physical death) and carnal indulgence (which will result in a moral death).³⁷

Other seventeenth-century Venetian viewers shared Boschini's enthusiasm for Padovanino's Marinesque Adonis. After seeing a painting of “Adonis, returning from the hunt covered in sweat, is wiped dry by Venus” in Casa Spinelli, the Venetian poet Leonardo Querini published the following poem in 1649:

O Divine Varotari!
That beautiful Adonis looks so lively in your canvas,
As Cupid draws the horn [*cornio*],
To his lips,
He fills the surrounding forest [*bosco intorno*] with a golden aura,
Yes! Yes! With his little call
[Adonis's] feet move quickly once more
From the hunt to [Venus's] invitation;
Unless he makes her wait,
The Goddess will take pleasure in,
His beautiful face
And dry the sweat off the inflamed white body [*infocati avori*].³⁸

The use of double entendre in Querini's wordplay is comparable to the passage from Boschini's *La carta* where Thalia (the muse of comedy) praises a similar image by

Padovanino. The lascivious implications of the *cornio* that Cupid draws to his lips and the *bosco intorno* that he fills with his sweet music in the fourth and fifth lines of the Italian text would not have been lost on the early modern reader (Marino fans would also have picked up on Querini's appropriation of a similar line from Marino's *La galeria*, from 1619, where he waxes on about a painting of "Adonis asleep in Venus's lap" by Palma Giovane).³⁹ The naming of body parts both real—*lab[b]ra*, *pie[di]*, *volto*—and metaphorical—*cornio*, *bosco*, *avori*—underlines the eroticism of the scene invoked by Querini. Note again how the emphasis is placed on "the beautiful Adonis," his "beautiful face," and his "inflamed white body," and on the juxtaposition of the call to the masculine world of the hunt with Venus's more feminine exhortations. The author strategically uses *infocati* here to refer to Adonis's red-hot body—inflamed, however, from vigorous, masculine activities rather than from sexual union with the goddess of love, although the promise of this is implied in the final line. Here, the subject of *gli rasciughi i sudori* can be read as both Venus (as in the translation above) and, figuratively, as Adonis, who not only dries himself but also will "drain" himself.

Although sexual innuendos abound in the poem, the underlying subject is male rather than female beauty, and the desired body is that of Adonis rather than Venus. In referring to Adonis's body as *avori*, Querini exploits the traditional association of ivory white skin with ancient statues of Venus. However, Marino's, Boschini's, Padovanino's, and Querini's interpretations of the Adonis myth are neither heterosexual nor homoerotic. Instead, the eroticism is decidedly homosocial. Rather than desiring Venus, the reader-viewer wants to possess Adonis's body so that he can delight in a series of vicarious pleasures. First, there is Adonis's sexual conquest of Venus. Second, there is an empathetic identification with Adonis as the heroic hunter, the ultimate male lover who refuses to be kept even by a goddess, a mortal who has his beloved immortal waiting for him on hand and foot. Third, a link is forged between the reader-viewer as Adonis, and Querini (the poet) and Padovanino (the divine painter), who transform the hero's body through their art. In all three scenarios, it is the praise and admiration of other men that drive the encounter with Venus and Adonis. Desiring Adonis's body is desiring power, knowledge, and surplus pleasure.

The subversion of prescribed gender positions—as seen in Pallavicino's *Il principe hermafrodito*—was a common trope in early modern literature. This topsyturvy scenario appealed to a certain kind of aesthetic disposition that valued metaphorical and allegorical modes and prized the ingenuity of presentation over the authenticity of narrative.

Let me offer another visual example. Around 1635—in the final phase of the intense *marinisti* debates—Padovanino painted a large canvas of the rape of Europa (fig. 57). One art historian described it as an interpretation of a text by Veronese according to the chromatic inclinations of the young Titian, something that was typical of Padovanino.⁴⁰ The most well-known version of this *testo veronesiano* belonged to the Venetian patrician Jacopo Contarini. It was donated to the Venetian state in the early eighteenth century and installed in the Anticollegio of the Palazzo Ducale, where it can be seen today. If Padovanino saw this version of the painting in the early 1600s, it would have been in the Contarini palace. Alternatively, Veronese and

FIG. 57. PADOVANINO
Rape of Europa, ca. 1635,
oil on canvas, 193 × 252 cm
(76 × 99 1/4 in.)
Siena, Pinacoteca Nazionale



his studio produced numerous replicas and variants of this picture, any of which Padovanino may have come across. Three large-scale versions still exist: the Contarini canvas, a painting in the Museo Capitolino in Rome, and another in a private collection in Paris. In addition, there is a horizontal version in Milan made for a *cassone*, a small *modello* measuring 59.4 × 69.9 centimeters in the National Gallery in London, and subsequent replicas in various museums.⁴¹ Typologically, Padovanino's *Rape of Europa* bears a closer resemblance to the *cassone* panel and the London *modello*, in which the young woman is depicted with her right foot raised in the air. The early Veronese pictures show the moment in the Ovidian tale when Europa's servants unsuspectingly help her mount the gentle white bull.

This is where the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century modes of representation part ways once again. Whereas Veronese illustrated the myth as a closed narrative, in that the image relates one episode, Padovanino represented a conflation of moments just like he had done in the *Triumph*. It is not quite a continuous narrative, but a kaleidoscoping of events that can only be compared to the *narratio obliqua* and *parlar disgiunto* in early modern literature and to split screen montage in the cinema. Thematically, the image may be inspired by the dynamism of the figures in Titian's bacchanals, but, as Ugo Ruggeri pointed out, it finds its immediate source in Veronese's interpretation of the story. The color scheme and brushwork swing between early and late Titian: the soft shadows that define the figures in the foreground are contrasted with the more abstract rendering of the skies in the background and the schematic figures in the shade on the right. Compositionally, the construction of the sixteenth-century *Rape of Europa* develops logically from the tightly packed scenes that characterized late-sixteenth-century paintings. The contorted, theatrical staging on the right-hand side indicates the intervening lessons of Tintoretto, Peranda, and Aliense. Padovanino replaces Titian's carefully balanced composition in the bacchanals with a crowded, claustrophobic foreground. Jupiter appears on the left in his natural form, advancing into the pictorial space with his three-pronged thunderbolt in hand. In the center of the composition, Jupiter is shown again in the guise of the white bull that so cruelly abducted the young daughter of the king of Tyre.

Here the *testo veronesiano* metamorphoses into a specifically sixteenth-century *testo marinesco*. The Ovidian narrative was well known and had been portrayed variously by Venetian artists. Veronese chose the instance of seduction, whereas Titian, in another painting for Philip II, *Europa* (1560–62; Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum), illustrated the drama of the abduction. Padovanino chose neither moment. Instead, he represented Europa coyly reclining on the back of the white bull, her foreshortened left leg pushing outward, her gaze averted upward, beyond the frame of the image, as if waiting for the moment of divine intervention to take place. She holds on to Jupiter's horn with her right hand while resting the other hand on his back, gingerly wrapping her thumb and index finger around his tail. The dramatic tension in the charming and the heroic interpretations by Veronese and Titian are completely deconstructed here in favor of something much more ludic: Jupiter seems to be the one that is being assaulted. Situated in the middle of the picture, he is being steered by the horns by Europa and a small army of meddling putti. One grasps a horn and looks back to Europa as his example; another is busy pulling

Jupiter's tail and poking him from behind with an arrow. Two more try to climb onto his front legs, one placing a flaming torch just under his left ear. The second figure of Jupiter strides forward with great difficulty through the sea of bodies and babies. It is uncertain why Padovanino has depicted him twice. At first, one might mistake the trident-bearing deity (accompanied by all sorts of marine creatures) for Jupiter's brother Neptune, but the Ovidian narrative specifies quite clearly the sequence of events, which seems to correspond with what the artist has illustrated.

Relinquishing

Sceptre and throne, heaven's father, God of gods,
Who wields the three-forked lightning, at whose nod
The world is shaken, now transforms himself
Into a bull and, lowing, joins the herd,
Ambling—so handsome—through the tender grass.⁴²

The "Father, God of gods" is hardly a formidable aggressor in Padovanino's *Rape of Europa*. Instead, he is pictured overwhelmed by the weight of his would-be victim and by the presence of her unexpected entourage: dolphins that crowd into the scene with Nereids, putti, and musicians, all gesturing in so many different directions. Indeed, Jupiter's expression—mouth gaping, eyes glazed over, head forced back—is one of surrender rather than victory.

Marino and Padovanino share an interest in the exploration of form over content, in the pleasure of intertextual or interrepresentational complexity, and in the ironic and allegorical modes rather than limpid and realistic styles. Their art appealed to a certain sensibility, but it was by no means universal in its appeal. In Stigliani's estimation, Marino's *L'Adone* was a disaster because it did not meet the requirements of the epic genre. Instead of telling the tale from the perspective of the hero, Adonis, and instead of focusing upon the traditional story of his courtship and union with Venus, the author created a disjointed, fragmented text, riddled with citations, paraphrases, and a narrative that constantly lost its way in endless digressions and descriptions.⁴³ *L'Adone* luxuriates in Venus's drawn-out lament for her dead lover—there is no heroism, no narrative, and no redeeming happily-ever-after. Stigliani, however, missed the point, for Marino's enterprise aimed precisely at dismantling the linear narrative structure of the classical epic, proceeding instead in a manner that can best be referred to as rhizomorphic—an imploded text that connected in new ways with new bodies. Marino is said to have reported that *L'Adone*, like the Vatican and the Farnese, would please by its overall grandeur and unity.⁴⁴ In this regard, the Marinesque work of art should be thought of as a performance in which stock characters, like those from the *Commedia dell'Arte*, enact a known drama to an audience who is interested not so much in the way the story ends (for it always ends in the same way) as in the way the story is remade each time.

While Marino's epic constructions and even his theory of poetic inspiration may not have been innovative, his irreverent attitude was unprecedented and should be contextualized within a specifically early-seventeenth-century understanding of "modernity" and what it meant to be "modern." The challenge posed by the ancients became a game that the *antioggidiani*, the *marinisti*, and Padovanino took on with great confidence, novelty, and wit. The *marinisti* debates also marked a significant

departure from classical models of imitation. Metaphors of eclectic imitation, ranging from the industrious bee who produces honey from the best flowers at its disposition to the virgin who is drawn from the most beautiful young women in town, had always emphasized the importance of judicious selection and decorous combination. The literary debate around Marino expanded the type of objects that might be imitated, and being able to improve a bad model came to be as praiseworthy as transforming an old classic. One of Stigliani's opponents wrote that if Marino really did steal from his accuser's *Il mondo nuovo* (1617), then Marino "needs not to be excused but praised for knowing how to turn shit into gold."⁴⁵ Some decades later, the Jesuit author Daniello Bartoli wrote that "it is not theft" if one is able to produce something beautiful from "useless and vile materials" (Venus, he went on to explain, was herself created from sea foam and sperm).⁴⁶ In the end, the manner in which one reused the material was more important than the quality of the material in and of itself, as Marino was quick to point out: "Ancient statues and relics of destroyed marbles, placed in a good location and with care, give a good measure of majesty to a new building."⁴⁷

Aesthetically, *marinismo* ties the early modern to the analytical model of the *repetitive*. It corresponds with a bifurcated vision in which, as Tesauro wrote, the beholder watches with the eye while contemplating with the mind.⁴⁸ Historically, an aesthetics of repetition can be situated within a larger seicento valorization of metaphorical form in literature and the visual arts. Metaphorical language, Eugenio Donato wrote in his examination of Tesauro's poetics, "destroys not only the reality of the object but also the function of the language which expresses it . . . the metaphor, instead of being a restatement of essential relations contained within reality itself, seems rather to be an external epistemological tool to explore this same reality."⁴⁹

Drawing from ancient treatises on poetry and rhetoric, seventeenth-century authors outlined an art form in which awesome feats of artistic ingenuity were achieved through the deployment of *acutezze* (witticisms) and *concetti* (conceits) intended to produce *maraviglie* (marvels).⁵⁰ *Acutezze* were pointed sayings, expressions that generated wonder, and extremely rarified metaphorical devices that functioned like *sententiae*, which, as Quintilian explained, "strike the mind [and] they often knock it over by a single stroke, their very brevity makes them more memorable."⁵¹ Witticisms pushed the listener and viewer to think metaphorically since, as Aristotle wrote, "metaphors must be drawn . . . from things that are related to the original thing, and yet not obviously so related—just as in philosophy also an acute mind will perceive resemblances even in things far apart."⁵²

Not coincidentally perhaps, Marino's supporter, Tesauro, was also the primary seicento theorist of *acutezze*. Glossing Aristotle, Tesauro explained in the *Il cannocchiale aristotelico* (1654) that when an author says one thing while simultaneously meaning another thing, the listener's "delight is therefore multiplied, since seeing many objects from an unusual angle is more curious and pleasing than seeing the same things passing directly before your eyes. A job (as our author says) not for a dull mind but for a most acute one."⁵³ This delight is magnified by novelty, when "the sound is known and only the meaning is new," or when something is "old in substance and new in manner." Tesauro (still glossing "our author" Aristotle)

explained that the metaphor packs “objects tightly together in a single word and almost miraculously allows you to see one inside the other.”⁵⁴ To see metaphorically was to seek out the *repetitive* and to examine the underlying structure of representational strategies so as to identify the difference within the repetition. With *marinismo*, the work of art challenged the author’s ability to twist an old trope in a new way and the reader’s ability to identify the repeated parts within the whole and differences within the repetition. It was about being able to see several things at once and to see one thing in several ways—“mine, yet not mine,” “not Varotari, but . . . Titian,” “I think I’ve seen this movie before . . . I *did* see it before,” “I, uh, didn’t recognize you . . . Well, you look pretty different yourself.”

TWO FOR ONE: DOUBLE SENSE AND DOUBLE PLEASURE

At the end of the sixteenth century, Cesare d’Este’s agent Annibale Roncaglia would describe Titian’s *Bacchus and Ariadne* (see fig. 29) simply as “a painting in which the Laocoön is painted” (referring to the bearded figure with the snakes in the foreground on the right).⁵⁵ Evidently, Roncaglia saw Titian’s figure as a repetition of the central figure in the Laocoön group and, more important, expected his reader to understand and also see his reference. In front of van Dyck’s equestrian portrait of Charles I, Bellori had no problem identifying the quotation therein of Titian’s equestrian portrait of Charles V.⁵⁶ Likewise, in referring to Rubens as “the new Titian,” the seventeenth-century Spanish poet Lope de Vega was also making a direct connection between Rubens’s lost portrait of Philip IV and its Titianesque referent.⁵⁷

The interpretive *a priori* that binds these isolated examples together is an aesthetics of repetition or, to be more precise, the pleasure of the *repetitive* and the pleasure of difference. The Jesuit orator Sforza Pallavicino explained in his sixteenth-century treatise on *acutezza* that “admissible witty remarks produce wonderment by showing the contrary to what is expected, the different from what is expected, or the astonishing despite its being nonetheless expected.”⁵⁸ Looking at works of art through an optic of repetition appealed to a particular type of engaged spectator who took pleasure in the redundant and predictable as well as in the redundant and unexpected and who paid close attention to the way something was presented and the way that mode of presentation pushed the viewer to see things in a different and unanticipated way. These sophisticated early modern aesthetic contraptions, to be sure, were reserved for the quick of mind, for an audience attentive to the possibility of double meanings and upon whom allusions would not be lost. Matteo Peregrini referred to this interpretive optic of repetition as “*amphibolia*,” an ability to see the “double sense.”⁵⁹

Like the detection of the *repetitive*, the ability to see and dismantle such representational games was particularly enjoyable for certain viewers, for, according to one writer, “[i]mitation lies hidden; it does not stand out. It conceals rather than reveals itself and does not wish to be recognized except by a learned man.”⁶⁰ Even in the eighteenth century, Giambattista Vico noted that *acutezze* “give the pleasure they do because they show relationships that only the ingenious can see.”⁶¹ Like the humanist reader, who was able to identify the constellation of quotations within a

given quote, the intellectual snobbery of the “ingenious” and “learned man” was gratified in the game of untangling difference from repetition, of returning the various limbs to the Crotonian maidens from whom they were taken. When the Lucchese painter Paolo Guidotti, for example, set about composing his (unrealized) poem *La Gerusalemme distrutta* in emulation of Tasso’s epic *La Gerusalemme liberata* (1581), he intended and expected his readers to notice that the last line of each octave was in fact the same as that in Tasso’s poem.⁶² In fact, the whole point of the repetition was to solicit an aesthetic enjoyment brought forth through the perception of difference.

Padovanino and Marino were not unique in their appreciation of the *repetitive*. Consider the following example. In the 1620s, Domenichino painted *God Rebukes Adam and Eve* (fig. 58), in which he visibly recast Michelangelo’s divine father from the Sistine ceiling in a new role as Adam’s judge rather than Adam’s creator. The obvious allusion and the witty inversion could not have been lost on the erudite Roman audience for whom Domenichino remade this image several times.⁶³ Domenichino’s own imagery, too, was subjected to unauthorized repetition. In a painting attributed to Carlo Maratti, the artist reused the bold reclining nymph in the foreground of Domenichino’s *The Hunt of Diana* (see fig. 31) as an unlikely model for the virtuous Susanna (fig. 59).⁶⁴ In Domenichino’s painting, the nymph is but a minor character within the larger tale of Diana and her numerous nymphs. She looks out at the spectator while reclining in a shallow pool of water with another nymph at her side. In the so-called Maratti painting, however, she is the main character. The composition is cropped, and her gaze becomes more emphatic as a result. Her nude body is highlighted against the dark shadows of the grove, and the two elders peer through a hole in the trees to the left. It is as if one is looking at Domenichino’s *Diana* through a telescope and glimpsing instead Maratti’s surprising twist on Domenichino’s *conchetto*.

In all these examples repetition necessarily reveals not only the operation of time in the construction of historical consciousness but also how one work situates itself in relation to another. Unlike a forgery, the *repetitive* aimed to make visible historical difference rather than to render it the same, or invisible. Built into the *repetitive* artwork was an active *paragone*; repetition turns backward in order to advance forward.

Maratti’s conceit, for instance, was tweaked yet again as his lascivious Susanna regained her form as a nymph in a painting from his studio that represents Diana and Actaeon (fig. 60). Here the naked ensemble has been restaged in a luscious, dramatic landscape. The majestic goddess stands above her nymphs as the frightened Actaeon flees into the dark woods. The young women huddled in Diana’s shadow scramble to cover themselves, turning their heads away from the male intruder. Even Actaeon raises his right hand in an attempt to blind himself to the forbidden spectacle. One figure, however, sits alone in the foreground, unaware of or unconcerned by the commotion around her. That figure is our nymph, whose bold gaze functions like a sly, complicit wink to the implied viewer of the painting. She is also the only literal quotation from Domenichino’s painting of the same subject; the other figures are paraphrases from other works by Annibale and Albani.⁶⁵

FIG. 58. DOMENICHINO
(ITALIAN, 1581–1641)
God Rebukes Adam and Eve,
ca. 1623–25, oil on copper,
95 × 75 cm (37½ × 29⅝ in.)
Grenoble, Musée de Grenoble



FIG. 59. CARLO MARATTI
(ITALIAN, 1625–1713),
AFTER DOMENICHINO
(ITALIAN, 1581–1641)
Susanna and the Elders, ca. 1640s?,
oil on canvas, 103.5 × 124.5 cm
(40 3/4 × 49 in.)
Rome, Galleria Corsini



FIG. 60. STUDIO OF
CARLO MARATTI
Diana and Actaeon, before 1675,
oil on canvas, 110 × 154 cm
(43 3/8 × 60 3/8 in.)
Oxford, Christ Church Picture
Gallery



Without a good sense of humor, an appreciation of the ironic, and an ability to see one thing for another, the double entendre of a female nude as both the chaste Susanna and a lascivious nymph would have been meaningless. Giordano's out-of-context quotations of Michelangelo's sculpted *Dawn* and *Dusk* and Titian's Bacchus in his own bacchanal paintings of the 1670s and 1680s similarly manipulate, as Tesauro advised, "old substance" in a "new manner."⁶⁶ In one version two members of Bacchus's entourage are seen lifting a red cloth under which a sleeping woman is revealed (fig. 61). The unlikely coupling of this stolid reclining female nude and the effeminate, sun-kissed Bacchus who discovers her, glowing in his Venetian colors, must have provided a surprise: the usual stylistic and gender representation of the two protagonists is reversed, as if Michelangelo's and Titian's figures were somehow represented in drag.

It was no longer just a question of alluding to the classical texts, but of remaking specific visual references, too. Titian's bacchanals, as David Rosand has suggested, supplanted Ovid as the point of departure for early modern painters.⁶⁷ In Giordano's second *Bacchus and Ariadne* (fig. 62), Ariadne looks like Titian's figure seen from another angle, or as a mirror image. Her legs are in the same position, her back is arched in the same manner, and her hair has been gathered in the same style. The drapery flows in a similar pattern, although in the later painting more of her back is exposed to us. Titian's Ariadne faces Bacchus, who leaps from his chariot to greet her; in Giordano's picture, she turns her back on him and glances instead outward to the viewer, while with her left arm she gestures forward, almost as if she is leading the animated cortege behind her.⁶⁸

Giordano's painting reads as a remake of Titian's painting (see fig. 29) with some help from Annibale Carracci and the generation of imitators that followed him. In the earlier rendition, Titian depicts Silenus in the background, asleep and slumped over. The muscular Laocoön figure is seen advancing from the side as he struggles with a snake. The nymph next to him raises her cymbals. The two leopards stop in their tracks and look at each other. In Giordano's version, Silenus has awoken. The bearded figure twists to face us as he frees himself from one of the snakes. The cymbals have sounded, and one of the leopards has turned to look at a ram harassing a putto in the foreground. The whole composition is recognizably Titianesque, but as Francesco Baldinucci would remark in the *Vite di artisti dei secoli XVII e XVIII* (circa 1725–30) about this work, the *tout-ensemble* (*il tutto d'invenzione*) is beautiful, and Giordano was at his best here.⁶⁹

The *repetitive* image operated in a similar fashion to those artistic forms favored by early modern poets like Tasso and Marino: the metaphor, the *inganno* (or *trompe l'oeil*), and the *acutezza*. First, all these devices pushed the reader to see several things at once and to see one thing in several ways. Second, they forced the reader to become authors, or coauthors, by filling in the blanks suggested by the work of art. Authorship, in this regard, was conceived as a collaborative process, and meaning was produced in the moment when different bodies connected with one another in new ways. When Tesauro wrote that "wit loses its insight when a saying is too clear" and that "stars sparkle in the darkness, but become dim in the light," he was noting that certain types of literary conceits only function when the author and

FIG. 61. LUCA GIORDANO
(ITALIAN, 1632–1705)
Bacchus and Ariadne, ca. 1685–86,
oil on canvas, 122 × 175 cm
(48 1/8 × 69 in.)
Norfolk, Chrysler Museum of Art





reader are aware of the rules of engagement. Witty conceits, Tesauro explained, “are sketched rather than finished, so that ingenuity understands more than the tongue speaks, and the concept of the listener supplies what is absent in the voice of the speaker.” In this way, the collaborative authorship of the work “causes the double pleasure of one who forms a witty concept and another who hears it. For the first enjoys giving life in another’s intellect to a noble product of his own, and the second enjoys grasping by his own ingenuity what the ingenuity of another furtively hides.”⁷⁰ At the heart of the witty repartee was a process not only of giving and taking but also of returning something remade. There had to be, as Peregrini insisted, a certain amount of mental “cooperation” between the author and the recipient of the witticism in order for the work of art to “work.”⁷¹

FIG. 62. LUCA GIORDANO
(ITALIAN, 1632–1705)
Bacchus and Ariadne, ca. 1675–77,
oil on canvas, 302 × 582.5 cm
(118⁷/₈ × 229³/₈ in.)
Coventry, Herbert Art Gallery
and Museum

MACHINES OF MEMORY, MACHINES OF HISTORY: THE TALE OF THE TWO LEOPOLDS

Although the lateral mode of interpretation opened up works of art to new realms of expressivity, its popularity was ultimately a matter of taste. “All intellects are different,” insisted Marino, “and the humours of men are even more diverse; so that what pleases one displeases another, and one will choose one phrase that someone else will reject.”⁷² Galileo, inventor of the telescope, preferred the clarity of Ariosto’s style to the allegorical mode of Tasso’s poetry.⁷³ Marino, the self-professed poet of extravagance whose hero was Tasso, reveled in the use of such framing devices. Pallavicino cautioned against the overuse of too many rhetorical ornaments in his *Considerazioni sopra l’arte dello stile e del dialogo* (1646). Baltasar Gracián, the Spanish courtier and author of *Agudeza y arte de ingenio* (1649), saw wit as an essential human quality. Peregrini’s two treatises, *Delle acutezze* (1639) and *I fonti dell’ingegno ridotti ad arte* (1650), tried to outline a guide to the invention of witty

expressions that would prevent the abuse of such ornaments. Tesauro, however, was wholeheartedly of Marino's and Gracián's persuasion.

On the whole, Venetians were quite sympathetic to Marino's kaleidoscopic style and to the marvelous wit of *marinismo*. Sohm, for instance, has demonstrated the close stylistic sympathy and affective empathy between Boschini and Marino.⁷⁴ Many of Marino's Italian publications were produced in the Venetian publishing houses of the Ciotti and of Giacomo Sarzina. And while Stigliani found at least one Venetian printer, Pietro Carampello, to publish his *Dello occhiale*, most of the treatises written in defense of Marino following the poet's death in 1625 also came out of the mighty Ciotti and Sarzina presses. Moreover, Marino found an enthusiastic supporter and biographer in Loredan.⁷⁵ Padovanino and his son Dario Varotari were well connected with Loredan and the other members of the Accademia degl'Incogniti.⁷⁶ Padovanino stood as Giacomo Pighetti's best man; Pietro Michiele and Leonardo Querini wrote poems about Padovanino's paintings.⁷⁷ Pighetti's wife, Lorenzina Tarabotti, had two sisters: one was the notorious Arcangela Tarabotti, a bold nun who wrote virulent feminist tracts against the phallogocentric tyranny of early modern institutions; the other was Caterina Tarabotti, who was a painter and pupil of Padovanino's sister Chiara.⁷⁸ Loredan was first a supporter and later a detractor of Arcangela, but he was a consistent admirer of Padovanino. Padovanino had painted a gorgeous *Diana* for Loredan, which the latter acknowledged in a published letter of gratitude written with utmost Marinesque wit: "I received the Diana that you sent to me with the veneration that is worthy of such a Goddess. I would thank you for such a great expression, if the beauty of the gift had not left me stupefied. My misguided soul, having recovered its lost faculties, is pleased to sweetening your mouth even if only with such little sugar, imagining that there must be some bitterness left there as a result of having been deprived of such a beautiful thing."⁷⁹

As with Boschini's and Querini's effusive descriptions of the *Venus and Adonis*, Loredan's words similarly underline the sensuous gorgeousness of the painting and the female figure within the painting that temporarily leads the soul astray. The intricate construction—"si compiacerà V. S. raddolcire la bocca con questo poco di Zucchero; imaginandomi, che possa esserle rimasta qualche amarezza nel privarsi di cosa così bella"—plays on the polyvalence of the verb *compiacere*, which simultaneously means "to please," "to be pleased to do something for someone," and "to take pleasure in something," as well as "to congratulate."

Like the *antioggidiani*, the Incogniti were especially fond of writing mock-epics, such as Antonio Rocco's scandalous *L'Alcibiade fanciullo a scuola* (censured in 1647) and Loredan's *Iliade giocosa* (1653), in which the classical texts were dismantled and remade as modern pastiches. Padovanino's penchant for esoteric wisdom connected with the aesthetic pleasures and desires of the Incogniti circle. The heightened sensualism of his female nudes found a welcome reception within this group of subversive authors, which included novelists like Ferrante Pallavicino, whose *Il principe hermafrodito* we have already encountered and whose equally wicked *Le reti di Vulcano* (1646) wove an intricate poetic web around the story of Venus and her two lovers.⁸⁰ The affective core of this "circle" was based in Venice, but it spread across the political geography of early modern Europe. Padovanino's Venetian assemblage, after all, was but one part of a specific historical context, of which he was

both a shaper and a product—what Ernst Gombrich has termed a “mental set.” The artist, according to Gombrich, “creates his own elite, and the elite its own artists”; both groups, in turn, are bound by shared points of reference: “All culture and all communication depend on the interplay between expectation and observation, the waves of fulfillment, disappointment, right guesses, and wrong moves that make up our daily life. . . . The experience of art is not exempt from this general rule. A style, like a culture or climate of opinion, sets up a horizon of expectation, a mental set, which registers deviations and modifications with exaggerated sensitivity.”⁸¹

Padovanino’s “mental set” was what I have referred to elsewhere as a “Republic of Painting.”⁸² Like the historical model of the Republic of Letters, which connected intellectuals in an academic network across early modern Europe, the Republic of Painting was a cross-border community whose members were bound by a mutual interest in Venetian pictures.⁸³ This was Padovanino’s homosocial machine. Within this virtual republic, Venetian Renaissance painting penetrated the “horizon of expectation” and the “mental set” of initiated viewers who gazed upon seventeenth-century paintings with other images always-already in mind. This art world was both small and international; its “culture or climate of opinion” was both heterogeneous and based on consensus. In the uncertain shifting sociopolitical landscape of seventeenth-century Europe, these multipolar networks of interest banded together to transform individual desires into group interests. It was, in short, utterly rhizomorphic: individuals and groups conversed across class, gender, occupational, and national boundaries with one another through the medium of painting. Artists, poets, agents, patrons, collectors, dealers, and miscellaneous dilettantes were all intimately linked through blood ties, master-pupil connections, patron-client relations, and friendships.

