CHANGES IN THE IMAGE OF THE FEMININE FROM GIOTTO TO RAPHAEL

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INTRODUCTION

The ideal of femininity which developed in Renaissance painting, was a visual and psychological type which was to become the Western European Christian formula of the feminine. This type has survived until the present day, so a discussion of its origins can be revealing for us in the twentieth century, especially as it has been neglected in traditional art historical works.

In this essay, the changes in the image of the feminine, in just under three hundred years of Florentine painting, starting with Giotto[1] and ending with Raphael[2], will be covered. The images will be taken from the work of artists who were Florentine in training, who worked in the city or who were strongly influenced by the Florentine style of painting.

I have divided the paintings I have studied into three sections. In the Religious section the paintings are mainly of Mary. The Mythological images refer to Greek and Roman myths and the humanistic interpretations of them. Finally, the Portrait and Genre images are selected on the following basis: In the genre paintings they are sometimes part of works related to religion or mythology, but, in their handling, the painters treat the figures as real human beings rather than holy or mythological figures. In others they are bona fide portrait representations.[3]

I have made the above distinction because I expect that the gap between religio-mythological images and portraits will give some indication of the difference between the ideal and the reality for women of that time.

The images will be analysed and changes noted in favoured types, gestures, expressions, movements, placing in the composition, relationships to others, favoured themes, costume, colour and symbols. I will point out as I proceed the effects that these elements had on the mood and tone of each image.

To see the representational images of women in painting in relation to the role and position of women in everyday life in the said period, the first chapter sketches in the relevant social and economic background.

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1. Giotto di Bondone, painter, c. 1266 - 1377.
2. Raphael Sanzio, painter, 1483 -1520.
3. All these images will hereafter be referred to as 'portraits.'

CHAPTER ONE.

The idea of progress in every area of life and the Renaissance as a golden age was promulgated by historians from Vasari (1511 - 1574)[1]. onwards. These ideas of Renaissance society were emphasised particularly by the art historians of the nineteenth century. The approach of Vasari and Burckhardt[2]. has been followed by Mrs Brownlow Jameson[3]. and Sir Kenneth Clark[4]. in the twentieth century.

One of the unquestioned and underlying ideas of the quoted historical works, is the equal position of women in Renaissance society. Burckhardt makes the following statement:

> "To understand the higher forms of social intercourse at this period, we must keep before our minds the fact that women stood on a footing of perfect equality with men." 5.

He feels that it is misleading to pay too much attention to the diatribes against women and continues, "there was no question of 'women's rights' or female emancipation, simply because the thing itself was a matter of course."[6].

In accepting the above statements, other art historians have perpetuated the type of women that they analysed in art and assumed to have lived in the Renaissance. But women's reality was far from being equal with men's.

The Renaissance did develop a new type of society[7]. and may have been a step forward for men, but it was not positive for women.[8].

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1. Vasari. Lives of the Artists. Vol. 1 and 2
2. Burckhardt. J. The Civilisation of the Renaissance in Italy.
3. Jameson, A.B. Legends of the Madonna.
4. Clark, K. Florentine Paintings (Also see Bibliography.)
5. Burckhardt. op. cit. p.240.
6. Ibid. p. 240.
7. There was a break from the old feudal society and the aristocratic hierarchy, a development of the power of the individual and inquiring, scientific attitudes, as well as the power of capital over birth, which brought the middle class into power.
8. "It would seem that such a period of liberation and individualisation could not but be advantageous for women, yet it is Renaissance men who who remains the primary beneficiary of all the rebirths and reforms."
   Peterson, K. Women Artists, p.22
   "The first is that there is less change in the notion of women throughout the Renaissance than intellectual ferment and empirical enquiry of various kinds might lead one to expect. The second is that, at the end of the Renaissance, there is a greater discrepancy between social realities and the current notion of women than at the beginning."
   Maclean, J. The Renaissance Notion of Woman, p.1.

Before it is possible to identify the changes that took place in the images of women in paintings during the period, one has to realise that they have to read against the trend towards reducing still further the few established social and economic rights of women. That is, the change was relative to the gain in rights for men, who benefitted from the growth of individual freedoms, but at the same time they infringed those of woman, leading to an ever increasing gap between the rights and social power of the two sexes. The dominant ideology reduced the role of women in the society, denying working class women the right to join the guilds, reduced the sphere of influence in public and private life of middle-class women, though this latter group were somewhat less reduced than others.[1.] This reduction of freedoms and the reasoning behind it, can be seen in literature, humanist writings and educational and religious theory.

The theories are the result of other changes with the society. The accelerated change which took place in the Renaissance, enforced by the development of early capitalism, can be seen in Florence more easily than elsewhere.[2.]

As Hauser states,

> "Capital rules more ruthlessly and less troubled by scruples than ever before or after in the history of Europe." 3.

The economic boom came to a climax in 1328 - 38 and led to a financial crisis, followed by a period of stagnation. The Capitalist ideology was born, bringing with it the profit motive and middle-class virtues of conservative respectability. This led to be the major victims of the cultural counter-tendencies which were produced by the Renaissance society, a social structure which underwent a radical revolution.

The Renaissance was predominantly a male age. Ruth Kelso remarks that the gentlemen of the Renaissance differed greatly from the knight of the Middle Ages, "but their wives would have found little to wonder at in

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Footnote continued from p. 1.
"Women, or at least exceptionally gifted women were freer and less subject to institutional and social pressures in the middle ages than they have been under the rule of the individual which was promulgated with the Renaissance."
Hess, T.B. Art and Sexual Politics, p. 47.

1. See Antal, F. Florentine Painting and its Social Background. This theme is developed throughout the volume.
2. Hauser, A. A Social History of Art. Vol. 2, p. 281.
3. Ibid. p. 281.

each other."[1.] Women lost in the variety of their roles and responsibilities, their contribution to the economy and their legal status as compared with the Middle Ages. And because "women were paid less for jobs outside the home than they had previously earned working at home" there was a severe drop in the economic standing of women.[2.] Furthermore, the imbalance in the population favoured men.[3.] Because of this there were more women to compete for marriage in the case of the upper and middle class and labour outside the home, in a stagnant economy,[4.] in the case of the working class. The situation for women became more difficult with the decision of the fifteenth century guilds for crafts to exclude women, a right they had had before. All these factors may have been responsible for a rise in prostitution.

At the same time as bureaucratised government and commercial capitalism eroded women's roles in politics and economy and changed their position in real life, a trend developed in the ideological vision as represented by the arts, which established new and different images as compared with the Middle Ages.[5.]

I would like to look at diaries and theories about women, which show to some extent prevalent ideas about women held by men at the time. Most of these relate to middle class women and show how they were being more and more limited even within their home sphere.

In the diaries[6.] one sees women becoming more subserviant to her husband, purely a homemaker who has no part in his affairs. Women were subser-

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1. Kelso. R. Doctrine for the Lady of the Renaissance, p. 3.
2. Harris, A.S. et al. Women Artists.
3. Hale, J.R. Renaissance 1480 - 1520.
4. Antal. op. cit. p. 172. (1348 financial stagnation.)
5. Gramsci explains hegemonic values and their transmission in the following quote from his basic theory, as outlined by Swingwood. "In capitalist and socialist societies hegemonic values are disseminated by those institutions which have commonly been subsumed under the heading of 'superstructure' - religious, educational, etc. - and it is through them that individuals are socialised into accepting the legitamacy of the dominant ideology. Other 'superstructural' institutions - the literary for example - refract and transmute these values more broadly into artistic works." The same could be said of the fine arts. (My note.)
   Swingwood, A. The Novel and Revolution p. 32
6. As they have been quoted by the following authors;
   Brucker, G. Two Memoirs of Renaissance Florence.
   Maclean, J. The Renaissance Notion of Woman.
   Maquire, Y. The Women of the Medici.

viant prior to this, but here we see them becoming more so. These changes can be clearly seen in the Medici family, where we see that from Lorenzo's mother's generation to his wife's the sphere of activity is reduced. The middle-class image of the solidly repectable woman who knows her place comes through in the diaries.

In the work of the theorists, like Alberti[1]. one sees a definite mistrust of women and a desire to reduce their sphere of influence. Alberti outlines the qualities of the ideal wife as youth, this being synonymous with maleability, obedience and respect for her husband, a pleasant manner, modesty, diligence, industriousness and chastity. These combined to give us an image of a woman which middle-class mothers urge upon their daughters, hoping to create a marriagable type.

Two trends can be seen in the theories. The one of castigation, the other of eulogy[2]. Eulogy is as limiting to its subject as castigation and varieties of pedestalism versus demonism can be seen in all types of representations of women. (Castigation is exemplified by Bruto and eulogy by Agrippa for example.)

Ruth Kelso ennumerates the following index of ideas about women in the Renaissance. Women were seen as:

1. A necessary evil,
2. As good, in a limited and humble way, but inferior to men,
3. As good and necessary, equally with men,
4. As superior to men.[3]

One can see variations of the above ideas of women coming through in the images which will be studied.

Literature gives us a further insight into ideas about women held in the Renaissance. In poetry we have the lyrical figures of the ubiquitous Beatrice, Grissilda from Boccaccio and Petrach's Laura. Beatrice has

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1. Alberti, L.B. Avertimenti Matrimoniale.
2. The following, in their works are examples of this; Agrippa, H.G.; Barbarus, F; Bruto, G.M; Castiglione, B; St. Augustine, St. Aquinas, T. (See bibliography and Conor, F. Three Early Renaissance Treatises on Women, p. 47 for list of treatises. Also see Alberti, L. and Bembo, P. quoted in Kelso, R. op. cit. p. 289 and Picolomini, A. in Conor, F. Love and Marriage in the Institutions of Alessandro Picolomini. For feminist critique from the time see de Pisan, C. as quoted by Kelso, R. Chapter One. Also see Conor, op. cit. p. 31 for quote from Cité des Dames by de Pisan, C.
3. Kelso, op.cit. p. 5 - 37.

dignity and she, together with Lucy and Mary, form a female trinity balancing the male one of God, Christ and the Holy Spirit.

The influence of the strong Beatrice can be seen in Botticelli's drawings illustrating Dante's works.[1] On the other hand, Patient Grissilda became increasingly popular as a moral allegory, advocating that women submit silently to extreme suffering.

In literature we move from a strong woman like Beatrice, capable of leading and inspiring the poet, though not capable of producing creative work herself, to a sweet, suffering, weak woman in need of protection, like Grissilda.

Education is undoubtedly a major force for change, but in the lives of the middle and upper-class women of the Renaissance we see how carefully circumscribed was its power. This can be seen particularly in the lives of the Medici women[2], who were educated more and more to act as fittingly subserviant wives to their husbands. One notes for example that education in women was viewed as an added attraction to marriage, rather than being of any particular benefit to the women themselves. In many cases instruction in reading and writing is given in order to enable the women to keep stock and to order items for the household, reading being limited to selected books, usually of a religious nature. This was true even of Lorenzo's mother, who had more power and influence in the home than the wife she chose for him, Clarisse Orsini. The latter was not even capable of fulfilling the role of being a charmingly witty companion who might enjoy some cultured discussion.

The theories of Bruto[3] and Agrippa[4] on education show the differences of viewpoint at the time. The first was of the opinion that a liberal education would make women difficult to subdue and was therefore to be avoided, while the latter saw women as the inventors of the liberal arts, whose natural heritage had been torn from them. This is a naieve theory, almost mythological in its conception, having no relevance to an historical time. The theories of one woman came down to us along with all these male theories on education. Louise Labbé asserted that education was of

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1. Clark, K. Drawings of Sandro Botticelli for Dante's Divine Comedy After the Originals in the Berlin Museums and the Vatican.
2. Maquire, Y. The Women of the Medici The whole work.
3. Bruto, G. La Institutions di Una Faniculla Nata Nobilimente.
4. Agrippa, H. A Treatise of the Nobilite and Excellence of Woman Kynde.

vital importance for the liberation of women.[1] But note that though this was not the reason why middle and upper-class women received some education, it did, in some cases have the effect of giving individual women a little more freedom. Only in the case of Labbê, was this freedom used to campaign for similiar freedoms for others.

So, education confered upon a limited number of women certain carefully circumscribed freedoms, while social reality and economic dependence enforced a continuing deepening of the submissive role.

Christianity is another factor to be considered. There is a strong masculine bias in Christianity, as evidenced by the male trinity. Mary is the only female figure and she is in no way as powerful as the males because she is human and not divine. In the Middle Ages Mary gains more and more facets, taking on elements of the Great Mother, the Protectress and even the Fertility Goddess[2] from the rejected pagan religions. Some of these aspects are retained till the Renaissance.

It should be noted too that the number of images of Mary increases[3] throughout the period, which does not mean that she becomes more powerful. In fact she becomes progressively an image which expresses male aspirations for women.

The virtues of chastity, charity, humility and meekness[4] are characterised by the church as feminine and encouraged more in women than in men. The virtues for men are more classical and secular, including chivalry, valor, wit, elegance, prudence and intelligence. The chief vices are female in personification: greed, lust, pride and unchasteness. The snake is also more frequently shown as feminine as the period progresses, whereas angels become more masculine. All the above factors point to a growing misogeny in the church. This misogeny is dictated, as Ferrante points out, by the nature of the religious impulse.[5] The church had been

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1. Labbê, L. quoted in Kelso, op. cit. p. 10.
2. The signs which accompanied Ceres, the sicle moon and sheves of wheat are seen in representations of Mary as the Queen of Heaven.
3. Antal. op. cit. p. 140 - 147. He discusses the rise of the image of the Madonna and the changes, throughout the volume, but makes important statements about her development.
4. Kenny. A. Aquinias, p. 17, 20, 22 - 24 for full treatment of the virtues.
5. Ferrante, J. Woman as Image in Medieval Literature, p. 108.

anti-female from its conception, starting with Paul, but within the Renaissance, there is a move away from the philospher-mystic to the philosopher moralist, who tends to be more puritanical and mysogenist. Savanorola, who was at his height in the 1490's was an example of this last mentioned type.

Though witch burning did not reach Florence, the misogeny inherent in Christianity at the time, which led to the accelaration of witch trails, was certainly at work there.

The root of this problematic relationship to women within Christianity would appear to stem from the idea that Eve, the one who brought evil into the world and Mary, who brought the Saviour into the world, were both women. Thus the paradox exists within Christianity, that woman is the greatest stumbling block to and the carrier of salvation.

One would imagine that the Humanists would be the ones to ameliorate this situation, as they claimed to value individual freedom. Perhaps one might imagine that the philosophical element and the link with the pagan world would lead to a less puritanical, moralising stance and thus to a less anti-female attitude. To expect this would be to be disappointed, as the effect of Humanism of the time on the place of women within the society, was to cast a veil of classicism over the Christian structure, which was put up for women to emulate, and thus to reinforce the social mores of the bourgoise. Basically they said to women: "Not only does Christianity expect that you be submissive and secondary to the male, but this was the case in classical times too." Thus the impression was given that God and History combined to prove the natural inferiority of the female.

Thus the humanist movement dignified and elevated the value of man, leaving women where she was.

From the foregoing it is clear that women were anything but "on a footing of perfect equality with men."[1]. The art historians mentioned have accepted the dominant ideology, put forward by Renaissance society in their images, as social reality. Not only do they see the images as reality, but as a reality which should be emulated by today's society.[2].

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1. Burckhardt. op. cit. p. 240.
2. Clark. K. Feminine Beauty. p. 17.

It is to counter this image of an ideal woman in the Renaissance times that this essay has been written and to show that the idealistic images of this time were forced onto women by social pressures and their ideological and artistic representatives, to cover the gap between the possible demands and the reality of women that became more apparent in Renaissance society.

CHAPTER TWO.

Religious Paintings: Virgins and Holy women from Giotto to Raphael in the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The Virgin dominates religious paintings. The number of images of her increases from the late thirteen hundreds to the early fifteen hundreds. At the end of the period under discussion, about 1520, she accounts for more than half of the images of holy figures.[1]

Antal informs us that the cult of the Virgin really took hold in the thirteenth century, because of the rise of the Franciscan movement. The regal Queen of Heaven image can still be seen in Cimabue's Madonna and Child in the Uffizi. The formal figure seated on a throne, holds her child rather objectively, looking out at us, rather than centering herself on the child. We can already see the shift towards a more human, loving image of her in the Madonna and Child (Ognissanti Madonna) attributed to Giotto in the Uffizi. There she retains her dignity while gaining in humanity. In Daddi's triptych in Edinburgh, we see the first elements of the humbling of the Madonna, as she kneels to put her child into the crib. Lorenzo Monaco develops her sweetness in the Madonna and Child, as well as her submissiveness in The Coronation of the Virgin.
G. Angelico continues placing the Madonna on low objects and develops a very girlish type in the Ashmolean Madonna and Child. With Masaccio we get an image of a dignified maternal figure who regains some of the elements of regality. The enthroned Madonna and Child in the National Gallery shows a fine development of a human and dignified woman. In Lippy, charm again becomes paramount and the madonna forms a stronger link with the child than with the viewer in The Madonna and Child on panel at the National Gallery. Francesca, probably because of being isolated from the trends in Florence, still shows us the Virgin as a protecting and powerful woman, much closer to being a Queen than a mother, especially in the Misericordia Madonna. After Francesca though, the trend continues from Botticelli to Raphael towards a sweeter and more submissive type. Leonardo and Michaelangelo are exceptional in their handling but even in their work, the madonna does not regain regality and power, though she does regain certain dignity and is not as dominantly girlish as Raphael's. This loving sweet mother image became the typical devotional representation in the middle-class home of the fifteenth century and was the most frequently depicted subject of the period.[2]

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1. Antal, op. cit. p. 144 - 145.
2. Ibid. p. 145.

