

Preface to the New Edition	vi
Introduction	2
1 “In the Presence of Her Father”	16
2 “The Most Affectionate Disciple”	48
3 The Image of Learnedness	74
4 The Image of Teaching	98
5 Spain	118
6 Painting and the Education of Daughters	146
CATALOGUE	155
Notes	287
Bibliography	309
Index	342
Photography and Copyright Credits	345
Acknowledgments	347

INTRODUCTION

In 1546, a girl of perhaps fourteen, accompanied by her younger sister, left her father's home in the small Lombard town of Cremona to begin a formal training in painting. By 1550, that girl, Sofonisba Anguissola, would be famous throughout her region as a student. As a young adult, and continuing into old age, she would be an internationally known teacher. Though her career coincided almost exactly with the emergence of a new literature that focused on the education of women and with the rise of academies that challenged the traditional training of painters, Sofonisba's concern with education—which was effectively a concern with what it meant to be an artist—sets her apart from all of her contemporaries and predecessors. Her painting and drawing, and the responses they provoked, offer visual evidence for a history of learning that has largely been approached as a history of texts.

In recent decades, Sofonisba has been celebrated above all as a self-portraitist, and no wonder: it is frequently observed that she produced more self-portraits than any other European artist in the century that separated Dürer and Rembrandt. This extraordinary sequence of pictures—nearly all of them made in the 1550s, when Sofonisba was entering adulthood—has allowed the artist to serve as a preeminent illustration of a persistent historical idea, that the Renaissance in Italy was the moment and the culture in which the individual became self-aware.¹ A painting such as the one now in Vienna (fig. 26), signed *se ipsam fecit* (“she made this herself,” or perhaps “she produced herself”), declares that the work not only represents a singular person but also derives from an autonomous creator. The activities with which this and other self-portraits associate Sofonisba—reading, writing, playing music, along with painting—represent elected, serious pursuits, signs of personal accomplishment. Staring out from the painting, displaying its inscription

25 (facing page) Sofonisba Anguissola, *Self-portrait* (detail of fig. 26)



Sophonisba
Augustola
Virgo.
Seyffan
lectr
1554

for the viewer to read, she appears to seek glory, celebrity. Mary Garrard brilliantly summed up this view of the artist with her classic title “Here’s Looking at Me.”

Still, there are reasons to ask whether this is the kind of history into which the artist is best written. If the history of Renaissance art is essentially a history of individual excellence, Sofonisba must be the exception that proves the rule, a digression from a narrative in which all the other protagonists are men.² Some writers have even questioned whether she really was as excellent as all that.³ At a more practical level, such a framework is undermined by the archive available for making sense of her paintings. Sofonisba was literate and famous; even so, it has not been possible to establish with certainty such a basic fact as the year of her birth. With many men of her time—who entered contractual agreements, corresponded with contemporaries, expressed views on various subjects in writing, and produced public works that spurred comment and debate—surviving materials allow the reconstruction of a rich artistic personality. Though skilled local researchers have been on the case for decades now, this has nevertheless proved impossible with Sofonisba. Though her life was as eventful as any Renaissance painter’s, her narrow range of subject matter—overwhelmingly portraits, along with some images of the Holy Family—did not lend itself to the expression of personal experience.

A shift of emphasis allows a different set of distinctions. Sofonisba was, for example, the first known artist in history to take her siblings and her parents as her primary subjects. She may have painted the first group portrait featuring only women (fig. 27). She was among the first to make portraits of individuals from the lower ranks of society. She was the rare artist to have engaged in extensive artistic exchanges with no commercial concerns attached. She was the earliest known woman artist that young men and women alike sought out as a teacher. All of these statements describe relationships—relationships on which Sofonisba depended, but also relationships that she frequently celebrated in her work.

Here it is worth noting that even as Renaissance art historians have continued to tell stories of personal achievement, historians of medieval and early modern women have frequently turned attention from individuals to relationships: marriages, households, social groups, networks. The textual record around Sofonisba lends itself well to this kind of study. Giorgio Vasari mentions Sofonisba in his life of Properzia de’ Rossi but devotes more attention to her in a section on Lombard artists, associating her with the circle of the Campi family. He introduces her alongside

26 (facing page) Sofonisba Anguissola, *Self-portrait*, oil on panel, 19.5 × 12.5 cm, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, 1554 (cat. 20)





27 Sofonisba Anguissola.
The Chess Game, oil on
canvas, 72 × 97 cm,
Muzeum Narodowe, Poznań,
1555 (cat. 15)

her three sisters, identifying their parents and remarking on the family's status in their hometown of Cremona. He reports virtually nothing about her life, devoting the latter half of his discussion to a series of quotations from correspondence between Sofonisba and the pope.