Within this sophisticated and interconnected network, viewers familiar with the codes and tropes of Venetian style were able to develop an appreciation for intentionally referential doubles, an aesthetics of repetition that equipped them to gaze at artworks through a *repetitive* optic. In other words, there was a secret pleasure to being a snob, of belonging to an “in” group, of understanding its codes and references, of being able to identify, quote, invert, parody, and improve those codes. The pleasure taken by the spectator in front of these pictures resided precisely in the fact that they appeared to be something other than what they were and also in the spectator’s ability to identify both the repetition and the difference. Again, this is what separates the reception of a forgery from an homage. The beholder knows that what he or she is looking at is *other* than what he or she sees. The shrewd connoisseur would have been able to unravel the visual puzzle, consciously identifying morphological and iconographical resemblances as well as discrepancies.

Boschini, Pietro Della Vecchia, and Paolo del Sera were intense sites of exchange within the machinic assemblage of Padovanino’s Republic of Painting. Padovanino had been Della Vecchia’s master, Della Vecchia was Boschini’s friend and business partner, and Boschini was Padovanino’s public relations machine. Sera was a Florentine aristocrat-turned-Medici art agent, colleagues of both Pietro and Boschini, and a collector and dealer of Padovanino’s paintings.⁸⁴ In the summer of 1660, Sera informed Leopoldo that the two portraits he went to inspect were either “not by Padovanino” or were by him but “not beautiful.”⁸⁵ In 1668, Sera alerted the

cardinal to a painting in the “most exquisite manner” by Padovanino that portrayed Venus and Adonis with a cupid and a dog in a landscape—an image that would probably have resembled the one that Boschini described in *La carta* and the one previously discussed (see fig. 20).⁸⁶ Boschini, for his part, persisted with his enthusiastic promotion of Padovanino, and in 1674 we find him writing to the Medici cardinal, telling him of a beautiful painting of the artist’s wife by “a great virtuoso amongst the moderns who is no longer living called Alessandro Varotari, also known as Il Padovanino.”⁸⁷ It is unclear whether Leopoldo bought the portrait of Padovanino’s wife, but we find Boschini writing to him again the following year about a most fascinating trio of pictures that he was trying to negotiate from his friend Dario, Padovanino’s son: a portrait of Dario Varotari the elder by Padovanino, a portrait of Padovanino by his sister Chiara, and a portrait of Chiara by her brother Padovanino.⁸⁸

The collecting members within this seventeenth-century Republic of Painting not only were familiar with the styles and themes of the different Venetian painters—a knowledge reinforced through a century of visual repetition—but also actively sought to own these *repetitive* works. The artists among them not only responded to but also manipulated and shaped those desires. Inventories from this period attest to the collection of old masters (especially Titian, Tintoretto, and Veronese) as well as modern painters like Padovanino, Pietro Della Vecchia, Nicolas Regnier, Palma Giovane, Daniel van den Dyck, and Pietro Liberi.⁸⁹ Pietro Della Vecchia was associated with van den Dyck, a Flemish painter—they had supplied Loredan with engravings for his various publications.⁹⁰ Van den Dyck was a compatriot of Regnier, whose daughter, Lucrezia, he married. Regnier, meanwhile, married off his other daughter, Clorinda, to Della Vecchia.⁹¹ Liberi, also Padovanino’s former student, was connected with illustrious patrons across Europe. He sailed the Mediterranean, studied in Rome, and was eventually invited to paint in the Habsburg imperial court in Brussels. In 1659, he returned to Venice and described the fabulous gallery of Leopold Wilhelm to Boschini for his book:

Oh regal gallery, where divine hands
 have painted celestial things!
 The great Leopold is the owner of these,
 the archduke and clement prince of Austria.

Treasurer of painting and good taste;
 secretary of artful brushstrokes;
 demigod protector of Virtuosi,
 a sublime mind with august judgment.

This gallery is not a gallery,
 but several rooms and salons,
 which are all decorated with paintings and panels.
 A year would not be enough to contemplate them all.⁹²

Leopoldo de’ Medici and Leopold Wilhelm were two of Padovanino’s important connections beyond Venice. Boschini’s *La carta*, published in Venice in 1660,

was strategically dedicated to the Habsburg archduke, who possessed possibly the grandest collection of Venetian paintings, including Padovanino's *Judith with the Head of Holofernes* (fig. 63) and one of Pietro Della Vecchia's Giorgionesque *bravi*, or soldier pictures. Some of the Venetian paintings in his vast collection were acquired from Regnier.⁹³ But before we lose ourselves in a myopic examination of these individuals and their relationships with one another, let me return to the Republic of Painting as a rhizomorphic construction. It was not so much a question of who knew whom, but of what these men and women had in common—a shared visual knowledge—and how those interests produced a particular taste for the *repetitive*. The correspondence between Sera, Boschini, and the Medici cardinal points to a strategic commercial promotion of modern painters at that specific time around the 1660s and 1670s, some decades after Padovanino's death and at the precise moment when Padovanino was himself in the process of *becoming ancient*. On one occasion, Boschini provided Leopoldo with a list of some thirty-odd painters, beginning with Padovanino—"a painter of great acclaim as you can see in his public and private works"—whom the cardinal should consider as the best contemporary artists in Venice.⁹⁴ The letter is undated, but I would venture to guess that it coincides with the publication of *La carta* in 1660, if not earlier.

La carta, Boschini's elaborate Marinesque book, may have been a historical monument of the great Venetian painters of the past told through the dialogue of two men, Ecelenza and his guide Compare, who traveled around the watery lagoons of Venice, but, more important, it was also a history-in-the-becoming of the next generation of Venetian "masters." In seven books, or "winds" (*venti*), Boschini's Compare attempts to answer the question posed by Ecelenza at the beginning: "What's new in painting? . . . What should I buy? What should I look for? What should I ask for?"⁹⁵ Boschini replies that everyone wants Venetian art and that paintings by the old masters are sold right out of churches and are even stolen.⁹⁶ Time and again, however, Compare's response is that the legacy of the cinquecento masters lives on in the new artists of today. To this end, Dario Varotari the younger, Padovanino's son, composed for Boschini the following epigraph that introduced the sixth *vento*:

Rivers derive from early springs in order to grow
into roaring seas. Trunks come first
from branches but are transformed into sublime trees.
The deceased Testator lives on in the heir.⁹⁷

The sixth and seventh *venti* were dedicated to the discussion of all the artists working in Venice in Boschini's time. In the eighth *vento* Compare sends a series of drawings to Ecelenza, who has retired to his villa, so that he can create his own "modern gallery" consisting of works by contemporary artists—that is, the generation of new moderns in the 1660s.⁹⁸ Like the *antioggidiani*, and recalling Titian's inscription in *An Allegory of Prudence* (see fig. 50), Boschini was concerned that the men of his day invest in the present, so that the future would not be put in jeopardy.

This brings me to the second Leopold—the Habsburg archduke and governor of the Spanish Netherlands, Leopold Wilhelm, and the dedicatee of Boschini's *La*

FIG. 63. PADOVANINO
Judith with the Head of Holofernes,
ca. 1620–25, oil on canvas,
132 × 96 cm (52 × 37⁷/₈ in.)
Dresden, Staatliche
Kunstsammlungen,
Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister



carta. In the decades before the publication of *La carta*—years that included the last decade of Padovanino’s life—Leopold’s court artist, David Teniers II, was preoccupied with two projects. The first was a series of gallery paintings in which Leopold is shown in the middle of fantastic rooms surrounded by his exquisite possessions and his courtly entourage. In each of the painted representations, framed pictures from a similar meta-set are exhibited in various locales, always in different configurations of paintings and always in different rooms. Like a large sliding puzzle, these self-aware images visualize another sort of machinic assemblage whose individual parts represent a history of sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century Italian painting. Several versions of these imaginary views of the Habsburg archduke in his gallery of actual paintings were painted in the late 1640s and 1650s, including one in which we see Padovanino’s *Judith* hanging prominently on the top register (fig. 64).

In this canvas Leopold is depicted in an elegant robe, wearing a tall hat and striding forward like an actor on stage.⁹⁹ The archduke is framed by an unveiled Raphael to his left and an enormous Titian that looms above him. Bracketed between Titian’s *Diana and Callisto* (1556–59; Edinburgh, National Gallery) and his *Nymph and the Shepherd* (1570; Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum) is Padovanino’s *Judith*. Directly below the Padovanino stands Teniers, Leopold’s court painter and author of this painting. He has paused in his activities, looks up from the letters in his hands, and gazes in the direction of his master. Several chance associations present themselves. A Tintoresque portrait, *Doge Francesco Donato*, finds itself unexpectedly surrounded by a gang of “delicious nudes.” A tearful Saint Peter from Ribera’s workshop ridiculously turns his eyes heavenward only to be confronted by the hyperbolic display of the reclining nymph’s behind. Even Padovanino’s virtuous *Judith* loses her way among the spectacle of breasts, bottoms, and backs in this upper register. On the lateral wall near the door, one of Bordone’s paintings of Venus and Cupid runs perpendicular to a wall with two similar pastoral landscapes: one shows a Titian Holy Family resting on the flight into Egypt; the other shows a rape scene by Giorgione. In the foreground on the right, van Dyck’s portrait of Isabella Clara Eugenia, shown in her nun’s habit, is somewhat comically placed next to two sensuous representations of idealized beauties by Titian and his workshop. On the opposite side, the twisted pose of Veronese’s dying Saint Sebastian is parodied in the statuette of the nude Venus next to Teniers. Beyond the door in the background, the attentive spectator can just catch a glimpse of the much-praised *derrière* that belongs to Titian’s *Venus and Adonis*.

It has been suggested that these gallery paintings were sent to the archduke’s friends and associates to announce (and celebrate, no doubt) his successful acquisition of the much-coveted collections of Charles I and James Hamilton, duke of Hamilton, which were liquidated to provide much-needed cash in the chaos of the English Civil War. In 1660, the same year as Boschini’s *La carta* and about a decade after the gallery paintings and Padovanino’s death, Teniers published the highlights from Leopold’s collection in a sumptuous illustrated catalog known as the *Theatrum Pictorium*, the second project that occupied his energy in this period. It is a magnificent vanity piece, containing over two hundred engravings, of which at least eighty percent were made after pictures by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century

FIG. 64. DAVID TENIERS II
(FLEMISH, 1610–90)
The Gallery of the Archduke
Leopold Wilhelm, ca. 1651,
oil on canvas, 105 × 130 cm
(41 3/8 × 51 1/4 in.)
Madrid, Museo del Prado





FIG. 65. JAN VAN TROYEN (BELGIAN, CA. 1610-?), AFTER DAVID TENIERS II (FLEMISH, 1610-90) After Padovanino's *Judith with the Head of Holofernes*, engraving, 24.3 × 17 cm (9⁵/₈ × 6³/₄ in.) From *Davidis Teniers Antuerpiensis, Pictoris... Theatrum Pictorium...* (Antwerp: exstant apud Henricum Aertssens typographum, 1660), pl. 37

Venetian artists. Teniers is said to have made small-scale sketches after each of the paintings that were reproduced. These *modelli* were then distributed to a team of engravers who tried to preserve some degree of stylistic “authenticity” in their translations. Each print details the name of the author of the painting—*p[inxit]*—on the left-hand side and the name of the author of the print—*s[culpfit]*—on the right-hand side; some editions also indicate the dimensions of the painting. The various reproductive prints of Leopold’s marvelous theater of paintings were then compiled and bound. Many of the images in the *Theatrum* also appeared in the gallery paintings of the previous decade.

The economic efficiency of the print medium served to advertise the richness and extensiveness of Leopold’s enviable collection and to raise the visibility of his symbolic capital within the Republic of Painting. It was published with an international audience in mind. The volume of reproductive engravings was prefaced by a short introductory text in Latin, Spanish, French, and Flemish. The first edition came out in 1660, followed by subsequent reeditions in 1673, 1684, and again in the eighteenth century. In the pages of this virtual, portable, and transportable gallery, Padovanino’s *Judith* reappears (fig. 65). Reduced to a linear cliché in black and white, she looks back contemplatively behind her shoulder, ready to leave with Holofernes’s decapitated head in her hands but ready also to be severed from Padovanino and remade in the intentions of Padovaninos to come.

Notes

1. Carracci, as quoted in Sohm, *Style*, 51.
2. Carracci, as quoted in Mahon, *Studies*, 254: “noi altri Dipintori habbiamo da parlare con le mani.”
3. Rabelais, as cited in Greene, *Light in Troy*, 32.
4. See Battaglia, *Grande dizionario*, 10:658–60 (s.v. “moderno”).
5. Gramigna, *Paragone*, 114: “Zeusi anche, e Protogene, e Teopompo, e Apelle tolsero nel dipingere alcune parti da Sauria, e da Cratone, che ritrovatori furono di quest’arte, e non per imitarle, mà per renderle, come avvenne, più belle. In somigliante maniera da Omero spiccarono alcune cose gl’Italiani Poeti, mà tanto gentilmente, e di tanto splendore l’adornarono, ch’egli mai per sua fattura, se visse, non le riconoscrebbe.”
6. Gramigna, *Paragone*, 90–91, 99: “fissa l’occhio in questo occhiale, e vedute, e pesate bene tutte le cose dimmi se pari v`a la bilancia del tuo Ercole à quella che io ti presento ora innanzi del Colombo”; and “Mà odi se garegginò, o se avanzino le attioni di un Francesco Primo Rè di Francia, o di un’Imperador Carlo Quinto, o di un Solimano quelle di Alessandro?... Altro valore hebbe Francesco che Poro, altro spirito Carlo, che Dario, & altra fierezza Solimano che le Ammazioni, o che gl’Indiani.”
7. Smith, “Theory and Practice,” 218 n. 3.
8. Beni, *L’anticrusca*, 4: “Goffredo raccolte tutte le virtù, che overo in Achille, overo in Ulisse, o pur’anco nel pietoso Enea si ritrovano, aggiungendovi la perfettione delle virtù Christiane.” This quote appears in the first discourse, titled “Che Torquato Tasso nel suo Gerasammele habbia rappresentato molto più nobile e perfetta Idea di valoroso Capitano e Heroe, che Homero e Virgilio.”
9. Fumaroli, “Les abeilles,” 56, identifies Tassoni’s *La secchia rapita* (composed and published in pieces throughout the 1620s) as a model for Pope’s *Rape of the Lock* (1712–14) and as a forerunner of the modern novel in its absurd inversion of the classical epic poem.
10. Tassoni, *Pensieri diversi*, 562. The *Dieci libri di pensieri diversi* was first published in 1608 as *Parte de quisiti del s. Alessandro Tassoni*, but it was only 144 pages. The 1620 edition was expanded to 584 pages and retitled; this version was then republished as a slightly longer, corrected edition in 1627 consisting of 683 pages. I would like to thank Michele Ciaccio for clarifying this for me.
11. Tassoni, *Pensieri diversi*, 631–32: “Però passiamo a nostri moderni, tra quali otto ne scieglieremo ancor noi, che se la Grecia gli havesse havuti, son sicurissimo, che havrebbe composti otto volumi di Romanzi di più. Saranno questi Tiziano, Rafaello da Urbino, Michelagnolo Buonaroti, Andrea del Sarto, il Parmigianino, Antonio da Correggio, Alberto Duro, e Leonardo da Vinci.”
12. Tassoni, *Pensieri diversi*, 632–34.
13. Franco, *Poems*, 35.
14. Tassoni, *Pensieri diversi*, 564: “Le presenti noi le vediamo con le imperfezioni che hanno, e con quelle, che l’invidia ritrova. [M]a l’antiche, e perdute, noi le stimiamo a doppio di quel che furono, perche i loro mancamenti non si possono vedere, e le lodi sono state agg[er]andite da gli scrittori con pompa di parole affettate.”
15. Gramigna, *Paragone*, 110: “non tutte le gratie hà versato ’l Cielo sopra l’antica età, e che’ di ciò testimonianza altrui rende l’occhiale.”
16. Gramigna, *Paragone*, 122: “Mercurio, non è grande, e non è maravigliosa la forza di quest’occhiale? Quel che per lungo corso di anni hà riputato sempre altri inimitabile, mostrato hà breve hora che non pure imitar si può, mà avanzare.”
17. The Italian title is: “Che’n fatti non è vero ch’il Mondo sia HOGGIDI’ più cattivo, malitioso, e pieno di vitij, che per l’adietro fosse, e che quella si famosa Età dell’oro non solamente celebrata da’ Poeti, ma creduta etiamdio da gravi Autori, non fu mai, anzi è un mero sogno de gli Antichi, e moderni HOGGIDIani.” Giulio Mancini may have been an important source for Lancellotti’s opinions regarding modern painters; cf. Salerno in his commentary to Mancini, *Considerazioni*, 2:xxxii.
18. Lancellotti, *L’hoggidi*, 545: “questo benedetto GIÀ... un GIÀ, nel quale gli huomini sieno santissimi, e quasi massicci d’oro”; cf. Fumaroli, “Les abeilles,” 76–77, who points out that Lancellotti dedicated the first edition of his treatise to Maffeo Barberini in 1623, the year of his election to the papacy. The emphasis upon the glory of the moderns must, therefore, be read within the political context of the ascendancy of the Barberini.
19. Taken from the title of the seventy-sixth *ragguagli* of Boccalini, *Parnaso*, 150: “L’antica Republica Romana, e la moderna libertà Venetiana, ragionano tra loro de’ premij, & honori, che danno a Senatori.” He adds: “la Romana discorrevà delle passate sue grandezze, & la Venetiana, delle presenti sue felicitadi.” For similar sentiments, see also Brusoni, *Il camerotto*, 1–2: “Vanto la favolosa Antichità fra le Glorie del Mare, che dal suo grembo nascesse con grazioso prodigio Venere la Dea della Bellezza... i lumi della verace Gloria moderna, che apporta alle Marine dell’Adria la nascita della prodigiosa Dea della Beltà VINEZIA.”
20. Beni, *L’anticrusca*, 84–85: “Petrarca Prencipe e Padre del Lirico Italian Poema... Anzi già che il Petrarca dimorò lungo spatio di tempo in questa Città di Padoa”; and on Tasso: “il qual’anco bevve il latte delle dottrine in Padoa, et in Padova essercitò lo stile & il canto.” On the superiority of Petrarch over Dante, see also Beni, *Il cavalcanti*, 118–19. Ariosto, Tasso, and the entire Italian language would be denigrated subsequently for similar ideological motives by academicians eager to establish French as the universal language under the auspices of the state-sponsored Académie Française; cf. Fumaroli, “Les abeilles,” 24–52.

21. Boschini, *La carta*, 3–4:

quando me xe vengù pensier de fabricar sta mia Nave Pitoresca. . . . E de più el me ha anche provisto d'un squero capace per tal efeto, che xe Venezia, sun el qual con ogni diligenza Zambelin gh'ha piantà el primo sesto; avendo per agiutanti so fradel Zentil e Vettor Carpacio. El Tentoreto ha dà el dessegno; perché l'abia forma tal, che la resista in ogni Mar. Zorzon gh'ha aplicà el timon, per poderla orzar e pozar secondo i bisogni. El Pordenon xe andà a formando i corbami a misura, col scurzarli e slongarli, come comporta la bona forma. El Bassan gh'ha fato le boche porte, per dar lume a le giave e camera del Patron. El Ziloti gh'ha piantà l'alboro dreto e sodo. El Salviati el trincheto. Paris Bordon gh'ha indorà la pupa. Paulo Veronese l'ha adornà d'un fanò, tuto inzogelà. El Schiaon, bon calafao, gh'ha calcà le stope. Palma Vecchio l'ha impalmada, azzò che la scora più veloce. . . assistendo a tute ste fonzion el peritissimo Tician, vero Armiragio dela Pitura. E subito alestida, el Tentoreto l'ha armizada de tuto ponto, con tre man de bataria. . . . Tician Peota, come quello che cognosse tuti i venti, dove che no 'l puol falar la strada; Palma Vecchio, so consegier e assistente; Zorzon Parcenevole, come quello che ha sborsà i primi talenti, per fabricar la Nave; Timonier el Schiaon, per el più fiero e teribile; Capo de Bombardieri el Tentoreto. . . . El Bassan tien in man el batifuogo, per impizzar le Michie e 'l feral in tempo de note. Sora cargo Paulo Veronese, come quello che sa tegnir i conti giusti e dar satisfazion a tuti. . . . Alessandro Varotari Alfier dele soldadesche.

22. Boschini, *La carta*, 718 (*Breve istruzione*): “Se Tiziano fece naturali i Bambini, questi li nutrì di vivacissimo latte, se quello fece spiritosa la Gioventù, questo la rappresentò consimile; se vigorosa partorì la Virilità, questo le diede vigoria e fierezza di membra; se la Vecchiezza grave e decorosa, ed egli la fece tutta maestosa ed esemplare.”
23. Boschini, *La carta*, 718–19 (*Breve istruzione*): “Questo si distingue da Tiziano perché certo, per il tempo posteriore, si vedono le sue opere più fresche e più nuove, ed in particolare le carni impastate propriamente di sangue, misto con il latte.”
24. Bryson, *Tradition and Desire*, 37.
25. See the discussion in Cropper, *Domenichino Affair*, 138.
26. Marino, “How To Steal,” 458; cf. Marino, *La sampogna*, 42–43: “L'incontrarsi con altri scrittori può adivenire in due modi, o per caso, o per arte. . . . Ad arte et a bello studio può fare altresì per uno di questi tre capi: o a fine di tradurre, o a fine d'imitare, o a fine di rubare.”
27. Marino, “How To Steal,” 458; cf. Marino, *La sampogna*, 43: “Tradurre intendo, non già vulgarizzare da parola a parola, ma con modo parafrastico, mutando le circostanze della ipotesi et alterando gli accidenti senza guastar la sostanza del sentimento originale.”
28. Marino, “How To Steal,” 459; cf. Marino, *La sampogna*, 47: “Né parlo di quella imitazione la qual dice Aristotele esser propria del poeta, quella che si confà con la natura et da cui nasce il verisimile e per conseguenza il dilettevole, ma di quella che ci 'nsegna a seguir le vestigia de' maestri più celebri che prima di noi hanno scritto.”
29. Marino, “How To Steal,” 458; cf. Marino, *La sampogna*, 43: “Le cose belle son poche et tutti gl'intelletti acuti, quando entrano nella specolazione d'un soggetto, corrono dietro alla traccia del meglio, onde non è maraviglia se talora s'abbattono nel medesimo.”

30. For the scandal surrounding Domenichino's altarpiece, see Cropper, *Domenichino Affair*; and Loh, “New and Improved.”
31. Giralaldi, *Discorsi*, 157: “che da lui [Bembo] sono state composte ad imitatione del Petrarca. . . . Questo [Petrarch] medesimo fe egli anco in quelle lettere latine, che brevi sono dette. . . composte ad imitatione di Marco Tullio.”
32. Giralaldi, *Discorsi*, 168: “Le comparationi danno gran spirito, & gran valore alle cose Poetiche.”
33. Castelvetro, *Art of Poetry*, 276.
34. Lancellotti, *L'hoggidi*, n.p. (letter to Giovanni Tomaso Giglioli): “in un libro sieno molti libri, e che per la bocca d'un'Autore parlino moltissimi Autori. Diletto grande disse Aristotele sogliamo sentire, quando veggiamo venire in concorrenza due di forze eguali, ò fra quali non sappiamo conoscere molta differenza.”
35. Mirollo, *Poet of the Marvelous*, 132–39.
36. Mirollo, *Poet of the Marvelous*, 128.
37. Boschini, *La carta*, 671: “El possieder è miel, che ve indolcisse.”
38. Querini, *Vezi di Erato*, 128 (“Adone asciugato da Venere, tornando sudato dalla Caccia, di Alessandro Varottari in Casa di David Spinelli”):

QUEL vago Adon, che vivo è nel tuo lino,
VAROTTARI divino,
Hor ch'ale labra Amore
Accostandosi il corno,
Empie d'aure sonore il bosco intorno,
Già già col suo Tisbino
Moverebbe di novo il piè spedito
Dela Caccia al'invito;
Senon fosse ch'aspetta,
Che la Diva diletta
Del volto bel sù gl'infocati avori
Gli rasciughi i sudori.

39. In Marino's line—“Ah vedi Amor, ch'a bocca, per volerlo destar, si pone il corno” (Look at Cupid who puts the horn to his mouth in order to awaken him)—the verb *destar* means both “awaken” and “arouse”; Marino, *La galeria*, 12 (“Adone che dorme in grembo a Venere di Giacomo Palma”):
- Di sonno Adon trabocca,
Venere bella, e nel tuo sen vezzoso
Con languido riposo
Tra le gravi palpebre a poco a poco
Sepelisce il tuo foco.
Scoti scoti dintorno
L'ali del vento, e voi versate Amori
Pioggia di fiori. Ah vedi Amor, ch'a bocca,
Per volerlo destar, si pone il corno.
Dormir si lasci il giorno,
Purche con doppia usuria ci sconti poi
Di nottarne fatiche i sonni suoi.
40. Ruggeri, *Padovanino*, 108: “si tratta infatti di un'interpretazione del testo veronesiano secondo quell'inclinazione al cromatismo del giovane Tiziano che è tipica del Varotari.”
41. Marini and Piovene, *L'opera completa*, 118 (nos. 185a–c), 106 (no. 101), 118 (no. 185d).
42. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 50 (2.847–51).
43. Stigliani, *Dello ochieale*, 27–28:

Il vero principio doveva in questo Poema essere . . .
l'innamoramento d'Adone, il vero mezo i travagli di quello,
ed il vero fine il congiugnimento con Venere. . . . la presente favola non sia un tutto integrale, quale dovrebbe essere