The almost deified and powerful queen had given way to the ideal of the human mother.

In an age of radical change, this mother image was being held up as a stable and loving factor to create a sense of certainty and maintain middle-class values. In addition to the Virgin we have the accent more and more firmly laid on the family, the unit which underpins the bourgeois ideal. As Antal points out, "the spectator often has the impression that he is looking at a typical middle-class or at least domestic family group."[1] This is especially true of images like Raphael's Holy Family and Michaelangelo's Doni Tondo, where Joseph has taken more of the spotlight, tipping the balance further to maleness, with woman being firmly placed in the supportive, motherly and wifely role.

The foregoing elements will be seen to be playing their roles in the changing images of the Virgin, as discussed on the following pages.

Giotto was still under the incluence of Cimabue when he painted The Crucifix, prior to 1300. The head of the Madonna on the right of Christ is handled in broad planes, creating a strong image, while the expression is one of intelligent, contained sympathy. If we compare this image of the Virgin alone, with those with the Child, we see that Giotto maintains the dignity of the Madonna. In the Badia Polyptych, which is also an early work and the Ognissanti Madonna, which is attributed to him we see the consistency of his Madonna image.
In the Badia Polyptych she is in the central panel with her Child on her left arm, flanked by two disciples on each side. This arrangement stresses her centrality and importance. We shall discuss later work on the same theme, the Ognissanti Madonna, who is an intensely human and powerful woman who is calmly aware of her dignity. Though she sits in a Gothic throne, the figure with its weight and simplicity, solidness and stability, is far from the Gothic rhythms of Duccio. She is surrounded by saints and angels, most in profile and with traditional gold haloes, who look up at her and the Child adoringly, some with delight, others in calm contemplation. Two of the male saints look almost critical in their scruitny. It should be noted that the faces of the males are more defined with regard to character than those of the women, even in this master. The gold background sets off the deep blackness of the Virgin's cloak, which is fringed with gold, her chest being left open, a large, broadly handled expanse of cream, against

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1. Antal. op. cit. p. 145.

which her Child's hand is raised in blessing. The Child here is rounder to some degree less adult and more human, though also more remote from his mother, as he takes up the pose of the king, whereas in the Badia image, the relationship between mother and child is stressed. Here the Madonna's head is tilted slightly to the left, but the submissive element in this pose is counteracted by the fact that her eyes engage one alertly, while the slightly open mouth, with the teeth showing accentuates her human quality, while not removing any of her sumptuous dignity and power, given by her placing, the throne and the angels.

In the Arena Chapel in Paduathe life of the Virgin is shown from the time when her mother is told that she is to be born, till her own death. In the first scene, Anne kneels in a small room, looking up at the angel who leans through the window on the right. Her bed, curtains and chest are minutely described, creating identification with this woman's simple life. Outside the door sits a woman spinning and listening, whose ordinaryness acts as a foil to the momentousness of the Annunciation.[1] The expression on the face of St. Anne is one of almost painful joy. There is no idealisation of the sweet woman here. A long forehead curves down to a strong nose, while the beginnings of a double chin do not distract from her power. She is a figure who, though kneeling, maintains her dignity. She enters again at the Golden Gate as a strong and loving wife escorted by her friends to meet Joachim, who embraces his wife with genuine tenderness. Against the background of the cream and gold gates, outlined by the blue background, the power of the embrace and the roundness of the human forms, flanked by the geometric towers. give the impression of strength and emotional power. This scene is followed by The Birth of the Virgin and The Presentation of the virgin at the Temple. The understandable girlishness of the former has been replaced in the Annunciation by dignity. The Annunciation is shown on the two spandrels of the chancel arch. The fact that the Virgin and the angel look at each other and that the Virgin's head is unbowed, gives her an added dignity unusual for this scene. An interesting detail is the piece of washing in each half, which must have given the viewers a feeling of reality and connection with the holy figures, as did the contemporary architecture. Unlike her mother, Mary does not seem joyful, but serene and accepting of hereself and her position.
Both the angel and the Virgin are monumental, though the deep crimson of the Virgin's robe gives her more weight than the pink on the angel's, as does

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1. See portraits for this illustration.

her pose, with her arms folded across herself in a self-contained gesture, her back completely straight and her head unbent. Both in colour and in line Giotto has maintained the image of a powerful, self-aware woman, who knowingly and willingly took on her position as mother of Christ. This mood continues in the Visitation, where the delighted Elizabeth leans towards Mary, circling her with her arms, while Mary, more restrainedly touches her arms, but remains upright, dignified, reserved, yet sympathetic and loving. This composition portrays only women and the flanking figures show three different emotional responses to the event. The subtle play of green, blue, deep pink and gold gives the composition a softness and intimacy suited to the subject. The simple handling of the wrinkles around Elizabeth's mouth, gives the impression that a broad middle-aged face was used and lines added to indicate age. Judging by other images in the cycle, Giotto handled age in women in this way, while handling other male faces more naturalisticly. I conclude from this that there was a greater freedom for males to be of a variety of physical types than women, even in this period, and that the bourgeois matronly image was almost as strongly supported in this period, as the more girlish image, which was pushed later.

Bernado Daddi was working in Florence from 1320 to 1350, a contemporary of Boccaccio. Though influenced by Giotto, his work lacks solidity and grandeur and returns to a more decorative approach, using stronger colour and more detail, both of which are influences of the Sienese School on the Florentines. Daddi's Madonnas tend to a beautiful sweetness. There also seems to be a trend in the work of Daddi, Firenze, Orcagna, Aretino, the Gaddis and Monaco towards an iconographical and stylistic change. The more rigid, decorative, less accessible type of Madonna reappears. The surface flattens out and the themes tend more towards Crucifixion and suffering. This may be partly influenced by the havoc which the 1348 plague created in the city, raising penetential spirit, which is not to be found in Giotto, or in the earlier work where the mood and style are lighter and decorative. The relationship between Madonna and Child is developed, particularly by Daddi. Here we see the first signs of the humbling of the Madonna, who in one case, sits on a cushion, teaching the Child to read, which could be an indication of the democratic mood, which reached it's peak in the 1360's.[1]
The more democratic Madonna cannot be easily seen in Daddi's Or San Michele Madonna and Child, or in his Madonna of the Edinburgh Triptych, both of

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1. Antal. op. cit. p. 145.

whom are enthroned and surrounded by angels. The Or San Michele one is housed in a magnificent baldachino, where it glows with rich golds, reds and blues. The angels in lighter colours form a frame around the vibrancy of the Madonna and her throne.

Here the Child is lying more naturally in her arms than in Giotto and streches out his hand to her face, which is tilted towards him, indicating a certain softness, while her eyes look out at the viewer with a pensive sweetness. Though the setting is regal, the Madonna has become more of a mother than queen. The left panel of the Edinburgh Triptych shows the Nativity, with the Virgin gently laying the Child in the cradle, watched by the angels, animals and Joseph, who looks up from below, which emphasises his periferal quality in this image. Later we will see how he gains in importance. The whole is contained in a deep gold frame, which bleeds into the gold-leaf backgrounds. In the Enthronement, the Virgin and Child are enthroned on a delicate construction of fine gold pillars, with a hanging suspended from its triangular peak. The design in the brocade is one of the crosses and pelicans, symbolising eternal life. Here we see, in this sumptuous surrounding, the more tender, involved Madonna, who holds the Child in her left arm, with her hand cupped around its leg, while his foot rests on her other hand and he reaches out to touch her face, which is tilted down towards him as they touch each other. These factors combined stress the human, motherly aspect of the Madonna and her relationship with the Child. At this point I would like to mention the vaginal form created by the dark blue robe. This form is repeated sufficiently for one to fairly assume that it does have some symbolic value. Initially, I feel it was a subconcious image, while in the work of Piero della Francesca it would appear to be conscious. The image will be further discussed as we proceed. In the Crucifixion, also by Daddi, Christ hangs high above the crowd, which on the right consists of soldier, while on the left are the holy women and St. John. Whereas the group on the right form strong verticals, emphasising their lack of feeling for the event, the group on the left sways with emotional curves, centering on the swooning figure of the Virgin in deep blue. The contrasting mood and character of the Magdalene are emphasised by the scarlet gown which sweeps from the left up towards Christ, who unites the two groups. The sensuous, active red contrasts dramaticly with the passive and traditional blue of the Virgin's cloak. The Virgin's face is almost beatific in its calmness, while those of the women supporting her are full of anxiety and pain. Magdalene appears almost animal-like with

grief and even anger, her chin thrust up and out, her eyes hollow and her mouth drawn sharply back. The contrast of this expression with the delicacy of the hair flowing down her back and the ardour of her grasp on the cross, make this a dramatic image of a strong woman in a state of deep emotional turmoil. This type of emotion is never seen in Giotto, where there is always a degree of objectivity. The more obvious display of emotion may be partly due to the plague, but even in this time, such a show of emotion was not appropriate to the Virgin, but to Magdalene. The Virgin was to remain sweet and passively good.

The slight tendency in Daddi to the sweet type, is taken further by Lorenzo Monaco. This can be seen in The Madonna and Child in the Scottish National Gallery. This arched panel, with its gold and orange tinted background, shows the Virgin on a stool, rather than on a throne, which indicates a degree of humility. She is alone with the Child, rather than accompanied by angels, so the relationship between mother and Child becomes paramount. She is on a stool, which indicates a degree of humility. The lion's-head finials, which indicate regality and refer to the lion of Judah are associated with Christ rather than his mother. The dominance of Christ is accentuated by the regal stance of the Child with a scroll in his left hand. Dressed in a powerful red robe, he is the centre of the composition, his mother acting as a frame and background in her pale blue shift, covered by her black cloak with its gold lining. Though her head is tilted towards the Child, she looks out of the picture space, almost dejectedly, her limp left hand in her lap echoing this mood. She is a sweet young woman who is doing what is expected of her. Though finely modeled, neither figure has the weight or dignity of Giotto. The last two comments are equally true of the Coronation of the Virgin. In both cases the softness of the young mother is accented.

Fra Giovanni Angelico seems to me to typify the prevailing and popular style of the first half of the fifteenth century. As Berenson says, "Angelico is a typical painter of the transition from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance"[1]. because, Berenson says, the sources of his feelings are in the Middle Ages, while his enjoyment of feelings is modern[2]. The lyrical quality and softness of Monaco's Madonnas and his emphasis on maternal qualities, which Antal[3]. remarks upon, was carried through and intensified by Angelico, who was work-

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1. Berenson, B. The Florentine Painters of the Renaissance, p.26.
2. Ibid. p. 26.
3. Antal. op. cit. p. 317.

ing in the later Albizzi period (1430 - 1440) and seems to have been in tune with the ideals of the upper-middle-class. As we see that "lovliness of expression and celestial sweetness are accentuated"[1]. as well as a withdrawal from the democratic and a return to the courtly and aristocratic[2]. When we look at the Madonna and Child (Ashmolean, School of Angelico and Madonna and Child (Rijks Museum), both painted on panel, the sweetness is immediately perceived, but one may query Antal's theory that there was a withdrawal from democratisation at this time[3]. on the grounds that both are without thrones, the one on a rock and the other on a cushion. But his theory is borne out by the fact that the Madonna in the first is raised up above the angels, while in the second, she is surrounded by the most sumptous gold drapes. I maintain too that the fact that in neither picture do holy figures enter into any visual contact with the viewer, underlines the trend away from democracy. There is also a return to symbolic elements which demand a schooled viewer, though the ubiquitous lily must have been understandable to all[4].

In both of the above mentioned images of the Virgin, she is surrounded by gold and dressed in red with a blue cloak, the rhythms of which are much more vigorous in the Rijks Madonna than the Ashmolean one. In both the Madonna has her left knee up to support her Child and the right foot folded under her. This 'Madonna of Humility'[5]. type pose is interestingly in conflict with the sumptuous background and could be an indication that woman was required to be humble within an ostensibly luxurious setting. This tendency too, is indicated in the Medici diaries, especially where mothers give advice on behaviour to daughters and daughters-in-law[6]. In the Ashmolean Madonna, there is the look of a simple, sweet young woman, with delicate colouring and a tiny mouth. The Child is somewhat stiff. In the Madonna in the Rijks, a cloak veils her head and the tilt is not as exaggerated as in the latter is also more natural and the relationship between the two seems closer. So, by these means, in the last image, a more mature maternal image is created, but still it is one which emphasises a somewhat sentimental image of motherhood.

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1. Antal. op. cit. p. 317.
2. Ibid. p. 317.
3. Ibid. p. 139.
4. See Jameson, A.B. Legends of the Madonna. p. 38.
   Jameson states that all lilies in annunciations were without stamens to indicate purity, which symbolic element might not have been familiar to the general population.
5. Antal. op. cit. p. 145. The tendency towards naturalness, democratisation and sentiment in this pose of the Madonna of Humility and its origins in the ideas of the Spirituals, are well explained on the page in question.
6. Maquire. op. cit.

Masaccio arrived in a world of 'soft' Monaco's and enchanting Fabriano's, according to Andre' Chastel, a world to which he was hostile,[1] so he returned to the late Trecento and to Giotto for his inspiration. His figures are described by Chastel as "robust and heroic" ... "powerful figures of solid humanity",[2] whereas Berenson praises their "power and dignity"[3] as well as their "spiritual significance."[4] The words which recur in all writing on Masaccio are power, reality, significance and profundity, these generally being seen as masculine.

Antal remarks on the underlying trends at the time, noting the sober, upper-bourgeois quality and stoic composure, which also "proclaimed in principle the equality of men"[5] and sees the Carmine frescoes as representing a peak of "upper bourgeois rationalism in religious art."[6] Nevertheless Masaccio was not a popular artist, as is evidenced by the fact that he died in debt, but his progressiveness was recognised by other artists and so, for the next century, the Carmine frescoes became a painters' Mecca. We will look at the Adam and Eve figures in the Mythological section, here we concentrate on images of the Virgin in two works. Firstly, The Trinity in Santa Maria Novella, an early freso which is renowned for its creation of the seemingly three-dimensional barrel vault, with the figures of the donors, who seem to be in the same space as the viewer, while the holy figures are removed by one degree. The figure of Mary communicates directly to us, as she looks out but gestures to her Son. She stands firm, composed and dignified, very much the bourgeois matron. This extraordinarily characterful individual is even more striking when we compare her with the sweet, girlish figures of Angelico and Lippi.

Unlike Angelico, Masaccio creates an impression of holiness, not by use of a romantic or lyrical image, but by stringent realism. This is carried through from his early freso works to the Adoration of the Kings, a canvas attributed to him in Berlin. This long narrow canvas with its rich colour and simple forms has a similiar compelling dignity to the early work. Unlike Gozolli, Masaccio does not use the theme as an opportunity to use excessive ornamentation, but conveys dignity by simplicity, even in the dress of the kings. It will be seen that the Virgin and Child are the focus of attention, while

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1. Chastel, A. Italian Art p. 165.
2. Ibid. p. 166.
3. Berenson. op. cit. p. 29.
4. Ibid. p. 29.
5. Antal. op. cit. p. 308.
6. Ibid. p. 310.

Joseph is periferal. She sits, in profile, slightly hunched over, the Child held slightly away from her. Her mood is contemplative and dignified. Though she is presented as the mother of Christ, she has both power and dignity, as well as a naturalness, which make her a believable mother, who despite her royal visitors, seems totally in control of the situation, even a little beyond it.

What is so remarkable about Masaccio, is that his Virgins are so similiar to his secular figures, as will be seen in the portrait section. This indicates that they were taken from reality rather than some fantasy ideal.

Looking at Angelico's frescoes in San Marco, it is evident that Berenson was right when he said that Angelico's faith in God made it difficult for him to render pain or the more violent emotions,[1]. as one sees the same sweet, sad. submission recurring in each cell. The largest work, The Annunciation, at the entrance of the cloister, establishes both the emotional and the visual tone for the rest of the cycle. The Madonna is seated on a low wooden stool to the right and looks in the direction of the angel without engaging his eyes, giving her a very modest appearance. She also appears humble because of her pose and the lowliness of her seat. Even her hands are crossed passively across her chest. Again we have the vaginal motif with her blue cloak surrounding the white space. The surrounding loggia and garden accentuate the humility and sweetness of the Madonna, who is now a sweet young girl and has lost all signs of imposing, powerful goddess. She is not queen, she is virgin, mother-to-be.