The best modern literature, similarly, has tended to find company for Sofonisba. The pioneering exhibition that Ann Sutherland Harris and Linda Nochlin curated in 1976 placed Sofonisba alongside other women painters, and a show opening in October 2019 at the Museo del Prado pairs her with Lavinia Fontana. Two essential monographs both have the title “Sofonisba Anguissola and Her Sisters.”⁴

Sofonisba's paintings may themselves encourage such an approach—not because women by nature painted differently from men but because early women artists frequently looked to one another for examples. Two



of Sofonisba's most important early self-portraits, notably, closely resemble the signed and dated self-portraits painted by Catharina van Hemessen just a few years before (figs. 28, 29).⁵ Vasari may have conflated the two artists in his mind when referring to "Caterina Anguisciucola" in the 1550 edition of his *Lives*. (The seventeenth-century Spanish writer Antonio Palomino, similarly, would refer to "Sofonisba Gentilesca," confusing her with her Roman successor Artemisia.⁶) All of Sofonisba's painting, moreover, is densely imbricated in the Renaissance culture of imitation. The well-informed Cremonese writer Alessandro Lamo reports that Sofonisba and her sister Elena studied first with the painter Bernardino Campi and then with Bernardino Gatti. Sofonisba in turn taught painting to her younger sisters Lucia (b. 1537/42), Minerva (b. 1543/46), and Europa (b. 1545/50), who in turn taught Anna Maria (b. 1555). The paintings that the sisters made in the 1550s are confusingly similar in form and subject, a testament to the fact that techniques mastered by one sister passed to the others and to the fact that the sisters took one another as subjects.⁷ Some of the pictures are signed, but a number of the works that have most interested modern writers are

28 (above left) Catharina van Hemessen, *Portrait of Christina van Hemessen at the Keyboard*, oil on panel, 30.5 × 24.3 cm, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum and Fondation Corboud, Cologne, 1548

29 (above right) Catharina van Hemessen, *Self-portrait at the Easel*, oil on panel, 32.2 × 25.2 cm, Kunstmuseum, Basel, 1548

30 (right) Sofonisba Anguissola, *Self-portrait* (in the past identified as a portrait of Minerva Anguissola), oil on canvas, 36 × 29 cm, Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan, ca. 1560 (cat. 10)

31 (facing page) Sofonisba Anguissola, *Self-portrait* (in the past identified as a portrait of Lucia Anguissola), oil on canvas, 81 × 63 cm, Spencer Collection, Althorp, ca. 1559 (cat. 1)



of uncertain authorship.⁸ It may well be that the paintings should not be attributed in their entirety to an individual. It would hardly be surprising if one sister used a now-lost drawing by another as the basis for a painting, or if one sister added touches to another's works.

Confounding things further is the fact that the sisters resembled one another (figs. 30, 31).⁹ Studies of portraits nearly always start with the identification of the sitter; art historians want names for their captions. Yet at a moment when great court portraitists were learning to adjust





32 Sofonisba Anguissola, *Portrait of a Nun (Elena Anguissola?)*, oil on canvas, 68.5 × 53.3 cm, City Art Gallery, Southampton, 1551 (cat. 17)

their subjects' features to emphasize family resemblances, it is possible that minor nobles like the Anguissolas sought to do the same.¹⁰ Modern viewers, noticing changes to physiognomy even across portraits that are close in date, must decide whether the paintings point to different subjects, different means of production, or different authors.¹¹

Many of Sofonisba's secure surviving works, finally, seem inextricable from a conception of her family.¹² One of her two earliest surviving pictures is generally taken to be a portrait of her sister (fig. 32). Her earliest surviving self-portrait may well be a drawing that shows her in the company of her brother. The isolated self-portraits could have been expanded into or extracted from the larger groups. The inscription on the painting now in Poznań, meanwhile, suggests that group portraits could be made from isolated drawings.

More broadly, the language that Sofonisba's contemporaries, her family members, and she herself applied to her pictures was a language of relationships. One sign of her status was the fact that her family proudly used

its surname—something not true, by contrast, of Raphael and Leonardo, who have come to be named for their cities of origin. When her inscriptions use the name Anguissola (which she kept even when appending the surname of her second husband, Lomellino), they link her to a noble clan. Frequently she signed herself “virgo,” a characterization that announced her unmarried status and implied her residence in the family house. Elsewhere, she also identified herself as the “daughter of Amilcare” on her paintings (as did her sisters Lucia and Anna Maria).¹³ The Poznań painting bears an inscription describing it as a representation of “three of her sisters.” A letter from Francesco Salviati to Sofonisba’s teacher Campi referred to her as his “fattura,” his creation. She described herself as Campi’s “discepola,” his disciple.