- s'avesse à dilettere, e quale la desiderano i predetti maestri: ma sia un tutto aggregato, il quale per se è cosa sazievolissima... Il tutto integrale è quello, il quale componendosi distintamente di parti certe, e limitate, non può essere nè scemato, nè accresciuto, nè mutato, ch'egli non si distrugga, o almeno non si danneggi.
44. Marino, as discussed in Mirollo, *Poet of the Marvelous*, 275.
 45. Herrico, *L'occhiale appannato*, 30: "In questo si deve non scusare, ma lodare molto il Marino, per haver saputo cavare l'oro dal fango."
 46. Bartoli, "Dell'uomo," 330: "Non è rubare sapere quasi con un po' di leggiera schiuma di mare mescolar il seme celeste del suo ingegno, sì che quella ch'era inutile e vile materia divenga non meno d'una Venere, formandosene componimento di più che ordinaria bellezza."
 47. Marino, "How To Steal," 459; cf. Marino, *La sampogna*, 52: "Le statue antiche et le reliquie de' marmi distrutti, poste in buon sito et colloate con bell'artificio, accrescono ornamento et maestà alle fabbriche nuove."
 48. Tesauo, in Donato, "Tesauo's Poetics," 23 n. 21: "il mirar con gli occhi, & il contemplar con l'Intelletto, son due specie Analoghe di Conoscenza."
 49. Donato, "Tesauo's Poetics," 22.
 50. Readers interested in the complicated hierarchy of these various forms should consult the thorough analysis provided by Proctor, "Emanuele Tesauo"; and Mirollo, *Poet of the Marvelous*, 116–60.
 51. Quintilian, *Orator's Education*, 5:307 (12.10.48). On *sententiae*, see Peregrini, *Delle acutezze*, 16–18, 162–76; on *scherzo* as a visual parallel for this, see Colantuono, "Scherzo."
 52. Aristotle, *Rhetoric and Poetics*, 191.
 53. Tesauo, "Aristotelian Telescope," 480; cf. Tesauo, *Il cannocchiale*, 301: "Onde maggiore è il tuo diletto: nelle maniera, che più curiosa & piacevol cosa è mirar molti obietti per un'istrafóro di prospettiva, che se gli originali medesimi successivamente ti venisser passando dinanzi agli occhi. Opera (come dice il nostro Autore) non di stupido, ma di acutissimo ingegno."
 54. Tesauo, "Aristotelian Telescope," 480, 469, and 480; Tesauo, *Il cannocchiale*, 301: "perochè in queste, noto è il suono, & nuovo il significato; in quelle; noto è il significato; il suono è nuovo"; and 116: "vecchia nella sostanza, & novella nella maniera."
 55. Roncaglia, as quoted in Barkan, *Unearthing the Past*, 13: "un quadro di mano di Tiziano dove era dipinto il Lacoonte."
 56. Bellori, *Le vite*, 260: "Dipinse il Van Dyck li ritratti del Rè medesimo, e della Regina in mezze figure tenendo frà di loro un ramo di mirto, un altro con li figliuoli; & il Rè à cavallo ad imitatione di Carlo Quinto espresso da Titiano."
 57. Lope de Vega, as quoted in Ligo, "Two Seventeenth-Century Poems," 351: "el nuevo Ticiano."
 58. Pallavicino, as quoted in Zárate, *Gracián*, 100.
 59. Peregrini, *Delle acutezze*, 136: "Della Amfibolia, o senso doppio, Cicerone disse: *ex ambiguo dicta argutissima putantur*. La ragione è, perche il senso doppio forma l'Ingannevole, ch'è fra i fonti dell'Acutezza il più vezzoso di tutti."
 60. Sturm, *De Imitationes Oratoria* (1574), as quoted in Pigman, "Versions of Imitation," 11. This itself was probably repetitively glossed from Cristoforo Landino's *Disputationes Camaldulenses* (1480), in which the author, adapting an old trope from Seneca, reminds that in imitation one ought "not to be the same as the one we imitate, but to be similar to them in such a way that the similarity is scarcely recognized except by a learned man" (as cited in Goffen, *Renaissance Rivals*, 279–80).
 61. Mooney, *Vico*, 158.
 62. Cropper, *Ideal of Painting*, 11.
 63. There are several versions of the *Adam and Eve*: one version dates to circa 1623 to 1625 and is in the Musée de Grenoble; a second, unsigned version on canvas once belonged to the Barberini in Rome and is now in the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C. (a signed cartoon for this painting is in the Musée du Louvre); a third unsigned version on copper, dating to circa 1631, was made for Domenichino's French doctor who cured him of a great illness (noted by Bellori); cf. Spear, *Domenichino*, 1:239–41, 1:264–65, 1:279–81.
 64. Mahon, Strinati, and Whitfield, *Classicismo e natura*, 185–86; it is proposed that this painting might have been made when the young Maratti was under protection of Corinzio Benincampo, Taddeo Barberini's secretary. There is a second version of the *Susanna* painting in the Liechtenstein Museum, Vienna.
 65. Another version of this picture, attributed to Maratti and Dughet, is recorded in the Chatsworth House collection in Derbyshire, England; in this version, the same figures reappear in a different vertical composition. An eighteenth-century painting after Maratti and Dughet came up at Sotheby's "Old Master Paintings" auction, London (Olympia), 28 October 2004, lot no. 134.
 66. Tesauo, "Aristotelian Telescope," 469; cf. Tesauo, *Il cannocchiale*, 116; see note 54.
 67. See the discussion in Rosand, "Arc of Flame."
 68. Giordano painted at least three other versions based on Titian's *Bacchus and Ariadne* that should be mentioned here; they are in the Gemäldegalerie in Dresden (inv. 484), Kedleston Hall (collection of Lord Scarsdale, National Trust), and the Museo Civico in Verona (inv. 2680).
 69. Baldinucci, as quoted in Ferrari and Scavizzi, *Luca Giordano*, 1:289: "il tutto d'invenzione bellissima accompagnata da un correttissimo disegno da un colorito meraviglioso, e da un innanzi e indietro regolatissimo, ed è opinione che di quadri storici e grandi non abbia mai Giordano fatto di migliore."
 70. Tesauo, "Aristotelian Telescope," 462; cf. Tesauo, *Il cannocchiale*, 17:

L'ARGUTIA VOCALE è una sensibile Imagine dell'Archetipa: godendo ancora l'orecchio le sue pitture, che hanno il suono per colori, & per penello la lingua. Ma Imagine abozzata più tosto che finita; dove l'ingegno intende, più che la lingua non parla, & il concetto supplisce dove manca la voce. Et per contrario, ne' Detti troppo chiari l'Argutia perde il suo lume; sicome le Stelle nella oscurità lampeggiano, si smorzano con la luce. Et di qui nasce il doppio godimento di chi forma un concetto arguto, & di chi l'ode. Perochè l'un gode di dar vita nell'intelletto altrui, à un nobile parto del suo: & l'altro si rallegra d'involar col proprio ingegno ciò che l'ingegno altrui furtivamente nasconde: non richiedendosi minor sagacità nell'esporre, che nel comporre una Impresa arguta & ingegnosa.
 71. Peregrini, *Delle acutezze*, 125–26:

IL SOTTOINTESO accade nel Detto ogni volta, che mediante la figura si dicono, & intendono quelle cose, che

- non suonano le parole. In questa occasione l'Ascoltante si diletta per più ragioni. Una è l'accortezza dell'ingegno del Dicitore, che da se stessa fa oggetto molto diletto. L'altra è il proprio atto, il quale per esser grandemente naturale, gli è conseguentemente molto giocondo: un'altra è la riflessione sopra la parte, ch'egli hà nell'intelligenza di Detti simili. Percioche volendosi essere inteso in quello, che non si dice, segue necessariamente, che l'ascoltatore in un certo modo particolare cooperi con la propria sagacità.
72. Marino, "How To Steal," 459; cf. Marino, *La sampogna*, 51: "Gl'intelletti son diversi, et diversissimi gli umori degli uomini, onde ad uno piacerà tal cosa che dispiacerà ad un altro, et taluno sceglierà qualche sentenza d'un autore che da un altro sarà rifiutata."
73. Panofsky, *Galileo*, 16.
74. Sohm, *Pittoresco*, 121–24.
75. On Loredan and the Incogniti, see Miato, *L'Accademia*; and Baldassarri, "Acutezza" e "ingegno."
76. On Padovanino's connections with the Incogniti, see Valone, "Il Padovanino" and Loh, "Originals."
77. Querini, *Vezi di Erato*, 128 ("Adone asciugato da Venere") (discussed in note 38); and Michiele, *Delle poesie*, 181 ("Nesso ucciso da Hercole del Sign. Alessandro Varottari):
- Pingi, Alessandro, e con un sol pennello
Figuri à gli occhi nostri in vario aspetto
D'orrore insieme, e di vaghezza oggetto,
Pittore à un punto, e creator novello.
- Rapito io miro, e nel mirar, dal bello
Di rapita beltà prendo diletto,
E m'ingombra d'horror la mente, e 'l peto.
L'Heroe tradito, e 'l traditor rubello.
- Ma voli irata pur l'altrui saetta,
E nel furor di non temprati ardori
Faccia giunger la morte, e la vendetta.
- Che, se, per vendicar gl'offesi amori,
Sdegnato Alcide il suo morire affretta
Vive Nesso ne i lini, e ne i colori.
78. On Arcangela and the Incogniti, see Panizza's introduction in Tarabotti, *Che le donne*, xiii–xxiii; and Miato, *L'Accademia*, 113–20.
79. Among Loredan's many published letters, only two were addressed to artists: the first to Padovanino; the second to Aretmisia Gentileschi. Loredan, *Delle lettere*, 97:
- Ricevo la Dianeia inviatami da V. S. con quella venerazione, che si deve ad una Deità. La ringrazierei d'un'espressione così grande, se la bellezza del dono non mi re[n]desse istupidito. Sono, che l'anima sviata riacquista le sue perdute funzioni, si compiacerà V. S. raddolcire la bocca con questo poco di Zuccherò; imaginandomi, che possa esserle rimasta qualche amarezza nel privarsi di cosa così bella. Sappia in questo mentre, che non poteva più altamente obligarmi, e che vorrò, che le stampe un giorno testimonino questa verità.
80. On Pallavicino, see Riposio, *Il laberinto*, 47–79.
81. Gombrich, *Art and Illusion*, 234, 60.
82. On this, see Loh, "Originals."
83. The literature on the Republic of Letters is enormous; see in particular Goldgar, *Impolite Learning*.
84. On what can only be called the "Boschini-machine," see Fletcher, "Venetian Seventeenth-Century Painting"; and Merling, *Marco Boschini's "La carta"*.
85. Barocchi and Mazza, *Il Cardinal Leopoldo*, 1:235–36: "Le due teste del Padovanin, o non sue o non belle."
86. Procacci and Procacci, "Carteggio," 91 (letter 5): "Questi [the portraits] sono però di mano di gran virtuoso tra moderni che più non vive: et fu Alessandro Varottari detto il Padovanino." See also Barocchi and Mazza, *Il Cardinal Leopoldo*, 1:236.
87. Procacci and Procacci, "Carteggio," 100 (letter 27): "cioè tre teste; uno è il ritratto del detto Alessandro Padoanino fatto dalla nominata Chiara sua sorella ed è in profilo, che è certo somigliante e bello, a mio parere; l'altro è del padre del detto, cioè Dario, fatto da Alessandro, et il terzo della nominata Chiara sorella del detto Alessandro fatto dal detto."
88. Barocchi and Mazza, *Il Cardinal Leopoldo*, 1:237–38: "Un quadro di un Adone et Venere figure intiere di proporzione per metà incirca di naturale, con un amorino, che suona un corno, et un cane levuriero, con un paese della più esquisita maniera di mano di Alessandro Varottari detto il Padovanino, scudi 150."
89. On the wide topic of seicento Venetian collections, see especially Savini Branca, *Il collezionismo veneziano*; and Cecchini, *Quadri e commercio*.
90. These images are discussed and reproduced in Ivanoff, "Gian Francesco Loredan"; and Puppi, "Ignoto deo."
91. On Regnier, see Lemoine, "Nicolas Régnier."
92. Boschini, *La carta*, 57–58:
- Oh regal Galaria, dove depente
Gh'è da divine man cose celeste!
El Gran Leopoldo è 'l possessor de queste,
D'Austria Arciduca e Principe clemente;
- Tesorier de Pitura e del bon gusto;
Secretario dei colpi artificiosi;
Protetor semideo dei Virtuosi;
Mente sublime, intendimento augusto.
- Sta Galaria no xe una Galaria,
Ma quantità de sale e de saloni,
Tuti adobai de quadri e de quadroni,
Che a contemplarli un ano no faria.
93. Díaz Padrón and Royo-Villanova, *David Teniers*, 33.
94. This letter was published in Procacci and Procacci, "Carteggio," 100 (document 29): "pittore di gran grido come da le opere sue sì in publico come in privato si può vedre."
95. Boschini, *La carta*, 21:
- Che cosa gh'è da niovo in la Pitura?
So che vu praticchè tuti i Pituri,
E diversi discorsi avé con lori
Sora sta profession per aventura.
- Ghe xe curiosità? gh'è forestieri,
Che compra, che ricerca, che domanda?
So che ghe ne concorre d'ogni banda,
Più lesti che no xe cani levrieri.
- Conteme un puoco in sto particular
Qualche galantaria de curioso:
Ché vivo più che mai desideroso
De sentir de Pitura a rasonar.
96. See Boschini, *La carta*, 22–23, on the greed of the "Sanseri," the "trafugai" of paintings, and the fortune of the "Oltromontani."
97. Varotari, in Boschini, *La carta*, 407:

Dai primi Fonti a derivar se vede
Fiumi, in Mari cressui; dai tronchi primi
Rami, conversi in albori sublimi.
El morto Testador vive in l'Erede.

98. Varotari, in Boschini, *La carta*, 623:

Per dover far moderna Galaria,
Se procura modelli, e se dichiara
Come ogni Dio (per via d'insonio), a gara,
Un Pitor receudo ha in so balia.

Boschini's engravings after works allegedly made for him include the following artists: Nicolas Regnier, Daniel van den Dyck, Pietro Ricchi, Filippo Bianchi, Antonio Triva, Giovanni Battista Langetti, Bortolo Donati, Charles Cussin, Francesco Mantoan, Joseph Heintz the Younger, Monsù Giron, Tylman van Gameren, Domenico Maroli, Conrad Filger, Domenico Bruni, Matteo Ponzoni, Pietro Liberi, Pietro Della Vecchia, Girolamo Forabosco, Carlo Ridolfi, Bartolommeo Scaligero, Pietro Bellotto, Dario Varotari the younger, Stefano Pauluzzi, Ermanno Stroiffi, Francesco Maffei, and Giacomo Maffei.

99. All of the paintings within the painting have been identified by Díaz Padrón and Royo-Villanova, *David Teniers*, 55, whose catalog remains the best source on Teniers's gallery pictures. On the gallery pictures, see also the discussion in Stoichita, *Self-Aware Image*.

This page intentionally left blank

Sublime Trees and Deterritorialized Branches

The creation of Padovanino's bacchanals represents an important moment not only in the life of the artist but also in the life of Venetian art. Boschini referred to the *Triumph* as a "Titianesque mixture" and claimed that it brought Padovanino fame throughout the world.¹ This was probably just Boschinian enthusiasm. On a more local scale, the return of the bacchanals to their homeland—the return, that is, of Titian's early style to a Venice whose style had dramatically changed—was a momentous occasion that had as much impact for the Venetians in 1614 as the Aldobrandini heist had for the Roman art world in 1598. Padovanino's copies after Titian's bacchanals documented Venetian style as seen through the eyes of the stylistic father, Titian. Padovanino's *Triumph*, however, was a testament of a new and improved vision of Venetian painting: the father's style remade by the confident son. The young artist had been nurtured not only by his chosen father but also by his unexpected adoptive family in Rome (Michelangelo, Raphael, the Carracci, Domenichino, Albani, Reni, and others). Padovanino's four paintings, in turn, represented the legacy that he handed down, literally, to his own sons and, symbolically, to his pupils. The "renewal" of Venetian style that occurred at the beginning of the seicento, then, was ultimately brought about through the exchange that took place in Venice and Rome between fictive fathers and the stylistically orphaned son. Padovanino was the missing link that reconnected Venetian artists with their past; he was the external force who returned "Venice" to itself, the modern who remade the past for the men of the present so that they might father better sons for the future.

The marble plaque that commemorated Ascanio's donation of his father's *Self-Portrait* to the Collegio dei Sedici attested to the love and devotion that existed between the father and his son, between the painter and his *patria*, and between the son and father and the father's native land. Here again is the inscription:

ALEXANDER VAROTARIUS PATAVINUS PROTOGENES
 TITULI MAGNITUDINEM HORREAT ALIUS
 TU QUI CALLES ARTEM VEL IN HAC UNA QUA
 SE FINXIT ICONE
 MAGNO NOMINI LOCUM INVENIES
 TABULAM ASCANIUS FILIUS ASSESSOR

URBI DONO DEDIT VEL ALEXANDRUM
PATRIAE REDDIDIT QUAE
UT PATRIS INGENIUM SIBI FILII
PIETATEM PATRI DUXIT HORNAMENTO
SIC AMBORUM MERITIS TALEM HEIC REPENDIT.²

Padovanino is at once himself, Protogenes, and *proto-genes*—the “firstborn” who inspires awe in others. As the firstborn he is the parent of the future, but as *another* Protogenes he is the heir of the past. In painting his *Self-Portrait*, Padovanino addressed himself to the knowledgeable spectator; and in donating his father’s portrait to the city, Ascanio restored his father Padovanino to his fatherland.

The Latin verb *reddere* here suggests “to give back,” but it can also mean “to repeat, recite, translate, imitate, and remake.” Ascanius was himself named after a legendary great son—Aeneas and Creusa’s—who fled from Troy as it fell and who founded Alba Longa, the mythic city of Rome. As the *filius assessor* he was his father’s son and companion and his assistant as well. Padovanino in turn was a son grateful to his fatherland, the city of Padua. What is narrated in this inscription is an allegory of filial love and piety.

This reading is confirmed by Ascanio. In one of his published letters, addressed to the Paduan doctor and academician Girolamo Frizimelica and written on the occasion of the donation of his father’s *Self-Portrait*, Ascanio explained: “I, who am Ascanius, wish to follow Aeneas’s example, who from the flames of his fatherland carried upon his Shoulders his failing father.”³ The theme of inheritance is evident in Ascanio’s direct self-identification as Aeneas’s son; it is also reiterated in his clever use of the word *shoulders*, which, capitalized in the text as *Omeri*, makes a clear reference to Homer’s position as Virgil’s intellectual father. Ascanio’s respect for his father, however, extended beyond the simple poetics of filial piety that were expected in a dedicatory letter of this sort. The generational significance of repetition was made unambiguous when Ascanio continued: “I, too, wish to be good, to raise my dearly missed Father from his fallen funerary ashes, to *perpetuate his memory in my traits*.” In the same letter, Ascanio confessed that he could not do justice to his father’s memory because “he, who was in life celebrated and will live on a celebrated Painter, is far more capable than I to immortalize himself with his art. The pretension of my pen is perhaps too audacious to think that it could illuminate the brilliant shadows of his Brush.” Ascanio then added the poetic lines by a certain “Signor Vendramin”: “With glorious canvases you bring life back to names lost in shadowy oblivion. Stealing souls from the living, you know how to make the dead alive with your brush.” Both Ascanio and Vendramin traded on the codeterminant themes of give and take, life and death, presence and absence, the represented figure and the dead body that emerge in the beholder’s mind before Padovanino’s *Self-Portrait*, and both attended to the duty of the present to protect the memory of the past from oblivion in the future.

Ascanio’s recognition of his role as the good son is reiterated in a moving poem titled “On Himself.”

The son of the pious Trojan once saw the comet's tail [*crine*],
 Burning with miraculous fire [*face*],
 And my daring mind, too, is set on fire
 By the divine flames of the Muses' inspiration.
 From fallen Ilium to his Latin home
 He turned his wandering steps, accompanying his father on the long journey;
 And I, too, following in the footprints of my forefathers,
 Flee from the confines of vulgar baseness.
 Eros changed himself into Ascanius to wound the beautiful Dido;
 With celestial power, Venus's archer
 Enabled me to live on in someone else.
 And if I see him found a great City,
 I also trust that he will build it in my name.
 Better than an extended dawn is an eternal day.⁴

In the letter and the poem, Ascanio's self-awareness of his responsibility as the mythic "Ascanius" is revealed by the Trojan allusions. Ascanio as Ascanius is the good son whose sense of filial piety will ensure that the flame of his father's great name does not go out. This is expressed through the comet and torch metaphors that are implied in the double meaning of the Italian words *crine* and *face* in the first two lines. The greatness of the father—represented here in the references to the flight from Troy and to the story of Aeneas and Dido—lives on in the glorious deeds of the son Ascanius.

The image of Aeneas carrying Anchises out of the flames of Troy, taken from book two of Virgil's *Aeneid*, was a common symbol for the devotion of children to their parents. Andrea Alciati, for instance, used the scene to illustrate the adage *Pietas Filiorum in Parentes* in his *Emblemata* (fig. 66). Ascanio's familiarity with these texts is demonstrated in his adept glossing of the classical references. In book two of the *Aeneid*, the frail father Anchises urges his son to leave immediately as the city falls around them; Aeneas responds, "Can I without so dear a father live?" A few lines farther down, Aeneas then addresses his father:

"Haste, my dear father ('t is no time to wait),
 And load my shoulders with a willing freight.
 Whate'er befalls, your life shall be my care;
 One death, or one deliv'rance, we will share."
 [...]

The welcome load of my dear father take;
 While on my better hand Ascanius hung,
 And with unequal paces tripp'd along.⁵

The repetition in Ascanio's inscription, letter, and poem is strategic and paints a portrait of beloved fathers and good sons. Bloom envisioned influence as anxiety, but Padovanino and his son would have understood that burden to be a willing and welcome one, rather than a resentful and murderous one.



FIG. 66. ANDREA ALCIATI
 (ITALIAN, 1492–1550)
Pietas Filiorum in Parentes,
 engraving, page: 13.5 × 8.5 cm
 (5 3/8 × 3 3/8 in.)
 From Andrea Alciati, *Emblemata*
 v. cl. *Andreae Alciati* (Padua: apud
 Pet. Paulum Tozzium, 1618), 351
 (emblem cxciv)

The allusion to Aeneas and Dido in Ascanio’s poem also underscores the necessity of duty and continuity—that specific theme of *memoria et prudentia* that Tafuri read into early modern Venetian culture. In the third book of the *Aeneid*, the love-struck Aeneas is reminded by the gods that it is up to him to fulfill the prophecy of building a new Troy in Italy. As a result, his love for Dido must be sacrificed for a greater goal. Aeneas leaves Carthage and his beloved Dido so that his son Ascanius can eventually build a new Troy.⁶ Filial piety, extended here to include a devotion to one’s fatherland, therefore, was more important than the satisfaction of individual desires. This sentiment is beautifully summarized in Ascanio’s final lines: “And if I see him found a great City / I also trust that he will build it in my name. / Better than an extended dawn [*un Alba lunga*] is an eternal day [*un giorno eterno*].” The phrase *un Alba lunga* is a gesture to the city that Virgil’s Ascanius built in memory of his ancestors—Alba Longa, or Rome—and functions as a double symbol for a brighter future and for the promise of immortality—*un giorno eterno*.

This optimistic sentiment is borne out in the inscription that Ascanio made for Padovanino, but it also inhabits (in another moment of double belonging) the inscription that Padovanino and his sister Chiara made for their own father, Dario Varotari the Elder, upon his death:

DARIO VAROTARI O VERONENSI
 EX VAROTARIA NOBILI GENTE
 ARGENTINAE OLIM PRINCIPE
 QUAE LUTHERANISMUM FUGIENS
 VERONAM, MOX PATAVIUM SE CONTULIT

A VITA PIETATE AC VIRTUTE CLARISS.

ALEX. F. PICTOR PAT. P.

(Dario Varotari of Verona,
formerly prince of Strasbourg
from a noble family of Varotaria
that fled Lutheranism
to Verona and soon took itself to Padua
in a life most distinguished by piety and virtue.
[Chiara and] Alessandro of the departed Paduan painter.)⁷

Again we find the topos of ancients fleeing the burning city (in this case a northern town consumed by the fires of heresy) so that moderns can find a brighter future. The doubling of Chiara's name in the penultimate line of the inscription (*Clariss[ima]*) betokens not only the beloved daughter but also Dario's life, which was "most distinguished by piety and virtue" on account of the two children who would carry on his profession and the memory of his name. From this love, shared by fathers, sons, daughters, brothers, and sisters, a legacy was born, and this inheritance produced and reproduced itself in a bond of gratitude, rather than parricidal anxiety.

Discussions of imitative strategies often made use of reproductive or generational metaphors. Padovanino's other son, Dario, as mentioned in the last chapter, wrote that modern artists live on in their heirs, like branches that grow into "sublime trees." Seneca the younger and Petrarch (glossing Seneca's letter to the young Lucilius) advised that imitation should operate like the resemblance of a father to his son, rather than of a father to his own portrait, for a "portrait," as Seneca concluded, "is a lifeless thing."⁸ In other words, the Deleuzean "lines of becoming" must be visible, and this visibility must be marked by difference in order for new life to be possible. "In this case," Petrarch explained, "even though there may be a considerable dissimilarity of features, yet there is a certain shadow [that] . . . recalls to our mind the memory of the father . . . something hidden there has this effect."⁹ The Petrarchan-Senecan or biological-generational metaphor became a common trope in both literary and artistic theory.¹⁰ In response to Michelangelo's assertion that those who follow behind the achievement of others will never advance, Francesco Bisagno responded that in their imitation, these men should "be in tune" with their models, not simply in one or two aspects but in all of them. The imitation, he continued, when placed next to the model, becomes "like a Father to the Son, and a Brother to another."¹¹ Bisagno's expansion of the trope from fathers-sons to fathers-sons-brothers is significant, for his model of eclectic imitation required the individual to be attentive not solely to one particular prototype, but to all the parts that composed the whole.

In the history of art, the idea of progress through imitation is sketched out most clearly in Vasari's vision of the three "ages," in which the timid, dry style of the *prima età* is succeeded by the bold innovations of the *seconda età*, and then the breathtaking emotion, grace, and *terribilità* of the *terza età*. This is a system of masters and pupils, fathers and sons, befores and afters—a system that is, on first glance,

an arborescent structure (indeed, even a “sublime tree”). Yet Vasari’s narrative is also cyclical rather than strictly teleological, demonstrating in the same text the idea of progress through repetition.¹² It is a fragmented narrative that moves backward and forward in time and space to construct a “history.”

At the end of the preface to part one, the author explains that he will proceed by school rather than chronologically. Vasari’s *Vite* embraces multiplicity rather than narrow-mindedly staring at singularities. It not only details the lives of the “great masters” but also includes the stories of hundreds of small-time artists who were, eventually, cut out for the abridged versions of “Vasari” that we now hold in our minds.

“Vasari,” after all, was remade by what was to come. Bellori’s method and model in his own *Vite* was restrictively idealist, focusing on constructing a new canon based on the twelve best artists of his own time. These men were drawn from a universal pantheon, and today we can recall them with some degree of confidence: Annibale and Agostino Carracci, Caravaggio, Poussin, Rubens, van Dyck . . . but then it becomes a little more difficult. Also included were Domenichino and Giovanni Lanfranco, and Algardi (but no Bernini). Guido Reni, Carlo Maratti, and Andrea Sacchi were added later, when the canon was expanded to fifteen, but who among us (bar the experts) can honestly remember that François Du Quesnoy, Federico Barocci, and Domenico Fontana were among the original illustrious twelve? This little mnemonic exercise neatly reveals the constructedness of artistic “greatness.”¹³

Although Bellori rather than Vasari is the author to whom we should attribute the mania for singling out paragons of excellence, we must be attentive to the fact that Bellori, too, was transformed by subsequent historians who have reread him through the lessons of neoclassicism. Bellori’s project, to be sure, was all about canon formation, but it was also a forward-looking “modern” enterprise, a history-in-the-becoming. Like Boschini’s *La carta*, Bellori’s *Vite* was an investment in the present so as to ensure the security of the future. The title of Bellori’s work—*Le vite de’ pittori, scultori et architetti moderni*—emphasized this point, whereas Vasari’s title made clear the sweeping historical scope of his project: *Le vite de più eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori italiani da Cimabue in sino à tempi nostri*. Ultimately, even Bellori’s modernity demands reassessment in a discipline that has remade him as a “proto-neo-classicist”—a man who came before, was projected into the future, only to go back to a past forever transformed. “Bellori” becomes a gorgeous, anachronistic construct *avant la lettre* that might be compared to the tragic time traveler in Marker’s *La jetée*.¹⁴

When Dario Varotari wrote his epigraph for Boschini—“Rivers derive from early springs in order to grow into roaring seas. Trunks come first from branches but are transformed into sublime trees. The deceased Testator lives on in the heir”—he was not mapping out a purely linear model of influence and inheritance. All three metaphors reflected a forward-backward comprehension of history—an enfolding and unfolding of time. He was prophetically Deleuzean in this regard. “A stick,” Deleuze and Guattari would write, “is, in turn, a deterritorialized branch.”¹⁵ In retrospect, the historical apparatus in Vasari’s *Vite* can be read not only as an arborescent but also as a rhizomatic system. It is the interconnectedness of the parts that gives an overall structure to the whole. Rather than being subsumed under the name of the “master,” as in Bellori’s *Vite*, students and followers in Vasari’s schema are given

their own biographies, their own voices, and their own spaces, for they, too, might become masters in due course. Each individual artist is inserted within an affective social space, a machinic assemblage unto its own that interacts with other aggregates to form a larger, ever-shifting machine that depends upon the collaboration of all its parts (masters, pupils, rivals, friends, patrons, workshop assistants, and even forgers, robbers, and murderers) in order for the most vital (the Michelangelos, the Raphaels, the Titians) to become intense, luminous points of exchange.

Although genealogies of influence can always be traced retrospectively, history is also a more open, disjointed enterprise. This is one of Foucault's enduring lessons. In "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History" (published in French in 1971), Foucault began with a simple postulate: "1. Genealogy is gray, meticulous, and patiently documentary. It operates on a field of entangled and confused parchments, on documents that have been scratched over and recopied many times."¹⁶ Foucault identifies two forms of genealogy. The first corresponds to a historical procedure that seeks to "capture the exact essence of things, their purest possibilities, and their carefully protected identities" to reconstruct "the image of a primordial truth" and "to ultimately disclose an original identity."¹⁷ This produces the mania of interpretosis against which Nietzsche rallied and against which Foucault outlined a second, different trajectory for genealogy.

Genealogy does not pretend to go back in time to restore an unbroken continuity that operates beyond the dispersion of forgotten things; its duty is not to demonstrate that the past actively exists in the present, that it continues secretly to animate the present, having imposed a predetermined form to all its vicissitudes. Genealogy does not resemble the evolution of a species and does not map the destiny of a people. On the contrary, to follow the complex course of descent is to maintain passing events in their proper dispersion; it is to identify the accidents, the minute derivations—or conversely, the complete reversals—the errors, the false appraisals, and the faulty calculations that gave birth to those things that continue to exist and have value for us; it is to discover that truth or being do not lie at the root of what we know and what we are, but the exteriority of accidents.¹⁸

In place of an idealist methodology fabricating "unbroken continuities," this genealogy of knowledge attends to the very discourses that construct the classificatory systems that seek to naturalize the order of things into the tidy narratives of historical truth.

Vasari's narrative was genealogical in both senses of Foucault's critique: it attempted to chart families of artistic identity while remaining attentive to the vicissitudes of history.¹⁹ It was simultaneously organic and cyclical, on the one hand, and progressive and optimistic, on the other hand. His vision of history permitted individuals to look to the present and future for comfort and hope, rather than merely crying for a lost past; they could invest their creative energy into innovation based on tradition rather than a belated repossession of it. Michelangelo's greatness made it difficult for Vasari to envision an art more perfect, but he was nevertheless confident that the wheel of fortune would rise once more, even if not in his lifetime.