The Virgin is becoming more and more submissive in both gesture and expression. Lippi continues the lyrical, charming tradition. Although he was influenced by Masaccio in his handling of form, he is more akin in his delicate quality to Fra Angelico. Clark feels that Lippi foreshadows the reaction of Florentine art away from the austerities of Roman 'gravitas' and mathematical perspective, towards a more lyrical linear style, like Botticelli's and thus concludes that the Quatrocento was "one of those fortunate periods when mediocre painters could be charming!"[2]. This is certainly true of Lippi and Gozolli.

In Lippi's The Virgin and Child at the National Gallery, the Child, lying

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1. Berenson. op. cit. p. 77.
"God's in his heaven - all's right with the world he felt with an intensity which prevented him from perceiving evil anywhere. When he was obliged to portray it, his imagination failed him and he became a mere child."
2. Clark, K. Florentine Painting. p. 6.

in its mother's arms looks out at the viewer while the mother gazes downward and to her right, her blonde hair veiled. Both the tilt and the veil give an impression of submissiveness, while the centrality of the figures creates a certain sublimity, but after looking at conceptions of this time like Masaccio's, Francesca's and also Giotto's, which show deeper psychological penetration of the mother type, this image seems unsatisfactory in the superficiality and lack of real understanding of maternal qualities, which have here been reduced to sweetness alone. I find that even the limp, almost non-functional hands bear out this impression of weakness. In Lippi's Annunciation the same tendencies are carried through. The Virgin and the angel are separated by a half wall and a symbolic vase of lilies. Once again she is raised up on a throne and surrounded by gold, giving a regal setting, while the angel kneels in the garden, his red cloak contrasting with her blue. Despite this arrangement, the Virgin does not appear to be in control or to have any dignity or regality. Compared with Masaccio's Adoration, she is a weak, decorative figure.

Let us turn to Piero della Francesca, who maintained, not only the ideals of "clarity and order"[1]. seen in Masaccio's work, but also re-established the dignity and power of the Virgin, last seen in the same master. We know that he was influenced by Masolino and Veneziano, who was possibly his teacher, but in his rigorous classicism, he is more in tune with Masaccio. Clark notes the following factors in support of his idea that Francesca is a classicist: "the majestic tempo, the grave gestures, the vision of a ennobled humanity"[2]. in his work and compares the resulting remoteness with the "unabashed rhetoric of Raphael."[3]. This is particularly true of the Madonna, who "asserts her Mediteranian humanity. Behind her serenity there is even something stubbornly sensual."[4].

A late work in which all these qualities can be seen, is The Nativity in the National Gallery, which was produced inthe 1480's. A tumbledown lean-to frames the central group, creating a deserted effect. The shack and the fact that the Virgin has laid her cloak on the ground with the baby on it, both point to a northern influence on the Madonna of humility image.[5]. Behind the Virgin and Child, Joseph sits in a casual pose, looking away towards the landscape, while two shepherds talk, the one gesticulating towards the city. He and the kings are periferal to the main interest group of Madonna and Child. What makes Francesca so unique as a painter is partly due to the fact that he

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1. Clark. D. Piero della Francesca. p. 2.
2. Ibid. p. 1.
3. Ibid. p. 11.
4. Ibid. p. 11.
5. Ibid. p. 23.

did not stay in Florence and was open to wider influence and more inclined to follow his own original style. In the figure of the Virgin, we can see the gravity of Masaccio, the sweetness of Angelico and a certain powerful regality, which is seen in his other madonnas, who are none-the-less human and approachable.

His Madonna del Parto fresco shows the Virgin standing under a domed tent, the sides of which are being held back by serious faced angels. She stands firmly on both feet, one hand on her hip, a refreshingly peasant-like stance, her calm, almost oriental[1.] head is held high, while her right hand seeks the slit in her dress, which reveals the petticoat over her pregnant womb. The slit echoes the vigina and remarks woman's ability to procreate. This fresco echoes in its monumental quality and seriousness, the work of Masaccio. It is here we see what Clark means when he talks about the impact of "grand architectural drapery, which became to the Renaissance an instrument of harmonius certainty."[2.] This is the Madonna as The Great Mother, holy in her role of giver of life. She is dignified, self-contained, yet a peasant women, unlike the more courtly types seen in the work of Angelico and Lippi and Botticelli. Francesca's Misericordia Madonna is the same type as the Madonna del Parto, but he creates more courtly types too, as in the Queen of Sheba.

The oil on panel Madonna del Misericordia by Francesca in Borgo San Sepolcro,[3.] is the same woman. She forms the centre of an altarpiece and is surrounded by fourteen panels of saints and surmounted by a crucifixion in which an older Madonna reaches tragically towards her Son. As the central figure in this piece, she has the dignity and power which Maria Warner has described as an "almost deprecating expression of gravity"[4.] and remarks too that we can see here the "veneration of the Virgin for her own sake, suggesting that her mercy, directly given, could save sinners.[5.] And, as Clark says, "We can almost fancy that her robe covers one of those ancient sacred objects, nor more than a lump of stone or log of wood to which years of devotion have given a mysterious sanctity."[6.] This image of her conformed to medieval faith in the independent power of the virgin, which idea was banned as heterodox by the Council of Trent in 1545 - 7. The use of this image

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1. Clark. Piero della Francesca. p. 37.
   The oriental quality of the head and peasant quality are remarked on by Clark.
2. Ibid. p. 6.
3. Ibid. p. 8. states it was his first recorded commission, 1445.
4. Warner, M. Alone of Her Sex. p. 327.
5. Ibid. p. 327.
6. Clark, Piero della Francesca, p. 10.

by Francesca makes him unique for this time in Florentine influenced painting. The gigantic figure holds out her cloak with strong hands and looks down on the group of humans asking her for help. Indeed the cover of her cloak echoes the tent of the Madonna del Parto, which emphasises her protective significance. as well as being a vaginal symbol. Both of these elements are untypical of the time and become progressively rarer, which is an indication of the shrinking power of Mary, even in Catholicism. When Francesca's holy women are compared with his secular ones in the last section, it will be seen that, like Masaccio, the gap between the two is very small, indicating a more realistic approach. which, though seeking the ideal, did not impose this on real women, but saw in real women, the ideal[1].

Verroccio's Berlin Madonna and Child shows the virgin centrally placed against a balustrade, beyond which is a landscape with greater depth than has been seen till this point and of a type developed by Leonardo to a fine point. The Madonna figure is very alien from the strong female figures of Francesca and much more in tune with the delicately feminine figures of Angelico. She is dressed in red with a girdle below her breasts, a fashion which exaggerated this part of the body. The red is covered by a black cloak, held in place by an ornate broach. Her hair is hidden by the fine white drapes and her eyebrows plucked, giving a china-doll like impression. Her eyes are cast down to the right where the Child stands, naked, but for a drape, with his right arm raised in blessing. This convincingly childlike child, inspite of the gesture, which is so adult, dominates the composition, by virtue of his placing and eye contact with the viewer, while the Virgin, in pose and gaze, seems absorbed in her own thoughts, cast in the role of mother of Christ, with no power in her own right, very unlike the images of Francesca discussed earlier. The delicately modeled face emphasises her sweetness and elegance rather than her power, as in Masaccio and Francesca, or her mystery as in Leonardo. This trend to the delicate and sweet, we will see developing in the next five years, particularly in the work of Botticelli and Raphael.

In the work of Botticelli we see the Virgin developed further in the direction of sweet; submissive etherialness, along the lines indicated by Angelico, Lippi and Veroccio[2]. Botticelli lived through a period of dramatic upheaval in Florence and one can see the influence of the classical world and humanism, as well as revivalist Christianity in his work. I agree with Berenson that the "linear

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1. In reference to this Clark says:
"But Piero like all classic artists, raised humanity to a limited number of ideal types." Piero della Francesca p. 10.
2. Jameson notes that this etherialness was supported by the Church in the fourteenth century, as it discouraged the showing of the Virginas human from that time on. op. cit. p.45.

symphony"[1]. of his work was unique in Europe and feel with Clark that he is at his best when his "linear, lyrical style" is most in tune with the subject of the work[2]. as we will see in his classical and poetic images.

These tendencies are exemplified in the Madonna and Child and Singing Angels in Berlin and the later image of the Madonna of the Magnificat. In both images the Madonna is at the centre of a group of angels. In the one the Child clings to her dress, while looking down at us, in the second she is busy writing the Magnificat. The angels are young boys with very similiar features. In the Berlin Madonna, a half circle of symbolic lilies held by angels surrounds her, while a crown in disembodied hands hangs over her head. Both of these elements tend to sentimentalise the image. The costumes are elaborate and detailed, giving the impression of a courtly gathering, but the Madonna is neither regal nor imposing. In her red and blue drapes, she sits laguidly, her head tilted to her left, not in inquiry, but in wearyness, the expression on her face giving the same impression. I would agree with Pater's adjective here, "peevish and dejected", as well as "wistful."[3]. This mood is not quite so strong in the Magnificat, where she is rather more serene in her preoccupation. Even so, the way in which the heavy gold hair falls from the veil gives a languid air, as does the tilt of the head. Inspite of Botticelli's fervour, the Madonna comes across as slightly weak, a child-woman who is at the centre of something she cannot understand, as she has been used as the passive tool for the outworking of the divine plan.

In the creation of this type and in the elongation of his forms, Botticelli presages Mannerism[4]. He had returned to a Gothic expression, particularly in these religious works, which was not picked up, along with the "sweetness and harmony"[5]. of his Madonnas by Raphael.

Ghirlandaio, unlike Botticelli, had a distinctively down-to-earth air about his work. Though unquestionably an artist of lesser talent than either Botticelli or Leonardo, he is interesting to study from the point of view of the types he represents. In a painting like Our Lady Enthroned in the Uffizi, we return to the raised Madonna and Child, flanked by angels on either side, as seen in Giotto and Daddi. But now the angels are sweet children, even younger than Botticelli's, who look adoringly at the Virgin in her ornately carved wooden throne. Lilies of purity and the moon, an ancient symbol of the mother

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1. Berenson. op. cit. p. 45.
2. Clark. Florentine Paintings. p. 6.
3. Pater, W. The Renaissance. p. 73, 73.
4. Chastel. op. cit. p. 20.
5. Ibid. p. 210.

goddess are present. She sits with one leg straight on to us, the other far to the right, her hands holding the baby firmly. This pose gives the impression of strength. There is no sign of hair on or around her face and her downturned, eyelashless eye-lids are typical from this period onwards. This fashion would seem to indicate a withdrawal from the natural. In spite of this hairlessness, she remains a simple girl as the pose and the hands carry a stronger impression than the hairlessness and the face is simple rather than sweet.

It is in the frescoes at Santa Maria Novella we see the true strength of Ghirlandaio. Here the holy figures move convincingly in a contemporary setting, they may have lost their mystic quality, but they retain dignity and have a refreshing realism. In the scene where Elizabeth and Mary meet, (The Visitation) they clasp each other with geniune feeling, indicated by the facial expressions and gestures, while watched by three groups of women, who are discussed under portraits. Both of the main figures are in heavy cloaks, one blue, one gold and both have their hair covered. The angle of Mary's head is polite and eager as she seeks Elizabeth's eyes, while Elizabeth is slightly bent and has the preoccupied air of an old woman. These real and dignified women are linked to the real world more than to the holy one, but they are neither sweet, as with Botticelli, nor powerful, as with Francesca.

Leonardo da Vinci adds another dimension to holy figures. He maintains a degree of realism, while returning some of the sweetness of Botticelli he adds his own dimension of mysteriousness to the Virgin. In addition he places her in landscapes of powerfully evocative atmostpheric effect. These two elements of atmosphere and mystery are technically the result of his use of the oil medium and sfumato. The outline, so much a feature of Quatrocento painting, is broken up so that the figures appear through veils of air. In addition Leonardo developed a particularly sweet spiritual smile and gracefulness in his figures, both male and female, which was never matched by any other artist. His breakthroughs in Composition on the other hand, had many imitators and Raphael is one who used his revolutionary sculptural concept of the group, as well as using a similar technique of observation, as is shown by his numerous studies. It is evident though, from a comparison of the studies of the two that Leonardo approached these studies as if the observation and experiment were of deep interest in their own right, whereas Paphael's appear to have been done as studies for future paintings. It is a similar difference in attitude which makes the sweetness of Leonardo's Virgins

deep and touching, whereas Raphael's appear merely sweet, the character having been insufficiently developed. They have lost the "subtlety" for which Clark just praises Leonardo.[1.]

In the Virgin of the Rocks he take the theme of the meeting of the Christ Child and the young St John in the desert, which has been treated by a number of artists before. He imbues it with a depth of feeling and mystery which is unique. The sfumato is fully developed, creating a mysterious visionary quality, as an intangible spiritual electricity seems to pass between the two children,[2.] who are adoringly watched over by the Virgin, her extraordinarily strong hand raised over the head of Christ in blessing, her arm around the shoulders of the Baptist, the cloak accentuating the protectiveness of this gesture, as "St John typifies the human race in need of protection".[3.] Were it not for the angel on the right, who, by looking out at us and pointing, draws our attention in, the scene might seem too exclusive and intimate.[4.]

The group of figures is backed by the cave, which in Jungian terms is a symbol of the female. Here, Leonardo develops the female figure and we note that "the balance between natural and ideal beauty is perfectly held" in this last Quatrocento picture of Leonardo's.[5.] As Clark further remarks, when "the delicate imaginative beauty of the head" of the Madonna is compared with the "waxen chiaroscuro"[6.] of the one created by him twenty years later, it is obvious that in his technical and classical strivings he lost the sensitivity and depth of feeling that we see here. The Madonna, though youthful, does have a certain dignity, though the power and regality of Francesca's Virgin has been removed.

Michaelangelo's Doni Tondo is typical of the period in both composition and theme. The movement in space, which was introduced by Leonardo, is perfectly handled here, though probably to Leonardo's taste, too violently. Michaelangelo escrews Leonardo's sfumato and deliniates his strongly sculptural forms clearly within the space. The family group is separated from the classical nudes by a low wall. The rigorous classical and sculptural approach is applied to the mountains too, leaving no element of mystery. The latter element is replaced by depth and strength and a "profoundly neoplatonic mood".[7.] All three of the group impress one with their physical strength, as well as emotional. This is the family united,

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1. Clark, K. Leonardo. p. 18.
2. Ibid. p. 18.
3. Ibid. p. 19.
4. Ibid. p. 19.
5. Ibid. p. 45.
6. Ibid. p. 46.
7. Camesasca. E. Michaelangelo. p. 6.

that could withstand anything, the great bourgeois ideal. It is important to note the placing of the Virgin in this family group, as it gives an indication of ideals prevalent at the time of woman's role, even the Virgin's, as support, rather than centre. The strong curve sweeps from the foot of the Madonna on the left, through her legs to the right and up through the torso, following the arms to the left, to the Child and into the body of Joseph, whose arm leads one back to the Virgin, creating a circular sweep at the top of the group. The Virgin, though strong, is seated on the ground, towered over by her husband, who makes more frequent and major appearances from this time. So, the Madonna, though physically strong in this picture obviously fulfills the sweet maternal type, who sits humbly at her husband's feet, absorbed in her child and the relationship between her and her husband and son, so making clear the ideal of mother and wife-hood.

Michaelangelo's attitude to women can be seen to be ambivalent from his letters and his work. In addition it would appear that he used male bodies and attached female appendages to them, so that the strength in his images pertains to the male rather than the female. Leonardo, on the other hand would appear to have a strong identification with women. He certainly imbues woman with a mysterious power unlike that of any other painter.

The Raphael Madonnas have, as Clark remarks, become the ideal of female beauty.[1.] Through the discussion of some paintings the reasons for the popularity of this Raphaelesque type above the Michaelangelesque or Leonardesque, will become clear.

Raphael studied Leonardo's technique carefully and mastered the pyramidal composition, as well as the variety of pose and rhythms between the figures. Leonardo's sfumato, though is not in line with Raphaels more classical approach, which delinates from more clearly, as indeed is true of his psychological approach, when compared with the complexity and mystery of Leonardo's. The primary reason for Raphael's popularity in his own time is expressed by Hauser, who points out that he was not an innovator, but "continued in the direction already traced out"[2.] and further remarks on Raphael's "intrinsicly conservative tendency"[3.] which made him the ideal painter for the upper class, whose criteria for society were "self-control, the suppression of the passions, the subdueing of spontaneity, of inspiration and ecstasy."[4.] The result is a calm, aristocratic Virgin, who, despite her sweetness and calm maternity seems to have little emotional connection with her child or husband. In spite of this lack of emotion, she does not attain to the dignity and

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1. Clark. Feminine Beauty. p. 17.
2. Ibid. p. 341.
3. Ibid. p. 341.
4. Ibid. p. 341.

power one might expect of the aristocratic ideal. I agree with Berenson that there was greater geniuses than Raphael and that he "passed from influence to influence,"[1]. yet disagree with him about the dignity of Raphael's Madonnas and do not believe that when he wrote to Castiglione, saying that he "made use of a certain idea that came into my head"[2]. that power or dignity had anything to do with it.