The present book centers on Sofonisba, but it looks at her paintings as an expression of such relationships. The bonds on which it focuses were complex in nature, and it is not always easy to separate the affectionate from the dutiful. The book proposes, nevertheless, that it is illuminating to consider connections that can be described as pedagogical: that between the daughter and the father who determined or allowed her to be educated as a painter; that between the student and her teacher, Bernardino Campi; that between Sofonisba and the interregional community she could access through her education; that between Sofonisba and her own students, including her younger sisters and, later, the queen of Spain.

Extraordinary as Sofonisba was, she was not the only unusual character in her story. Amilcare Anguissola was probably the first father in Cremona, and perhaps the first in Italy, to place his daughters in the household of a painter who had no blood connection to the family. Bernardino Campi may have been the first local painter, and among the first anywhere, to accept female students. Philip II was not the first king in history to invite a woman artist to reside at his court, but he was unusual in this respect. His young wife, Isabel de Valois, was the earliest known member of a royal family to study painting. Each of these figures played a part in shaping the kind of art Sofonisba made, and each of them had an investment in her success. A discussion of Sofonisba’s education broadens our sense of why her paintings mattered, how, and to whom.

Sofonisba may be most famous for her contributions to the new genre of the independent self-portrait, but she also produced important examples of another new form, the independent family portrait. Indeed, her oeuvre shows the two genres to have been inextricable from one another. The “identity” her works helped to construct were a family no less than an individual identity. Her paintings offer clues to the way she

thought about her relationship to her father, her sisters and, perhaps, her mother. They also make it possible to say something about her work's importance *for* others, particularly her father.



All of this, at least, is what has drawn me—for personal no less than professional reasons—to Sofonisba's art. Yet my attempts to understand her work have been driven not just by fascination but by doubt. The most fundamental of my doubts concerns the basic historical record: what did she paint? To answer such questions, one usually begins by consulting the authorities. However, well-informed writers have offered dizzily inconsistent versions of Sofonisba's overall corpus. Fewer than a quarter of the works captioned with Sofonisba's name in the last monograph to appear on her in English are certainly by her; nearly half would be rejected by most specialists today. Other recent attempts to provide full overviews of her career are equally unreliable.¹⁴ The range of views, moreover, is extraordinary: at one extreme, her painting has been difficult to distinguish from that of the fine, precise manner of Alonso Sánchez Coello; at the other, serious scholars have identified her as the author of one or two flashily brushed paintings traditionally assigned to El Greco. It is impossible not to be struck by how different the selection of illustrations can be from one book or article on Sofonisba to the next. And indeed, few major artists in history have left a more nebulous oeuvre.¹⁵ Around seventeen of her paintings have uncontested signatures. Several other paintings and drawings are mentioned by contemporaries, including Vasari, who visited the family home. Then there is a group of works on which previous viewers report having seen inscriptions that no longer exist, in whole or in part. These paintings vary widely in style and quality; it is difficult to believe that they are all by the same hand. They must be assessed on a case-by-case basis. Last, there are the scores of works that have been attributed to Sofonisba mostly on the basis of comparisons with other accepted works by her. The attributions range from plausible to risible. It is telling that in recent years, unsigned, undocumented paintings have sold under Sofonisba's name for as little as \$19,650 and as much as \$348,500.¹⁶

To date, there has been little intersection between the scholarly literature that sets out to interpret Sofonisba's painting and the (sometimes more controversial) trade literature that seeks primarily to identify her hand. Value and price are, of course, different matters, but it is impossible

to keep them fully apart. For one thing, any historian interested in Sofonisba as an artist and author must work from beliefs about which works are by her and which are not. For another, the responses of copyists and imitators to Sofonisba's art offer their own historical evidence, which few scholars have considered as such.

In reading through the existing literature and examining paintings myself, I have inevitably formed my own opinions. But it would be presumptuous to represent my views as anything more than that—opinions—which differ in some cases from those of scholars who know the material exceptionally well. In the chapters that follow, consequently, I will sometimes abandon the single story in favor of a group of counter-narratives: competing accounts that seem consistent with the facts even while contradicting one another.