When late-sixteenth-century authors, such as Zuccaro, blamed the “fall of painting” on Tintoretto, they also called upon the “modern painters” of today to rescue the arts from that imagined state of demise.²⁰ When Armenini lamented the decline of painting, he nevertheless wrote *De’ veri precetti della pittura* in the hope that it would find its path again.²¹ Hence, even in the darkest hour of “crisis,” artists of the early seicento were confident of their own position and importance in a larger history vis-à-vis the ancient past.

The worst thing about old age, Plutarch explained, “is that it makes the soul stale in its recollection of the world beyond and anxious to hold on to this world, and so cramps and oppresses it.”²² If anxiety, as Bloom rightly suggested, stems from the fear of one’s own mortality, then the proper allegory for creative anxiety would surely be that of Saturn fearfully devouring his children, rather than of Oedipus consumed by his anxiety about the return of the repressed father.²³ After all, “Oedipus,” as Deleuze and Guattari rightfully reminded us, “is first the idea of an adult paranoid, before it is the childhood feeling of a neurotic.”²⁴

Pliny expressed this “Saturnine theme” in the encounter between Apollodorus and Zeuxis: Apollodorus is cited as having lamented that “Zeuxis robbed his masters of their art and carried it off with him”; it is reiterated in the subsequent show-down that is enacted between Zeuxis’s grapes and Parrhasius’s curtain.²⁵ The contest between Zeuxis (now the old master) and Parrhasius (the talented new disciple) was retold to underline the notion of artistic progress, for, as our *antioggiadano* Tassoni pointed out, Parrhasius was himself eventually surpassed by Timantes.²⁶ Dante repeated the same idea in describing Cimabue outstripped by Giotto.²⁷ Vasari remade both Pliny and Dante in recounting how Giotto painted a fly on the nose of a figure in Cimabue’s painting, fooling his master. If we listen to early modern texts, this sentiment is voiced again and again.

Another variant of this “complex” manifests itself in stories of artists who abandoned their art because of the talent demonstrated by their young disciples. Andrea del Verrocchio gave up painting “in disdain that a child should know more than he”; that child was Leonardo, whose angel in the *Baptism* (1475–85; Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi) was judged to be much better than his master’s figures.²⁸ In his old age, Perino del Vaga is said to have become obsessed with the threat of his own obsolescence. Armenini reported that Perino accepted any job that he could get his hands on, no matter how pitiful the remuneration, because he was fearful of losing out to the rabble of successful young artists in Rome.²⁹ Vasari similarly noted how Perino hired the young artists “all himself, so that they would not get in his way,” for “it annoyed him greatly to see ambitious young men coming forward.”³⁰ Bellini’s biographers pointed out that he was surpassed by his own pupils and was forced to change his style in old age to keep up with them.³¹ Giorgione was outdone at the Fondaco dei Tedeschi by Titian: “the pupil,” Scannelli concluded in looking back on the affair in 1657, “surpasses the master.”³² Titian banned the precocious Tintoretto from his studio when he saw the skill demonstrated in his drawings.³³ Veronese did the same with his students Alienese and Luigi Benefatto.³⁴ One can hardly believe that these little-known seicento artists could ever have been seen as a threat to a painter like Veronese, yet reports from as late as the eighteenth century represented the story in this way.

It was a question of historical perspective, or perhaps the lack thereof. The younger generation were thought to hold the advantage because, like Bernard de Chartres's dwarfs and the *antioggidiani* with their telescopes and microscopes, they could see more. Sante Peranda "followed in his master's footsteps" and ultimately surpassed Palma Giovane.³⁵ Rubens "skimmed off the best" from the Venetian old masters and, in doing so, surpassed them.³⁶ Repeating the same trope that previous biographers used for Titian's and Veronese's paranoia, Bellori wrote in a similar manner about van Dyck's expulsion from Rubens's studio.³⁷

For others, innovation was seen to be the responsibility of the sturdy men of today. Sebastiano del Piombo, less worried about finances, expressed a more accepting attitude of this anxiety: "There are now in the world men of genius who do in two months what I used to do in two years; and I believe that if I live long enough, and not so long, either, I shall find that everything has been painted. And since these stalwarts can do so much, it is well that there should also be one who does nothing."³⁸ For Sebastiano, this entropy belonged to the natural order of things. "Seneca's son," as Greene reminded us, "grows away from the father without ceasing to reveal his parentage, the impress of his precursor. The filial status allows for independence by the same natural law that allows sons to acquire their own faces."³⁹

The Saturnine motif inflected the anecdotal formulation of master-pupil relations in artist biographies, but it, too, was ultimately a trope—a way of retrospectively framing the past. I do not wish to impose it upon the history of art as an alternative narrative, grand or otherwise. For some artists, the past was a welcome support; for others it would indeed become a burden. It was a question of individual temperament. Post-Renaissance *artistic practice*, however, was not crippled by a pervasive anxiety of influence nor was it charged by a sense of continuous iconoclasm. Implicit in the rivalry between generations was also a sense of gratitude and inheritance, and this was especially so for the early modern *moderni*. Not all masters feared their students. Leonardo declared: "He is a poor student who does not excel his master."⁴⁰ Inversely, not all students showed respect for their forefathers. The Neapolitan painter Salvator Rosa claimed that he "was not afraid of Titian, Reni, Guercino, or anyone else."⁴¹ Some Renaissance authors, like Celio Calcagnini, expressed veritable anxiety: "No brilliant minds can make substantial progress unless they have an antagonist (as the Greeks say) with whom they may struggle and wrestle. And we must contend not only with our contemporaries but also with all those who wrote in the past, whom we call our 'silent teachers and masters.' Otherwise we will always be speechless children."⁴²

Giraldi, Calcagnini's pupil, would (ironically enough) go on to write one of the most influential treatises of the sixteenth century on imitation. Calcagnini's anxiety, however, extended from a fear for a lost future rather than a fear of the lost past, from worries that poorly made decisions in the present might result in a generation of "speechless children," whose mute discourses would deliver the memory of their parents to the darkness of historical oblivion. "History," rather than "greatness," was the driving force behind the urgency of the early modern self.

Here history folds over upon itself once more. Let me conclude with one last comparison to underscore the forward-backward, antilinear sense of history that attends to the moments of double belonging and will prevent us from aestheticizing

the past into a grand narrative construct. At two moments possibly around the middle of the seventeenth century, Dario Varotari the younger made two prints in his capacity as an artist. The first depicted his grandfather and Padovanino's father, Dario Varotari the elder (see fig. 47). This portrait of the venerable forefather was made for Ridolfi, who published it at the beginning of his biography of Dario in *Le maraviglie dell'arte* (1648). The senior Dario gazes distractedly outward, a modest head of hair and a long beard that masks his mouth altogether. The vertical lines that delineate his beard seem to issue forth from the cross-hatching that indicates his cheekbones, exaggerating the gauntness of his face. Dario died after suffering an apoplectic seizure, shortly before Padovanino's eighth (or tenth) birthday.⁴³ In his grandson's portrait of him, Dario the elder seems to be always-already absent. Dario sees without seeing, is visible yet invisible, recalling the bust in Padovanino's *Self-Portrait*. Padovanino may have willingly incorporated the bust as an allusion to his own father, but contemporary spectators would have seen Titian rather than Dario in Padovanino, for Titian was the stylistic father to whom Padovanino was connected in the absence of a happier father-son narrative—"our rising Titian," "Alessandro de Tician," the "heir," and the "adoptive son." One year before his own death, Padovanino must have gazed upon his son's engraving in *Le maraviglie* with much pride—the hand of the son in the face of the grandfather.

The second image is another revelation from the son's hand. Possibly made around the same time, it portrays a small child pointing to the left (fig. 67). The tender face of the child stares out at us like the little boy holding the piece of white cloth and red coral in the *Triumph* (see fig. 36). But what is he pointing to? He gestures backward to the shadowy space behind him, like Padovanino in the *Self-Portrait* (see fig. 1) and the reclining female nude in the foreground of the *Triumph*. His body is turned toward the left—toward the past—but his eyes stare firmly out to connect with the implied spectator in the future moment of viewing. His little hand emerges from a large sleeve and turns inward, with one finger raised in the position held by Padovanino's older self, but in reverse. In the lower left-hand corner the print tells us that the engraving is by Dario: "Darius Varotarius excudit." In the opposite corner is a somewhat elliptical inscription: "Alex: Varot patre pictore." The doubling of the names sends the spectator backward and forward in time, recalling the silent conversation between Padovanino and Titian's bust. If we place the print of Dario Varotari the elder next to that of the "son" (Dario the younger, or Alessandro?), the resulting composition is not very different from Padovanino's *Self-Portrait*: the *moderno* turns back toward the venerable past so as to advance forth into the future; the *antico* looks but can no longer see without the eyes of the present; the two identities give birth to each other through the embrace of double belonging.

"Alex: Varot patre pictore" . . . Is the father *pictore* in the sense of a painter, a constituted subject who is represented, or is he *the* painter, the constituting subject who represents? In other words, is he the object in or the author of this image? Is this an imaginary self-portrait of the artistic self as a child, remade as a print by the child of the child in the image? Or is this an engraving by the son after a portrait of himself, which was made by his father when the son was a child? Where is the author, and who is being remade? If the figure within the representation is Dario (the son), what might it have meant for him to engrave his own childhood image—

FIG. 67. DARIO VAROTARI
THE YOUNGER (ITALIAN,
ACTIVE 1650S)
Portrait of a Younger Person
Pointing Left, 1600s, etching
and engraving, 16.3 × 12.7 cm
(6½ × 5 in.)
San Francisco, Fine Arts Museums
of San Francisco



to give birth to a self that belongs to him yet is no longer the same? Alternatively, if the young boy is Padovanino as a child, what might it have meant for his son to remake that earlier moment—to give birth to one’s father? There is no satisfactory answer; there is no easy sense of closure. To rephrase the problematic: there is no right or wrong interpretation, but instead there is the “work” of art.

The “work” is no longer simply the material object itself, but that *other* discursive space it opens up. The labor of the work is no longer simply to illustrate a pre-existent text, but to remake and, thereby, renew what Eliot referred to as “the *whole* existing order.” Marino made the same point about imitation in the 1620s.

All men are naturally inclined to imitate; wherefore fertile imaginations and inventive intellects, absorbing the impressions of a joyous reading like seeds, become desirous to develop the concept they learned and immediately start

concocting other fantasies that are often, by chance, more beautiful than those suggested by other people's words because they often draw out from a single and concise poet's phrase something that even the poet himself never thought about, although he creates it and is the first initiator.⁴⁴

Intention, therefore, is at once authorial and seditious. On the one hand, an artist hopes to communicate a certain set of ideas through the production of a work of art. Some messages are destined for general consumption, others are accessible only to those familiar with the theme or the characters represented, and still others require a deeper interpretation. On the other hand, works of art communicate their own intention, which the artist might have accidentally disclosed, or of which he may not be entirely aware. The artist's ambitions, desires, hopes, fears, and fantasies are woven into the fabric of the painting and sometimes push through the surface, fraying the intended meaning of the work. Moreover, the "meaning" of the work is in itself altered by its relationship to other works of art that come before and after it. A reconsideration of intentionality evidences the fissure between what the author wants his audience to read out of the work and what the audience remakes from that same authorial text.

Like a vignette, Dario's image of the young boy opens up to the viewer—a sensation emphasized by the framing of the boy's body within the pictorial space—to give a glimpse of a moment that is past, present, and future. To repeat Deleuze and Guattari: "The young man will smile on the canvas for as long as the canvas lasts. . . . The young girl maintains the pose that she has had for five thousand years, a gesture that no longer depends on whoever made it."⁴⁵ Or, to repeat Gilliam and Cole: "It's just like what's happening with us. Like the past, the movie never changes—it can't change—but every time you see it, it seems different because you're different. You see different things."

Repetition, not imitation, is concerned precisely with this moment of becoming. According to Søren Kierkegaard, repetition brings to light the ethical and existential predicament of man: instead of moaning about one's own belatedness and wishing for the return of that which is forever lost, one accepts the present and one's state of being as it is and in doing so remakes or *becomes* one's own future.⁴⁶ For Kierkegaard, authentic selfhood is one lived without anxiety and despair. Deleuze and Guattari return to this theme in their critique of the neuroticization of society in *Anti-Oedipus*. In *What is Philosophy?* they reiterate that the moral responsibility of philosophy is to reconnect with concepts and affects that enable the discovery of new ways of thinking about old ideas. Kierkegaard's model of repetition, however, is also very different from that of his successors. His pre-Freudian mystical optimism, for instance, framed repetition as a "religious mood" that raises the "consciousness to a second power."⁴⁷ In spite of the historical differences that separate Kierkegaard from Deleuze and Guattari, repetition, for all three, reflects a will to become.

Padovanino arrived in Rome in 1614 excited about what he would see and learn there. What he ultimately took back, or repeated, was Titian, and what he ultimately gained was himself. True repetition in the Kierkegaardian model is a gift, a *deus ex machina* that is granted to the protagonist in the moment when he acknowledges the conditions of his existence without angst, but with faith and love.

According to one Kierkegaard scholar, what is repeated or restored “is a world infused with objects of sustaining value, an enigmatic, value-saturated world whose power, allure, and potential for support far exceeds whatever muffled thoughts or passing theory might arise about the ground or source of that world bequeathed.”⁴⁸ Repetition—for Kierkegaard and Deleuze, as well as for Marino, Tesauro, and the champions of *modernità*—is about an unexpected wondrous restoration in the face of perceived loss that brings with it a raised self-consciousness.

Rome restored Titian to Padovanino. Padovanino’s new understanding of Titian and of his own tradition enabled him at once to begin anew and to become himself. Titian was an inheritance that Padovanino accepted with gratitude. If, as Panofsky suggested, the Renaissance was a “rebellious youth revolting against his parents and looking for support to his grandparents,” forgetting along the way “what it did owe, after all, to its progenitor, the Middle Ages,” one could say that the artists of the next generation advanced in life without any adolescent angst as the confident children of exemplary parents, prepared from birth to inherit their fortune.⁴⁹ They did not grow up in the foreboding shadows of a lost golden age, but as the legitimate sons of a new golden age. *E se fondar’alta Città lui scerno; / Fabricar’al mio nome anch’io confido. / Meglio ch’un Alba lunga, un giorno eterno.*

Notes

1. Boschini, *La carta*, 718 (*Breve istruzione*): “Ma poi non cessorono queste meraviglie, ché partori col suo vivacissimo ingegno invenzioni d’un misto Tizianesco e rappresentò una Venere trionfante . . . a segno che si rese mirabile a Roma non solo, ma cospicuo al Mondo tutto.”
2. Varotari, *Opere*, 123; also in Pietrucci, *Biografia*, 276. For an English translation of this inscription, see this volume, p. 1.
3. Varotari, *Opere*, 119–22:

Fu sentenza (s’io non erro) del gran Platone, esser la Poesia una pittura loquace, & all’incontro una muta Poesia la pittura: parmi questa però, che pur troppo anch’essa favelli, mentre le buone pitture stesse lodano i loro Artefici; ond’è, che quante opere forma un’Apelle, tanti Elogi si pennellaggia alla propria fama. Io che sono Ascanio, ben vorrei con l’esempio d’Enea, il quale dalle fiamme della patria portò fuori sù gli Omeri il cadente padre, esser buono anch’io a trarne fuori dalle ceneri sepolcro già caduto per anco sospirato mio Genitore, con eternar la sua memoria ne’ miei caratteri; ma egli, che fù quell’insigne Pittore, qual sen vive, e viverà celebrato nel mondo, assai meglio hà potuto eternar se medesimo ne’ suoi colori, e sarebbe troppo ardata pretensione della mia penna, se presumesse di poter’aggiungere splendori all’ombre chiarissime del suo Pennello, di cui già canto il Signor Vendramini Poeta singolare de’ nostri tempi nella sua Antonio di Bergamo. *Tu, che con tele gloriose avvivi / Da l’oblio tenebroso i nomi absorti, / E che rubando l’animo de’ vivi / Sai col pennello tuo far vivi i morti, / Se non giungo, Alessandro, ove tu arrivi, / A rubar a’ sepolcri anch’io le morti, / Non isdegnar’almen, che siano in parte / Emule del tuo Lin queste mie Carte.* Tuttavia, perche dopo Dio non vi è, cui maggiormente siamo tenuti, eccettuata la patria, che a’ proprij Parenti; ho voluto almeno dar al Mondo un’attestato della mia pietosa intenzione verso la paterna memoria con publicar la canzone seguente d’incerto Autore, la quale ritrovata frà le Carte domestiche dopo la morte del Padre, in cui lode ella fù composta, e stata conservata da me frà le cose piu care. Or questa io dedico a V. S. Illustriss. come à Signore, a cui sono singularmente obbligato, sì per la benignissima dispositione, che sempre si è compiaciuta mostrare verso di me, come per lo stimatissimo onore, che Ella, a gli altri Illustrissimi Signori Deputati Colleghi suoi si son degnati di fare alla virtù di mio Padre, & al di lui Ritratto con haverlo riposto nel cospicuo luogo del loro nobilissimo Consesso, & adornatolo d’Elogio à lettere d’oro, il qual pure

ho voluto, che si veda registrato unitamente con essa Canzone, per render maggiormente palesi le grate d’una tanta Città, e la divotione, & a V. S. Illustrissima particolarmente. Ella, che per la nobiltà de’ Natali, per lo splendore della fortune, e sopra il tutto per l’eminenza della Virtù, hà non men celebre grido nelle nationi tutte d’Europa, che sublime grado nella sua Patria, non isdegni di veder collocato il suo Nome nella picciolezza di questi fogli, mentre alla grandezza di quello di rende pari il mio ossequio, con cui mi vanto. Di V. S. Illustriss. Padova Adi 29. April 1665 Divotiss. Oblig. Servitore Ascanio Varotari.

4. Varotari, *Opere*, 3:
Del pio Troiano al figlio arder il crine
Vista fù già prodigoisa face;
Et a me pur’ardon la mente audace
Con Pierio calor fiamme divine.
Dal cadut’Illio à le magion Latine
Volse ei lungi col padre il piè fugace;
E de l’orme de gli Avio io pur seguace
Di bassezza volgar fuggo il confine.
In lui già per ferir la bella Dido
Cangiossi Amor: me con poter superno
Viver fece in altrui l’Arcier di Gnido.
E se fondar’alta Città lui scerno;
Fabricar’al mio nome anch’io confido.
Meglio ch’un Alba lunga, un giorno eterno.
5. Virgil, *Aeneid*, bk. 2, lines 962–65, 983–85.
6. Although Dido commits suicide upon the news of Aeneas’s departure, her own story is another clever internal doubling, on Ascanio’s part, of the theme of duty to one’s fatherland. In the *Aeneid*, Dido is forced to flee her home in the Phoenician town of Tyre when her husband Sychaeus is murdered by her brother Pygmalion. Fearing further violence and destruction, Dido escapes and builds a new city and becomes Queen of Carthage.
7. Ridolfi, *Le meraviglie*, 2:92. “Argentina” refers here to the ancient Roman name for the city of Strasbourg (*Argentoratum*). I would like to thank Ketty Gottardo for cracking this puzzle for me.
8. Seneca, *Ad Lucilium*, 281 (no. 86): “Even if there shall appear in you a likeness to him who, by reason of your admiration, has left a deep impress upon you, I would have you resemble him as a child resembles his father, and not as a picture resembles its original; for a picture is a lifeless thing.”

9. Petrarch, as quoted in Kemp, "Equal Excellences," 4; cf. Petrarch, *Prose*, 1018. On the influence of artistic discourse upon Petrarch's passage, see Sohm, *Style*, 12.
10. E.g., Giraldi, *Discorsi*, 156:
- LA imitatione adunque deve esser tale, che habbia proportion con l'esempio che si ha preposto lo imitatore, et a lui convenga non in uno o due membra, ma in tutte le parti, di modo che mentre egli cerca di assomigliare una parte non lasci l'altra, ma le consideri tutti ugualmente, & poi in modo le traduca nelle sue compositioni, che divengano sue, & sia non altrimenti simile la sua compositione all'esempio, che egli ha preso per suo duce, che si sia il figliuolo al padre, & l'uno fratello all'altro, che ad un medesimo parto sia venuto in questa vita con esso lui, iquali con quanta simiglianza hanno insieme, sono però così dissimili, che si vede, che l'uno non è l'altro.
11. Bisagno, *Trattato*, 28: "ma questi debbono essere tali nell'imitatione, che essi habbino similitudine con gli esempi, non in una, ò due parti, ma in tutte, di modo che mentre cercano di assomigliarsi in una, non discordino nell'altra, ma egualmente le considerino, e l'imparino, si che nel porle in atto poi che stiano di maniera, che siano simili, come il Padre al Figliuolo, & un Fratello all'altro."
12. On the tension between multiple discursive systems in Vasari's *Vite*, see Payne, "Vasari," 51–59.
13. Even more bizarre is a list of the best paintings about friendship compiled by Marino's friend Guido Ubaldo Benamati, in which he listed works by Palma Giovane, Artemisia and Orazio Gentileschi, Padovanino and his sister Chiara Varotari, as well as Sante Peranda, Matteo Ponzoni, and Pietro Damini (Benamati, *Il trivisano*, 42–77). On Padovanino, see Benamati, *Il trivisano*, 187 (stanza 57):
- Alessandro è l'Autor d'opra sì degna,
 Il qual da' Varotarij origin prende.
 La rara Eternità per lui disegna
 Le glorie sue far colorir stupende.
 Stanca Natura, è ch'in pensiero hor vegna
 Di riposar; ch'il suo valor comprende;
 Sendo Alessandro a sì gran vanto alzato,
 Che sà formare i corpi, e dar lor fiato.
14. The major English-language contribution to Bellori studies is Bell and Willette's volume of collected essays. With the long-awaited arrival of the first complete critical edition of Bellori's *Le vite* in English (Alice Sedwick Wohl, Helmut Wohl, and Thomas Montanari, eds.), perhaps we can all look to the possibility of a brighter future for the seicento. (I was unable to consult this edition for this book.)
15. Deleuze and Guattari, *What Is Philosophy?* 67.
16. Foucault, *Language*, 139.
17. Foucault, *Language*, 142.
18. Foucault, *Language*, 146.
19. On critical analyses of Vasari's enterprise, see Rubin, *Giorgio Vasari*, and Sohm, *Style*, 86–114.
20. Zuccaro, *Il lamento*.
21. Williams, "Vocation," 518–19.
22. Plutarch, *Selected Essays*, 302.
23. Bloom, *Map of Misreading*, 34–35.
24. Deleuze and Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus*, 301.
25. Pliny, *Natural History*, 9:307 (35.62).
26. Tassoni, *Pensieri diversi*, 630.
27. Dante, *Divine Comedy, Purgatorio*, canto 12, lines 94–96.
28. Vasari, *Lives*, 1:628; cf. Ottonelli and Cortona, *Trattato*, 224–25: "e Lionardo da Vinci giovanetto, e suo discepolo, vi colori un'Angelo con tanta gratia, che comparve miglior la figura di Lionardo, che tutte l'altre d'Andrea; il qual però sdegnatosi, che un fanciullo più di lui sapesse, non volle mai più toccar colori. . . e però si risolse, non più esercitarla, per non venir à rischio d'esser vinto insino da' fanciulli."
29. Armenini, *True Precepts*, 86; cf. Armenini, *De' veri precetti*, 26:
- vedendo esser successa quella turba di maestri di quella qualità, che da altri già era stata predetta, caldè in gran timore, per la famiglia ch'egli avea, di rimaner senza lavori. E si mise, oltre la provigione e l'opere ch'egli avea del Palazzo Papale, a voler con ogni arte e per via d'amicizie aver di tutti i lavori di Roma notizia et a pigliarli, benchè vilissimi fossero e di poco prezzo e, presi che gli avea, li locava a chi più volentieri e per miglior mercato lo serviva.
30. Vasari, as quoted in Williams, "Vocation," 521.
31. Scannelli, *Il microcosmo*, 29, 214: "Gio: Bellini, con tutto che sufficiente, e laudabile nella Pittura, però molto più celebre per essere stato Maestro del gran Titiano"; "[Titian] venisse in parte a superare il proprio Maestro Gio. Bellini, Vittor Carpasio, ed anco avvantaggiasse insieme coll'altro più eccellente Giorgione ogni altro antecessore"; and Piles, *Abregé*, 244: "Les progrès étonnans de ce Disciple [Giorgione], & ceux du Titien ont même ouvert les yeux de leur Maître, car les Tableaux de la premiere manière de Jean Bellin sont très-secs, & ceux de la dernière sont assez soutenus de Dessain & de Coloris."
32. Scannelli, *Il microcosmo*, 214: "Ecco lo Scolare sopra il Maestro." See also Roskill, *Dolce's "Aretino"*, 84: "Il Bellino (per quanto comportava quella età) fu Maestro buono e diligente. Ma egli è stato dipoi vinto da Giorgio da Castel franco; e Giorgio lasciato a dietro infinite miglia da Titiano"; and Tizianello, *Breve compendio*, n.p., who draws the following parallel in his biography of Titian: "Un'altro Democrito, che scoprì l'ingegno di Protagora, à se lo trasse, & affettuosissimamente gl'insegnò i veri lumi dell'Arte, onde non solo potè in pochi anni uguagliare il maestro, ma poscia di gran lunga superarlo."
33. Ridolfi, *Le maraviglie*, 2:13: "presagendo Titiano da que' principij che costui potesse divenir valent'huomo & apportarle alcuna molestia nell'arte, impatiente, salite a pena le scale e posato il mantello, commise a Girolamo allievo suo, (così può ne' petti humani un picciolo tarlo di gelosia d'honore,) che tosto licentiasse Jacopo di sua casa. Onde senza saper la cagione, privo di maestro rimasse"; and Orlandi, *Ab[e]cedario*, 247: "La natura fu cottanto sollecita in far mostra di questo sublime spirito, che veduti certi suoi disegni dal Maestro, (ingelosito che col tempo non gli rubasse la gloria,) lo cacciò dalla stanza."
34. For Veronese, see Orlandi, *Ab[e]cedario*, 86: "[Alienese] imitatore della maniera di Paolo Veronese, che per gelosia, lo

- licenzio dalla sua Scuola”; and 271: “[Luigi Benefatto] colpi sì bene in quel far maestoso, che stupiva ogn’uno: fu di tale ritentiva, che era d’uopo a Paolo tenere nascosti i suoi pensieri pittorici.” See also Baldinucci, *Notizie*, 3:130–31 on Luigi; for seicento comparanda, see Orlandi, *Ab[ecedario]*, 319, on Annibale and the Bolognese painter Pietro Facini: “Crebbe così velocemente in uno strepitoso avanzamento, lavorando più di spirito, che di fondamento, che principiò ad ingelosire Annibale.”
35. Boschini, *La carta*, 741.
36. Dufresnoy, *L’art de peinture*, 276–77: “Ses principales études ont été faites en Lombardie, & particulièrement d’après les Oeuvres du Titien, de Paul Veronese, & du Tintoret: lesquels il a (pour ainsi dire) tous écoutez, afin de se faire des Maximes generales & des Regles infaillibles, qu’il a toujours suivies, & qui luy ont acquis dans ses Ouvrages plus de facilité que le Titien, plus de pureté, plus de verité, & plus de science que Paul Veronese, & plus de majesté, de repos, & de moderation que le Tintoret.”
37. Bellori, *Le vite*, 254: “Così per la medesima cagione Titiano più aspramente si tolse di casa il Tintoretto, e molti altri maestri seguitando tal consiglio.”
38. Vasari, *Lives*, 2:151; cf. Vasari, *Vite*, 5:101: “Ora che io ho il modo da vivere, non vo’ far nulla, perché sono oggi al mondo ingegni che fanno in due mesi quello che io soleva fare in due anni; e credo, s’io vivo molto, che, non andrà troppo, si vedrà dipinto ogni cosa; e da che questi tali fanno tanto, è bene ancora che ci sia chi non faccia nulla”; on this anecdote, cf. Armenini, *True Precepts*, 84–86; and Armenini, *De’ veri precetti*, 24–25.
39. Greene, *Light in Troy*, 75.
40. Leonardo, as quoted in Goffen, *Renaissance Rivals*, 3.
41. Passeri, *Vite*, 426: “Il Signor Salvatore non ha paura ne di Tiziano, ne di Guido, ne del Guercino, ne di verun’altro.”
42. Calcagnini, as quoted in Cropper, *Domenichino Affair*, 112.
43. While painting a sundial in Padua at the Palazzo dell’Acquapendente, Dario slipped and fell off the scaffolding. Invoking the name of the Virgin, he was miraculously lifted to safety. Praying before the image of the Virgin some time afterward, he went into an apopleptic seizure and died soon after. See Ridolfi, *Le maraviglie*, 2:91: “Visse per lo più del tempo infermo, quindi è, ch’egli conobbe tutti i più famosi medici di Padova, à quali faceva opere continue in dono, benche i medicamenti lo rendessero sempre più debole e indisposto”; and Baldinucci, *Notizie*, 2:647, on Dario Varotari the elder.
44. Marino, “How To Steal,” 459; cf. Marino, *La sampogna*, 47–48:

Tutti gli uomini sogliono esser tirati dalla propria inclinazione naturalmente ad imitare; onde l’imaginative feconde et gl’intelletti inventivi, ricevendo in sé a guisa di semi i fantasmi d’una lettura gioconda, entrano in cupidità di partorire il concetto che n’apprendono et vanno subito machinando dal simile altre fantasie, et spesso peravventura più belle di quelle che son lor suggerite dalle parole altrui, ritraendo sovente da un conciso et semplice motto d’un poeta cose allequali

l’istesso poeta non pensò mai, ancorch’egli ne porga l’occasione et ne sia il primo promotore.