Berenson felt that Raphael was "too feeble" to represent men.[3]. This indicates the art historian's equation of strength with masculinity. With the rising cult of personality it is remarkable that women become more and more depersonalised. while men develop an aristocratic dignity and individuality in the ideal. This can be seen particularly in the work of Leonardo, where heroic individuality is accepted in the males, whereas mysterious loveliness is emphasised in females. Raphael aims at this same heroic, dignified, individuality, but, except in the School of Athens, seldom achieves this type, whereas in his development of the of the epitome of motherhood as a visualised sentiment, he undeniably succeeded. The sweet. girlishness of the Raphael Madonnas is to be found in Michaelangelo and Leonardo. but in Michaelangelo, the physically strong bodies and weightiness balance it. while in Leonardo, the depth of psychological insight prevents the development of the superficial image of the sweet mother who is not quite believable. that we find in Raphael. Leonardo develops a more mysteriously feminine type. rather than the exclusively maternal.

In Raphael's work. the enthroned Madonna has disappeared and sits either on a stool or on the ground. in an attempt to make her more human. The veil is more often omitted. giving her a girlish air and the children are more naturalistic, as are the physical relationships between them and the Madonna. In one of the British Museums drawings of the tilt of the Madonna's head is reworked for maximum sweetness. The similarity of features and bearing of the Virgin in the Bridgewater Madonna. The Madonna with Christ and St John in Berlin and The Holy Family in Edinburgh, indicates how pervasive was that "certain idea"[4]. Raphael used. In all three she is dressed in the traditional red and blue, her head tilted to the left and down, she looks either at the Child or at Joseph. In the Bridgewater and the Holy Family she is turned slightly from the viewer, whereas, in the Berlin picture she is more frontal. This turning away and towards family would seem to emphasise her humility and submission to her role as mother. Also,

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1. Berenson. op. cit. p. 127.
2. Raphael's letter of 1514 quoted in Partridge, L. A Renaissance Likeness. p. 24.
3. Berenson. op. cit. p. 130.
4. Partridge. op. cit. p. 24.

her hand gesture in the Berlin picture is more traditional, whereas, in the other two. her gestures are more naturalistic. The total impression in the Berlin and Bridgewater Madonnas is of a delicate sweetness, whereas, in the Holy Family the distant sweetness of the Madonna has become a distant moodiness. with Christ and Joseph forming the centre of emotional and compositional interest. This tendency to distance can be seen in other works of his. (St Catherine, for example). There is a development of calmness which would appear to be the result of a passive, goalless existence and a submissive acceptance of one's role. It is this feeble sweetness, which does not confront the male world, which made Raphael's Madonnas a popular ideal of female beauty, which has lasted to the present day.

In the foregoing discussion of individual works it will be noted that there is a development of the 'sweet' type created by the use of the tilted head, downcast eyes, oval, rather than square face and delicate hands. There is also a move away from the solidness of pose, with the feet and knees apart, as seen in the Ognassanti Madonna, to poses which take up less space and indicate less firmness and dignity, as in the twisted sideways pose of the Virgin in Madonna and Child and St John by Raphael.

The choice of themes also indicates the type of woman favoured. The major theme, as has been noted, was the Madonna and Child. The Annunciation was constantly popular, not only because it was a specific feast in the church, but because, in this situation, the virtues of humility and obedience are visualised.

These were the images constantly held before women. These were the virtues extoled for them. The message of the society was clear. They were to see themselves as mothers and wives. They should be submissive, charming and uncomplaining, like the Virgin, though they could never attain to her paradoxical accomplishment, that of being both: virgin and mother.

CHAPTER THREE.

From the foregoing discussion of the Madonna image, we can see that there was a move from the regal Queen of Heaven on a throne, to the middle class matron, to the girlish Madonna, with shifts between these and mixtures of these. not a clear linear progression from one to the other, but steps forward and backward throughout the period, with an underlying tendency towards a more simple, sweet Madonna-type as the period progresses.

When one tries to look at images of women in mythological and allegorical paintings, one can see similar trends at work. For example, in Giotto, though no mythological themes are handled, the symbolic figures of the virtues and vices are handled in a way which gives them dignity and weight. The all-important figure of Justice is a good example of this type of figure, of which echoes can still be found in the solid, earlier period figures of Andrea da Firenze's Allegory of the Church. The new type of more delicate young woman can be seen in the same work, in the dancing figures below these statuesque matrons. With Botticelli we get the rise of the physically weak, etherial, mythical woman, the classical counterpart of the Virgin. Venus and the Virgin are the same type of gentle, unthreatening female. This is true too of Raphael, in, for example, The Three Graces, who, if clothed, could be the three virgins.

In the following detailed discussion of individual works, we will be looking at ways in which women were viewed under the influence of Classical mythology and contemporary philosophical attitudes.

Giotto's Virtues and Vices in the Padua Arena Chapel, are made to look like sculptural reliefs, with a certain classical quality. All but three of these ideas are represented by women. This was common in the period. The preponderance of women as symbolic figures can perhaps be explained in Jungian terms, by the anima projection theory. With most of the artists of men, their fantasies, both good and bad will most often take female form.[1.]
Much can be discovered about the moral sense of the time from these figures. Justice sits queenly, on a throne, though a secular not a theological virtue, and gives the appearance of affluence and stability, while Injustice ignores his crumbling kingdom. These images would tend to indicate that Antal was correct in asserting that justice was 'queen of virtues' to the middle-class being the personification of all good government.[2.] The armed Fortitude,

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1. Jung, C.G. Man and his Symbols. p. 177 - 178.
2. Antal. op. cit. p. 239.

with her herculean lion skin, is a woman to be reckoned with, whereas Charity, Hope and Temperance are somewhat more delicate in their build and their poses, stressing what we have come to think of as feminine.[1] One of the most interesting figures in the series is Prudence, a matron who Bellosi[2] likens to a school mistress at her desk. She is a sensible woman in control, and give the impression that Giotto might have seen someone like her on a large estate, as indeed he could have done at this time. The fact that the back of her head is male. may indicate that the prudent are never caught off guard and view everything from two angles.

The intersting point in relation to these images is that Giotto has used a variety of female types rather than one. This seems to indicate that he was open enough to see and appreciate the variety of types of women and free enough from social restraints to show these differences.

Women too, represent The Seven Arts in the work of Andrea da Firenze, while the men do the actual creative work. This idea of woman as the inspirer and man as creator took power from the Greek muses and has often been used to discourage women from taking part in creation and to be satisfied with a supportive role. Looking at these woman though, each enthroned in her Gothic apse, we are impressed by their bearing and their individuality, considering they are allegorical figures.

The royal wave of the third figure and the solidness of the hand-on-hip pose of the sixth are particularly remarkable, as is the impression of ordinary men being influenced by goddesses.

Firenze's Allegory of the Church (1365) gives various insights into the society and women's place in it. In these frescoes he depicts the Dominican view of the world.[3] with its intellictuallism, accent on repentence and adherence to dogma. It is also possible to see, in this cycle, the signs of a lower middle-class ascendency and democratisation. Antal comments on the hunting and dancing motifs. which tend to characterise a sound bourgeois regime.[4]
The work is composed of horizontal strips, with elimination of perspective, the figures varying in size depending on importance. The central horizontal

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1. According to Antal the three theological virtues were seen as faith, hope and charity, which were frequently presented as feminine. The secular ones were prudence, justice, fortitude and temperance.
   Antal. p. 238.
2. Belossi, L. Giotto. p. 52.
3. Antal. op. cit. p. 199.
4. Ibid. p. 238.

plane is occupied by four large frontal figures who represent the earthly pleasures. The one on the far left is a young woman, playing a musical instrument, wearing a simple gold gown and a wreath of flowers in her hair. Though young, she is neither sweet, nor submissive. Next to her is a man in a conical hat, wearing a voluminous cream cloak. On his left arm he carries a falcon. Next to him with a transparent veil and a simple red gown, holding a dog, is a woman exhuding calm and dignity. Next to her is a man contemplating. The fact that there is an equality in the number of men and women in this section may indicate a certain degree of social mobility for women at his time. The dignity and matronlyness of the larger figures as compared with the girlishness of the later period ones below gives an indication of the shift in ideals of womanhood. It should also be noted that in both sections women are in the sphere of relaxation and entertainment, stressing their decorative and charming aspects. The half-size dancers beneath the seated figures possibly represent souls free from sin. These dancers and one musician could also represent the three theological and four cardinal virtues, with the musicial acting as leader and inspirer. The more simple, revealing costumes impart a lightness and delicacy to the figures, whose rhythms add to the charm of the mural.

In the rest of the mural the church is depicted mainly by using male figures. The fact that women do not appear in the strictly religious section, would indicate that they were not seen as important in this area, as well as being seen as the originators of sin, as is indicated by the Eve figure in the background.

This sinfulness is further seen in Orcagna's Last Judgement, where a female devil mesmerises a soldier, whereas in Firenze, all the devils are male. This trend of Orcagna's towards anti-feminism, continues with negative influences more often being feminine and the dominant masculine rising to fill the roles of the positive. This is seen too in the progressive masculinising of angels. In the Medici Chapel, Gozzoli's angels are all feminine, whereas Leonardo's angel in Veroccio's Baptism is a boy,as are Botticelli's. In Orcagna's Chosen, there are less women than men, but these nine are shown in the foreground, looking relatively similar, except for the aged nun. When one compares these with the individuality and variety of the male figures, one sees the progressive shrinking of possible roles and types for women. On the other hand they are there and mixing with the men, which must be some indication of the social norms of the time. The other factor to be taken into account is the dignity of their bearing and calm confidence, with no sign of coy sweetness in any of

the figures.

A further indication of the relative power of women in the minds of the painters of this time, as compared with later images, is Uccello's early St Georges and the Dragon. This mysterious canvas shows a fragile St George on a prancing horse piercing the dragon with his lance. The two-legged reptile cries in agony, while it is held lightly on a chain by a lady in Medieval dress, her hair plucked from her forehead. Behind the beast and the woman is a yawning grey cave, while behind St George, a crescent moon hangs above a counter-clockwise spiral of cloud over a forest. The total impression is one of numinous, impenetrable mystery. The cave, moon, spiral or vortex, dragon and forest can be taken as feminine from the Jungian point of view. The lance being obviously phallic. The woman gives the impression of an archetypal anima figure,[1] delicate, yet powerful. Why she is willingly sacrificing the beast to St George, could perhaps be explained as her catering to his image of himself as hero.

Masaccio's Eve who rushes out of paradise with Adam, exemplifies penitance in her Venus Pudica pose, while Adam appears to be almost angry with himself. The differentiation between male and female bodies, even in the nude, is not emphasised, both of them being of the square, solid, practical type. He is slightly more muscled than she. This presentation of the body is in line with the "bourgeois rationalsim in religious art"[2] which Masaccio typified. In an extraordinary way he has brought together the openness and freedom of a Classical nude with the idea of shame about nudity from Christianity.

In Fra Angelico's Rape of Helen by Paris, woman is passive and delicate. The octagonal panel shows a building with figures rushing from it, another group standing to the left and a soldier with a light-as-air girl in his arms against a background of ships and mountains. The delicate blues and pinks are heightened by deep greens and earth colours, while the rhythms running through the figures add to its lyrical effect. Helen sits lightly on Paris' shoulders, looking back, doll-like towards the portico, where a hand gestures in their direction. Neither she nor the girl in the background gives the impression of unwillingness, while a woman in the portico looks mildly surprised as her breast is grabbed. The costumes are in marked contrast to those of Orcagna and Firenze in their ornateness and richness. As Antal remarks, "the aristocratic and courtly character" are "more in conformity with the ideals of the upper middle class,"[3] which ac-

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1. Jung. op. cit. p. 122.
2. Antal. op. cit. p. 309.
3. Ibid. p. 333.

counts for the charming quality of these women. They were being educated more and more to the decorative and charming role, rather than the ability to manage their estates and their homes.

With Botticelli, we come to the period in the Renaissance, when classical influences had been fully assimilated into the culture, but where Medieval thought still had influence. The tendency in the pagan towards hedonism "had to be reconciled with Christianity"[1]. and this is achieved by Botticelli in his Venuses. As Clark remarks, "that the head of our Christian goddess, with all her tender apprehension and scrupulous inner life, can be set on a naked body without a shadow of discord, is the supreme triumph of Celestial Venus."[2].

Even so, as Clark also points out, the figures in these Classical-Christian images, are closer to the latter than the former, as seen in the 'Wistfulness' of their glances as this is an expression not seen in the classical images.[3]. There also seems to be a lack of connection with the physical world. They are certainly not revelling in it, as we find later with Titian. Unfortunately this delicate balance which Botticelli had struck between the realms of the spirit and the flesh, was destroyed by the fanatical ascetic, Savonarola. Not only did this lead to a reduction of nudes, but also, in Botticelli's case, to a tight, angular handling, which is purified of all sensuality and which looses the quality of being "directly life-communicating."[4]. The Primavera may be making reference to Ovid's Fusti[5]. which describes Chloris being transformed into Flora by the West Wind.[6]. Mercury is on the left and Venus in the centre, while the three graces celebrate spring between them. The figure of Venus might possibly personify the virtues of humanities and this would explain her centrality in the composition. Apart from the Zephyr and Mercury, both periferal figures, and cupid, aiming at all the Graces, all the figures are female, their feminine qualities strongly deliniated. The rhythm and gracefulness of the figures converts the entire surface into a dance, the background having the quality of a manuscript illumination or tapestry, in its decorative rhythmic quality. Clark remarks on how close he has come to the Greek rhythm in one inspired leap of the imagination, but how

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1. Jacobs, M. Mythological Painting. p. 9.
2. Clark, K. The Nude. p. 99.
3. Ibid. p. 38.
4. Berenson. op. cit. p. 110.
5. Jacobs. op. cit. p. 5.
6. Ibid. p. 5.

different they are from the Greek in their human quality and their fragility.[1] It is this fragility which typifies the figures of The Primavera and The Birth of Venus, emphasising their transitoriness. Flora has dignity and a sense of purpose, whereas the Venus in The Primavera has a stongly maternal and virginal quality. Her heavy stomach emphasised by the drapes brings to mind comments on the gothic curve, which takes its shape from the "unconcious biological process which gives shape to all hidden organisms"[2] and it is this which gives an impression of vulnerability to the graces and Venuses. Though the rhythms of the graces speak of joy and life, their pensive faces seem unconvinced. The fact that this type of woman, passive, pale, with weak sloping shoulders and the sweet Raphael Madonna have been popularised in this society, indicates the strength of this ideal type. This is particularly evident when the ideal female type is compared with the ideal Renaissance male type, who was the measure of all things, the active element in this ordering process, master of the universe, as seen in Leonardo's Vitruvius Homo, whose proportions are the ideal, not those of woman.

The image of Beatrice in Botticelli's drawings for Dante's Divine Comedy,[3] surprisingly different from both his Virgins and classical figures, being images of a woman who leads, rather than responds and is active rather than passive. She seems to fulfill the role of classical muse and Christian angel, guilding her beloved to the mysteries. Although she is cast in this role and is only great once she is dead, she forms part of a powerful female trinity. She fills the role of Christ, Mary that of God, and Lucy that of the Holy Spirit.

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1. Clark. Feminine Beauty. p. 94.
2. Clark. Ibid. p.312.
3. Clark. Botticelli's Drawings for Dante's Divine Comedy.

Throughout the series there are symbols of the female: circles of flame and trees. woods. the moon etc. In both of the images shown here, Beatrice is larger than Dante. In the first, her posture towards him is gentle and understanding. while he looks like a novitiate, embarassed at his own lack of understanding. Both figures stand firmly on their feet and their gestures are not able to be differentiated along gender lines. In the second image, the couple is watched by a semi-circle of the blessed and her Beatrice is considerably larger than DANTE. who implores her, while she looks severely at him and gestures to the right. These very strong women, who control situations, though idealised and praised in literature, were only tolerated as long as the chance of their existing in reality was minimal.

There is something of the same idea, of art being a fantasy world, as related to the sexuality of women. The image of woman as a sexual object, particularly the object of the violent attentions of the male, is often shown in Renaissance images. Yet these images escape the appelation of pornography, by hiding under a veil of classicism. This can be seen in Leonardo's drawing of Leda. Clark comments on this image and seems surprised that for Leonardo, the myth was not the "allegory of sensual extacy"[1]. that it was to other artists. He even says that this image shows "an absence of normal sensuality that makes us pause to shiver"[2]. and then continues to remark on the unclassical quality of the writhing forms, which he finds more akin to Indian sculpture[3]. than classical. All the above combines to show that Leonardo possibly perceived the negative side of this rape, but that Clark, like many other schooled and un-schooled viewers, has completely overlooked the fact that this is not "normal sensuality"[4]. that this is violence against the person of Leda, when he complains of its lack of sensuality.