These narratives will reveal that my doubts extend from the facts I know to my way of framing them. The intuition holding the book together is that the theme of teaching and learning is doubly useful when approaching Sofonisba's work: it helps get at Sofonisba's interests while also taking more account of the relationships that mattered for her art. Still, this premise is unsettling. When Sofonisba signed herself "virgo," she was not merely acknowledging that she lived in her father's house but also announcing that she was independent of a husband. If I look especially at Sofonisba's collaborative relationships, at her place in a family, am I somehow diminishing her individual achievement, even assigning her a stereotypical "female" role? Should I worry that the attribution of paintings associated with women artists sometimes breaks down along gender lines, with the women and men who view the pictures today seeing things differently?¹⁷

With regard to the question of authorship, readers will have to draw their own conclusions; the catalogue with which the book concludes will allow them to see where the views of different scholars have aligned or split. As for the broader issue, perhaps this is a moment to question whether "male" and "female" were such rigid categories where Sofonisba was concerned. Throughout her childhood and adolescence in the family house, Sofonisba had no brothers; she would have witnessed no difference in her parents' treatment of male and female children. She devoted herself to an activity that was in her time almost exclusively associated with men. At least at times, she dressed in a way that set her apart from contemporary women of her class. She never faced the traditional duties associated with motherhood. From 1559 on, she provided a significant income for her father. And at least two of her signatures suggest some

resistance to gender norms. In the small self-portrait now in Boston, the inscription begins SOPHONISBA ANGVSSOLA VIR: “Sofonisba Anguissola, man.” Only if we infer that her thumb covers up the letters “go” does the “man” become a “maiden.”¹⁸ And a painting now in Althorp—seldom seen but universally assigned to Sofonisba—bears a now fragmentary inscription, which Thomas Martyn read in 1760 as “Sophonisba Anguisciola virgo se ipsum pinxit iussu Ami ... patris” The pronoun *ipsum*, like the noun *vir*, describes the subject as male.

To be sure, Sofonisba’s education looked different from that of some male contemporaries. She did not make studies after the nude model and did not witness dissections. The awkward recessional lines represented by the edges of her depicted table surfaces suggest that she had not carried out exercises in linear perspective. She could not travel independently to other cities to study different regional traditions, nor could she go to the fields outside Cremona to draw landscapes. Her paintings were more likely to be praised for their lifelikeness than for the imagination they required. When we see Sofonisba making painting after painting of her own face or of the faces of her family members, it may seem claustrophobic, a reflection of her confinement to the house. Michelangelo is said to have admired especially a portrayal by Sofonisba of a laughing girl and to have challenged her to portray a crying boy, yet the specialist in portraiture was also constrained by the range of expression she could show. Portraiture itself was a narrow field—one, significantly, that Michelangelo tried to avoid altogether.¹⁹

This was Sofonisba’s obstacle race. To dwell on these limitations, nevertheless, aligning Sofonisba with a “female” practice, is to represent her career in unnecessarily negative terms. To be sure, Sofonisba lived during a boom of publications on the education of girls.²⁰ Yet it seems just as illuminating to compare her education to that of the gentleman artist, likewise a new category in her day. Yes, she specialized in portraiture, but then so did the Leoni family, the best sculptors from her region. She spent most of her life in the Spanish realm; in that world, which attracted Titian, if not Michelangelo, portraiture was the prestige genre. Yes, Sofonisba worked within the confines of the home, but then so did most Renaissance artists. Her teacher was a man, and there is no indication that he taught her any differently than he did his male students. The strategy of making portraits for powerful people in order to win their favor was one that ambitious men had pioneered.²¹ Later generations of male students would look to her for guidance.²²

This book, in short, proposes that Sofonisba's painting should not *only* be approached as the work of a "woman artist," whatever that was in Renaissance Italy.²³ One can ask of Sofonisba's paintings many of the same questions one would ask of any other Renaissance work. Conversely, the question of educating women to be painters was a question not just for women but also for men. No Renaissance woman could learn to paint without the consent of the man who headed her house. And few Renaissance women could learn to paint without a professional agreeing to train them. Four decades of literature have taught Renaissance scholars to ask whether Sofonisba was a feminist. But they can also ask the same of her father, her teacher, and her king.

CHAPTER 1 "IN THE PRESENCE OF HER FATHER"

NOMEN OMEN

Born out of wedlock in 1494, Amilcare Anguissola had been raised in Cremona by his father and stepmother.¹ Though he traveled extensively in the region, he spent most of his life in his native city, participating actively in civic affairs. He had a house in town—ample but not especially large by local standards—and some properties in the surrounding countryside. He had inherited a bit of money. A devout man who wrote openly about his opposition to those trying to spur Reform movements in the region, he was involved with local churches, particularly Cremona Cathedral and S. Sigismondo—roles that brought him into contact with the best local painters. He had connections to the Spanish rulers in Milan and had traveled to help find provisions for Charles V's troops.²

At the age of around sixteen, Amilcare had married Bianca Pallavicini. A little more than two decades later, around the year 1532, he married a second time. How the first marriage ended remains a mystery; the literature on Sofonisba often states, without providing documentary evidence, that Amilcare divorced his first wife because she could not have children.³ His second wife, Bianca Ponzone, was the daughter of a local count. She had been raised by her uncle Ponzino Ponzoni, a contemporary of Amilcare whom he knew both professionally and from their service together on the town council.⁴ Ponzone was wealthy, among the richest men in the city, but he did little to help his daughter and son-in-law, withholding even the dowry to which he had agreed.⁵ Nevertheless, the relationship between Amilcare and Ponzone was good enough to encourage them to go into business together around the time the two families joined, trading in manuscripts and paper goods.⁶ This was the first in a series of ventures into which Amilcare would enter, none of which proved to be