45. Deleuze and Guattari, *What Is Philosophy?* 163.
46. Drawn from Kierkegaard’s short treatise, *Repetition: A Venture in Experimenting Psychology* (1843), *Repetition* is written in the voice of Constantin Constantius (a pseudonym that is itself a *repetitive* display) as a comedy in two acts. Opposing the Platonic concept of anamnesis, or knowledge and memory as retrogressive recollection, Kierkegaard advanced repetition as a conscious and conscientious understanding of the past as an extension of the future. True repetition is paired with kinesis, or the Aristotelian motion of becoming. “Repetition and recollection are the same movement, except in opposite directions, for what is recollected has been, is repeated backward, whereas genuine repetition is recollected forward,” Kierkegaard wrote. “Modern philosophy will teach that all life is a repetition.” (Kierkegaard, *Repetition*, 131). The two concepts of recollection and repetition represent ancient and modern, aesthetic and ethical paradigms of thought.
47. Kierkegaard, *Repetition*, 229.
48. Mooney, “*Repetition: Getting the World Back*,” 301–2. In Danish, the word *repetition* [*Gjentagelse*] means both “to repeat” and “to take back.” The Old Testament figures of Job and Abraham serve as central figures within Kierkegaard’s understanding of the theme of repetition as privation, acceptance, and repair: Job regains the world of which he was stripped in the moment of resignation; Abraham gets Isaac back in the instance that he lets go of him. It is through this process of sudden loss and wondrous restoration that the individual’s sense of the thing lost and regained becomes more intense and more authentic.
49. Panofsky, *Renaissances and Renascences*, 38.

Postscript

The rubrics and examples presented in this book offer a basic range of types without intending to offer a complete taxonomy or a closed critical system. They do not seek to replace a history of art but to expand its methods and discourses so that the Padovaninos of the world do not slip between the paragraphs of its grand narratives. Instead, they provide us with a productive and responsible way of thinking about the deployment of repetition in the confrontation that occurs between early modern authors, readers, and works of art and about the sense of double belonging that ties us to them. Commenting on her own artistic practice, Sherrie Levine stated:

I like transgressional boundaries, leaky distinctions, dualisms, fractured identities, monstrosity and perversity. I like contamination. I like miscegenation. I like a fly in the soup, a pie in the face. I like the territory of slapstick, where amidst laughter neither death nor crime exists. I like the world of burlesque, with its pure gesticularity. In this guiltless world, where everyone gives and receives blows at will, buildings fall down, bricks fly, the protagonists are immortal and violence is universal, without consequence.¹

On another occasion, Levine wrote: “I like to think of my paintings as membranes permeable from both sides so there is an easy flow between the past and the future, between my history and yours.”² If Padovanino had been a man of our time, he would surely have agreed. He would not have been historicized to understand Levine’s distinctively postmodern sense of humor, but he might have found a certain sympathy with this future.

The work of art is a conduit to an entire rhizome of other texts moving in multiple directions and engaging many authors in a transhistorical conversation. It is a portal for time travel and for play, where moderns walk with ancient giants but play tricks on them too. The inevitability of mutual inflection was precisely what the *repetitive* artwork made clear. The confrontation between authors and readers slit the canvas, screen, and text, opening up that heterochronic *other* space in which intervention, supervention, and repetition were able to unfurl themselves in a continuous process of becoming—*Padovanino est devenuto, Padovanino est devenuto, Padovanino est devenuto*.

Notes

1. Singerman, Ingraham, and Lavin, *Sherrie Levine*, n.p.
2. Levine, "Five Comments," 93.

Works Cited

- L'abécédaire de Gilles Deleuze avec Claire Parnet / SODAPERAGA*. DVD. Directed by Pierre-André Boutang and Michel Parnet. Paris: Buena Vista Home Entertainment, 2004.
- Aldrete, Gregory S. *Gestures and Acclamations in Ancient Rome*. Baltimore: John Hopkins Univ. Press, 1999.
- Anderson, Jaynie. *Giorgione: The Painter of "Poetic Brevity": Including Catalogue Raisonné*. Paris: Flammarion, 1997.
- Apollodorus. *The Library*. 2 vols. Translated by James George Frazer. London: William Heineman, 1963–67.
- Aristotle. *Rhetoric and Poetics*. *Rhetoric* translated by W. Rhys Roberts. *Poetics* translated by Ingram Bywater. New York: Modern Library, 1984.
- Armenini, Giovanni Battista. *De' veri precetti della pittura*. Edited by Marina Gorreri. Turin: Einaudi, 1988.
- . *On the True Precepts of the Art of Painting*. Edited and translated by Edward J. Olszewski. New York: Burt Franklin, 1977.
- Arnaldi, Girolamo, and Manlio Pastore Stocchi, eds. *Storia della cultura veneta*. Vol. 4, *Dalla controriforma alla fine della repubblica: Il Seicento*. 2 pts. Vicenza: Neri Pozza, 1983.
- Auiler, Dan. *Vertigo: The Making of a Hitchcock Classic*. London: Titan, 1999.
- Baglione, Giovanni. *Le vite de' pittori, scultori, et architetti: Dal pontificato di Gregorio XIII. del 1572, in fino a tempi di Papa Urbano ottavo nel 1642*. Edited by Valerio Mariani. Rome: Andrea Fei, 1642. Reprint, Rome: E. Calzone, 1935.
- Bal, Mieke. *Quoting Caravaggio: Contemporary Art, Preposterous History*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1999.
- Baldassarri, Guido. "Acutezza' e 'ingegno': Teoria e pratica del gusto barocco." In Girolamo Arnaldi and Manlio Pastore Stocchi, eds., *Storia della cultura veneta*, vol. 4, *Dalla controriforma alla fine della repubblica: Il Seicento*, pt. 1, 223–47. Vicenza: Neri Pozza, 1983.
- Baldinucci, Filippo. *Notizie dei professori del disegno da Cimabue in qua: Per le quali si dimostra come, e per chi le belle arti di pittura, scultura, e architettura... si siano in questi secoli ridotte all'antica loro perfezione*. Edited by Fernando Ranalli and Paola Barocchi. Florence: S.P.E.S., 1974–75.
- . *Vocabolario toscano dell'arte del disegno: Nel quale si esplicano i propri termini e voci, non solo della pittura, ... quanto alla stessa pittura e scultura*. Florence: Santi Franchi, 1681.
- Barkan, Leonard. *Unearthing the Past: Archaeology and Aesthetics in the Making of Renaissance Culture*. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1999.
- Barnes, Bernardine. *Michelangelo's Last Judgment: The Renaissance Response*. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1998.
- Barocchi, Paola. "Finito e non-finito nella critica vasariana." *Arte antica e moderna*, no. 3 (1958): 221–35.
- , ed. *Trattati d'arte del Cinquecento: Fra manierismo e controriforma*. 3 vols. Bari: G. Laterza & Figli, 1960–62.
- Barocchi, Paola, and Miriam Fileti Mazza, eds. *Il Cardinal Leopoldo*. Vol. 1, *Rapporti con il mercato veneto*. Book 1, *Archivio elettronico del Carteggio*. Milan: Ricciardi, 1987.
- Baron, Hans. "Querelle of Ancients and Moderns as a Problem for Renaissance Scholarship." In Paul Oskar Kristeller and Philip P. Wiener, eds., *Renaissance Essays*, 95–114. New York: Harper & Row, 1968.
- Barthes, Roland. *Image, Music, Text*. Edited and translated by Stephen Heath. London: Fontana, 1977.
- Bartoli, Daniello. "Dell'uomo di lettere difeso ed emendato (1645)." In Ezio Raimondi, ed., *Trattatisti e narratori del Seicento*, 323–61. Milan: Ricciardi, 1960.
- Bartsch, Adam von. *The Illustrated Bartsch*. Edited under the supervision of Walter L. Strauss and John T. Spike. New York: Abaris, 1978–.
- Battaglia, Salvatore, ed. *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana*. 21 vols. Turin: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1961–2002.
- Baxandall, Michael. *Patterns of Intention: On the Historical Explanation of Pictures*. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1985.
- Bazzanella, Carla, ed. *Repetition in Dialogue*. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1996.
- Belkin, Kristin Lohse. "Titian, Rubens, and Van Dyck: A New Look at Old Evidence." In Görel Cavalli-Björkman, ed., *Bacchanals by Titian and Rubens: Papers Given at a Symposium in Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, March 18–19, 1987*, 143–52. Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1987.
- Bell, Janis, and Thomas Willette, eds. *Art History in the Age of Bellori: Scholarship and Cultural Politics in Seventeenth-Century Rome*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2002.
- Bellori, Giovanni Pietro. *Le vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti moderni, scritte da Gio. Pietro Bellori: Parte prima*. Rome: Mascardi, 1672.
- Benamati, Guido Ubaldo. *Il trivisano, poema heroicivico*. Frankfurt: Beyer, 1630.
- Beni, Paolo. *L'anticrusca; ovvero, Il paragone dell'italiana lingua: Nel qual si mostra chiaramente, che l'antica sia inculta e rozza: E la moderna regolata e gentile*. Padua: Battista Martini, 1613.
- . [Michelangelo Fonte, pseud.]. *Il cavalcanti; ovvero, La difesa dell'Anticrusca*. Padua: Francesco Bolzetta, 1614.
- . *Comparatione di Homero, Virgilio e Torquato: Et a chi di loro si debba la palma nell'heroico poema... quanto latini et italiani*. Padua: L. Pasquati, 1607.

- Benjamin, Walter. *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*. Translated by John Osborne. London: NLB, 1977.
- Bisagno, Francesco Domenico. *Trattato della pittura: Fondato nell'auttori di molti eccellenti in questa professione*. Venice: Giunti, 1642.
- Black, Robert. *Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy: Tradition and Innovation in Latin Schools from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2001.
- Bloom, Harold. *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry*. London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1975.
- . *A Map of Misreading*. New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1975.
- Blunt, Anthony. *Nicholas Poussin*. London: Pallas Athene, 1995.
- Boccalini, Traiano. *Delli avvisi di Parnaso; ovvero, Compendio de' ragguagli*. Edited by Francesco Prati. Venice: Francesco Prati, 1619.
- Boethius. *The Theological Tractates; and The Consolation of Philosophy*. Translated by H. F. Stewart and E. K. Rand. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1962.
- Borea, Evelina, and Carlo Gasparri, eds. *L'idea del bello: Viaggio per Roma nel Seicento con Giovan Pietro Bellori*. 2 vols. Exh. cat. Rome: Luca, 2000.
- Borges, Jorge Luis. *Labyrinths: Selected Stories and Other Writings*. Edited by Donald A. Yates and James E. Irby. Translated by James E. Irby. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1986.
- Boschini, Marco. *La carta del navegar pitoresco: Ed. critica con la "Breve Instruzione" premessa alle "Ricche minere della pittura veneziana"*. Edited by Anna Pallucchini. Venice: Istituto per la collaborazione culturale, 1966.
- . *Le minere della pittura: Compendiosa informazione di Marco Boschini. Non solo delle pitture pubbliche di Venezia, ma dell'isole ancora circonvicine*. Venice: Francesco Nicolini, 1664.
- . *Le ricche minere della pittura Veneziana: Compendiosa informazione di Marco Boschini. Non solo delle pitture pubbliche di Venezia, ma dell'isole ancora circonvicine*. 2nd ed. Venice: Francesco Nicolini, 1674.
- Braudy, Leo. "Afterword: Rethinking Remakes." In Andrew Horton and Stuart Y. McDougal, eds., *Play It Again, Sam: Retakes on Remakes*, 327–34. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1998.
- Brown, Beverly Louise. "Replication and the Art of Veronese." In Kathleen Preciado, ed., *Retaining the Original: Multiple Originals, Copies, and Reproductions*, 111–24. Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1989.
- Brusoni, Girolamo. *Il camerotto*. Venice: Francesco Valvasense, 1645.
- Bryson, Norman. *Tradition and Desire: From David to Delacroix*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1984.
- Bull, David. "The Feast of the Gods: Conservation and Investigation." In Joseph Manca, ed., *Titian 500*, 367–71. Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1993.
- Bull, David, and Joyce Plesters. *The Feast of the Gods: Conservation, Examination, and Interpretation*. Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1990.
- Bulwer, John. *Chirologia; or, The Natural Language of the Hand, and Chironomia; or, The Art of Manual Rhetoric*. Edited by James W. Cleary. Carbondale: Southern Illinois Univ. Press, 1974.
- Burckhardt, Jacob. *The Cicerone; or, Art Guide to Painting in Italy: For the Use of Travellers*. Edited by Albert von Zahn. Translated by Mrs. A. H. Clough. London: Murray, 1873.
- . *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*. Vienna: Phaidon, 1954.
- Caburlotto, Luca. "Una copia dal Padovanino e alcuni documenti." *Bollettino del Museo Civico di Padova* 86 (1997): 25–32.
- Careri, Giovanni, ed. *La Jérusalem délivrée du Tasse: Poésie, peinture, musique, ballet*. Paris: Klincksieck, 1999.
- Carron, Jean-Claude. "Imitation and Intertextuality in the Renaissance." *New Literary History* 19 (1988): 565–79.
- Cartari, Vincenzo. *Le imagini de i dei de gli antichi*. Edited by Ginetta Auzzas et al. Vicenza: Neri Pozza, 1996.
- Castelvetro, Lodovico. *Castelvetro on the Art of Poetry: An Abridged Translation of Lodovico Castelvetro's "Poetica d'Aristotele vulgarizzata e sposta"*. Translated by Andrew Bongiorno. Binghamton, N.Y.: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1984.
- Catalogo dei quadri esistenti nelle gallerie della Accademia Carrara di belli arti in Bergamo*. Bergamo: F. & P. Fratelli Bolis, 1881.
- Catalogue des tableaux de la galerie royale de Dresde*. Dresden: La Galerie, 1826.
- Catullus, Gaius Valerius. *The Poems of Gaius Valerius Catullus*. Translated by Francis Warre Cornish. In Gaius Valerius Catullus and Albius Tibullus, *Catullus, Tibullus, and Pervigilium Veneris*. London: Heinemann, 1966.
- Catullus, Gaius Valerius and Albius Tibullus. *Catullus, Tibullus, and Pervigilium Veneris*. Translated by Francis Warre Cornish, J. P. Postgate, and J. W. Mackall. London: Heinemann, 1966.
- Cavalli-Björkman, Görel, ed. *Bacchanals by Titian and Rubens: Papers Given at a Symposium in Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, March 18–19, 1987*. Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1987.
- Cecchini, Isabella. *Quadri e commercio a Venezia durante il Seicento: Uno studio sul mercato dell'arte*. Venice: Marsilio, 2000.
- Chantelou, Paul Fréart de. *Diary of the Cavaliere Bernini's Visit to France*. Edited by Anthony Blunt. Translated by Margery Corbett. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1985.
- Chartier, Roger, ed. *Passions of the Renaissance*. Translated by Arthur Goldhammer. Vol. 3 of Philippe Ariès and Georges Duby, eds., *A History of Private Life*. Cambridge: Belknap, 1989.
- Chiappini di Sorio, Ileana. "L'inventario della casa di Pietro Liberi." *Arte Veneta* 18 (1964): 151–52.
- Chiari Moretto Wiel, Maria Agnese. *Incisioni da Tiziano: Catalogo del fondo grafico a stampa del Museo Correr*. Venice: La Stamperia di Venezia, 1982.
- Clark, Kenneth, Frederick Ilchman, and David Rosand. *Rembrandt and the Venetian Influence*. Exh. cat. New York: Salander-O'Reilly Galleries, 2000.
- Colantuono, Anthony. "Scherzo: Hidden Meaning, Genre, and Generic Criticism in Bellori's Lives." In Janis Bell and Thomas Willette, eds., *Art History in the Age of Bellori*:

- Scholarship and Cultural Politics in Seventeenth-Century Rome*, 239–56. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2002.
- . *The “Tender Infant”*: *Invenzione and Figura in the Art of Poussin*. Ph.D. diss., John Hopkins University, 1986. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1987.
- Cole, Bruce. “Titian and the Idea of Originality in the Renaissance.” In Andrew Ladis and Carolyn Wood, eds., *Craft of Art: Originality and Industry in the Italian Renaissance and Baroque Workshop*, 86–112. Athens: Univ. of Georgia Press, 1995.
- Colebrook, Claire. *Gilles Deleuze*. New York: Routledge, 2001.
- Consagra, Francesca. “The Marketing of Pietro Testa’s ‘Poetic Inventions.’” In Elizabeth Cropper, ed., *Pietro Testa, 1612–1650: Prints and Drawings*, 87–96. Exh. cat. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1988.
- Cropper, Elizabeth. “The Beauty of Woman: Problems in the Rhetoric of Renaissance Portraiture.” In Margaret Ferguson, Maureen Quilligan, and Nancy Vickers, eds., *Rewriting the Renaissance: The Discourses of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe*, 175–90. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1986.
- . *The Domenichino Affair: Novelty, Imitation, and Theft in Seventeenth-Century Rome*. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2005.
- . *The Ideal of Painting: Pietro Testa’s Düsseldorf Notebook*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1984.
- . “*La più bella antichità che sappiate desiderare*: History and Style in Giovan Pietro Bellori’s *Lives*.” In Peter Ganz et al., eds., *Kunst und Kunsttheorie: 1400–1900*, 145–73. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1991.
- . “The Place of Beauty in the High Renaissance and Its Displacement in the History of Art.” In Alvin Vos, ed., *Place and Displacement in the Renaissance*, 159–205. Binghamton, N.Y.: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1995.
- , ed. *Pietro Testa, 1612–1650: Prints and Drawings*. Exh. cat. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1988.
- Cropper, Elizabeth, and Charles Dempsey. *Nicolas Poussin: Friendship and the Love of Painting*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1996.
- Damisch, Hubert. *The Judgment of Paris*. Translated by John Goodman. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1996.
- Dante Alighieri. *The Divine Comedy*. 3 vols. Translated by Charles S. Singleton. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1973.
- Dédéyan, Charles. “Giorgione dans les lettres françaises.” In Rodolfo Pallucchini, ed., *Giorgione e l’umanesimo veneziano*, vol. 2, *Giorgione e la cultura figurativa del suo tempo*, 659–746. Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1981.
- De Kunert, Silvio. “Notizie e documenti su Pietro Liberi (con 6 illustrazioni).” *Rivista d’arte* 13 (1931): 539–75.
- Deleuze, Gilles. *Difference and Repetition*. Translated by Paul Patton. London: Athlone, 1994.
- . *The Fold: Leibniz and the Baroque*. Translated by Tom Conley. Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1993.
- Deleuze, Gilles, and Félix Guattari. *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. Translated by Robert Hurley, Mark Seem, and Helen R. Lane. London: Continuum, 2004.
- . *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. Translated by Brian Massumi. London: Continuum, 2004.
- . *What Is Philosophy?* Translated by Hugh Tomlinson and Graham Burchell. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1994.
- Dempsey, Charles. *Annibale Carracci and the Beginning of Baroque Style*. Glückstadt: Augustin, 1977.
- . “The Carracci Reform of Painting.” In Mary Yakush and Margaret Aspinwall, eds., *The Age of Correggio and the Carracci: Emilian Painting in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, 237–54. Translated by Robert Erich Wolf et al. Exh. cat. Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1986.
- Díaz Padrón, Matías, and Mercedes Royo-Villanova. *David Teniers, Jan Brueghel y los gabinetes de pinturas*. Exh. cat. Madrid: Museo del Prado, 1992.
- Dolce, Lodovico. *Dialogo della pittura di M. Lodovico Dolce, intitolato l’Aretino. . . = Dialogue sur la peinture de Lovis Dolce, intitulé l’Aretin. . . À la fin on y parle du merite, & des ouvrages du divin Titien*. French translation by Nicolas Vleughels. Florence: Michele Nestenus & Francesco Moucke, 1735.
- Donati, Claudio. *L’idea di nobiltà in Italia: Secoli XIV–XVIII*. Rome: Laterza, 1988.
- Donato, Eugenio. “Tesoro’s Poetics: Through the Looking Glass.” *MLN* 78 (1963): 15–30.
- Dooley, Brendan, ed. and trans. *Italy in the Baroque: Selected Readings*. New York: Garland, 1995.
- Dufresnoy, Charles-Alphonse. *L’art de peinture, . . . traduit en françois, enrichy de remarques, et augmenté d’un dialogue sur le coloris*. Edited and translated by Roger de Piles. Paris: Nicolas Langlois, 1673.
- Elias, Norbert. *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*. Edited by Eric Dunning, Johan Goudsblom, and Stephen Mennell. Translated by Edmund Jephcott. Oxford: Blackwell, 2000.
- . *The Court Society*. Translated by Edmund Jephcott. Oxford: Blackwell, 1983.
- Eliot, T. S. *Sacred Wood: Essays on Poetry and Criticism*. London: Methuen, 1920.
- Evelyn, John. *The Diary of John Evelyn*. 6 vols. Edited by E. S. de Beer. Oxford: Clarendon, 1955.
- Falomir Faus, Miguel. “Titian’s Replicas and Variants.” In David Jaffé, ed., *Titian*, 60–68. Exh. cat. London: National Gallery, 2003.
- Favaro, Elena. *L’arte dei pittori in Venezia e i suoi statuti*. Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1975.
- Félibien, André. *Entretiens sur les vies et sur les ouvrages des plus excellens peintres anciens et modernes*. 4 vols. Rev. ed. London: David Mortier, 1705.
- Ferguson, Margaret, Maureen Quilligan, and Nancy Vickers, eds. *Rewriting the Renaissance: The Discourses of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1986.
- Ferrari, Oreste, and Giuseppe Scavizzi. *Luca Giordano: L’opera completa*. 2 vols. Naples: Electa, 1992.
- Findlen, Paula. “Humanism, Politics and Pornography in Renaissance Italy.” In Lynn Hunt, ed., *The Invention of Pornography: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity, 1500–1800*, 49–108. New York: Zone, 1993.
- Fiocco, Giuseppe. *Venetian Painting of the Seicento and the Settecento*. Florence: Pantheon, 1929.

- Fisher, M. Roy. *Titian's Assistants during the Later Years*. New York: Garland, 1977.
- Flemming, Victoria, and Sebastian Schütze, eds. *Ars Naturam Adiuvans: Festschrift für Matthias Winner zum 11. März 1996*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1996.
- Fletcher, Jennifer. "Venetian Seventeenth-Century Painting at the National Gallery." Exh. review. *Burlington Magazine* 121 (1979): 663–69.
- Fogolari, Gino. "La Venere di Dresda è quella di Giorgione in casa Marcello? (Collezioni e restauri a Venezia nel secolo XVIII)." *Ateneo Veneto* 116 (1934): 232–39.
- Foucault, Michel. *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*. Edited by Donald F. Bouchard. Translated by Donald F. Bouchard and Sherry Simon. Oxford: Blackwell, 1977.
- Franco, Veronica. *Poems and Selected Letters*. Edited and translated by Ann Rosalind Jones and Margaret F. Rosenthal. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1998.
- Fried, Michael. *Manet's Modernism; or, The Face of Painting in the 1860s*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1996.
- Frizzoni, Gustavo. *Le gallerie dell'Accademia Carrara in Bergamo*. Bergamo: Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche, 1907.
- Fumaroli, Marc. "Les abeilles et les araignées." In Anne-Marie Lecoq, ed., *La querelle des anciens et des modernes: XVIIe–XVIIIe siècles, 7–220*. Paris: Gallimard, 2001.
- Ganz, Peter, et al., eds. *Kunst und Kunsttheorie: 1400–1900*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1991.
- Garas, Klara. "The Ludovisi Collection of Pictures in 1633—I." *Burlington Magazine* 109 (1967): 287–89, 291.
- Gemin, Massimo, and Giannantonio Paladini, eds. *Tiziano e Venezia: Convegno internazionale di studi, Venezia, 1976*. Vicenza: Neri Pozza, 1980.
- Genette, Gérard. *Figures III*. Paris: Seuil, 1972.
- . *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*. Translated by Channa Newman and Claude Doubinsky. Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1997.
- Giraldi, Giambattista Cinzio. *Discorsi di M. Giovambattista Giraldi Cinthio nobile ferrarese, e segretario dell'illustrissimo et eccellentis. duca di Ferrara: Intorno al comporre de i romanzi, delle comedie, e delle tragedie, e di altre maniere di poesie. Con la tavola delle cose piu notabili in tutti essi discorsi contenute*. Venice: Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari & fratelli, 1554.
- Goffen, Rona. "Renaissance Dreams." *Renaissance Quarterly* 40 (1987): 682–706.
- . *Renaissance Rivals: Michelangelo, Leonardo, Raphael, Titian*. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2002.
- Goldgar, Anne. *Impolite Learning: Conduct and Community in the Republic of Letters, 1680–1750*. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1995.
- Gombrich, E. H. *Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation*. London: Phaidon, 1960.
- Goodal, Diana. "Titian Repairs Bellini." In Görel Cavalli-Björkman, ed., *Bacchanals by Titian and Rubens: Papers Given at a Symposium in Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, March 18–19, 1987*, 17–24. Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1987.
- Gramigna, Vincenzo. *Paragone tra il valore degli antichi e de' moderni*. In Filippo Salvatore, *Antichi e moderni in Italia nel Seicento*, 83–128. Montreal: Guernica, 1987.
- Greenblatt, Stephen. *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1984.
- Greene, Thomas M. *The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry*. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1982.
- Gronau, Georg. *Documenti artistici urbinati*. Florence: G. C. Sansoni, 1935.
- Gualdo, Girolamo. *1650: Giardino di Chà Gualdo*. Edited by Lionello Puppi. Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1972.
- Hannay, Alastair, and Gordon D. Marino, eds. *The Cambridge Companion to Kierkegaard*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1998.
- Harris, Ann Sutherland. "Domenichino's 'Caccia di Diana': Art and Politics in Seicento Rome." In Cynthia P. Schneider et al., eds., *Shop Talk: Studies in Honor of Seymour Slive: Presented on His Seventy-Fifth Birthday*, 92–96. Cambridge: Harvard University Art Museums, 1995.
- Haskell, Francis. *Past and Present in Art and Taste: Selected Essays*. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1987.
- . *Patrons and Painters: A Study in the Relations between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque*. Rev. ed. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1980.
- . "Venetian Sixteenth-Century Painting—The Legacy." In Jane Martineau and Charles Hope, eds., *The Genius of Venice, 1500–1600*, 47–48. Exh. cat. London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1983.
- Herrico, Scipione. *L'occhiale appannato, dialogo di Scipione Herrico nel quale si difende l'Adone del Cavalier Gio. Battista Marino, contra L'occhiale del Cavalier Tomaso Stigliano*. Messina: Gio. Franc. Bianco, 1629.
- Hersant, Yves. "Disjonctions." In Giovanni Careri, ed., *La Jérusalem délivrée du Tasse: Poésie, peinture, musique, ballet*, 339–52. Paris: Klincksieck, 1999.
- Hesiod. *Theogony; and Works and Days*. Translated by M. L. West. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1988.
- Hope, Charles. "The 'Camerini d'Alabastro' of Alfonso d'Este." Parts 1, 2. *Burlington Magazine* 113 (1971): 641–47, 649–50, 712, 714–19, 721.
- . "A Neglected Document about Titian's *Danae* in Naples." *Arte Veneta* 31 (1977): 188–89.
- . "Problems of Interpretation in Titian's Erotic Paintings." In Massimo Gemin and Giannantonio Paladini, eds., *Tiziano e Venezia: Convegno internazionale di studi, Venezia, 1976*, 111–24. Vicenza: Neri Pozza, 1980.
- Hopkins, Andrew. *Santa Maria della Salute: Architecture and Ceremony in Baroque Venice*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2000.
- Hornblower, Simon, and Antony Spawforth, eds. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. 3rd ed. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1996.
- Horton, Andrew, and Stuart Y. McDougal, eds. *Play It Again, Sam: Retakes on Remakes*. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1998.
- Howarth, David. *Lord Arundel and His Circle*. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1985.