Sensuality enters into Filippino Lippi's Allegory of Music. He shows music as a young woman, with a long neck and sloping shoulders, the long-toed feet reminiscent of Botticelli, but the expression is less wistful. Her red gown almost reveals her right breast, while a blue cloak billows around her. Wearing the Virgin's colours. she appears to be a slightly secularized Madonna with a lyrical, mythological overlay. She has the same sweet, even weak quality, which we find in Lippi's Madonnas. All the accompanying figures and formal elements underline her sensuality and sweetness, making her a non-threatening sexual object. This is a case where one can postulate that allegory was of secondary

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1. Clark. Leonardo. p. 125.
2. Ibid. p. 125.
3. Ibid. p. 125.
4. Ibid. p. 125.

significance. What was really required was a painting on an attractive woman, something to please the eye, while giving the appearance of classical and civilised interest in the arts.

Sexuality linked with violence enters again in the Fight of the Lapiths and the Centaurs, by Piero di Cosimo. This long canvas shows various warring groups. The central group shows a woman desperately holding onto a man and pushing with her foot to escape the grip of a centaur, who is being strangled by another Lapith. The woman is strongly muscled, her face realisticly grimacing. Though it could be viewed as a rescue, she is active in it, so she is a more real and solid young woman then seen in Lippi's work, though the violent sexual element could be seen as stimulating in itself. In this painting, one could say that of the elements sex and violence as visual exciters, the latter plays a greater role.

In Venus and Mars by the same artist, on the other hand, there is a certain platonic element. in the battle between sensuality, as represented by Venus and the "more manly intellectual or spiritual values"[1]. by Mars. He is a feeble youth sleeping. satiated, while Venus leans uncomfortably on her right arm, seemingly restless. This view is supported by Jacobs, who suggest that the rabbit indicates her frustration, while the child might be asking why Mars is sleeping.[2].
The stress on flowers, the child and the rabbit could also symbolise fertility, which would cast her in the role of mother rather than lover. The black and white pigeon presumably refer to an unmatched pair, while, in the background, cupids play with arrows and bits of armour. A calm sea and a misty hill mark the central axis of the painting. In Botticelli's painting of the same theme, Mars is also exhaustedly asleep and is being taunted and teased awake by satyrs, who use his lance, "a very phallic reminder"[3]. to join the two figures. The alertness of Venus when compared with the passivity of Mars would seem to indicate an underlying belief that sex reduces male power and energy. This idea was backed up by the Church with its idea of women as more venal than men. Though the Neo-Platonists argued for a reconciliation of sense and intellect,[4]. it would appear than an ascetic element held sway in these images. The paradoxical element in this image is that the woman is so soft and sweet and lacking in sensuality. that in another setting she could be the Virgin.

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1. Jacobs. M. Mythological Painting. p. 9.
2. Ibid. p. 9.
3. Ibid. p. 9.
4. Ibid. p. 9.

The sweet woman does not come through in Michaelangelo's images of women. He gave women strong bodies, while placing them at the bottom of the hierachy. This can be seen in the Sistine paintings of Eve, the symbol of our downfall. The second story of creation, not the first, where man and woman were created equal at the same time, is used. Adam leans against a trunk, his body totally relaxed, while God the Father stands in a voluminous cloak at his feet, summoning Eve out of Adam's side. She emerges ungainly and supplicant. The soft earth tones unite the figures, while the sea and sky form a background beyond the rocky ledge, which forms a counter-diagonal to the one of Eve, thus bringing the eye back to her.

The line of the sea seems to pierce her vulnerable stomach. The same subserviant Eve is seen in The Fall. She sits below Adam and reaches for the apple from the serpent with a female head and torso. In the Expulsion she cringes in Adam's shadow, while he fends off the male angel. In the first half she seems happy and unquestioning, while Adam is trying not to give in to the temptation. In the second half she seems to fear for her body but shows no remorse for her soul. This image of woman, can not in Michaelangelo's case, be attributed to lack of expertise, so it must have been intentional. This view of woman as more attached to the flesh than man and generally morally weaker was in line with the then doctrine of the Church, so it is understandable that, in this public work, the official view should be shown.

On the other hand, the Sibyls are all strong, independent women, but the question is whether they can be seen as women at all, as Michaelangelo obviously used male models and added breasts for the female figures. The Cumean Sibyl is typical of these figures. Her enormous shoulders are at an angle to the picture plane and her muscular hands and arms grasp a huge book. Her muscular breasts and strongly deliniated nipples push against her thin blouse, while her head seems somewhat small. The furrowed brow, roman nose and jutting chin are far from the softness of Raphael's Madonnas. Paradoxically, her knees are clamped together, her left foot raised in coy movement to the right.[1] One feels in Michaelangelo's sibyls, as well as his madonnas, a contradiction, as unresolved conflict and a lack of understanding of the female.

Raphael's Vision of a Knight, on the other hand, shows the typical Christian vision of woman as either symbolic of perfect goodness or absolute evil and the downfall of man, as in the case of the Virgin and Eve. But to take a more

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1. See Wex, M. Let's Take Back Our Space for a development of gender differences in body language through the centuries.

classical theme, we discuss the three graces. The subtlety and variety of rhythm found in the Botticelli group has been simplified, the figures becoming shorter and squatter, their gestures less elegant. They glow like yellowish jewels in the simplified landscape. Their bodies are undefined. All is softness and hazyness, especially the sexual area, which is hairless and without indication of an opening in the undraped, right-hand figure. All of them have the wistful, helpless look seen in Botticelli's work. In pose and expression, these women are shown as weak creatures, almost identical. because they are the same. The ideal type of the High Renaissance, sweet. submissive and gentle.

Now we have looked at the images, it must be pointed out that though there were images of woman as strong and independent in Classical Mythology and in Christian Allegory, they were either transformed into less strong and attractive types, or dismissed in favour of themes which gave an opportunity to show women as body and under the power of man, as evidenced in the rise of rape scenes and helpless Andromedas. This trend became even stronger from the beginning to the end of the period and there is a move towards female nudes.

This type of image of woman acted as a parallel to the image of the Virgin, where "the socially accepted duty of women becomes divinely ordained"[1]. These parallel images of women's submission and devotion contrasted with male power images and carried the ideals of Church and society in visual form. How much did women conform and adapt to these models put before them? An idea of the women of the time can be gained from the portrait and genre images.

The foregoing chapter discusses images of women in mythological and allegorical paintings. To conclude, I would like to point out how, though the religious and mythological themes are separate, they are really two sides of the same coin. namely the ideology of the Renaissance society. The image held up for women to emulate in the church was Mary, who became more and more girlish.

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1. Greer, G. The Female Eunuch. p. 69.
To clarify the place of the female nude in art in the Renaissance, Greer says:
"In the Renaissance. the female form began to predominate, not only as the mother in the predominant emblem of the Madonna col Bambina, but as an asthetic study in herself .... Adam and Eve ... but gradually Venus claims ascendancy. Mary Magdalene ceases to be wizened and emaciated and becomes nubile and ecstatic. Portraits of anonymous young women chosen for their prettiness begin to appear, are gradually disrobed, and renamed Flora or Primavera."

The classical images of active herione were more or less ignored in favour of the Venus, image of the beautiful but non-threatening women. Particularly in Botticelli and Raphael, we see that the Virgins and the Venuses are virtually the same type of young, beautiful, subserviant and sweet female.

How much did women conform and adapt to these models put before them? An idea of the women of the time and their deviation from the ideal, can be gained from portrait and genre images.

CHAPTER FOUR.

As discussed in the introduction, I have included some images of holy women in this category, on the grounds that they are shown as if they were part of Florentine society, very like the woman of that time. I have also included images which show women's place in society. For example, the fact that in Giotto's work women are seen to be involved in all public activities, seems to strengthen an assumption that women were accepted and integrated into the society. In addition to this type of image I have discussed actual portraits and note with Antal that the rise of the portrait indicates a rise in middle-class self-confidence.[1.]

While considering this category of images, the two foregoing categories should be kept in mind, so that one can come to some conclusions as to the variety of ways-of-being of real women viewed against the twin screens of the ideal religious and the ideal mythological woman.

In Giotto there can not be said to be any definite portraits. The heads of non-holy women give the impression of a type, rather than individuals, as can be seen from the friends of the Virgin in the Marriage of the Virgin. They are hardly different in features and demeanour from the virgin herself. On the other hand, the figure sitting outside St Anne's room in The Annunciation has a certain individuality. The weight and confidence of that wide-kneed pose, as well as the alert look in the eyes indicate a woman who is accepting of herself and knows her value. The dignity and strength of all his women, whether holy or not, and the lack of accentuation of gender differences, would seem to back up the idea that, at this time women had a relatively more central place in society than will be seen later.

The women in Orcagna's Last Judgement (The Chosen), are, as has been mentioned in the previous chapter,[2.] less numerous than the men, but their mixing so freely would still indicate a certain degree of freedom in the society.

The two scenes from the 15th Century Cassone at the Scottish National Gallery in Edinburgh also give an idea of the women of the time. The old woman outside the house seems completely confident in her discussion with the young man, while the relaxed and realistic nudity of the woman in the bed gives a welcome glimpse into the private rooms and lives of the time.

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1. Antal. op. cit. p. 297.
2. See Chapter 3, p. 29.

Masaccio's Birth of the Virgin is included here, as its genre elements are stronger than its religious ones. Indeed, at a later date, he would have been denied the right to show a holy person in a state of exhaustion after birth.[1.] Here St Anne is shown as a normal, human upper-class woman after childbirth. The guests are announced by a trumpeter, who stands on the left, his trumpet piercing the air and space. Three of the guests look towards the pages. The woman in the red dress appears appreciative, while the two nuns look mistrustful. A woman in red and one in blue are already entering the room, where the mother is turned on her elbows in bed and looking down somewhat exhaused, while a maid holds her tightlv swaddled baby and others stand around the end of the bed. The riches of the family are indicated by the crest, the trumpet and the hung walls, as well as the rich simplicity of the guests costumes, with their touches of gold. Though it is true that the role of woman as mother is being stressed, she maintains dignity and power. The variety of different women shown here is also interesting. We see young women confidently smiling, nuns, a middle-aged woman, who has just had a child and the different characters of the nurses. These are women seen clearly for themselves, not as objects, but as people with interests and activities which are important to them.

Piero della Francesca was almost alone of fifteenth century painters in maintaining the basic elements of the first humanist artists.[2.] Clark describes "humanist style" as "naturalism, perspective and the antique... as a means of expressing a new sense of human values."[3.]

Though Piero, as a classical artist was searching for a type, all his faces have the weight and dignity of individuals. So, when we compare the head of Battista Sforza, Duchess of Urbino, with the head of the Madonna of the Misericordia it can be seen that they both come from the same mould, types representing power and dignity. The same solidity and dignity imbue the portrait of the Duke, while both of them have, despite their rank, an air of the earth about them, as do all Piero's figures. The placing of the two people, facing each other, heads level, (hers carried slightly higher, giving a tinge of haughtyness), is an indication of their relationship, which one might assume from the records of the time, was one of business management of an estate by

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1. Jameson. op. cit. p. 45.
2. Clark. Piero della Francesca. p. 13 and 14.
3. Clark. Florentine Paintings. p. 4.

two partners. She probably still had a degree of power, which later would be eroded by the development of society, as outlined in the introduction. The relative lightness of her portrait to his and the weight given to him tend to accent his importance, despite the fact that both faces are rendered with meticulous individuality, making no concessions to beauty. Her costume is more ornate than his, which may indicate the tendency for women to become progressively the showcase of family wealth. If one compares the similiarity of male and female dress in the simple gowns seen in Giotto and Andrea da Firenze, with costume of this period and later, we see a movement towards differentiation of the sexes, which mirrors the move in society towards division of labour along sexual lines.[1] The landscape behind both figures emphasised their civic importance and land-owning status.

Baldovinetti, who lived at the same time as Francesca and Pollaiulo, in the Portrait of the Lady in Yellow, gives an image of a strong and lively young woman who must have come from an important family, if we are to judge from the factors of having her portrait painted, the quality of her clothes and the, probably symbolic, motif on her sleeve. No attempt appears to have been made to idealise her features, which are far from those favoured at the time in religious and classical themes.

The two portraits painted by Pollaiuolo, show young women who are closer in type to the prefered ideal. Both are shown in profile against a flat blue background with indications of cloud. Again, details of dress, quality of material and in one, jewelery, indicate an affluent woman. But there is an austere quality about the woman in Berlin, with her blonde hair wrapped simply in fabric, while the second has her hair elaborately dressed with pearls and her ears covered with a light veil. Both women have slightly turned-up noses and projecting upper-lips. The Berlin one has the dreamy air of someone who does not expect to have to deal with reality. It would seem that these two women were more inclined by nature towards the ideal and also that there was a certain degree of modelling oneself on the images seen in paintings.

Compare Fra Filippo Lippi's portrait of a woman with Francesca's and it will be seen that though both use the severe profile pose, Lippi has contrived to 'feminise' the effect by his modeling and the delicate gesture of the hand to the top of the dress. His model is not as close to the ideal type as either of Pollaiuolo's, yet he attempts to create the effect with veils and muted tones. The face, though that of a woman with a fair bit of weight, he manages

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1. See Chapter 1. p. 2.

to give a weightless appearance, almost ghostly. The actual features tough, are not over romanticised and one has the impression of a dignified woman, though one who would seem to have the little power outside the small sphere of her home, where she ruled. The hair, as in Francesca's, Baldovinetti's and Pollatiuolo's portraits, is plucked away from the forehead and eyebrows are very finely deliniated. In this case there is no escaping tendrills of hair, but the coiffure is held back by a string of pearls and draped with a fine white chiffon veil, which adds to the soft impression, which seems at variance with the solidness of the woman depicted. When this woman is compared with Lippi's Madonna's in chapter 2, the gap between the delicate sweetness of the ideal and the solid reality of the portrait, shows how far some women deviated from the type prefered and how the artist, in this case, tries to gloss over the solidness and bring his model into line with the ideal.

Botticelli is also using the profile portrait, as seen in his Portrait of a Young Woman in Berlin. The changes in fashion can be clearly seen. The hair is no longer austerely drawn back, but falls 'romantically' around her face in simulated abandon, some being caught up, some being braided and jewelled. The eyebrows are more defined and a strap under her chin accents the jawline, while the costume accents the breasts more than has been done previously. She is placed against a contrastingly austere background of deep grey wall and a piece of sky. The red contrasts sensuously with the dullness of the background and seems paradoxical, when seen in relation to her face, which has the wistfulness of the Venus in the Birth of Venus, which seems at variance with hair and costume. This would indeed bear out Botticelli's own conflict between sensuousness and puritanical austerity which has been discussed in Chapters 2 and 3. It would seem that Botticelli has either made his model fit his ideal or that he found a model who fitted the ideal. In spite of this, there are elements in this face which indicate greater strength than is shown here. There is some strength in the mouth a jaw and a look in the eye, which run counter to the sweet, passive ideal.

Cosimo's Portrait of Simonetta as Cleopatra, shows the celebrated beauty and Medici mistress with bare breasts, a drape around her shoulders and an asp around her neck. Her head is held confidently high and she looks surprisingly healthy for someone with consumption. The hair is elaborately braided and jewelled in the fantasy style of the time, seen in the Botticelli portrait. Though her face is in profile, her shoulders are turned slightly towards us and the drama of the image is accented by the dark cloud behind her face, as well as

the barren trees in front of her, as compared with those with foliage behind. All these elements would be symbolic of the fate of Cleopatra.[1]

A very different portrait by Cosimo is portait of a Florentine Lady as St Mary Magdalene. The woman faces us, sitting in a window, looking at a book. Her long hair hangs onto her shoulders and is decorated with a row of pearls. She has a strong nose and well-defined planes to her face. Her gaze is serious and somewhat musing. The impression is of a pious young woman, who is more dignified than sweet.

In these two images of Cosimo of real women, it is interesting that the one is cast in the classical mould and the other in the Christian, yet both of the individuals come through fairly strongly.

Ghirlandaio's failure to produce the more etherial type may have been due to lack of imagination or inventiveness. This may have made him fall back on the women he saw around him for his models. The Birth of St John the Baptist shows faces which convince of their individuality and reality. In particullar, the figure in the ornate dress who stands to the right, looking out at us. Her delicate sadness and somewhat sickly impression support the theory that this is a portrait of Simonetta. The plainer features of the women beind her are also individuals accutely observed and transferred to the image. Lucrezia Medici, Mother of Lorenzo the Magnificent is also said to be in this scene. The serving maid carrying fruit, is similar in pose and movement to the one seen in the visitation. This cheerful, strong, young woman is in dramatic contrast with the passiveness of Simonetta. The same comparison can be drawn between the different classes and ages in The Visistation. The group on the right shows two rich young women, accompanied by an older chaperone, who looks amused, while the girl beside her appears moody. The girls on the left are of a slightly lower class and much more lively in gesture and expression. The theory that Ghirlandaio was an expert observer is borne out when these images are compared with a Portrait of a Girl. This is probably from his studio. but the similarity to the face of the young Simonetta is noteworthy. The dark eyes and small mouth are similar, as in the hair-style, but the nose is coarser and the expression is more lively and confident.