33 (facing page) Sofonisba Anguissola, *Self-portrait* (detail of fig. 40)



very successful. In September 1535, he opened a cheese shop. In March of 1541, it was a pharmacy.⁷ He and Bianca produced a large family—six girls and a boy—whom he struggled to support.⁸ The children grew up in a household that was increasingly impoverished.

Amilcare's father had been named for the Carthaginian general Hannibal, and he himself bore a name shared by a number of Carthaginian leaders, including one believed to have led an invasion of Cremona.⁹ With their firstborn, Amilcare and Bianca followed two generations of practice, giving their daughter a name of Carthaginian nobility.¹⁰ The Sofonisba of antiquity had been celebrated by Livy and others both for her beauty and for her efforts to advance the interests of her family and country.¹¹ Married to seal an important political alliance, she ultimately poisoned herself to escape imprisonment.¹²

Sofonisba was followed about two years later by another girl, whom the parents called Elena, a name shared by Amilcare's stepmother and sister, though surely it pleased them that Helen, too, featured in the stories of the ancients.¹³ The third child they named after Bianca's mother, Lucia. The next two names, Minerva and Europa, they took from Roman myth.¹⁴ It was almost two decades after Sofonisba's birth, in 1551, that Amilcare and Bianca had their first and only son. In calling him Asdrubale, they returned to their initial practice, drawing once again on the Carthaginian histories that had provided names for the first daughter, the father, and the grandfather.¹⁵ When the final child, Anna Maria, arrived in 1555, she joined a family in which five of her six predecessors had been given ancient names.

In the early 1550s, Elena moved to Mantua to join a Dominican convent, where it was common practice for women to take new names as a demonstration that they belonged to a new family.¹⁶ Elena elected to call herself Minerva, surprisingly associating herself with a pagan deity even as she committed herself to a Christian life. Choosing the same name that her parents had given to her younger sister was likely a gesture of sororal affection. It also suggests the importance that wisdom and craft—Minerva's domains—held for the Anguissola daughters. More generally, it indicates the literacy that characterized the entire Anguissola house.

Amilcare and Bianca did not approach the naming of their girls much differently from that of their boy. The ancient namesakes of Sofonisba, Elena, and Europa were all famous beauties, but then Livy had written of the most famous ancient general Hasdrubal that he became the favorite of his father, Hamilcar, "owing to his personal beauty as a boy."¹⁷ The girls' names, meanwhile, pointed to expectations of learning and ambition,

evident in the longer history of artists appellations. Tellingly, most of the early modern Italian women who are known to us today as painters were raised with famous names. Teodora Danti (b. around 1498) may have been named after a saint, though her learned father, who had changed the family name from Rinaldi to Danti in honor of Dante Alighieri, would surely have known the Greek hero Teodora as well.¹⁸ Giovanni Battista Ghisi gave his daughter (b. 1535) the name of the mythical huntress and nature goddess Diana. Irene di Spilimbergo (b. 1540) was probably named for a Greek painter celebrated by both Boccaccio and Pliny. Lavinia Fontana (b. 1552) was named after the wife of Aeneas, founder of Rome, who governed an empire in her widowhood. The forebear of Artemisia Gentileschi (b. 1593) was a legendary patron of architecture, the inventor of the mausoleum. While the occasional male artist, too, received a secular name, there is nothing like this phenomenon.

AMILCARE'S DECISION

The date of Sofonisba's birth has been a matter of long debate. When Antony Van Dyck met Sofonisba in Palermo in 1624, he reported that she was ninety-six years old.¹⁹ As this would place her birth before her parents' marriage, however, most scholars have dismissed Van Dyck's testimony, proposing that Sofonisba was born in the early to mid-1530s.²⁰ More certain is the date Sofonisba began her training with Bernardino Campi. Alessandro Lamo, who was writing in Cremona and knew both Bernardino and the Anguissola family, reports that Campi began to teach drawing to the sisters in 1546.²¹

Putting this together, it is possible to imagine Amilcare, around the year 1546, with three, perhaps four children, all daughters, the oldest about fourteen, the youngest newly born. Amilcare himself was about fifty-two years of age, well past the typical life expectancy of his time.²² He had given the two eldest daughters names of historical luminaries. He had seen that they were taught to read and to perform music.²³ Presumably they had done some painting—perhaps under the instruction of a visiting tutor—and had exhibited natural talent. And then he made what all of Sofonisba's biographers single out as a crucial paternal decision: he arranged for Sofonisba and Elena to be trained professionally.²⁴