- Hübner, Julius. *Verzeichniss der Königlichen Gemälde-Gallerie zu Dresden*. Dresden: Liepsch & Reichardt, 1856.
- Hunt, Lynn, ed. *The Invention of Pornography: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity, 1500–1800*. New York: Zone, 1993.
- Ivanoff, Nicola. "Gian Francesco Loredan e l'ambiente artistico a Venezia nel Seicento." *Ateneo Veneto*, n.s., 3 (1965): 186–90.
- . "Giorgione nel Seicento." In *Venezia e l'Europa; atti del XVIII Congresso internazionale di storia dell'arte, Venezia, 12–18 settembre 1955*, 323–26. Venice: Arte Veneta, 1955.
- Jacobs, Fredrika H. "Aretino and Michelangelo, Dolce and Titian: *Femmina, Masculo, Grazia*." *Art Bulletin* 82 (2000): 51–67.
- Jaffé, David, ed. *Titian*. Exh. cat. London: National Gallery, 2003.
- La jetée*. Directed by Chris Marker. Available on *Shorts 2: Dreams*. DVD. Burbank, Calif.: Warner Home Video, 2000.
- Joannides, Paul. *Titian to 1518: The Assumption of Genius*. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2001.
- Kawin, Bruce F. *Telling It Again and Again: Repetition in Literature and Film*. Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1972.
- Kemp, Martin. "Equal Excellences': Lomazzo and the Explanation of Individual Style in Visual Arts." *Renaissance Studies* 1 (1987): 1–26.
- Kierkegaard, Søren. *Fear and Trembling; Repetition*. Edited and translated by Howard Vincent Hong and Edna H. Hong. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1983.
- Koerner, Joseph L. *The Moment of Self-Portraiture in German Renaissance Art*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1993.
- Kolsky, Stephen. "Women through Men's Eyes: The Third Book of the *Courtier*." In Tom O'Neill, ed., *The Shared Horizon: Melbourne Essays in Italian Language and Literature in Memory of Colin McCormick*, 41–91. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1990.
- Kristeller, Paul Oskar, and Philip P. Wiener, eds. *Renaissance Essays*. New York: Harper & Row, 1968.
- Ladis, Andrew, and Carolyn Wood, eds. *Craft of Art: Originality and Industry in the Italian Renaissance and Baroque Workshop*. Athens: Univ. of Georgia Press, 1995.
- Lancellotti, Secondo. *L'hoggi; ovvero, Il mondo non peggiore ne più calamitoso del passato*. Venice: Giovanni Guerigli, 1627.
- Lecoq, Anne-Marie, ed. *La querelle des anciens et des modernes: XVIIe–XVIIIe siècles*. Paris: Gallimard, 2001.
- Lefebvre, Valentin. *Notitia dove si ritrovano li originali di Titiano et Paolo Veronese*. Venice: Van Campen, 1683.
- Lemoine, Annick. "Nicolas Régnier et son entourage: nouvelles propositions biographiques." *Revue de l'art*, no. 117 (1997): 54–63.
- Le Pas de Sécheval, Anne. "Les collections Ludovisi et la politique artistique royale française au XVIIe siècle: Une tentative d'achat à la fin du règne de Louis XIII." *Revue de l'art*, no. 94 (1991): 69–73.
- Levey, Michael. *The Painter Depicted: Painters as a Subject in Painting*. London: Thames & Hudson, 1981.
- Levi, Cesare Augusto. *Le collezioni veneziane d'arte e d'antichità dal secolo XIV ai nostri giorni*. 2 vols. Venice: Ongania, 1900.
- Levine, Sherrie. "Five Comments." In Brian Wallis, ed., *Blasted Allegories: An Anthology of Writings by Contemporary Artists*, 92–93. New York: New Museum of Contemporary Art, 1987.
- Ligo, Larry L. "Two Seventeenth-Century Poems Which Link Rubens' Equestrian Portrait of Philip IV to Titian's Equestrian Portrait of Charles V." *Gazette des beaux-arts*, 6th ser., 75 (1970): 345–54.
- Loh, Maria H. "New and Improved: Repetition as Originality in Italian Baroque Practice and Theory." *Art Bulletin* 86 (2004): 477–504.
- . "Originals, Reproductions, and a 'Particular Taste' for Pastiche in the Seventeenth-Century Republic of Painting." In Neil de Marchi and Hans van Miegroet, eds., *Mapping Markets for Paintings, Europe and the New World, 1450–1750*, 237–60. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2006.
- . *Strategies of Repetition from Titian to Padovano: Producing and Reproducing Venetian Style in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Painting*. Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 2003. Ottawa: National Library of Canada, 2004. Microfilm.
- Loredan, Giovan Francesco. *Delle lettere di Gio. Francesco Loredano nobile veneto: Divise in cinquantadue capi . . . parte seconda*. Venice: Antonio Tivani, 1693.
- . *Lettere del signor Gio. Francesco Loredano nobile veneto: Divisi in cinquantadue capi . . . parte prima*. Venice: Guerigli, 1673.
- Lucco, Mauro. "Forestiere' a Venezia nel Seicento." In idem, ed., *Il Seicento*, 2:485–522. Milan: Electa, 2001.
- , ed. *Il Seicento*. 2 vols. Milan: Electa, 2001.
- Lucian. *Lucian*. Translated by M. D. MacLeod. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1967.
- Lux, Margareta. "L'inventario di Johann Carl Loth." *Arte Veneta* 54 (1999): 146–64.
- Mahon, Denis. "Art Theory and Artistic Practice in the Early Seicento: Some Clarifications." *Art Bulletin* 35 (1953): 226–32.
- . "Eclecticism and the Carracci: Further Reflections on the Validity of a Label." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 16, no. 3/4 (1953): 303–41.
- . *Studies in Seicento Art and Theory*. London: Warburg Institute, University of London, 1947.
- Mahon, Denis, Claudio Strinati, and Clovis Whitfield, eds. *Classicismo e natura: La lezione di Domenichino*. Exh. cat. Rome: G. Monadori, 1996.
- Malvasia, Carlo Cesare. *Felsina pittrice: Vite de' pittori bolognesi*. Edited by Giampietro Zanotti. Bologna: Guidi all' Ancora, 1841. Reprint, Bologna: Arnaldo Forni, 1974.
- Manca, Joseph, ed. *Titian 500*. Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1993.
- Mancini, Giulio. *Considerazioni sulla pittura*. 2 vols. Edited by Adriana Marucchi. Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1956–57.
- Mancini, Matteo. *Tiziano e le corti d'Asburgo: Nei documenti degli archivi spagnoli*. Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere & Arti, 1998.
- Marchi, Neil de, and Hans van Miegroet, eds. *Mapping Markets for Paintings, Europe and the New World, 1450–1750*. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2006.
- Mariani Canova, Giordana. *Paris Bordon*. Venice: Alfieri, 1964.
- Marini, Remigio, and Guido Piovene, eds. *L'opera completa del Veronese*. Milan: Rizzoli, 1968.

- Marino, Giambattista. "How to Steal (1620)." In Brendan Dooley, ed. and trans., *Italy in the Baroque*, 457–59. New York: Garland, 1995.
- . *La galleria*. Edited by Marzio Pieri. 2 vols. Padua: Liviana, 1979.
- . *La sampogna*. Edited by Vania De Malde. Parma: Fondazione Pietro Bembo, 1993.
- Marker, Chris. *La jetée: Ciné-roman*. New York: Zone, 1992.
- Martineau, Jane, and Charles Hope, eds. *The Genius of Venice, 1500–1600*. Exh. cat. London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1983.
- Martini, Egidio. *Pittura veneta: E'altra italiana dal XV al XIX secolo*. Rimini: Stefano Pataconi, 1992.
- Mazdon, Lucy. *Encore Hollywood: Remaking French Cinema*. London: British Film Institute, 2000.
- McPhee, Sarah. "Bernini's Books." *Burlington Magazine* 142 (2000): 442–48.
- Meilman, Patricia. *Titian and the Altarpiece in Renaissance Venice*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2000.
- Meiss, Millard, ed. *The Painter's Choice: Problems in the Interpretation of Renaissance Art*. New York: Harper & Row, 1976.
- . "Sleep in Venice: Ancient Myths and Renaissance Proclivities." In idem, ed., *The Painter's Choice: Problems in the Interpretation of Renaissance Art*, 212–23. New York: Harper & Row, 1976.
- Menin, Lodovico. *Elogio di Alessandro Varotari... dal sig. abate Lodovico Dr Menin... socio onorario della I. R. Accademia di belle arti*. Venice: Giuseppe Picotti, 1825.
- Merling, Mitchell. *Marco Boschini's "La carta del navigar pitoresco": Art Theory and Virtuoso Culture in Seventeenth-Century Venice*. Ph.D. diss., Brown University, 1992. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1993.
- Merlini Barbaresi, Lavinia. "Markedness Reversal in Dialogic Repetition." In Carla Bazzanella, ed., *Repetition in Dialogue*, 104–18. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1996.
- Miato, Monica. *L'Accademia degli Incogniti di Giovan Francesco Loredan: Venezia (1630–1661)*. Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1998.
- Michiel, Marcantonio. *Notizia d'opere di disegno*. Edited by Gustavo Frizzoni. Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, 1884.
- Michiele, Pietro. *Delle poesie postume di Pietro Michiele nobile veneto: Cioe le stravaganze, l'elegie, e le risposte di molt'ingegni primarii, & i ritratti*. Venice: Gio. Pietro Brignoni, 1671.
- Mirollo, James V. *The Poet of the Marvelous: Giambattista Marino*. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1963.
- Montagu, Jennifer. *Alessandro Algardi*. 2 vols. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1985.
- Mooney, Edward F. "Repetition: Getting the World Back." In Alastair Hannay and Gordon D. Marino, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Kierkegaard*, 282–307. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1998.
- Mooney, Michael. *Vico in the Tradition of Rhetoric*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1985.
- Morassi, Antonio. *La galleria dell'Accademia Carrara in Bergamo*. 2nd ed. Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1950.
- Moschetti, Andrea. "L'auto-ritratto del Padovanino." *Bollettino del Museo civico di Padova* 2 (1899): 51–53.
- Moschini, Giannantonio. *Della origine e delle vicende della pittura in Padova*. Padua: Crescini, 1826.
- Mucchi, Lodovico. "Radiografie di opere di Tiziano." *Arte Veneta* 31 (1977): 297–304.
- Muller, Jeffrey. "'Con diligenza, con studio, and con amore': Terms of Quality in the Seventeenth Century." In *Rubens and His World: Bijdragen... opgedragen aan R. A. d'Hulst naar aanleiding van het vijfentwintigjarig bestaan van het Nationaal Centrum voor de Plastische Kunsten van de 16de en de 17de Eeuw*, 273–78. Antwerp: Het Gulden Cabinet, 1985.
- . "Measures of Authenticity: The Detection of Copies in the Early Literature on Connoisseurship." In Kathleen Preciado, ed., *Retaining the Original: Multiple Originals, Copies, and Reproductions*, 141–49. Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1989.
- . "Rubens's Theory and Practice of the Imitation of Art." *Art Bulletin* 64 (1982): 229–47.
- Nesselrath, Arnold. "Lorenzo Lotto in the Stanza della Segnatura." *Burlington Magazine* 142 (2000): 4–12.
- O'Neill, Tom, ed. *The Shared Horizon: Melbourne Essays in Italian Language and Literature in Memory of Colin McCormick*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1990.
- Orlandi, Pellegrino Antonio. *Ab[el]cedario pittorico:... teologia, dottore collegiato, predicatore, e diletante del disegno*. Bologna: Costantino Pisarri, 1704.
- Otonelli, Giovanni Domenico, and Pietro da Cortona. *Trattato della pittura, e scultura, uso, et abuso loro:... con due indici, uno de' capi, e quesiti, l'altro delle materie*. Florence: Gio. Antonio Bonardi, 1652.
- Ovid. *Metamorphoses*. Translated by A. D. Melville. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1998.
- Owens, Craig. "The Allegorical Impulse." In Brian Wallis, ed., *Art after Modernism: Rethinking Representation*, 203–35. New York: New Museum of Contemporary Art, 1992.
- Pacciarotti, Giuseppe. *La pittura del Seicento*. Turin: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1997.
- Pacheco, Francisco. *El arte de la pintura*. Edited by Bonaventura Bassegoda i Hugas. Madrid: Cátedra, 1990.
- Pallavicino, Ferrante. *Il principe hermafrodito*. Venice: Turrini, 1656.
- Pallucchini, Rodolfo. "Contribuiti alla pittura veneziana del Seicento." *Arte Veneta* 16 (1962): 121–37.
- , ed. *Giorgione e l'umanesimo veneziano*. Vol. 2, *Giorgione e la cultura figurativa del suo tempo*. Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1981.
- , ed. *Storia di Venezia: Temi; L'arte*. 2 vols. Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1995.
- Panofsky, Erwin. *Galileo as a Critic of the Arts*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1954.
- . *Meaning in the Visual Arts: Papers in and on Art History*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1955.
- . "Original und Faksimiliereproduktion." Translated by Jean-François Poirier. *Les cahiers du Musée national d'art moderne*, no. 53 (1995): 45–55.
- . *Problems in Titian, Mostly Iconographic*. London: Phaidon, 1969.

- . *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art*. 2nd ed. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1965.
- Panofsky-Soergel, Gerda. "An Artist's Library in Rome around 1600." In Victoria Flemming and Sebastian Schütze, eds., *Ars Naturam Adiuvans: Festschrift für Matthias Winner zum 11. März 1996*, 367–80. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1996.
- Passeri, Giovanni Battista. *Vite de' pittori, scultori ed architetti che anno lavorato in Roma: Morti dal 1641 fino al 1673*. Edited by Giovanni Lodovico Bianconi. Rome: Gregorio Settari, 1772.
- Patch, Howard Rollin. *The Tradition of Boethius: A Study of His Importance in Medieval Culture*. New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1935.
- Patin, Carla Caterina. *Pitture scelte e dichiarate da Carla Caterina Patina, parigina accademica*. Colonia [= Venice?]: Pietro Marteau, 1691.
- Payne, Alina. "Vasari, Architecture, and the Origins of Historicizing Art." *Res*, no. 40 (2001): 51–76.
- Payne, Alina, Anne Kuttner, and Rebekah Smick, eds. *Antiquity and Its Interpreters*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2000.
- Pedrocco, Filippo. *Titian*. Translated by Corrado Federici. New York: Rizzoli, 2001.
- . "Venezia." In Mauro Lucco, ed., *Il Seicento*, 1:13–119. Milan: Electa, 2000–2001.
- Peregrini, Matteo. *Delle acutezze, che altrimenti spiriti, vivezze, e concetti, volgarmente si appellano, trattato Sig. Matteo Peregrini Bolognese di teologia, filosofia, e dell'una, e l'altra legge, dottore*. Genoa: Gio. Maria Farroni, Nicolò Pesagni, & Pier Francesco Barbieri, 1639.
- Perini, Giovanna. "La biblioteca di Bellori: Saggio sulla intellettuale e culturale di un erudito del Seicento." In Evelina Borea and Carlo Gasparri, eds., *L'idea del bello: Viaggio per Roma nel Seicento con Giovan Pietro Bellori*, 2:673–85. Exh. cat. Rome: Luca, 2000.
- Perry, Ellen. *The Aesthetics of Emulation in the Visual Arts of Ancient Rome*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2005.
- Petrarch. *Prose*. Edited by Guido Martellotti et al. Milan: Riccardi, 1955.
- Pietrucci, Napoleone. *Biografia degli artisti padovani*. Padua: Bianchi, 1858.
- Pigman, G. W. III. "Versions of Imitation in the Renaissance." *Renaissance Quarterly* 33 (1980): 1–32.
- Pignatti, Terisio. "Abbozzi and Ricordi: New Observations on Titian's Technique." In Joseph Manca, ed., *Titian 500*, 73–83. Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1993.
- Piles, Roger de. *Abregé de la vie des peintres: Avec des reflexions sur leurs ouvrages, et un traité du peintre parfait; de la connaissance des desseins; de l'utilité des estampes*. 2nd ed. Paris: Jacques Estienne, 1715.
- . *Dialogue sur le coloris*. Paris: Nicolas Langlois, 1699.
- . *Dissertation sur les ouvrages des plus fameux peintres; Le cabinet de Monseigneur le duc Richelieu; La vie de Rubens*. Paris: Nicolas Langlois, 1681. Reprint, Geneva: Minkoff, 1973.
- . *L'idée du peintre parfait*. Edited by Xavier Carrère. Paris: Le Promeneur, 1993.
- . "Remarques sur L'art de peinture de Charles Alfonse Du Fresnoy." In Charles-Alphonse Dufresnoy, *L'art de peinture, ... traduit en françois, enrichy de remarques, et augmenté d'un dialogue sur le coloris*, 93–256. Edited and translated by Roger de Piles. Paris: Nicolas Langlois, 1673.
- . *La vie de Rubens*. In idem, *Dissertation sur les ouvrages des plus fameux peintres; Le cabinet de Monseigneur le duc Richelieu; La vie de Rubens*. Paris: Nicolas Langlois, 1681. Reprint, Geneva: Minkoff, 1973.
- Pino, Paolo. "Dialogo di pittura." In Paola Barocchi, ed., *Trattati d'arte del Cinquecento: Fra manierismo e controriforma*, 1:93–139. Bari: G. Laterza & Figli, 1960.
- Plesters, Joyce. "Examination of Giovanni Bellini's *Feast of the Gods*: A Summary and Interpretation of Results." In Joseph Manca, ed., *Titian 500*, 375–91. Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1993.
- Pliny the Elder. *Natural History*. 9 vols. Translated by Harris Rackham and William Henry Samuel Jones. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press 1961.
- Plutarch. *Selected Essays and Dialogues*. Translated by Donald A. Russell. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1993.
- Potterton, Homan. *Venetian Seventeenth Century Painting: A Loan Exhibition from Collections in Britain and Ireland, 5 September to 30 November 1979*. Exh. cat. London: National Gallery, 1979.
- Pozza, Neri. "La casa di Tiziano a Biri Grande." In Massimo Gemin and Giannantonio Paladini, eds., *Tiziano e Venezia: Convegno internazionale di studi, Venezia, 1976*, 35–37. Vicenza: N. Pozza, 1980.
- Preciado, Kathleen, ed. *Retaining the Original: Multiple Originals, Copies, and Reproductions*. Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1989.
- Procacci, Lucia, and Ugo Procacci. "Carteggio di Marco Boschini con il Cardinale Leopoldo de' Medici." *Saggi e memorie di storia dell'arte* 4 (1965): 85–114.
- Proctor, Robert E. "Emanuele Tesauro: A Theory of the Conceit." *MLN* 88 (1973): 68–94.
- Pseudo-Lucian. *Amores*. In idem, *Lucian*, 8:150–235. Translated by M. D. MacLeod. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1967.
- Puppi, Lionello. "Ignoto deo." *Arte Veneta* 23 (1969): 169–80.
- Puttfarken, Thomas. *Titian and Tragic Painting: Aristotle's Poetics and the Rise of the Modern Artist*. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2005.
- Querini, Leonardo. *Vezi di Erato poesie liriche di Leonardo Querini nobile veneto*. Venice: Gio. Giacomo Hertz, 1649.
- Quintilian. *The Orator's Education*. 5 vols. Edited and translated by Donald A. Russell. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 2001.
- Quiviger, François, and Paul Taylor, eds. *Pictorial Composition from Medieval to Modern Art*. London: Warburg Institute Colloquia, University of London, 2000.
- Raimondi, Ezio, ed. *Trattatisti e narratori del Seicento*. Milan: Riccardo Ricciardi, 1960.
- Ranum, Orest A. "The Refuges of Intimacy." In Roger Chartier, ed., *Passions of the Renaissance*, 207–63. Translated by Arthur Goldhammer. Vol. 3 of Philippe Ariès and Georges Duby, eds., *A History of Private Life*. Cambridge: Belknap, 1989.

- Ricci, Corrado, ed. *Accademia Carrara in Bergamo: Elenco dei quadri*. Bergamo: Orfanotrofo Masch., 1930.
- Ricks, Christopher B. *Allusion to the Poets*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2002.
- Ridolfi, Carlo. *Le meraviglie dell'arte; ovvero, Le vite degli illustri pittori veneti e dello stato*. 2 vols. Edited by Detlev von Hadeln. Berlin: G. Grote, 1914–24. Reprint, Rome: Società Multigrafica SOMU, 1965.
- Ripa, Cesare. *Iconologia*. Edited by Piero Buscaroli. Milan: TEA Arte, 1992.
- Riposo, Donatella. *Il laberinto della verità: Aspetti del romanzo libertino del Seicento*. Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 1995.
- Rogers, Mary. "Sonnets on Female Portraits from Renaissance North Italy." *Word and Image* 2 (1986): 291–305.
- Rosand, David. "An Arc of Flame: On the Transmission of Pictorial Knowledge." In Görel Cavalli-Björkman, ed., *Bacchanals by Titian and Rubens: Papers Given at a Symposium in Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, March 18–19, 1987*, 81–92. Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1987.
- . *Painting in Sixteenth-Century Venice: Titian, Veronese, Tintoretto*. Rev. ed. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1997.
- . "So-and-So Reclining on Her Couch." In Joseph Manca, ed., *Titian 500*, 101–21. Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1993.
- . "Titian's Dutch Disciple." In Kenneth Clark, Frederick Ilchman, and David Rosand, *Rembrandt and the Venetian Influence*, 9–21. Exh. cat. New York: Salander-O'Reilly Galleries, 2000.
- Roskill, Mark. *Dolce's 'Aretino' and Venetian Art Theory of the Cinquecento*. 2nd ed. Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 2000.
- Rossi, Francesco. *Accademia Carrara*. Vol. 2, *Catalogo dei dipinti sec. XVII–XVIII*. Milan: Silvana, 1989.
- , ed. *Accademia Carrara, Bergamo: Catalogo dei dipinti*. Bergamo: Grafica Gutenberg, 1979.
- Rossi, Massimiliano. "La peinture guerrière: Artistes et paladins à Venise au XVIIe siècle." In Giovanni Careri, ed., *La Jérusalem délivrée du Tasse: Poésie, peinture, musique, ballet*, 67–108. Paris: Klincksieck, 1999.
- Rubens and His World: Bijdragen . . . opgedragen aan R. A. d'Hulst naar aanleiding van het vijftienvigti jarig bestaan van het Nationaal Centrum voor de Plastische Kunsten van de 16de en de 17de Eeuw*. Antwerp: Het Gulden Cabinet, 1985.
- Rubin, Patricia Lee. *Giorgio Vasari, Art and History*. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1995.
- Ruggeri, Ugo. "Alessandro Varotari detto Il Padovanino." *Saggi e memorie di storia dell'arte* 16 (1988): 101–65, 273–362.
- . *Il Padovanino*. Soncino: Edizione dei Soncino, 1993.
- . "Padovanino." In Jane Turner, ed., *The Dictionary of Art*, 23:749–51. New York: Grove, 1996.
- Russoli, Franco, ed. *Accademia Carrara: Galleria di belli arti in Bergamo*. Bergamo: Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche, 1967.
- Safarik, Eduard A. "La pittura." In Rodolfo Pallucchini, ed., *Storia di Venezia: Temi; L'arte*, 2:63–117. Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1995.
- Said, Edward W. *The World, the Text, and the Critic*. London: Vintage, 1991.
- Salvatore, Filippo. *Antichi e moderni in Italia nel Seicento*. Montréal: Guernica, 1987.
- Sansovino, Francesco. *Delle cose notabili della città di Venetia*. Venice: Altobello Salicato, 1601.
- . *Venetia città nobilissima et singolare, descritta in XIII libri da M. Francesco Sansovino*. Venice: Iacomo Sansovino, 1581.
- . *Venetia città nobilissima et singolare, descritta in XIII libri da M. Francesco Sansovino*. Edited by Giovanni Stringa. Venice: Altobello Salicato, 1604.
- . *Venetia città nobilissima et singolare descritta in XIII libri (1663)*. Edited by Giustiniano Martinioni. Venice: Stefano Curti, 1663. Reprint, Farnborough: Gregg, 1968.
- Savini Branca, Simona. *Il collezionismo veneziano nel '600*. Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1965.
- Scannelli, Francesco. *Il microcosmo della pittura*. Edited by Guido Giubbini. Cesena: Per il Neri, 1657. Reprint, Milan: Labor, 1966.
- Scaramuccia, Luigi. *Le finezze de' pennelli italiani ammirate e studiate da Girupeno sotto la scorta e disciplina del Genio di Raffaello d'Urbino*. Edited by Guido Guibbini. Pavia: Gio. Andrea Magri, 1674. Reprint, Milan: Labor, 1965.
- Schneider, Cynthia P., et al., eds. *Shop Talk: Studies in Honor of Seymour Slive: Presented on His Seventy-Fifth Birthday*. Cambridge: Harvard University Art Museums, 1995.
- Schulz, Juergen. "Titian at the Fondaco dei Tedeschi." *Burlington Magazine* 143 (2001): 567–69.
- Sedgwick, Eve Kosofsky. *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire*. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1992.
- Seneca, Lucius Annaeus. *Ad Lucilium epistulae morales*. Vols. 4–6, *Seneca in Ten Volumes*. Translated by Richard Mott Gummere. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1970.
- Sheard, Wendy Steadman, and John T. Paoletti, eds. *Collaboration in Italian Renaissance Art*. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1978.
- Shiffman, Jody Robin. "'Artistic License': Titian in the Works of Vasari and Ridolfi." In Carlo Ridolfi, *The Life of Titian*, 10–48. Edited by Julia Conaway Bondanella et al. Translated by Julia Conaway Bonadella and Peter Bonadella. University Park: Pennsylvania State Univ. Press, 1996.
- Singerman, Howard, Catherine Ingraham, and Sylvia Lavin. *Sherrie Levine: Sculpture*. Edited by David Frankel. Exh. cat. Cologne: Galerie Jablonka, 1996.
- Smith, A. J. "Theory and Practice in Renaissance Poetry: Two Kinds of Imitation." *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 47 (1964–65): 212–43.
- Sohm, Philip L. "Baroque Piles and Other Decompositions." In François Quiviger and Paul Taylor, eds., *Pictorial Composition from Medieval to Modern Art*, 58–90. London: Warburg Institute Colloquia, University of London, 2000.
- . "La critica d'arte del Seicento: Carlo Ridolfi e Marco Boschini." In Mauro Lucco, ed., *Il Seicento*, 2:725–56. Milan: Electa, 2001.
- . "Ordering History with Style: Giorgio Vasari on the Art of History." In Alina Payne, Anne Kuttner, and Rebekah Smick, eds., *Antiquity and Its Interpreters*, 40–54. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2000.

- . *Pittoresco: Marco Boschini, His Critics, and Their Critiques of Painterly Brushwork in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Italy*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1991.
- . *Style in the Art Theory of Early Modern Italy*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2001.
- Spear, Richard E. *The "Divine" Guido: Religion, Sex, Money, and Art in the World of Guido Reni*. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1997.
- . *Domenichino*. 2 vols. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1982.
- , ed. *Domenichino (1581–1641)*. Exh. cat. Milan: Electa, 1996.
- . "Johann Liss Reconsidered." *Art Bulletin* 58 (1976): 582–93.
- Sperti, Luigi. *Rilevi greci e romani del Museo archeologico di Venezia*. Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider, 1988.
- Steer, John. *A Concise History of Venetian Painting*. New York: Praeger, 1970.
- Stigliani, Tommaso. *Dello occhio opera difensiva del cavalier Fr. Tomaso Stigliani, scritta in risposta al cavalier Gio. Battista Marini*. Venice: Pietro Caramello, 1627.
- Stoichita, Victor Ieronim. *The Self-Aware Image: An Insight into Early Modern Meta-Painting*. Translated by Anne-Marie Glasheen. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1997.
- Summerscale, Anne. *Malvasia's Life of the Carracci: Commentary and Translation*. University Park: Pennsylvania State Univ. Press, 2000.
- Tafari, Manfredo. *Venice and the Renaissance*. Translated by Jessica Levine. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1995.
- Tarabotti, Arcangela. *Che le donne siano della spezie degli uomini*. Edited by Letizia Panizza. London: Institute of Romance Studies, University of London, 1994.
- Tarde, Gabriel. *The Laws of Imitation*. Translated by Elsie Clews Parsons. Gloucester, Mass.: P. Smith, 1962.
- Tartara, Paul. "'Psycho': Play It Again, Gus." CNN.com review, 4 December 1998. Available at <http://www.cnn.com/SHOWBIZ/Movies/9812/04/review.psycho>.
- Tassoni, Alessandro. *Dieci libri di pensieri diversi... aggiuntovi, nuovamente il decimo libro del paragone de gl'ingegni antichi, e moderni con altri varii quisiti*. Venice: Marc'Antonio Brogiollo, 1627.
- Tesaurò, Emanuele. "The Aristotelian Telescope (1654)." In Brendan Dooley, ed., *Italy in the Baroque*, 460–86. New York: Garland, 1995.
- . *Il cannocchiale aristotelico*. Edited by August Buck. Bad Homburg, Germany: Gehlen, 1968.
- Thuillier, Jacques. "Polemiques autour de MA au XVIIe siècle." *XVIIe siècle*, no. 36–37 (1957): 353–91.
- Tietze, Hans. "An Early Version of Titian's Danae: An Analysis of Titian's Replicas." *Arte Veneta* 8 (1954): 199–208.
- Tietze-Conrat, Erika. "Titian's Allegory of 'Religion.'" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 14, no. 1–2 (1951): 127–32.
- Tizianello. *Breve compendio della vita del famoso Titiano Vecellio di Cadore cavaliere, et pittore, con l'arbore della sua vera consanguinità*. Venice: Santo' Grillo & Fratelli, 1622.
- Turner, Jane, ed. *The Dictionary of Art*. 34 vols. New York: Grove, 1996.
- Twelve Monkeys*. DVD. Directed by Terry Gilliam. [Universal City, Calif.]: MCA Universal Home Video, 1998.
- Valeriano, Pierio. *Hieroglyphica; sive, De Sacris Aegyptiorum Aliarumque Gentium Literis Commentarii... et Hoc Periuicundo Iam per Pierium Oblato Beneficio Feliciter Fruere*. Basel: Thomas Guarin, 1567.
- Valone, Carolyn. "Il Padovanino: A New Look and a New Work." *Arte Veneta* 36 (1982): 161–66.
- Van Mander, Karel. *Dutch and Flemish Painters: Translation from the Schilderboeck*. Translated by Constant Van de Wall. New York: McFarlane, Warde, McFarlane, 1936.
- . *Karel van Mander, the Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters, from the first edition of the Schilder-boeck (1603–04)*. . . . 6 vols. Edited and translated by Hessel Miedema. Doornspijk: Davaco, 1994–99.
- Varotari, Ascanio. *Opere d' Ascanio Varotari: All'altezza del sig. principe Leopoldo di Toscana*. Padua: Paulo Frambotto, 1666.
- Varotari, Dario. *Il vespaio stuzzicato; satire veneziane*. Venice: Pietr' Antonio Zamboni, 1671.
- Vasari, Giorgio. *Lives of the Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*. Translated by Gaston de Vere. 2 vols. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996.
- . *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori: Nelle redazioni del 1550 e 1568*. Vols. 5, 6. Edited by Rosanna Bettarini and Paola Barocchi. Florence: Scelte, 1976.
- Veblen, Thorstein. *The Theory of the Leisure Class*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1973.
- Vecellio, Tiziano. *Le lettere*. Edited by Clemente Gandini. Pieve da Cadore: Magnifica Comunità di Cadore, 1977.
- Venezia e l'Europa; atti del XVIII Congresso internazionale di storia dell'arte, Venezia, 12–18 settembre 1955*. Venice: Arte Veneta, 1955.
- Vertigo*. DVD. Directed by Alfred Hitchcock. Universal City, Calif.: Universal Studios, 1998.
- Virgil. *The Aeneid*. Translated by John Dryden. New York: P. F. Collier & Son, 1909.
- Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca, con tre indici delle voci, locuzioni, e proverbi Latini, e Greci, etc.* Venice: Giovanni Alberti, 1612.
- Vos, Alvin, ed. *Place and Displacement in the Renaissance*. Binghamton, N.Y.: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1995.
- Walberg, Helen Deborah. *The Marian Miracle Paintings of Alessandro Varotari (Il Padovanino, 1588–1649): Popular Piety and Painted Proselytizing in Seventeenth-Century Venice*. Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 2004. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 2005.
- Walker, John. *Bellini and Titian at Ferrara: A Study of Styles and Taste*. London: Phaidon, 1956.
- Wallis, Brian, ed. *Art after Modernism: Rethinking Representation*. New York: New Museum of Contemporary Art, 1992.
- , ed. *Blasted Allegories: An Anthology of Writings by Contemporary Artists*. New York: New Museum of Contemporary Art, 1987.