The simple colour scheme gives the young girl dignity, her creamy skin con-

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1. Simonetta was the mistress of G. Medici and was the darling of Humanist society. When she died early of consumption there was an elaborate funeral and huge procession.

trasting with the deep black and red. As it is not a profile portrait it gives the artist more scope for subtle depiction of expression and contrasts between the different sides of the face. The left half of this one being more lively and alert, the right, somewhat more subdued. The total impression is one of unique character, sweet, yet dignified.

The portrait of Ginevra de Benci (1474) by Leonardo, shows a young woman, body turned away, but almost full-face to the picture plane. She sits against a natural-background of trees, a distant river, hills and a spire. The proportions[1]. of the canvas indicate that it has been cut at the bottom, as does the severed bush of juniper on the back of the canvas and the laces which appear to have been repainted to remove the tips of the fingers of the hand which in now missing.[2]. The cold cynical gaze has little in common with Leonardo's Virgins. The carriage of head and shoulders is almost haughty, as she looks out questioningly, almost antagonistically. As Clark remarks, "the irregular contours in the background accentuate the lady's forehead, which dominates the design. Such is the individual character with which Leonardo has been able to charge this portrait, ... that this pale young woman has become one of the unforegettable personalities of the Renaissance."[3]. Putting it thus, Clark gives the palm to Leonardo, while insinuating that she was merely a "pale, young woman", rather than remarking on her strength of character, which obviously struck Leonardo.

That difficult portrait, La Giaconda, The Mona Lisa, by Leonardo, also shows an independent woman, but one who has become so much part of our mythology that it is difficult to know where to place her. Is she the Madonna, Goddess or real woman? It would be difficult to imagine her on the streets of Florence, knowing her as we do. Pater says, "she is older than the rocks among which she sits; like a vampier she has been dead many times and learns the secrets of the grave; she has been a diver in deep sea and keeps their fallen dead about her."[4]. The Marquis de Sade discovered her to be "the very essence of femininity"[5]. and was very excited by her "devoted tenderness".[6].

Add to these observations the fact that 'mona' in northern Italian slang is female genitilia and that Freud said her smile reminded him of his mother's[7]. and we have a picture of a woman who is profoundly upsetting to males. She was in reality the third wife of a Florentine silk merchant, who married him at six-

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1. Classic proportions are three to four. Clark, Leonardo. p. 17.
2. Ibid. p. 17.
3. Ibid. p. 18.
4. Storey. M.R. Mona Lisa. p. 25.
5. Ibid. p. 2.
6. Ibid. p. 2.
7. Ibid. p. 9.

teen and was born about 1479.[1]

She sits in a three-quarter pose, developed in the Renaissance. She is wearing a simple dress, wears no jewelery or other decoration, and her hands are folded elegantly. Behind her a mysterious landscape twines. What is it about this woman that has raised all the projected fantasies of the men in the quotes? Leonardo uses his sfumato technique to great effect, so that the figure seems to emerge from a haze. This and the subtle modelling, the eyes which are both watchful and amused and the gentle smile, which the nineteenth century found sinister[2] and the fantastic landscape, all combine to give an impression of mystery and enigma.

It is this quality which is fertile ground for individual and group fantasy. The rightness of the pose and the directness of the gaze, contrast oddly with the mysterious veiled quality and the landscape. This leads to a certain uneasyness, which is further developed by the deep shadows around the eyes, giving them a cat-like appearance. Clark believes that Leonardo saw her beauty from the perspective of a child to its mother," who both attracts and repulsed him."[3] It is undoubtedely this deeply primal response which is triggered in men and is perhaps the well-spring from which it was painted. She is the Great Mother. both loving and devouring.

In the two portraits by Raphael, the two women are more aware of their viewers, but unlike the Mona Lisa. they do not confront, but gaze out at us. La Valetta seems almost encouraging. while La Gravida seems wearily disinterested. As Sleptzoff says. "the problem confronting painters was the creation of types of great men corresponding to contemporary moral and aesthetic ideals."[4] This led to the creation of a heroic. active, intelligent, individualistic male ideal. The formation of the ideal female type is hardly mentioned in this book, but it would obviously be influenced, like the male image, by the "moral and aesthetic ideals"[5] of the age. In Raphael, who was in tune with his time, this ideal is clearly portrayed. These are simple, gentle, sensible women who are domesticated, both aware of and accepting their supportive role in society. These are not women of mystery or power who threaten men, but reduced images of the maternal, which have left out all that is frightening and kept only the comforting sweetness. When these two women are compared with Raphael's Madonnas,

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1. Storey. op. cit. p. 16.
2. Ibid. p. 9.
3. Clark, K. Leonardo. p. 120.
4. Sleptzoff, I. Men or Supermen. p. 6.
5. Ibid. p. 6.

the same basic type is discovered. The real women have been fitted into the Madonna mould, even when this hardly seems appropriate, as with La Gravida's heavy pragmatism, which shows through, even in this idealisation. From Leonardo onwards, hair was more and more simply done, tending towards a central parting, a veil or perhaps a circle of pearls. This simplicity linked up with the idea of humility and lack of vanity. La Valetta's sumptuous white and gold costume, which she seems to hold onto her, has a definite sensuous quality, which is carried through in the expression of the eyes, so that one has a provocative image, which still maintains a certain middle-class decorum and the required modesty. La Gravida on the other hand shows the ideal of the middle-class-mother-to-be. She is solid and dependable, without being too capable or domineering. The soft heavy face and snood are echoed by the weight of the shoulders and arms, which lead the eye to the hand on the swollen stomach. The rich reds, gold, black and cream of her costume, give an impression of solid, unostentatious wealth.[1]. These women have no part in the high world of Humanism. They are the handmaidens, mistresses, mothers and wives of men who form and shape the world. They are far from the powerful goddesses like Francesca's and equally from the dignified Madonnas of Giotto. They lack the mystery of the Mona Lisa and the grace and elegance of Botticelli's women. They are ideal, not ordinary, in their ordinaryness, fitting, as they do, the sweeet unassuming and accepting feminine type which Raphael did so much to create. He created the type which came from his imagination, but it was also the type in the imagination of the society in which he worked, which accounts for his great popularity in his life time and his continuing popularity, as it is evident that this sweet submissive image of woman is still part of society's image today.

Looking at the portrait and genre images against a background of the religio-mythological ideal, it will be seen that there was a tendency to press real women into the mould of the ideal. Certainly the choice of beauties was made against these models, so that the delicate Simonetta was adjuged the beauty of Lorenzo Medici's time, because she came so close to the etherial, somewhat unhealthy ideal visualised by Botticelli in both his religious and mythological paintings. Never-the-less, some women stand out as individuals, partly because of their strength of character and partly because of their being painted by more sensitive artists, such as Leonardo and Francesca.

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1. Antal, op. cit. p. 285.

However hard even artists like Raphael tried to change real women to suit the ideal, there is a certain persistent reality which keeps coming through, so that La Gravida remains stubbornly and solidly middle-class, rather than becoming a Virgin-Venus surrogate. It is this difference between the 'real' images and the 'ideal' which grows as we look at the images from Giotto and Masaccio to Lippi. Botticelli and Raphael and indicates how far removed from the real lives of women, even upper-class women, the helpless girlish ideal was.

CONCLUSION.

Taking the evidence presented in the paintings studied, it becomes clear from looking at the religious, mythological and portrait images of women, that there was no 'renaissance' for women. Contrary to Burkhard's view, that equality was not mentioned because it was self-evident,[1] it is obvious that women were being placed in the protective and constricting confines of the home and urged to emulate the Virgin in humility and the Venus in sweetness and beauty. This trend went together with similar tendencies in working conditions, legislature, religion and literature. all of which showed woman her more and more circumscribed place. In this time of social upheaval, there was a predictable cultural backlash, which changed the image of women in paintings. As O'Faolain and Martines say. "when an age is in the grip of serious social maladies, we do well in our studies to look to women first, particularly if their lot seems to be improving, for their special burdens are apt to issue to hysterias which will brand and victimise some of them."[2]

The changes are neither linear nor progressive, shifting back and foreward from artist to artist and from period to period. The genuises, Giotto, Masaccio, Francesca, Da Vinci and Michaelangelo stand to some extent outside their time. Though Giotto and Masaccio undoubtedly echo the solid middle class values of their times and Gaddi, Monaco, Lippi, etc., echo the return to the more aristocratic tendencies. Francesca probably painted such strong images of women, not only because of his personal attitudes, but because he was somewhat isolated from the trends in Florence and open to earlier social influences. Botticelli appears to have been an artist who was emotionally swayed from one extreme to the other and one who would therefore be capable of and willing to create the desired types. This can be seen in his Venuses which fit humanist ideals and Virgins. which fit the churches. These two ideal types, in his work, are not far apart.

Leonardo is of course, a magnificent exception, and it must be in some measure due to his intelligence that he was capable of seeing real women, as much in his Madonna images as in the classical. Though the ideals do creep in, they do not take over. Also, his images of women must have been partly influenced by his personal experiences as a child, which led to his idealisation of the mysterious and somewhat threatening feminine.

Michaelangelo's private life also had an influence on his images of women. His homosexuality led him in the direction of ignoring female qualities, so that

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1. Chapter 1. p. 1. footnote 5.
2. O'Faolain, J. Not in God's Image, p. 192.

the strongest of his female figures can hardly be help up as examples of female types, as there are merely male figures with female appendages. But even Michaelangelo catered to the desired image of sweet submissive woman in his attempt at the ideal woman of the family in the Doni Tondo.

The difference between the two foregoing artists and Raphael, is that Raphael created the images which exactly mirrored his time, which is why he bacame so famous, so young. The sweet, submissive girl was his ideal as much as it was theirs.

The three categories of paintings have been discussed against a background of social conditions and the following general trends have been noted.

In the religious paintings, the Madonna comes down off her throne, down from heaven, to sit on stools and then on the ground. She moves from being a queen, even a goddess, and becomes a humble girl worshipping her child and being submissive and obedient. Parallel to this we have the rise of the figure of Joseph, from being not seen, he moves slowly into the frame and finally, as in Raphael's Holy Family and the Doni Tondo, takes the central role.

The classical ideal of woman in mythological themes in painting and literature, supported the bourgeois ideal of the woman at home, confined by her status as homemaker and removed from competition with men in the realms of work and politics. The themes chosen move towards more and more passive renderings of active types and towards themes which show women as more passive. The Andromeda theme is an example of this. Seeing both ancient Christian women and pagan women depicted in the same passive, dependent way, must have had the effect of convincing most women and men that this was the natural place and role of woman.

Never-the-less, in the portraits, we come closer to seeing upper-class women as they must have appeared in the period. Working-class women are seldom represented, but the glimpses one gets of them, would seem to indicate that they were less vulnerable to the pressures of society towards a sweet- submissive type than their middle and upper-class counterparts. The portraits are subtly influenced by the ideal types, both religious and mythological, but they give us more of an idea of the real women who were facing the changes of the period. A greater degree of strength and individuality is seen in this section than in the previous one.

This essay shows that Renaissance paintings in Florence demonstrate a diminution of women's power as compared to the earlier period (1300 to mid- 1400's

as compared with the late 1400's to the early 1500's). The same change can be seen in all spheres of society and its endproduct became so established, that the new images of woman was seen as natural. The early images and those of Francesca, particularly, show that there are other ways of being female and the myth of equality for women in Florence is shown for what it is.

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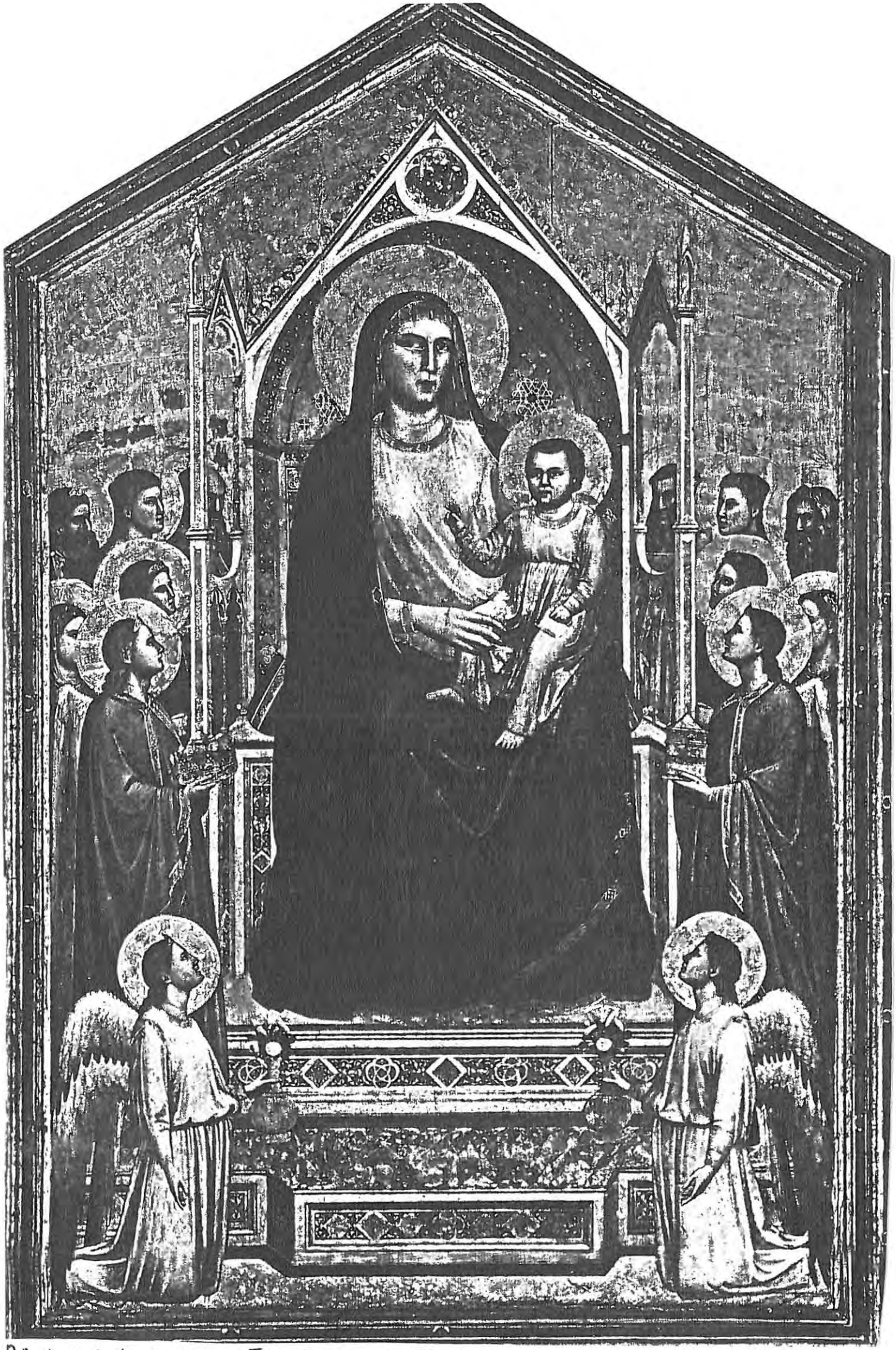
Giotto. Madonna on Crucifix (Detail) Florence



Attributed to Giotto. The Ognisanti Madonna Florence.