Surely the seventeenth-century biographer Pietro Paolo di Ribera was right when inferring that Amilcare opened this path because he valued education, regarding painting as an esteemed form of knowledge.²⁵

Amilcare had seen his friend and contemporary, the Cremonese legal scholar Agostino Gallerati, celebrated for educating his daughter Partenia.²⁶ At the same time, the names Amilcare and Bianca had given their children suggest a concern for lineage. Perhaps, as Amilcare considered the possibility that he would never have a son, he looked to his daughters to carry forward the memory of the Anguissolas. Still, the witness closest to the family is again Lamo, and as he tells the story, it was Sofonisba and Elena who asked for a teacher: seeing “nobility” in his daughters’ desire to learn, Amilcare responded favorably to a request the two of them had made.²⁷

Lamo’s language here also points to the broader concerns bound up with the decision. Amilcare’s own status—a bastard, married into a family more elevated than his own, of noble bloom yet known around town as a salesman, dependent on commerce for his precarious livelihood—was ambiguous. He was in the kind of position that could make evidence of cultivation matter. Surely he knew that while few girls in his time painted, texts and images had for decades characterized the practice of art as a courtly one.²⁸

Whatever the case, the extraordinary decision he made meant sending the girls to work and perhaps live with a painter, outside the family house.²⁹ Such was the normal practice for apprentices, whose parents would pay the master who took them on, and who would spend their days learning all aspects of the craft—in the case of painting, grinding pigments, making brushes, preparing canvases, drawing. It was most unusual for a noble family to do this with a child, however, and it was unprecedented for such a family to do this with its daughters.³⁰ A century later, Ridolfi would say that the chief reason girls had little aptitude for noble pursuits like painting is that they were “reared in the confines of the home.”³¹ For Jacopo Tintoretto’s daughter Marietta to travel the city—as any painter needing examples for imitation had to do—she had to dress as a boy.³²

Surely one reason that parents avoided sending their daughters to live with other painters is that such workshops could be dangerous places—witness the horrors that befell Artemisia Gentileschi when she went to learn perspective from Agostino Tassi. Still, it is possible that those passing through the Anguissola house raised their own concerns, and Campi seems to have been a man of the highest probity.³³ The girls remained with him until Campi himself broke off the arrangement, leaving Cremona for Milan in 1549. At that point, the story becomes murkier. For about a year, the two girls may have ceased their formal

training altogether. Then in 1550, they both began studying under an older artist, Bernardino Gatti.

By 1557, and probably years earlier, Elena had taken orders and entered the convent. She left no signed or documented paintings. Sofonisba, by contrast, devoted herself to painting, teaching her younger sisters while also producing the group of pictures for which she is now best known. From early on, Amilcare sent examples of her work to powerful men and women. A letter of 1556 from Amilcare to Ercole II d'Este, the Duke of Ferrara, refers both to a self-portrait by Sofonisba that accompanied the letter and to other portraits he had sent "many years before" to Gerolamo Somenza, the duke's seneschal.³⁴ In 1557, he sent a painting by Sofonisba to Margherita Paleologo, the duchess of Mantua, asking her to deliver it to Eleonora Gonzaga della Rovere.³⁵ He promised another to Annibale Caro. Vasari reports that Amilcare sent pictures to Pope Julius III as well and that the archdeacon of Piacenza owned one of Sofonisba's portraits.³⁶ A letter from Tommaso Cavalieri indicates that Michelangelo received at least two drawings from Sofonisba's father. By 1559, Amilcare was also corresponding with King Philip II in Spain.

What was Amilcare after in these exchanges? Decades ago, it seemed possible to imagine that the father, sending about portraits of his daughter, many of which included inscriptions that announced her virginal status, was thinking about her marriage.³⁷ Indeed, Amilcare told a neighbor that in the 1550s he had been seeking a husband for Sofonisba; his attempts failed because he was too poor to provide a dowry.³⁸ Nevertheless, the connection between portraiture and nuptial negotiation is not so clear. While portraits were indeed used to arrange marriages, the practice appears to have been limited mostly to rulers.³⁹ Such portraits, moreover, did not function as solicitations, but rather conveyed information to parties whose union was already under discussion. Though early writers extolled Sofonisba's beauty, and though more than one man fell in love with her, Amilcare could not have taken it for granted that Sofonisba's skill as a painter would have made his daughter a more appealing bride.⁴⁰ Numerous early writers regarded intellectual activity on the part of women as incompatible with marriage, and women themselves sometimes resisted marriage for just these reasons. One moving testimony is Cassandra Fedele's sympathetic letter to the poet Alessandra Scala, noting that Alessandra was of two minds, whether to give herself to the Muses or to a man. Giuseppe Betussi wrote of Cassandra herself that "she accompanied [her] arts with her virginity, which she also