- Warwick, Genevieve. *The Arts of Collecting: Padre Sebastiano Resta and the Market for Drawings in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2000.
- . "Gift Exchange and Art Collecting: Padre Sebastiano Resta's Drawing Albums." *Art Bulletin* 79 (1997): 630–46.
- Watson, Paul. "Titian and Michelangelo: The Danae of 1545–1546." In Wendy Steadman Sheard and John T. Paoletti, eds., *Collaboration in Italian Renaissance Art*, 245–60. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1978.
- Wethey, Harold E. *The Paintings of Titian*. 3 vols. London: Phaidon, 1975.
- Williams, Robert. "The Vocation of the Artist as Seen by Giovanni Battista Armenini." *Art History* 18 (1995): 518–36.
- Wittkower, Rudolf. *Art and Architecture in Italy 1600–1750*. Edited by Joseph Connors and Jennifer Montagu. 6th ed. 3 vols. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1999.
- Wood, Carolyn H. "The Ludovisi Collection of Paintings in 1623." *Burlington Magazine* 134 (1992): 515–23.
- Xenophon. *Scripta Minora*. Translated by E. C. Marchant. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1962.
- Yakush, Mary, and Margaret Aspinwall, eds. *The Age of Correggio and the Carracci: Emilian Painting in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Translated by Robert Erich Wolf et al. Exh. cat. Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1986.
- Zanetti, Antonio Maria. *Varie pitture a fresco de' principali maestri veneziani: Ora la prima volta con le stampe pubblicate*. Venice: n.p., 1760.
- Zapperi, Roberto. "Alessandro Farnese, Giovanni della Casa and Titian's Danae in Naples." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 54 (1991): 159–71.
- Zárate Ruiz, Arturo. *Gracián, Wit, and the Baroque Age*. New York: Peter Lang, 1996.
- Zava Boccazzi, Franca. *La basilica dei santi Giovanni e Paolo in Venezia*. Venice: Ferdinando Ongania, 1965.
- Žižek, Slavoj. *Enjoy Your Symptom! Jacques Lacan in Hollywood and Out*. Rev. ed. New York: Routledge, 2001.
- Zuccaro, Federico. *Il lamento della pittura su l'onde veneto*. In idem, *Scritti d'arte di Federico Zuccaro*, 118–29. Edited by Detlef Heikamp. Florence: Il Cenacolo, 1961.
- . *Scritti d'arte di Federico Zuccaro*. Edited by Detlef Heikamp. Florence: Il Cenacolo, 1961.

Illustration Credits

The following sources have granted permission to reproduce illustrations in this book:

- Fig. 1 Photo: © Cameraphoto Arte, Venice/Art Resource, New York
- Fig. 2 Photo: By permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Milan
- Fig. 3 From Ugo Ruggeri, *Il Padovanino* (Soncino: Edizioni dei Soncino, 1993), 95 (no. 24). Photo: Getty Research Institute, Research Library, 93-B21530
- Fig. 4 Photo: © Erich Lessing/Art Resource, New York
- Fig. 5 Photo: © Scala/Art Resource, New York
- Fig. 6 From Francesco Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (*Venetii, Aldo Manuzio, 1499*) ([Zaragoza]: Ediciones del Portico, 1981), bk. 1, signature E1 recto. Photo: Getty Research Institute, Research Library, 85-B5535
- Fig. 7 Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie, inv. no. M. Ob. 628. Photo: W. Jerke
- Fig. 8 Photo: © Cameraphoto Arte, Venice/Art Resource, New York
- Fig. 9 Archivio Fotografico Soprintendenza Speciale per il Polo Museale Romano
- Fig. 10 Photo: © Cameraphoto Arte, Venice/Art Resource, New York
- Fig. 11 Photo: © Alinari/Art Resource, New York
- Fig. 12 Photo: Permission British Library (57.b.23)
- Fig. 13 Photo: © Scala/Art Resource, New York
- Fig. 14 Photo: J. Paul Getty Trust, Los Angeles
- Fig. 15 Photo: © Scala/Art Resource, New York
- Figs. 16, 17 Photo: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, New York
- Fig. 18 Photo: © Scala/Art Resource, New York
- Fig. 19 Photo: By permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Rome
- Fig. 20 © Giuseppe Schiavinotto/IKONA, Rome
- Fig. 21 Hessisches Landesmuseum Darmstadt
- Fig. 22 By permission of the Trustees of Dulwich Picture Gallery
- Figs. 23–26 Photo: Getty Research Institute
- Figs. 27, 28 Photo: © Scala/Art Resource, New York
- Fig. 29 Photo: © Foto Marburg/Art Resource, New York
- Fig. 30 National Gallery of Art, Widener Collection. Image © 2006 Board of Trustees, National Gallery of Art, Washington
- Fig. 31 Photo: © Scala/Art Resource, New York
- Fig. 32 Photo: Maria H. Loh
- Fig. 33 Bergamo, Accademia Carrara, Dip. no. 424
- Fig. 34 Bergamo, Accademia Carrara, Dip. no. 425
- Fig. 35 Bergamo, Accademia Carrara, Dip. no. 423
- Fig. 36 Bergamo, Accademia Carrara, Dip. no. 426
- Fig. 37 Photo: © Alinari/Art Resource, New York
- Fig. 38 Photo: R. G. Ojeda. © Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, New York
- Fig. 39 Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Cabinet des Estampes et Photographie, BA 20B, fol. 48
- Fig. 40 Photo: © Alinari/Art Resource, New York
- Fig. 41 Photo: © Ralph Lieberman
- Fig. 42 Photo: Getty Research Institute, Research Library, 2564-856
- Fig. 43 Photo: © Bildarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz/Art Resource, New York
- Fig. 44 Photo: Getty Research Institute, Research Library, 93-B8345
- Fig. 45 Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Staatsgalerie Schleißheim
- Fig. 46 Photo: Maria H. Loh
- Fig. 47 Photo: Getty Research Institute, Research Library, 85-B23276
- Fig. 48 Photo: © Ralph Lieberman
- Fig. 49 Photo: © Scala/Art Resource, New York
- Fig. 50 Photo: © National Gallery, London
- Fig. 51 Photo: © Scala/Art Resource, New York
- Fig. 52 San Diego Museum of Art. Gift of Anne R. and Amy Putnam in memory of their sister, Irene
- Fig. 53 By permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali. Photo: Soprintendenza PSAE, Siena and Grosseto
- Fig. 54 Photo: © Alinari/Art Resource, New York
- Fig. 55 Photo: © Scala/Art Resource, New York
- Fig. 56 Photo: Getty Research Institute, Research Library, 93-B8345
- Fig. 57 By permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali. Photo: Soprintendenza PSAE, Siena and Grosseto
- Fig. 58 Photo: © Erich Lessing/Art Resource, New York
- Fig. 59 Inv. 442, F.N.196, deposited in Villa Madama. Photo: Archivio Fotografico Soprintendenza Speciale per il Polo Museale Romano
- Fig. 60 By permission of the Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford (JBS 152)
- Fig. 61 Chrysler Museum of Art, Norfolk, Virginia. Gift of Walter P. Chrysler Jr., 71.650
- Fig. 62 Photo: © 1981 The Herbert, Coventry, England
- Fig. 63 Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister. Photo: Hans-Peter Klut
- Fig. 64 Photo: © Scala/Art Resource, New York
- Fig. 65 Photo: Getty Research Institute, Research Library, 86-B21709
- Fig. 66 Photo: Getty Research Institute, Research Library, 94-B1561
- Fig. 67 Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, Mr. and Mrs. Marcus Sopher Collection, 1995.124.29

This page intentionally left blank

Index

Page references to illustrations are in *italic*.

Accademia degl'Incogniti, 130; Padovanino's connections
with, 149–50

Accademia della Crusca, 133

acclamatio, 97

Achilles, 91, 131

Achillini, Claudio, 135

acutezze, 141–42, 146

L'Adone (Marino), 53, 135, 136, 140

Adonis, 20, 45–46, 136–37, 140, 151

Aeneas, 129, 131, 165

Aeneid (Virgil), 165–66

agonistic model of influence, 10, 26–33, 171

Agucchi, Giovanni Battista, 77

Agudeza y arte de ingenio (Gracián), 148

Albarelli, Giacomo, 107

Alciati, Andrea, 165

L'Alcibiade fanciullo a scuola (Rocco), 149

Aldobrandini, Ippolito, 68

Aldobrandini, Olimpia, 68

Aldobrandini, Pietro, 68, 71

Aldobrandini collection, 43, 71, 81n.34; Titian's bacchanals
in, 64–65, 68, 86

Aldobrandini heist, 69, 163

Algar di, Alessandro, 77

Alienese, 170, 177n.34

allegory: Benjamin on, 93; Owens on, 89–91; in Padovanino's
Triumph, 89–92; of Painting, 97; as reinvestment of the
past, 119; in Tethys narrative, 95; Thetis narrative as, 91;
in three ages of man, 109, 167–68; in tripartite com-
positional scheme, 104; in zoomorphic imagery, 112.

See also symbols and symbology

An Allegory of Prudence (Titian), 109, 111, 112, 152

Amaryllis and Myrtillo (van Dyck), 69

anachronism, 62

analepsis, 57

anastrophe, 136

Anchises, 129, 165–66

ancients and moderns, 97, 115, 121–22, 129

Anguissola, Sofonisba, 116, 117

L'antircrusca; ovvero, Il paragone dell'italiana lingua (Beni),
131, 133, 134

Anti-Oedipus (Deleuze & Guattari), 10, 174

antioggidianismo, 14, 121, 130–35

antiquity: reassessment of, 131–35; rhetorical gestures in,
115; and sculpture, 75–79

Apelles, 50n.32, 124, 130, 132

Apollo, 112

Apollodorus, 91, 170

Aretino, Pietro, 27–28, 35

Argote de Molina, Gonzalo, 33

aristocracy. See court society

Aristotle, 127n.63, 136; Boethius's commentaries on the
works of, 122; on metaphors, 141

Armenini, Giovan Battista, 73, 121, 124, 170

Arundel, earl of, 44

Ascanius, 165–66

Assumption (Titian), 72

Athena with a Serpent (Algar di), 78

Aurora (Reni), 92

author-reader relations, 61–64; in art, 3, 8, 12, 30, 142–48;
in literature, 37, 135–37

Azzolino, Pompeo, 43

Bacall, Lauren, 59

Bacchanal of Putti (Poussin), 69

Bacchanal of the Andrians (Padovanino), 88

Bacchanal of the Andrians (Titian), 65, 66, 92

bacchanals, by Bellini and Titian, 34, 64–71, 66, 67; back-
ground to, 65; copies after, 69–70, 87; in the court of the
d'Este in Ferrara, 13, 34, 64–65; in the court of Phillip
IV in Madrid, 5, 65, 68; Padovanino's repetition of, 68,
86–87; in the Palazzo Aldobrandini in Rome, 13, 64–65,
68–69, 86; in the Palazzo Ludovisi in Rome, 64–65, 68,
87; popularity of, 68–69; removal to Rome, 13, 64–65.
See also *Bacchanal of the Andrians* (Titian); *Bacchus and
Ariadne* (Titian); *The Feast of the Gods* (Bellini); *Worship
of Venus* (Titian)

- bacchanals, by Padovanino, 86–89, 88, 89, 90; Boschini on, 124; importance of, to Venetian art, 163. See also *Bacchanal of the Andrians* (Padovanino); *Bacchus and Ariadne* (Padovanino); *Triumph* (Padovanino); *Worship of Venus* (Padovanino)
- Bacchus and Ariadne* (Giordano) (Coventry), 146, 148
Bacchus and Ariadne (Giordano) (Norfolk), 146, 147
Bacchus and Ariadne (Padovanino), 89
Bacchus and Ariadne (Titian), 65, 67, 92, 142
- Bal, Mieke, 64
 Baldinucci, Filippo, 21, 69
 Baldinucci, Francesco, 146
- Barberini circle, 69
 Barnes, Bernardine, 32
 Bartoli, Daniello, 141
 Bartolommeo, Fra, 65
 Bassano, Jacopo, 114, 132
 Bassetti, Marcantonio, 72
Battle of Spoleto (Titian), 95
 Baxandall, Michael, 81n.25, 126n.22
 Bellini, Giovanni, 27, 65
 Bellini, Jacopo, 20
 Bellori, Giovanni Pietro, 63, 77, 168
 Belvedere torso (Vatican), 105
 Bembo, Pietro, 135
 Benefatto, Luigi, 170
 Beni, Paolo, 131, 133, 134
 Benjamin, Walter, 8, 119; on baroque allegory, 93; on originals and reproductions, 8
 Bernini, Gian Lorenzo, 30, 77
The Birds (1963; Alfred Hitchcock), 59
 Bisagno, Francesco, 167
 blindness: and *Volontà*, 101–2
 Bloom, Harold, 10, 170
 Boccacini, Trajano, 133
 Boethius, 120, 121–22
 books, in Padovanino's *Self-Portrait*, 120–22
 Bordone, Paris, 23–24, 154
 Borges, Jorge Luis, 62
 Boschini, Marco, 4, 62; on Contarini, 95; on copies, 55; on Domenichino's praise for Titian, 70–71; on education of the Varotari, 120; epigraph for, 168; friendship with Dario Varotari the younger, 151–52, 168; on history, 152; and Leopoldo de' Medici, 150–51; and Leopold Wilhelm, 151; on modernity, 133–34; on nudes of Venus, 44–46; on Padovanino's bacchanals, 87, 124; as Padovanino's promoter, 151; on Padovanino's respect for the masters, 114; on Padovanino's *Venus and Adonis*, 44–47; in Republic of Painting, 150; in response to Vasari, 75–76; on Rubens's debt to Venice, 72; on sculpture, 75–76; on van Dyck's praise for Titian, 76–77
- Boselli, Orfeo, 76
 bottega. See workshop practices
 Bracciano, duke of, 43
 Bruno, Giordano, 112
 Bryson, Norman, 134
 Bulwer, John, 115
 Burckhardt, Jacob, 3
- Calcagnini, Celio**, 171
 Caliarì, Benedetto, 21
 Cambiaso, Luca, 116
il camerino d'alabastro, 65
campanilisimo, 28, 71
Il canocchiale aristotelico (Tesauro), 141
 Canova, Antonio, 97, 99
 Carampello, Pietro, 149
 Caravaggesque, 63
 Caravaggio, 72
 Carleton, Dudley, 44
 Carpioni, Giulio, 97, 98
 Carracci, Agostino, 72, 85, 86
 Carracci, Annibale, 85, 86, 129
 Carracci, Ludovico, 73, 85, 86
 Carracci circle, 75
La carta del navegar pitoresco (Boschini), 44, 70, 114, 152
 Cartari, Vincenzo, 124
 Casa Grimani (Venice), 73
 Casa Gussoni (Venice), 73
 Casa Michiela (Venice), 73
 Casa Moresina (Venice), 73
 Catullus, 91
 Cavedone, Giacomo, 73
 Cecil, Robert, first earl of Salisbury, 4
 Cesari, Giuseppe, Cavaliere d'Arpino, 69
 Chantelou, Paul Fréart de, 30
 Charles I, king of England, 154
 Charles V, king of Spain, 26, 40
 Chartres, Bernard de, 129
 Chatelain, Hélène, 58
 chiasmus, 136
 chirology, 115
Christ Before Pilate (Tintoretto), 114
 Christina, queen of Sweden, 43

- chronomachia*, 104
chronotopia, 104
 Cicero, 135
 cinquecento, 72, 77, 92
 Ciotti, the, 149
City of Angels (1998; Brad Silberling), 56
La civil conversazione (Guazzo), 38
 classical age. *See* antiquity
 Clement VIII, 68
 Cole, James, 57–59, 63, 174
 Colonna, Francesco, 22
Commedia (Dante), 121
Comparatione di Homero, Virgilio e Torquato (Beni), 131, 134
 comparison. *See* *paragone*
concetti, 141
Considerazioni sopra l'arte dello stile e del dialogo
 (Pallavicino), 148
 Contarini, Giovanni, 95
 Contarini, Jacopo, 21, 137
The Conversion of the Magdalene (Luini), 115, 116
 coral, symbolism of, 103
 Corgna, Fabio della, 69
 Correggio, 31, 129, 132
 Cortona, Pietro da, 44, 68, 71, 73, 82n.46
 courtly love poetry, 35
 court society: bodily culture of, 34; ethic of the joke in, 37;
 machismo in, 34; *petrarchismo* in, 35; prestige fetishes
 in, 32–36; social conformity in, 38; *sprezzatura* in, 35,
 37–38; status consumption in, 34. *See also* social
 relationships
 Cropper, Elizabeth, 35, 53
- Damisch, Hubert**, 32
Danaë (Correggio), 31
Danaë (Titian) (Madrid), 38, 39
Danaë (Titian) (Naples), 26, 28; as meta-painting, 31; as
 prototype, 40
Danaë with a Nurse (Titian), 39
 Dante, 120–21; and *antioggianismo*, 121–22
Dario Varotari Veronese, Pittore et Arch. (Dario Varotari the
 younger), 106
Dawn (Michelangelo), 73, 105, 146. *See also* *Dusk*
De consolatione philosophiae (Boethius), 122
De Imitatione Statuarum (Rubens), 76–77
 Deleuze, Gilles, 9–10, 63, 168, 174; and double belonging,
 12–13, 16n.31, 30; and the fold, 9; on Leibniz and the
 two floors, 9, 97, 174; repetition and difference in, 9,
 16n.31; repetition as becoming in, 9–11
 Deleuze, Gilles, and Félix Guattari: on aggregates, 16n.35;
 critique of arborescent models by, 10; critique of
 universal familialism by, 10–11; on desire, 10; on
 deterritorialized branches, 168; on machinic
 assemblages, 10, 35n.16
 “delicious nudes,” 32, 53
 Della Casa, Giovanni, 26, 38
Della cose notabili (Sansovino), 72
 Della Rovere, Guidobaldo II, duke of Urbino, 26, 34
 Della Vecchia, Pietro, 150, 151
Delle acutezze (Peregrini), 148
Dello occhiale (Stigliani), 135, 149
 Dempsey, Charles, 53
 Dente, Girolamo, 42
 Descartes, René, 9
 desire: as connection, 10; and homosociality, 43; as lack, 10
 d’Este, Alfonso, duke of Ferrara, 34, 64
 d’Este, Cesare, duke of Ferrara, 68, 142
 d’Este, Isabella, 34
De’ veri precetti della pittura (Armenini), 170
De Vulgari Eloquentia (Dante), 121
Dialogo della pittura (Dolce), 27–28
Dialogue sur le coloris (Piles), 69
Diana (Padovanino), 149
Diana and Actaeon (Maratti), 145
Diana and Callisto (Titian), 154
 Diderot, Denis, 104
 Dido, 165, 176n.6
Dieci libri di pensieri diversi (Tassoni), 132, 135
disegno, 75; vs. *colorito*, 30
 Dolce, Lodovico, 27, 33
 Domenichino, 53, 70–71, 143
 Donato, Eugenio, 141
donna nuda: as conversation piece, 35–36; and Titian, 23; in
 Titian’s *Venus and Cupid* series, 40
 Dossi, Dosso, 65
 double belonging: in Deleuze, 9, 11, 30; moments of, 13, 14,
 56, 62–65, 97, 166, 171–72
Double Portrait (Manzuoli), 116, 118
 Dresden type, Titian’s *Sleeping Venus* as the, 23
 Duquesnoy, Charles-Alfonse, 81n.36
 Du Quesnoy, François, 69
 Dürer, Albrecht, 132
Dusk (Michelangelo), 73, 105, 146. *See also* *Dawn*
 Dyck, Anthony van, 69, 73, 74
 Dyck, Daniel van den, 151, 154

- Edwards, Blake**, 56
- Elias, Norbert, 33, 38
- Eliot, T. S., 11, 22
- Emblemata* (Alciati), 165, 166
- Encyclopédie* (Diderot), 104
- English Civil War, 154
- Ennodius, 122
- Enzo, Gioseffo, 73
- epic poetry, 132
- etiquette manuals, 38. See also *La civil conversatione* (Guazzo); *Il galateo* (Della Casa); *Trattato tra gli amici superiori et inferiori* (Della Casa)
- Eugenia, Isabella Clara, 154
- Europa* (Titian), 139
- Evelyn, John, 44
- exhibition value, 43
- fame, personification of**, 103
- Farnese, Alessandro, 26, 34
- Farnese, Ottavio, 34, 38
- Farnese, Ranuccio, 34
- Fasolo, Giovanni Antonio, 73
- father figure, Titian as, 107, 114, 170–71
- The Feast of the Gods*, (Bellini), 27, 65, 67, 87, 92
- Ferrara, Alfonso d'Este, duke of, 34, 64
- Ferrara, Cesare d'Este, duke of, 68, 142
- Fetti, Domenico, 72
- filial piety, 166
- film remakes, repetition in, 56–61
- film theory, 12–13
- Filosofia secondo Boetio* (Ripa), 122, 123
- Le finezze de' pennelli italiani* (Scaramuccia), 74
- Fiocco, Giuseppe, 3
- fold theory, 9. See also Deleuze, Gilles
- Fondaco dei Tedeschi (Venice), 72
- I fonti dell'ingegno ridotti ad arte* (Peregrini), 148
- forgery, 53, 61, 80n.5, 140, 150
- Foucault, Michel, 169
- Franco, Veronica, 132
- French language, 157n.20
- frescos, on Venetian buildings, 72–73
- Freud, Sigmund, 10, 11
- Frizimelica, Girolamo, 164
- Fugger, Wilhelm, 69
- funerary monument: of Antonio Canova, 99; of Palma Giovane, 107–8, 108
- Il galateo* (Della Casa), 38, 50n.36, 51n.62
- La galeria* (Marino), 137
- Galileo, 148
- The Gallery of the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm* (Teniers), 154, 155, 156
- Gargantua and Pantagruel* (Rabelais), 129–30
- gender, in early modern literature, 137
- genealogies, 169
- Genette, Gérard, 26, 56
- La Gerusalemme distrutta* (Guidotti), 143
- La Gerusalemme liberata* (Tasso), 131
- Gessi, Berlingerio, 44
- gestures, in Padovanino's *Self-Portrait*, 115
- gift economy, 38–42, 51n.67, 68, 81n.34
- Gilliam, Terry, 57–62, 93, 174
- Giordano, Luca, 74, 146
- Giorgione, 17–18, 19, 77, 109, 134, 154; attribution of *Sleeping Venus* to, 22; and Bellini, 141; and Caravaggio, 72, 81n.24; and the Caravaggisti, 86; critical fortune of, 81n.23; and Pietro Della Vecchia, 80n.19; in the seventeenth century, 63; and Titian, 10, 32, 63, 114, 170
- Giorgionesque, 44; *bravi*, 152; prototypes, 22, 24; Titian and the intervention of the, 63
- Giotto, 170
- Giraldi, Giambattista, 85, 135, 171
- Giustiniani, Vincenzo, 72
- God Rebukes Adam and Eve* (Domenichino), 143, 144
- Goffen, Rona, 28
- Goffredo, 131
- Gombrich, Ernst, 150
- Gonzaga, Federico II, duke of Mantua, 31
- Gracián, Baltasar, 148
- Gramigna, Vincenzo, 130–32, 133
- Granvelle, Antoine Perrenot de, 40
- Greenblatt, Stephen, 38
- Greene, Thomas, 55, 171
- Gregory XV, 68
- Grimani collection, 49n.19
- Guattari, Félix, 10, 63, 168, 174
- Guazzo, Stefano, 38
- Guidotti, Paolo, 143
- Hamilton, James Hamilton, duke of**, 154
- Hanich, Davos, 57, 58
- Harris, Ann Sutherland, 71
- Haskell, Francis, 5
- Hawks, Howard, 59

- Heche, Anne, 56
- Hedren, Tippi, 59
- Hernández, García, 42
- Herrmann, Bernard, 60
- Hieroglyphica* (Valeriano), 112
- Der Himmel über Berlin* (1987; Wim Wenders), 56
- history: in Padovanino's *Self-Portrait*, 109, 123–24; Plutarchan model of, 120; as represented in art, 109
- Hitchcock, Alfred, 56, 58–59, 94
- Hitchcockian motifs, 60
- Hoecke, Jan van den, 69
- Hoefnagel, Joris, 74
- L'hoggi di; overo, Il mondo non peggiore ne più calamitoso del passato* (Lancellotti), 133, 135
- homage vs. forgery, 50, 55–61, 108
- Homer, 131
- L'homme qui aimait les femmes* (1977; François Truffaut), 56
- homosociality: and desire, 43; and identity, 34–35; and rivalry, 26–30; role of women in, 35
- Hopkins, Andrew, 104
- The Hunt of Diana*, (Domenichino), 70, 71, 143
- Huston, John, 59
- hyperbaton, 136
- Hyperotomachia Poliphili* (Colonna), 22; engraving of sleeping nymph in, 23
- iconography**, 91
- Iconologia* (Ripa), 101, 101–2, 122–23, 123
- identity: in Padovanino's *Self-Portrait*, 2–3; role of prestige fetishes in, 33–35. *See also* self
- Iliade giocosa* (Loredan), 149
- Le imagini de i dei de gli antichi* (Cartari), 124
- imitation: the Carracci on, 85; Giraldi on, 85; Gramigna on, 130–31; Greene on, 55; Marino on, 135; Petrarch on, 112, 167; Tesauro on, 62
- Incogniti, 149–50
- Inferno* (Dante), 121
- influence: agonistic model of, 10; anxiety of, 10, 16n.40, 165; genealogies of, 169
- inganno*, 146
- inscriptions: in *An Allegory of Prudence* (Titian), 109, 111; by Ascanio Varotari, accompanying *Self-Portrait* (Padovanino), 1–2, 163–65; in the funerary monument of Palma Giovane, 107, 108; in *Il liceo della pittura* (Testa), 97, 98; by Padovanino and Chiara Varotari, for Dario Varotari the elder, 166–67; by Palma Giovane on the *Pietà* (Titian), 112–13
- Inspiration of the Poet* (Poussin), 95, 96
- intention, 2–4, 7–8, 22, 26–37, 125
- Italian language, 157n.20
- iteration, 136
- La jetée** (1962; Chris Marker), 57–61, 58
- Job, 178n.48
- Judith with the Head of Holofernes* (Padovanino), 152–54, 153
- Judith with the Head of Holofernes* (Troyen, after Teniers, after Padovanino), 156
- Julius II, 34
- Jupiter, 139–40
- Kawin, Bruce**, 13, 55
- Key Largo* (1948; John Huston), 59
- Kierkegaard, Søren, 174
- Koerner, Joseph, 2
- Kopienkritik, 8
- Lancellotti, Secondo**, 133
- Lanciano, Polidoro da, 20
- Laocoön, 142, 146
- Laocoön* (Vatican), 77, 129, 142
- Last Communion of Saint Jerome* (Domenichino), 53, 135
- The Last Judgment* (Michelangelo), 32, 78, 132
- laurel crown, 95
- Lecce, Mateo da, 72
- Leda and the Swan* (after Michelangelo), 26, 29
- Lefebvre, Valentin, 44
- Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm von, 9
- Leigh, Janet, 57
- Leonardo da Vinci, 132, 170
- Leopold Wilhelm, archduke of Austria, 4, 15, 69, 151, 152–56
- Levine, Sherrie, 179
- Liberi, Pietro, 151
- libraries of artists, 127n.63
- Libreria Marciana (Venice), 5
- Il liceo della pittura* (Testa), 97, 99
- Liss, Johann, 74
- literary devices, 136
- literary imitation, categories of, 55
- Lives of the Ancient Greeks and Romans* (Plutarch), 120
- Lombardo, Pietro, 109
- Longhena, Baldassare, 5, 104
- Lope de Vega, 142
- Loredan, Giovan Francesco, 127n.60, 130, 151; letter to Padovanino from, 149