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Giotto Annunciation Arena Chapel

Giotto The Visitation Arena Chapel

Daddi Madonna and Child Orsan Michel

Daddi Madonna + Child Edinburgh

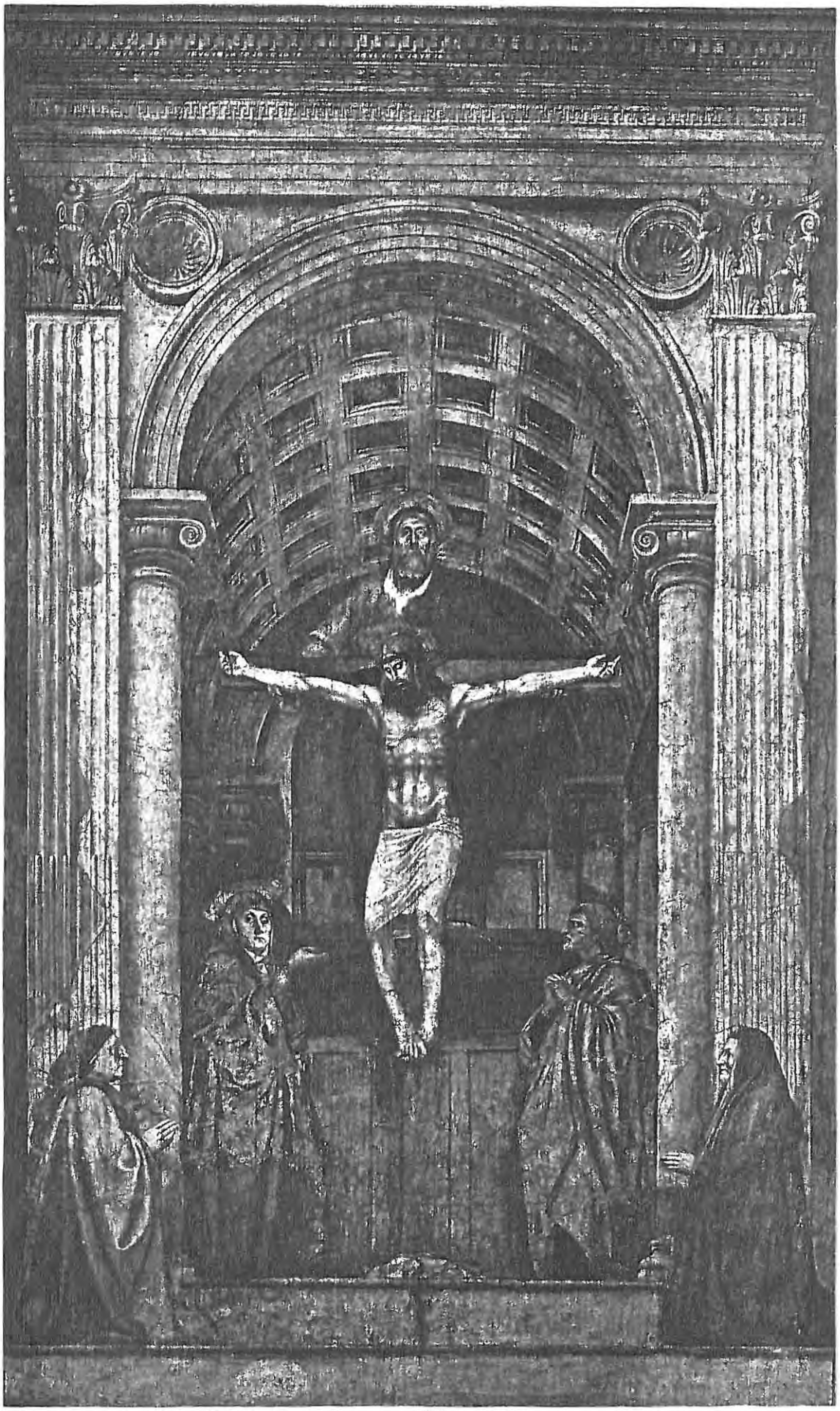
Daddi Crucifixion (Detail) Edinburgh.

Lorenzo Monaco Madonna + Child (Ed.)

Lorenzo Monaco The Coronation of the Virgin
(Detail) National Gallery.

School of Angelico · Madonna and Child Oxford

Fra Angelico Madonna and Child Rijks



Masaccio The Trinity Florence.

Masaccio Adoration of the Kings Berlin

Fra Angelico The Annunciation (large) Florence

Fra Angelico. (Detail of large Annunciation)
Head of the Virgin

Fra Filippo Lippi (Ascribed to) The Virgin and Child. National Gallery

Fra Filippo Lippi The Annunciation National Gallery

Piero della Francesca The Nativity National Gallery

Piero della Francesca. The Misericordia Madonna (Detail)

Verrocchio Madonna and Child Berlin

Sandro Botticelli. Mary with Child and Singing Angels. Berlin.

Botticelli Madonna of the Magnificat (Detail)

Ghirlandaio Our Lady Enthroned Florence

Ghirlandaio — The Visitation — Florence

Leonardo da Vinci Virgin of the Rocks London

Leonardo da Vinci The Virgin of the Rocks
(Detail) National Gallery.

Michaelangelo The Doni Tondo Florence.

Raphael The Bridgewater Madonna Edinburgh

Raphael. Madonna with Child and Young St John Berlin.

Raphael The Holy Family Edinburgh

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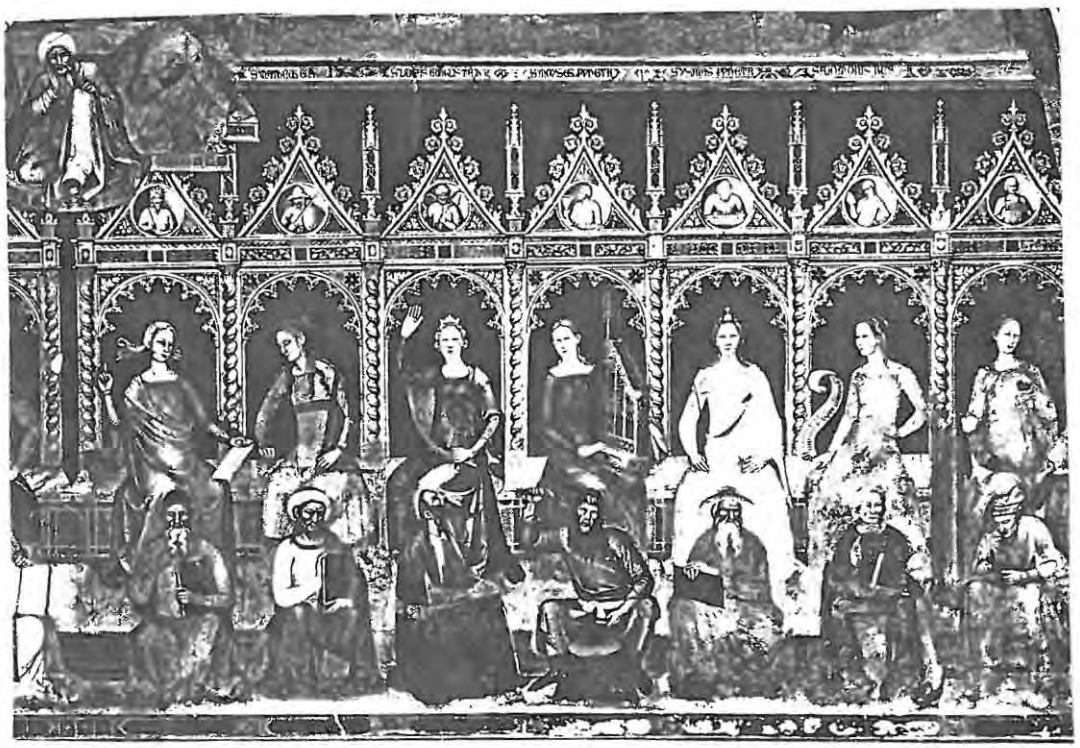
iotto The Virtues and Vices Arena Chapel, Padua.



Andrea da Firenze The Liberal Arts Florence

Andrea da Firenze Dancing Musicians (Detail)

Orcagna Last Judgement (Detail)

Andrea da Firenze Detail of Spanish Chapel Florence

Gozzoli Nativity (Detail - Angels)

Orcagna Last Judgement (Detail)

Paulo Uccello St George and the Dragon National Gallery

Follower of Fra Angelico The Rape of Helen by Paris. National Gallery.

Botticelli Primavera Florence

Botticelli The Primavera (Detail) The Three Graces

Botticelli Drawings for the Devine Comedy Berlin

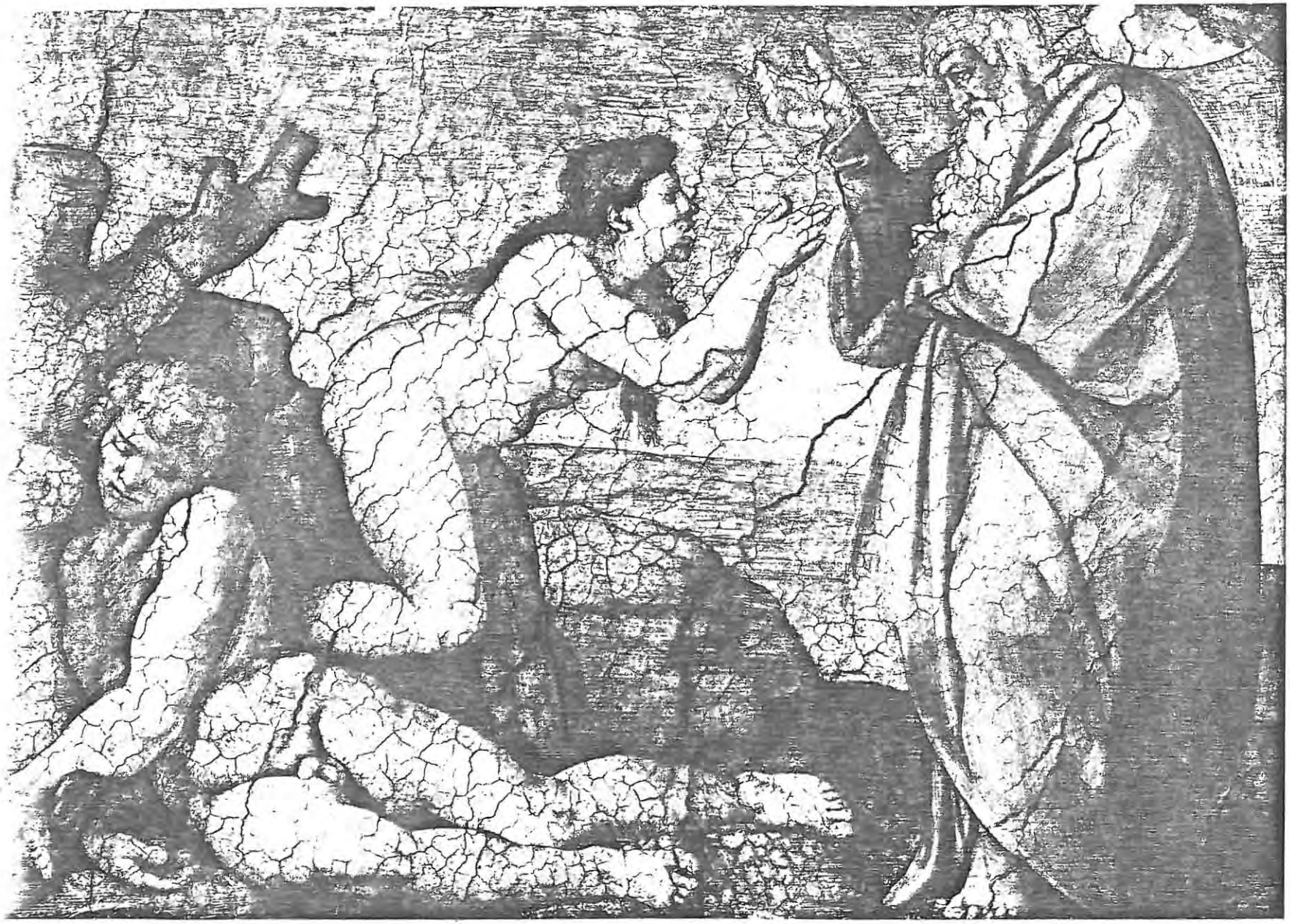
Botticelli Drawings for The Devine Comedy Berlin

Leonardo da Vinci Leda and the Swan. Windsor

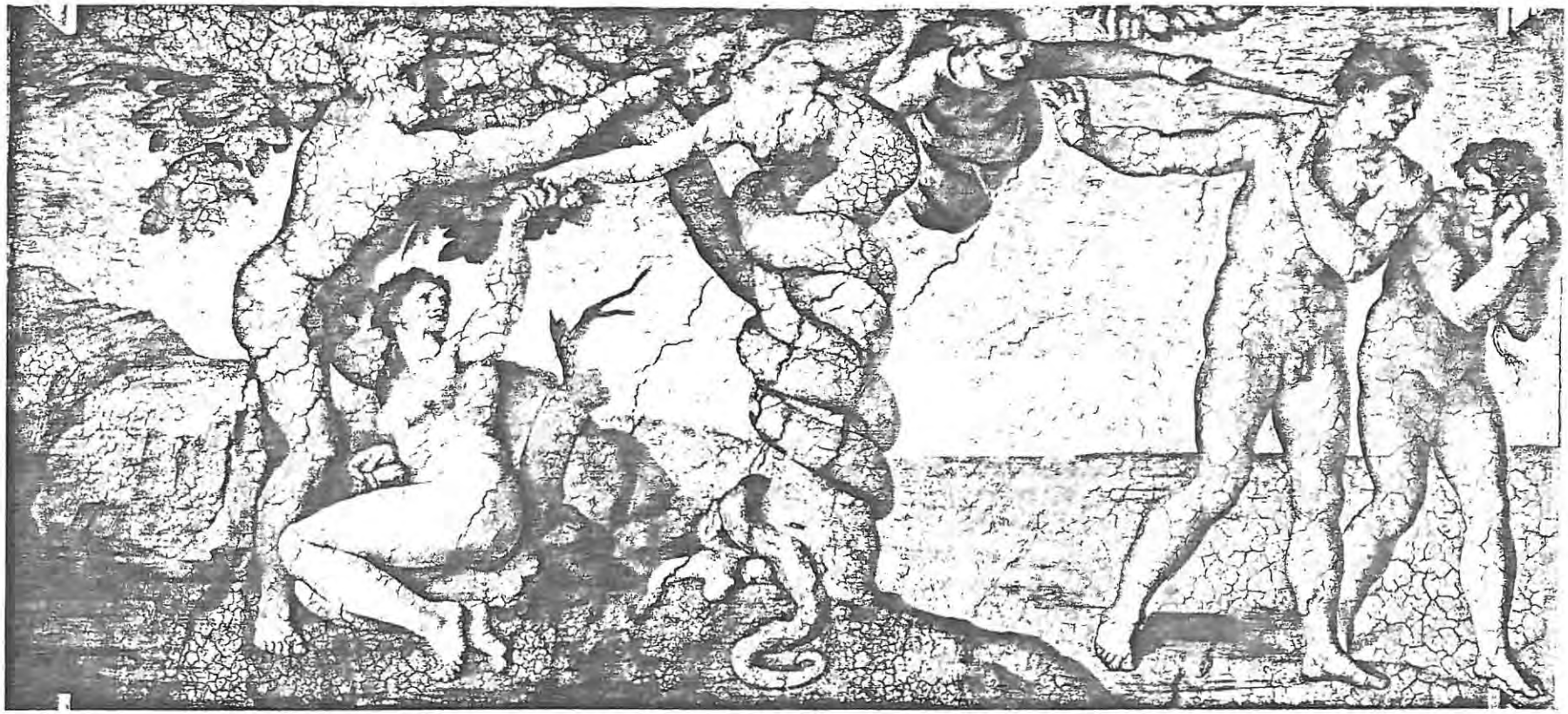
Filippino Lippi Allegory of Music Berlin

Piero di Cosimo The Fight Between the Lapiths and the Centaurs (Detail) National Gallery

Piero di Cosimo A Mythological Subject. National Gallery.



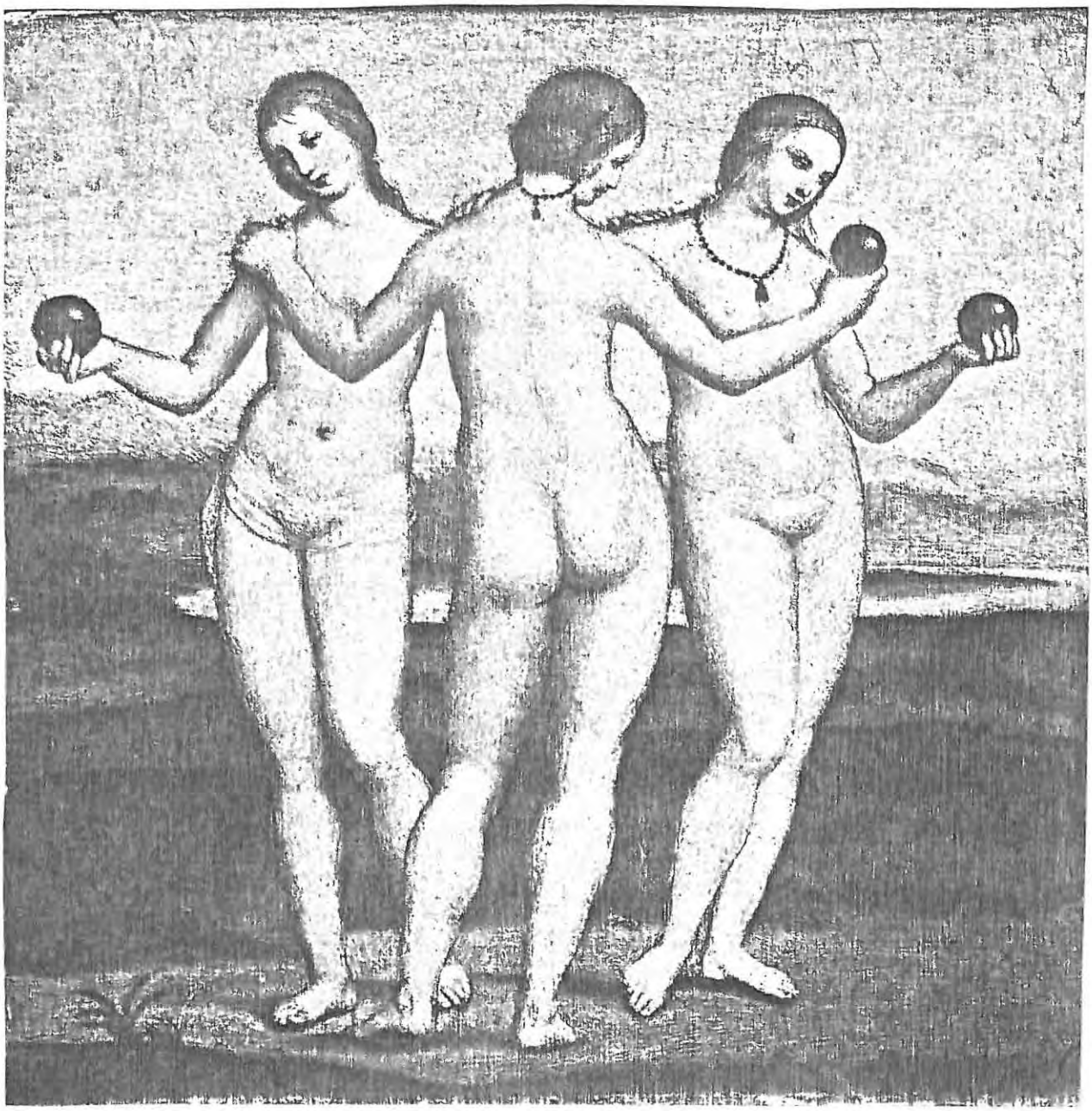
Michaelangelo The Creation of Eve Sistine