maintained bright and pure, not wishing ever to take a husband in marriage.”⁴¹ Centuries later, Lione Pascoli wrote much the same about the painter Teodora Danti: “But a woman endowed with such spirit and ornamented with such virtues did not wish ever to subjugate herself to a husband, and so she determined to remain in freedom with her father, whom she loved from the bottom of her heart for as long as she lived.”⁴² Early writers on Sofonisba, too, sometimes associated her commitment to painting with the fact that she had no children.⁴³

Pascoli described the woman’s pursuit of painting in her father’s home as a form of liberation. No source relating to Sofonisba in her child-bearing years suggests that she ever desired to marry; she may well have preferred painting to the dangerous and demanding prospect of becoming a mother. But that does not mean that she had a choice. Entering a convent, as Elena did, was in part a way for a family to avoid the cost of a wedding. Lucia died unmarried at the age of twenty-eight. Minerva likewise died unmarried. To announce that Sofonisba, though of marriageable age, had chosen to pursue art instead, spared the family a financial burden while preserving the father’s honor.

FAME

In circulating the pictures Sofonisba had made, Amilcare and his daughter both seem to have been interested less in a match than in fame.⁴⁴ The Anguissola girls had come of age at just the moment when fame was a condition to which women no less than men, daughters no less than their fathers, could aspire. The first Italian edition of Boccaccio’s *On Famous Women* had appeared in 1506. This was one of the places that Amilcare could have read of his daughter’s namesake; indeed, it would have been an excellent resource for a parent who wanted ideas for names. Four of Amilcare’s six girls had names shared by Boccaccio’s protagonists.

What’s more, the way the book was read and used changed during Sofonisba’s youth. In 1545, Giuseppe Betussi brought out a version that added to Boccaccio’s original collection the lives of distinguished women who had lived after Boccaccio’s time, including Isotta Nogarola, Ginevra Gambara, Veronica Gambara, and Vittoria Colonna. One year before Sofonisba and Elena entered Campi’s shop, that is, Betussi had demonstrated that “famous women” was an expandable series. These were also the years in which publishers were printing the first collections of women’s writings. Suddenly, the girl who wanted to be famous, or the father who wanted that for her, had living models.⁴⁵

Amilcare circulated Sofonisba's paintings in the knowledge that the literary canon newly included women as well as men. Yet he did so also in the knowledge that Sofonisba's family bonds were lineal rather than conjugal. The fame of the daughter reflected on the father. Boccaccio's life of the ancient Greek painter Irene remarked that were it not for her fame, her father would hardly be known.⁴⁶ Similar remarks shaped early perspectives on Sofonisba. Ribera began his biography of the painter this way:

Signor Amilcare Angosciola, the Cremonese nobleman—whose father and uncle served the Dukes of Milan in most honorable offices and were always esteemed and praised from every side during their lifetimes, especially in the city of Cremona, as gentlemen of great respect and valor, having continually been charged with civic tasks for the well-being of all, handled these with great prudence and to everyone's satisfaction—this Amilcare married Signora Bianca Ponzona, a Cremonese noblewoman, descendent of the Counts Ponzoni, ancient feudal lords of the said city. From this marriage were born six girls and one boy, namely, Sofonisma [*sic*], Helena, Lucia, Minerva, Europa, Anna Maria, and Asdrubale. And because Amilcare was a lover of knowledge and virtue, he wished for his daughters to occupy themselves in such things as well, and Sofonisma thus pursued various things, especially music, letters, and above all painting.⁴⁷

As Ribera saw it, Sofonisba's best qualities reproduced those of her father. She was an image of *his* knowledge, proof of *his* achievement. Through her, *he* found fame.

But Ribera may have had it backward: in retrospect, it is difficult to discern whether Sofonisba's paintings resulted in her fame—and her father's—or reflected it. Already in the 1550s, she had been depicted in a portrait medal, suggesting that she was known as a painter even to people who had not seen her works. And from the beginning, Sofonisba and her father appear to have been aware of fame's most distinctive new visual form: the gallery series. Around the middle of the century, the best known of these was the one that Paolo Giovio was assembling at Como, just sixty miles away from Cremona, though locals were beginning to put these together as well.⁴⁸ There can be little question that Sofonisba's portrait practice bore some relation to such collections. In 1578, Alfonso Ciacón commissioned Lavinia Fontana to paint a self-portrait, to serve as a pendant to a portrait of Sofonisba that he already owned, for the gallery of five hundred famous men and