- Loth, Johann Carl, 73
- Ludovisi, Alessandro, 68
- Ludovisi, Ludovico, 68
- Ludovisi, Niccolò, 68
- Luini, Bernardino, 115, 116
- machinic assemblage**, 150, 154, 169; Alessandro Farnese, Guidobaldo Della Rovere, and Titian as, 26, 34; Deleuze and Guattari on, 10, 22; Padovanino's Republic of Painting as, 150; Palma Giovane, Palma Vecchio, and Titian as, 108; and *tout-ensemble*, 22
- machinic couplings, 16n.5, 22, 26
- Maffei, Francesco, 73
- Mahon, Denis, 53
- Malvasia, Carlo Cesare, 85
- Mancini, Giulio, 21, 55
- Mander, Karel van, 74
- maniera statuina*, 75
- Mantegna, Andrea, 20
- Mantua, Federico II Gonzaga, duke of, 31
- The Man Who Loved Women*, (1983; Blake Edwards), 56
- Manzuoli, Tommaso (Maso da San Friano), 116, 118
- Maratti, Carlo, 143
- maraviglie*, 141
- Le maraviglie dell'arte* (Ridolfi), 172
- Marcello collection, 49n.14
- marinismo* and *marinisti* debates, 14; on modernity, 140–41; phases of, 135; on poetic theft, 135–36; witticism in, 141–42, 148–49
- Marino, Giambattista, 14, 53, 94; on differences in taste, 148; on imitation, 173–74; in *marinisti* debates, 135–42; Venetian support for, 149
- Marker, Chris, 57
- Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence* (Titian), 42, 72
- Martyrdom of Saint Matthew* (Caravaggio), 93
- Martyrdom of Saint Peter* (Titian), 68, 72
- masters and students: conflictual relationship between, 170–71; in self-portraits, 116, 117, 119; and workshop practices, 20–22
- Matthys, Abraham, 69
- Medici, Leopoldo de', 150–51
- Medici chapel (Florence), 73, 105
- memoria et prudentia*, 109, 166
- Mendoza, Diego Hurtado de, 27
- Mercury, 131
- Metamorphoses* (Ovid), 91, 103
- metaphorical language, 141, 146
- Michelangelo, 21, 32, 78, 132
- Michiel, Marcantonio, 22
- Michiele, Pietro, 149
- Le minere della pittura* (Boschini), 114
- Mirollo, James, 136
- Mocenigo, Pietro, 109
- modernity, 14; in *antioggidianismo*, 130–34; concept of progress in, 129–30; liberty and revision in, 133; in *marinisti* debates, 140–41; in neo-Venetianism, 71–75; painting as representing, 75–79; telescope as symbol of, 133; as term, 132
- Mola, Pier Francesco, 74
- Momus, 131
- Il mondo nuovo* (Stigliani), 141
- Montalto, Cardinal, 38, 40
- Morelli, Giovanni, 22, 49n.14
- mythological allegory, 89–90
- mythological picture cycle, 65, 68
- narratio obliqua*, 94, 139
- neo-Venetianism, 71–75
- “Nietzsche, Genealogy, History” (Foucault), 169
- Notizia d'opere di disegno* (Michiel), 22
- Novak, Kim, 58, 61
- novelty, debate concerning, 135
- Nymph and the Shepherd* (Titian), 154
- Odescalchi, Livio**, 43
- Oedipus, 170
- oggidianismo*, 130
- “On Himself” (Ascanio Varotari), 164–65
- onomatopoeia, 136
- originals vs. copies, 21
- “Original und Faksimilie Reproduktion” (Panofsky), 7
- The Origin of German Tragic Drama*, (Benjamin), 119
- Orlandi, Pellegrino Antonio, 121
- Osservazioni della scoltura antica* (Boselli), 76
- Ottonelli, Giovanni Domenico, 68
- Ovid, 91, 103
- Owens, Craig, 89
- oxymoron, 136
- Padovanino** (Alessandro Varotari): and Accademia degl'Incogniti, 149–50; admission of, to artists' guild, 5; as *antioggidiani*, 134; and Ascanio Varotari, 1–2, 5, 163–66; books representing aspects of, in *Self-Portrait*, 120–22; Boschini on, 44–47, 87, 114, 151; changing

- reputation of, 4–5; as *cinquecentista*, 92–93, 114, 122; criticisms of, 3–4; and Dario Varotari the elder, 2, 107, 151; and Dario Varotari the younger, 128n.77, 149, 166; homosocial circle of, 150; as “our rising Titian,” 4, 172; in Padua, 1–2, 4–5, 64, 131; primary sources on, 15n.14; proposal for the Salute by, 104, 105; Querini on, 136–37; in Rome, 5, 13, 68, 86–87, 93, 131; self-representation, in *Self-Portrait*, 2–3; and Titian’s bacchanals, 68, 86–87; as Titian’s “heir,” 4, 114; as Titian’s “Vice-Author,” 4, 114, 124; tripartite compositional scheme used by, 103–5; in *Triumph*, 94–97
- painting: allegory of, in Carpioni’s *Self-Portrait*, 97, 98; Republic of, 150–51; vs. sculpture, 75–79
- Palazzo Ducale (Venice), 72, 137
- palimpsests, 50n.32
- Palladio, Andrea, 104
- Pallavicino, Ferrante, 37, 137, 148, 149
- Palma Giovane, 49n.16, 107–9, 108, 112–14, 137
- Palma Vecchio, 107–8
- Panofsky, Erwin, 7, 22, 109; and Benjamin, 8; on intention, 7; in *Der Kreis*, 7, 16n.25; on originals and facsimiles, 7–8; on reproductive optic, 7, 13
- Paradiso* (Dante), 121
- paragone*, 14, 93; between ancients and moderns, 30, 133; in master/student relations, 170–71; in Padovanino’s *Self-Portrait*, 122; Plutarch’s *Lives* as emblematic of, 120; repetition and imitation as, 30; in repetitive artwork, 143; between sculpture and painting, 75–77
- Paragone tra il valore degli antichi e dei moderni* (Gramigna), 131, 133–35
- Paris, judgment of, 125
- parlar disgiunto*, 94, 139
- Parmigianino, 132
- Parnassus* (Poussin), 95
- Parrhasius, 132
- Pasinelli, Lorenzo, 73
- Paternal Love Triumphant over Conjugal Love* (Veronese), 72
- Paul III, 26, 30, 34
- Peleus, 91, 94
- Peranda, Sante, 171
- Peregrini, Matteo, 148
- Perkins, Anthony, 57
- Petrarch, 135, 167
- petrarchismo*, 35
- Philip II, king of Spain, 39, 139
- Philip IV, king of Spain, 65, 68; portrait of, 142
- Pietà* (Titian), 112, 113
- Pighetti, Giacomo, 149
- Piles, Roger de: on chromatic strategies in Titian’s paintings, 81n.36; erroneous transcription repeated by, 114; list of books useful to the profession, compiled by, 121; on the mastery of color, 71; on originals and copies, 21; on repetition, 20, 75; on Rubens, 71–72; on Titian’s *Bacchus and Ariadne*, 68–69; and *tout-ensemble*, 20–22
- Pino, Paolo, 35
- Piombo, Sebastiano del, 63, 171
- plagiarism, 53; in *marinisti* debates, 135–36
- Pliny, 170
- Plutarch, 106, 120, 170
- Podestà, Giovanni Andrea, 69
- Poetics* (Aristotle), 135
- poetry: epic, 132; in *marinisti* debates, 135–36
- Il Pomarancio, 72
- Ponchino, Giovanni Battista, 4, 15n.15
- Portrait of a Younger Person Pointing Left* (Dario Varotari the younger), 173
- Portrait of Bernardino Campi Painting the Portrait of Sofonisba Anguissola* (Anguissola), 116, 117
- Portrait of the Artist Painting a Portrait of His Father* (Cambiaso), 116, 117
- Poussin, Nicolas: and Titian, 69; triumph themes of, 95–97, 96
- Pozzo, Cassiano dal, 69
- Praxiteles, 62, 124
- precursors, 61–64, 121, 171; Bellini as one of Titian’s, 87
- prestige fetishes, in social identity, 33–35
- Il principe hermafrodito* (Pallavicino), 37, 137, 149
- progress, 129–30; through imitation, 167–68
- prolepsis, 57
- Psycho* (1960; Alfred Hitchcock), 56–57
- Psycho* (1998; Gus van Sant), 56–57
- Purgatorio* (Dante), 121
- putti, in statuary vs. paintings, 76
- Querini, Leonardo**, 136, 149
- questione della lingua*, 130
- Quintilian, 115, 141
- Rabelais, François**, 129
- Ragguagli di Parnaso* (Boccalini), 133, 134
- Rape of Europa* (Padovanino), 137, 138, 139
- Raphael, 21, 65, 74, 78
- Regnier, Nicolas, 151–52, 161n.98
- reiteration, 136

- remake theory. *See* repetition
- Reni, Guido, 92–94, 163, 168, 171
- repetition: of bacchanals, 69; Deleuze and Guattari on, 9; and desire, 41; in development of art, 85; as differentiated becoming, 9; familial imagery for, 167; in film remakes, 56–61; in film theory, 12–13; Genette on, 26; and history, 93, 143; and homosocial identity, 12, 33–37; Kawin on, 56; Kierkegaard on, 174–75, 178n.46; literary, categories of, 55; in *marinisti* debates, 135–36, 140–41; and modernity, 130–32; motivations for making, 11; neo-Venetianism in, 77–78; originals vs. copies, 21; and *paragone*, 30, 64, 123; pleasure of difference in, 142–48; and progress, 167–68; Said on, 34; in social identity of collector, 33–35; in social relationships, 10–11; of statuary, in paintings, 76–77; theories of, 7–11; in Venetian workshop practices, 20–22
- repetition-as-becoming, 9, 93, 97, 134
- the repetitious, 106; vs. the repetitive, 55–56, 61–62
- Republic of Painting, 150–51
- Le reti di Vulcano* (Pallavicino), 149
- rhetorical gestures, 115
- rhizome model of social relations, 10, 22; in Republic of Painting, 152
- Riccio, Domenico, 72
- Ridolfi, Carlo, 20, 32, 63, 114, 172
- Ripa, Cesare, 101–2, 122–23
- Rocco, Antonio, 149
- Romano, Giulio, 78
- Rome: and Padovanino's *Triumph*, 93; in Padovanino's aesthetic, 13
- Roncaglia, Annibale, 142
- Rosa, Salvator, 171
- Rosand, David, 146
- Rottenhammer, Hans, 72
- Rubens, Peter Paul, 171; copies of bacchanals made by, 69; copy-making by, 11; debt to Venice of, 71–72; as a “new Titian,” 142; on sculpture, 76–77
- Rudolph II, emperor of Austria, 40
- Ruggeri, Ugo, 139
- Ruschi, Francesco, 73
- Said, Edward**, 34
- Saiter, Johann Gottfried, 44
- Salisbury, Robert Cecil, first earl of, 4
- Salviati, Francesco, 73
- La sampogna* (Marino), 135
- Sandrart, Joachim von, 74
- Sanfelice, Giovanni Paolo, 44
- San Marco (Venice), 5
- San Sebastiano (Venice), 72
- Sansovino, Francesco, 72, 107
- San Stae (Venice), 73
- Santa Giovanni e Paolo (Venice), 68, 72, 83n.61, 107, 108, 109
- Santa Maria Assunta dei Gesuiti (Venice), 42, 72
- Santa Maria dei Miracoli (Venice), 73
- Santa Maria della Salute (Venice), 5, 104; Padovanino's proposal for, 105; tripartite compositional scheme of, 104–5, 105
- Santa Maria Maggiore (Venice), 5
- Santo Spirito (Venice), 72, 76
- Sarto, Andrea del, 132
- Sarzina, Giacomo, 149
- Saturnine theme, 170–71
- Scamozzi, Vincenzo, 107
- Scannelli, Francesco, 4, 170
- Scaramuccia, Luigi, 72, 73, 121
- Schiavone, Andrea, 73
- sculpture vs. painting, 75–79
- Scuola Grande di San Rocco (Venice), 72
- La secchia rapita* (Tassoni), 132, 134
- self: in act of imitation, 85; otherness of, in Padovanino's *Self-Portrait*, 2; in Padovanino's *Triumph*, 101; in Titian's *Self-Portrait*, 101. *See also* identity
- Self-Portrait* (Carpioni), 97, 98
- Self-Portrait* (Padovanino), 12, *x*; books in, 120–23; donation of, 1–2, 163–64; gestures in, 115; history represented in, 109, 123–24; identity in, 2–3; *paragone* in, 122; Titian in, 106–7, 114–19; tripartite compositional scheme of, 104–5
- Self-Portrait* (Titian) (Berlin), 100, 107
- Self-Portrait* (Titian) (Madrid), 109, 110
- self-portraiture, 2; old masters present in, 116, 119; profile in, 109
- self-representation, Padovanino's compared with Titian's, 112
- Seneca the younger, 10, 167
- Sera, Paolo del, 150
- Serreau, Coline, 56
- Silberling, Brad, 56
- Sistine Chapel (Vatican), 78
- Sleeping Venus* (after Titian), 54
- Sleeping Venus* (Padovanino), 12, 18, 44, 62
- Sleeping Venus* (Soutman, after Titian), 45
- Sleeping Venus* (Titian), 19; adaptations of, 45, 54; as the Dresden type, 23; provenance of, 22; in seventeenth-

- century collections, 26–27; sociocultural explanation for, 43
- social relationships, 10; prestige fetishes in, 33–35. *See also* court society
- Sohm, Philip, 85, 149
- Somerset, earl of, 44
- Sorri, Pietro, 72
- Soutman, Pieter Claesz, 44, 45
- Steer, John, 3
- Stewart, James, 58
- Stigliani, Tommaso, 135, 140, 149
- Stoppio, Niccolò, 21
- Stowe, Madeleine, 58, 60
- Stroiffi, Ermanno, 72
- Strozzi, Bernardo, 74
- students. *See* masters and students
- subject-formation, 9–10
- Susanna and the Elders* (Maratti), 143, 145
- symbols and symbology: of coral, 103; fame personified, 103; laurel crown, 95; repetitions as, 8; rhizomorphic, 107, 122; of tripartite compositional scheme, 103–4; will personified, 101, 101–2. *See also* allegory
- Tafuri, Manfredo**, 109
- Tarabotti, Arcangela, 149
- Tarabotti, Caterina, 149
- Tarabotti, Lorenzina, 149
- Tarde, Gabriel, 1, 13
- Tassis, Ottavio de, 44
- Tasso, Torquato, 94, 131
- Tassoni, Alessandro, 132
- telescope, 133
- Teniers, David, II, 154
- tersa*, 76
- Tesauo, Emanuele, 62, 141, 146
- Testa, Pietro, 97
- Tethys, 94
- Theatine, meaning of, 32
- Theatrum Pictorium* (Teniers), 154; etching from, 156
- The Theory of the Leisure Class*, (Veblen), 33
- Thetis, 91–92
- A Thousand Plateaus*, (Deleuze and Guattari), 10
- Three Ages of Man* (Titian), 109
- Three Men and a Baby* (1987; Leonard Nimoy), 56
- Three Philosophers* (Giorgione), 109
- Tintoretto, Jacopo, 20, 21, 72, 73, 105, 170
- Titian: bacchanals by, 64–71; and Correggio, 31–32, 132; *Danaë* series by, 26–33, 39; as “father” figure, 107, 114, 170–71; as Giorgionesque, 63; as machinic assemblage, 26, 34; and Michelangelo, 27–28, 29; and multiple originals, 12, 20–24; in Padovanino’s *Self-Portrait*, 2, 106–7, 114–19; and patrons, 31, 32, 42; as representative of the superiority of the *moderni*, 132; *Venus and Cupid* series by, 43–44; workshop of, 20–22, 38–42, 44
- Titianesque, 23, 44, 64
- titles, ambiguous nature of, 32–33
- To Have and Have Not* (1944; Howard Hawks), 59
- tout-ensemble*, 20–24, 26, 42, 146
- Trattato della pittura, e scultura, uso, et abuso loro* (Ottenelli), 68
- Trattato tra gli amici superiori et inferiori* (Della Casa), 38
- triciptium*, 109, 112, 119
- tripartite compositional scheme: in Padovanino’s work, 103–6, 105; of Palma Giovane’s funerary monument, 107–8, 108
- Triumph* (Padovanino), 13–14, 90; as allegory, 89–91; artist represented in, 103; importance of, to Venetian art, 163; intervention of Rome in, 93; Tethys narrative in, 94–103; Thetis narrative in, 91–92; tripartite compositional scheme of, 104, 105; various titles given to, 87, 89
- Triumph of Bacchus in India* (Raphael), 65
- Triumph of David* (Poussin), 95
- Triumph of Flora* (Poussin), 95
- Triumph of Galatea* (Raphael), 92
- Triumph of the Nymphs* (Domenichino), 71
- Triumph of the Virtuous Artist on Parnassus* (Testa, etching), 96, 97
- Triumph of the Virtuous Artist on Parnassus* (Testa, painting), 97, 102
- triumph theme, 95, 97
- Trois hommes et un couffin* (1985; Coline Serreau), 56
- Trojan War, 125
- trompe l’oeil, 146
- “Trono di Saturno” (relief), 24
- Troyen, Jan van, 156
- Truffaut, François, 56
- Twelve Monkeys* (1995; Terry Gilliam), 57–61, 60, 63, 93
- Urbino, Guidobaldo II Della Rovere, duke of**, 26, 42
- use value, 42
- Vaga, Perino del**, 170
- Valeriano, Piero, 112

- Valkenburg, Heinrich von, 73
- Vanni, Giovanni Battista, 69
- Van Sant, Gus, 56
- Varie pitture a fresco de' principali maestri veneziani* (Zanetti), 73
- Varotari, Alessandro. *See* Padovanino
- Varotari, Ascanio, 1, 163–66
- Varotari, Chiara, 166
- Varotari, Dario, the elder, 106, 166–67
- Varotari, Dario, the younger, 2, 75, 106, 149, 152, 172
- Vasari, Giorgio, 11, 27, 167
- Vaughn, Vince, 56
- Veblen, Thorstein, 33
- Vecellio, Marco, 112
- Vecellio, Orazio, 112
- Vecellio, Tiziano. *See* Titian
- Velázquez, Diego, 74
- Venice: artistic reputation of seventeenth-century, 3–4, 15n.10; frescos in, 72–73; and neo-Venetianism, 71–75; painting vs. sculpture in, 75–79; seventeenth-century artists visiting, 73–74, 77–79; workshop practices in, 20–22
- Venturi, Adolfo, 3
- Venus, 124–25, 136–37
- Venus and Adonis* (Padovanino), 47, 136
- Venus and Adonis* (Titian), 36
- Venus, Cupid, and a Satyr* (Bordone), 25
- Venus of Urbino* (Titian), 19, 26
- Venus Sleeping with Cupid* (Bordone), 25
- Venus with an Organist* (Titian), 40
- Venus with an Organist and a Dog* (Titian), 41
- Venus with Cupid* (Bordone), 24
- Verona Conquered by the Venetians* (Contarini), 95, 95
- Veronese, Paolo: brushwork of, 92; as luring other artists to Venice, 73–74; painting at Casa Moresina by, 73; painting at San Sebastiano by, 72; paranoia of, 170–71; *Paternal Love Triumphant over Conjugal Love*, 72; as praised by Boschini, 124; studio of, 21, 137–39; success of as reliant on Venetian *botteghe*, 77; versions of the rape of Europa by, 139
- Verrocchio, Andrea del, 170
- Vertigo* (1958; Alfred Hitchcock), 58–61, 61
- Vico, Giambattista, 142
- Victory of the Camotesi over the Normans* (Padovanino), 5, 6, 95
- Virgil, 131, 165
- Vita nuova* (Dante), 121
- Le vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti moderni* (Bellori), 168
- Le vite de' più eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori italiani da Cimabue in sino à tempi nostri* (Vasari), 11, 168
- Vite di artisti dei secoli XVII e XVIII* (Baldinucci), 146
- Vittoria, Alessandro, 107
- Vleughels, Nicolas, 27
- Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca*, 102
- volontà*, 102; personification of, 101, 101–3
- Vos Animae Grandes Aetas Tulit Alma Leonis* (Vleughels), 27, 29
- Walker, John**, 87
- Warwick, Genevieve, 38
- Wenders, Wim, 56
- What is Philosophy?* (Deleuze and Guattari), 63, 174
- will, personification of, 101, 101–3
- Willis, Bruce, 57
- witticism: in double meaning, 142, 146–48; in *marinismo*, 141–42
- Wittkower, Rudolf, 3
- “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction” (Benjamin), 8
- workshop practices, 20–22
- Worship of Venus* (Padovanino), 88
- Worship of Venus* (Titian), 65, 66
- Wotton, Henry, 4
- Zago, Santo**, 73
- Zanetti, Antonio Maria, 73
- Zeuxis, 124, 170
- Žižek, Slavoj, 57, 85, 93
- zoomorphic imagery, 112
- Zuccaro, Federico, 63, 170

Titian Remade: Repetition and the Transformation of Early Modern Italian Art
Maria H. Loh

Maria H. Loh is lecturer of early modern art at University College London. She received her Ph.D. in the history of art from the University of Toronto. A specialist in Italian art and theory, with a focus on Venice, she has published on theories of authorship, repetition, spectatorship, and desire, and she also writes on contemporary film. She was a predoctoral fellow in residence at the Getty Research Institute in Los Angeles, a Joanna Randall-MacIver Junior Research Fellow at St. Hilda's College at the University of Oxford, and the recipient of the Philip Leverhulme Prize. Her current research projects include early modern artist portraits and the theme of exile and loss in Chinese film.

Also Published by the Getty Research Institute

In Print

Melissa Hyde, *Making Up the Rococo: François Boucher and His Critics*
ISBN 978-0-89236-743-6 (paper)

Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *History of the Art of Antiquity* (1764)
Introduction by Alex Potts
ISBN 978-0-89236-668-2 (paper)

Jacob Burckhardt, *Italian Renaissance Painting according to Genres* (1885–93)
Introduction by Maurizio Ghelardi
ISBN 978-0-89236-736-8 (paper)

Gottfried Semper, *Style in the Technical and Tectonic Arts; or, Practical Aesthetics* (1860–63)
Introduction by Harry Francis Mallgrave
ISBN 978-0-89236-597-5 (hardcover)

Julien-David Le Roy, *The Ruins of the Most Beautiful Monuments of Greece* (1770)
Introduction by Robin Middleton
ISBN 978-0-89236-669-9 (paper)

Hollis Clayson, *Painted Love: Prostitution in French Art of the Impressionist Era* (1991, reprint)
ISBN 978-0-89236-729-0 (paper)

Carol Armstrong, *Odd Man Out: Readings of the Work and Reputation of Edgar Degas* (1991, reprint)
ISBN 978-0-89236-728-3 (paper)

Giovanni Battista Piranesi, *Observations on the Letter of Monsieur Mariette; with Opinions on Architecture, and a Preface to a New Treatise on the Introduction and Progress of the Fine Arts in Europe in Ancient Times* (1765)
Introduction by John Wilton-Ely
ISBN 978-0-89236-636-1 (paper)

Carl Gustav Carus, *Nine Letters on Landscape Painting, Written in the Years 1815–1824; with a Letter from Goethe by Way of Introduction* (1831)
Introduction by Oskar Bätschmann
ISBN 978-0-89236-674-3 (paper)

Karel Teige, *Modern Architecture in Czechoslovakia and Other Writings* (1923–30)
Introduction by Jean-Louis Cohen
ISBN 978-0-89236-596-8 (paper)

Jean-Nicolas-Louis Durand, *Précis of the Lectures on Architecture (1802–5) with Graphic Portion of the Lectures on Architecture* (1821)
Introduction by Antoine Picon
ISBN 978-0-89236-580-7 (paper)

Walter Curt Behrendt, *The Victory of the New Building Style* (1927)
Introduction by Detlef Mertins
ISBN 978-0-89236-563-0 (paper)

Alois Riegl, *The Group Portraiture of Holland* (1902)
Introduction by Wolfgang Kemp
ISBN 978-0-89236-548-7 (paper)

Aby Warburg, *The Renewal of Pagan Antiquity: Contributions to the Cultural History of the European Renaissance* (1932)

Introduction by Kurt W. Forster

ISBN 978-0-89236-537-1 (hardcover)

Adolf Behne, *The Modern Functional Building* (1926)

Introduction by Rosemarie Haag Bletter

ISBN 978-0-89236-363-6 (hardcover), ISBN 978-0-89236-364-3 (paper)

Hendrik Petrus Berlage, *Thoughts on Style, 1886–1909*

Introduction by Iain Boyd Whyte

ISBN 978-0-89236-333-9 (hardcover), ISBN 978-0-89236-334-6 (paper)

Sigfried Giedion, *Building in France, Building in Iron, Building in Ferroconcrete* (1928)

Introduction by Sokratis Georgiadis

ISBN 978-0-89236-319-3 (hardcover), ISBN 978-0-89236-320-9 (paper)

Hermann Muthesius, *Style-Architecture and Building-Art: Transformations of Architecture in the Nineteenth Century and Its Present Condition* (1902)

Introduction by Stanford Anderson

ISBN 978-0-89236-282-0 (hardcover), ISBN 978-0-89236-283-7 (paper)

Friedrich Gilly, *Essays on Architecture, 1796–1799*

Introduction by Fritz Neumeyer

ISBN 978-0-89236-280-6 (hardcover), ISBN 978-0-89236-281-3 (paper)

Robert Vischer, Conrad Fiedler, Heinrich Wölfflin, Adolf Göller, Adolf Hildebrand, and August Schmarsow, *Empathy, Form, and Space: Problems in German Aesthetics, 1873–1893*

Introduction by Harry Francis Mallgrave and Eleftherios Ikononou

ISBN 978-0-89236-260-8 (hardcover), ISBN 978-0-89236-259-2 (paper)

Nicolas Le Camus de Mézières, *The Genius of Architecture; or, The Analogy of That Art with Our Sensations* (1780)

Introduction by Robin Middleton

ISBN 978-0-89236-234-9 (hardcover), ISBN 978-0-89236-235-6 (paper)

Claude Perrault, *Ordonnance for the Five Kinds of Columns after the Method of the Ancients* (1683)

Introduction by Alberto Pérez-Gómez

ISBN 978-0-89236-232-5 (hardcover), ISBN 978-0-89236-233-2 (paper)

Heinrich Hübsch, Rudolf Wiegmann, Carl Albert Rosenthal, Johann Heinrich Wolff, and Carl Gottlieb Wilhelm Bötticher, *In What Style Should We Build? The German Debate on Architectural Style (1828–47)*

Introduction by Wolfgang Herrmann

ISBN 978-0-89236-199-1 (hardcover), ISBN 978-0-89236-198-4 (paper)

Otto Wagner, *Modern Architecture: A Guidebook for His Students to This Field of Art* (1902)

Introduction by Harry Francis Mallgrave

ISBN 978-0-226-86938-4 (hardcover), ISBN 978-0-226-86939-1 (paper)

In Preparation

Le Corbusier, *Toward an Architecture* (1924)

Introduction by Jean-Louis Cohen

ISBN 978-0-89236-899-0 (hardcover), ISBN 978-0-89236-822-8 (paper)

Designed by **Kurt Hauser**

Production coordinated by **Anita Keys**

Type composed by **Diane Franco** in FF Celeste and FC Deepdene

Printed in China through Asia Pacific Offset, Inc., on Gold East Matte