56. THE FALL OF MAN AND THE EXPULSION FROM THE GARDEN OF EDEN. 1509–1510. Section of the Sistine Chapel Ceiling

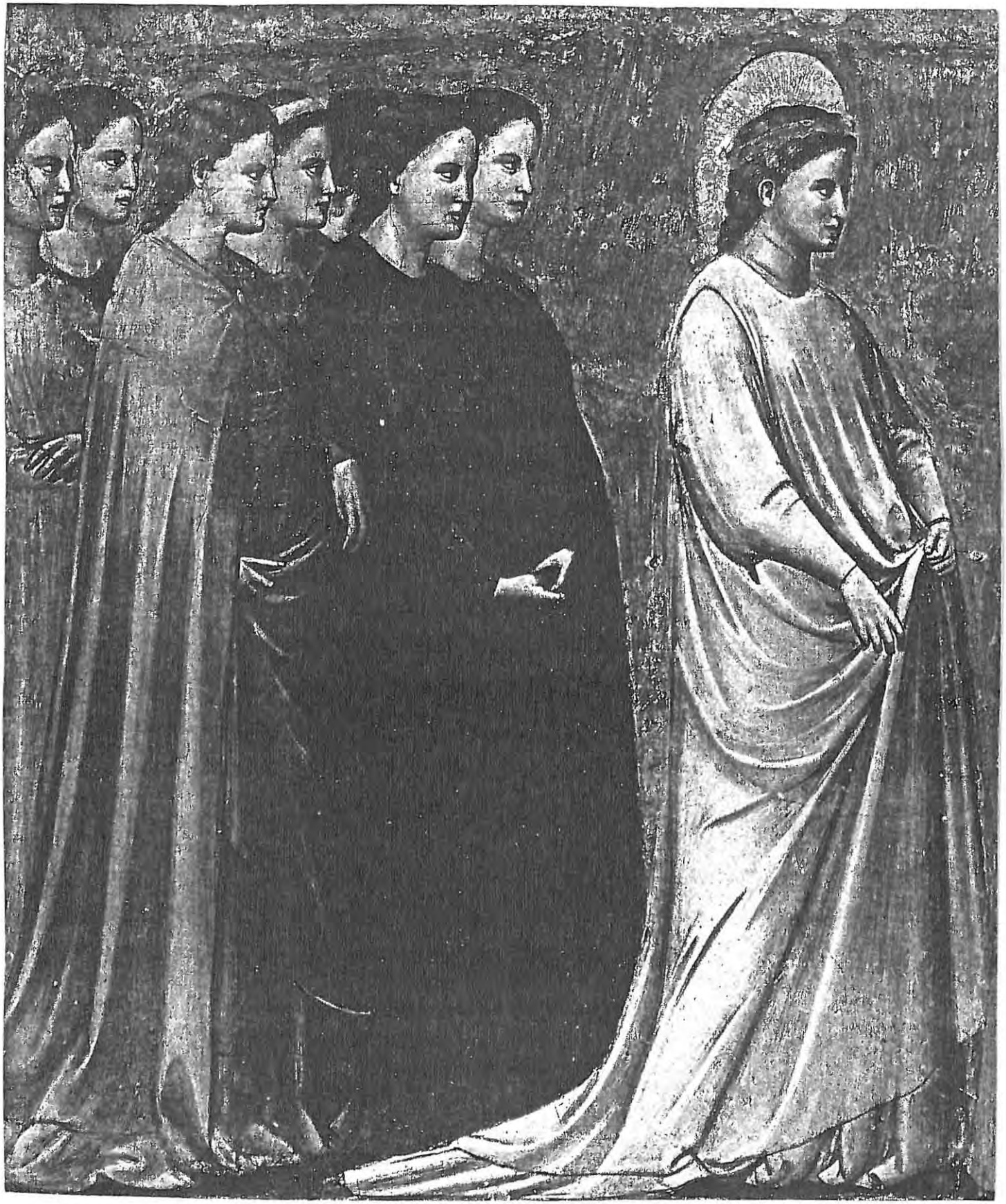
Michaelangelo

Michaelangelo The Cumaean Sibyl Sistine. Rome



Raphael. The Three Graces Chantilly

Giotto Annunciation - St Anne . Arena Chapel



Giotto. Marriage of the Virgin Arena Chapel, Padua.

Orcagna Last Judgment (Detail . The Chosen)

15th Century Cassone Edinburgh.

15th Century Cassone Edinburgh

Masaccio Birth of the Virgin Berlin

Masaccio Birth of the Virgin (Detail)

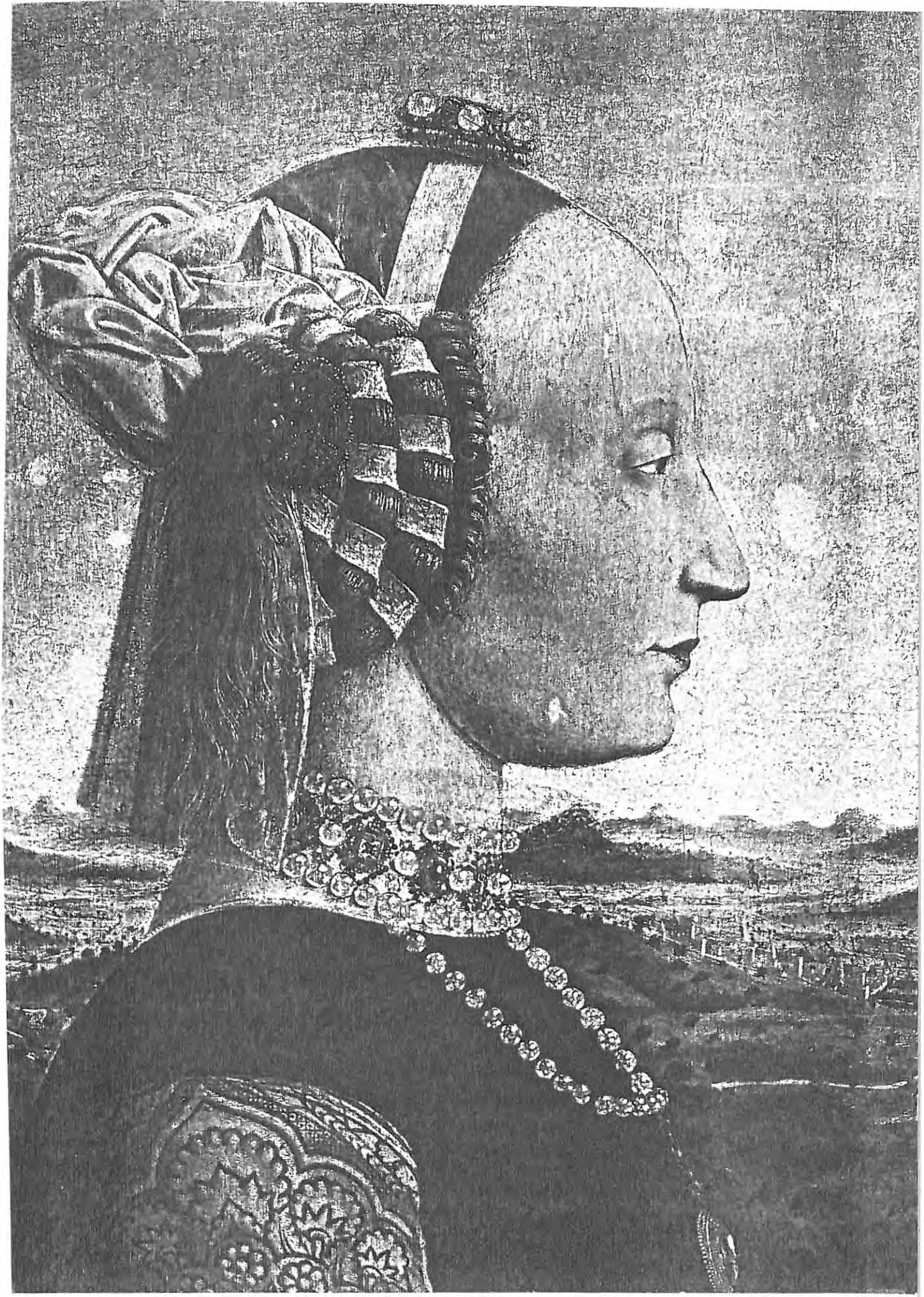
Alesso Baldovinetti Portrait of a Lady in Yellow. National Gallery.

Antonio del Pollaiuolo Profile Portrait of Young Woman Berlin

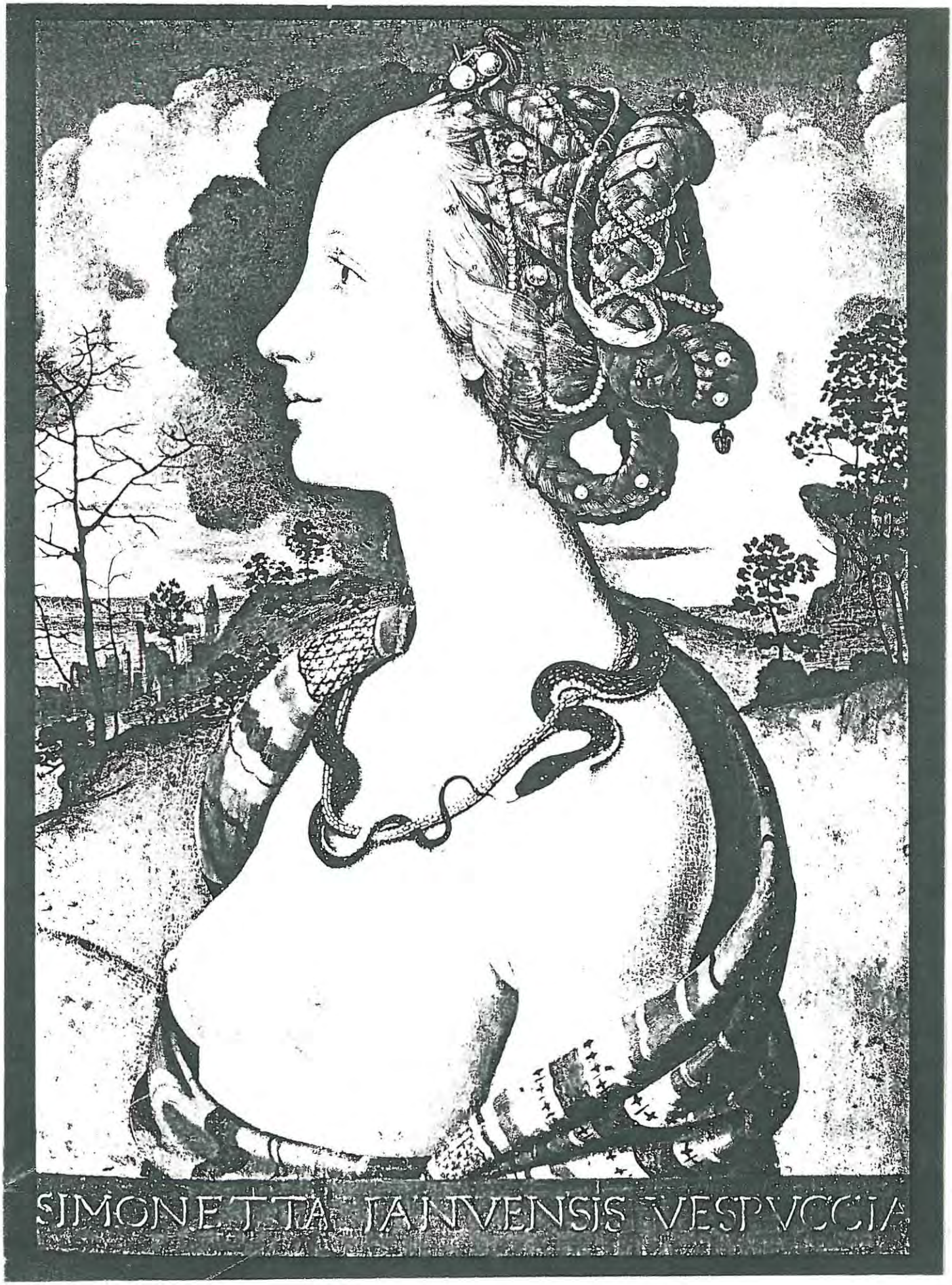
Antonio del Pollaiuolo Profile Portrait of Young Woman Berlin

Fra Filippo Lippi · Profile Portrait Berlin

Sandro Botticelli. Profile Portrait of a Young Woman. Berlin



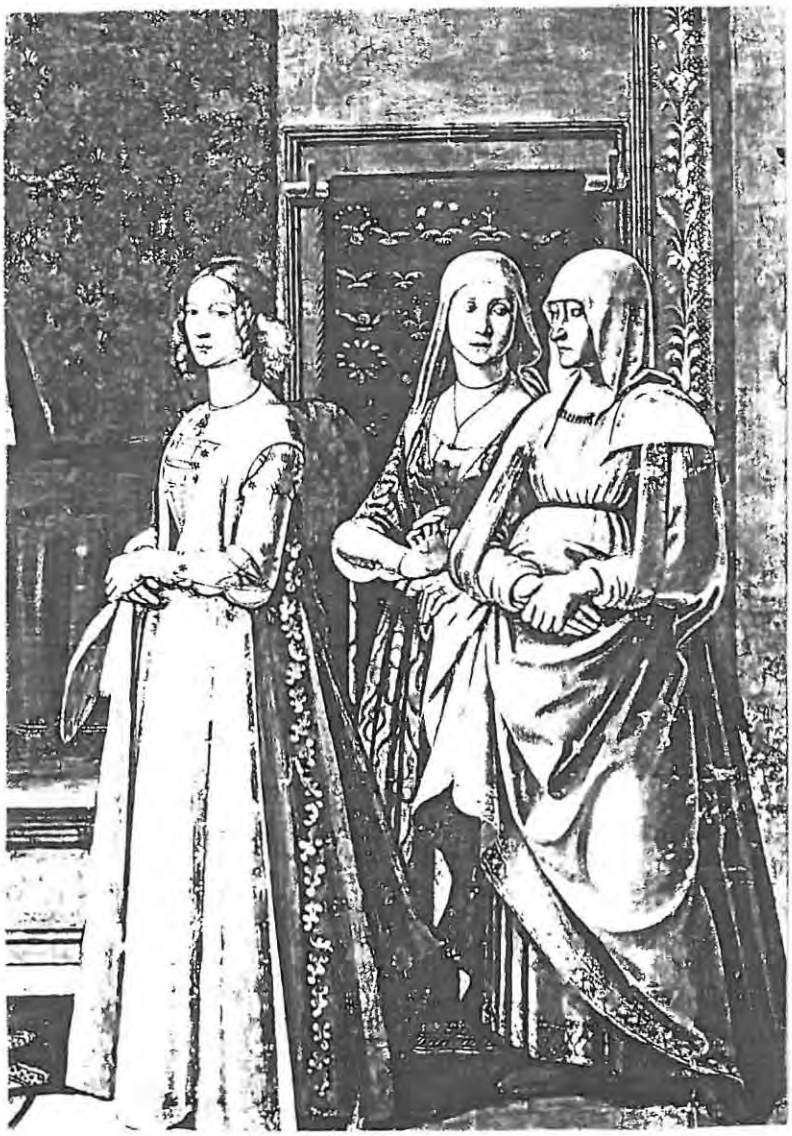
Piero della Francesca Profile Portrait of the Duchess of Urbino



Piero di Cosimo Portrait of Simonetta as Cleopatra

Piero di Cosimo Portrait of a Florentine Lady as St Mary Magdalen

Ghirlandaio The Birth of St John the Baptist. Florence



Ghirlandaio Detail - Ladies in Waiting

Ghirlandaio Detail - Serving Maid

Ghirlandaio (Studio) Portrait of a Girl N. Gallery

Leonardo da Vinci Portrait of a Lady (Ginevra de' Benci)

Leonardo da Vinci The Mona Lisa

Raphael La Gravida