34 Cristoforo dell'Altissimo, *Vittoria Colonna*, oil on panel, 59 x 44.5 cm, Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence, 1552/89

women he was assembling in Rome.⁴⁹ Though Ciacón's image of Sofonisba may have been a derivation rather than a work of her hand, he was likely not the first to use her face in this way. Annibale Caro's letter to Amilcare stated that there was nothing he desired more than to have a portrait of Sofonisba, so that he "could simultaneously show two marvels together, the work and its maker."⁵⁰ That he indicated an interest in *showing*, not just seeing, Sofonisba's double attraction implies a context of display, one that emphasized distinctive achievement. Several surviving portraits of Sofonisba that seem to date close in time to her Cremona period include inscriptions of the kind found on other images of the illustrious (fig. 34).⁵¹ Even the inscriptions that do not resemble those on portraits made for galleries of famous men and women feature elements that evoke this emerging practice. The specification that Sofonisba

hailed from Cremona, for example, aligns with a mentality that classified regions by the products for which they were known.

The phenomenon of the portrait gallery helps make sense of two distinctive aspects of Sofonisba's self-portraits. The first is their seriality. If it is the case that she was producing them in part because her father encouraged this or because collectors like Caro sought after them, the question arises as to what her contemporaries were doing with all of these pictures. The second is their formulaic nature. In the case of artists like Dürer and Rembrandt, who repeatedly took up the self-portrait as an independent subject, the painter gives us a window onto momentary circumstances or imagines himself into an unexpected role. With Sofonisba, the pictures often conform to well-established types: "women musicians," "literate women," and above all, "women painters." The women's roles that the paintings depict are the same enumerated in a poem like Giovanni della Casa's "Tosto che sente esser vicino il fine": "Just as some are excellent in battle, so are others in sewing gold, others in painting, others in music, while others wrote so well that their names endure eternally."⁵²

AMILCARE'S PRESENCE

The most common attribute Sofonisba appended to the inscriptions on her paintings was "virgo." Sofonisba and her father would have known that fame was linked to reputation. Stories of illustrious women past regularly emphasized their chastity—indeed, the preservation of chastity in the face even of violence was something for which many women were famous. The inscription tells the viewer what to make of Sofonisba's appearance in various pictures, with simple dark garments, netted hair, and closed collar.⁵³

Yet the epithet "virgo" also implied that Sofonisba was still living in her father's house, a circumstance likewise implied by her inclusion of the surname she shared with her father. Though Sofonisba appears to have depicted her father only once, he is present in other ways throughout her early paintings.

One of these is the Poznań *Chess Game* (figs. 27, 35), with the inscription "SEPHONISBA ANGVSSOLA VIRGO AMILCARIS FILIA EX VERA EFIGIE TRES SVAS SORORES ET ANCILAM PINXIT : M·DVL" ("by the maiden Sephonisba Angussola [*sic*], daughter of Amilcare, painted from the true effigies of three of her sisters and of her maidservant, 1555") (fig. 36). The painting contains

35 (following pages)
Sofonisba Anguissola,
The Chess Game
(detail of fig. 27)







36 Sofonisba Anguissola, *The Chess Game* (detail of fig. 27)

elements that would later become fundamental to genre pictures: the table tipped toward the viewer, the inclusion of a nonnoble character at right.⁵⁴ This has led writers to emphasize the narrative element of the portrayed scene, even to imagine that Sofonisba recorded a game that took place before her.⁵⁵ The phrase *ex vera effigie . . . pinxit*, however, sooner suggests a kind of montage, based on earlier drawings or paintings that were themselves done from life. In this respect, the painting alludes to the portfolio of portraits that Sofonisba and her sisters must have made of one another.

Women painters in the generations after Sofonisba often specialized in representations of nature, notably still-life painting, and Sofonisba's own exclusive focus on portraiture might seem to align her with this norm.⁵⁶ The inscription on the Poznań painting, however, subtly pushes in a different direction: to say that the painting was derived from other pictures is to emphasize its status as a composition, an invention.⁵⁷ Once the picture is seen not as a record of an event at which Sofonisba had been present but as a purposeful construction, the decisions that went into its making are everywhere in evidence. A halo-like reserve remains behind the head of Minerva, at right, an indication of uncertainty about just how the girl's head should be placed. Ghostly traces of pink paint in front of the same girl's raised arm show that the whole arm was repositioned once and her raised index finger probably a second time. Equally curious is the prominent pair of trees, uncomfortably close to the two figures at left. The one behind the head of young Europa at center left recalls a device promoted by Leonardo da Vinci, whereby the portrayed face would be set against a dark background to intensify the chiaroscuro

and thus the effect of three-dimensionality. Odder is the tree at left, which, from what is shown of the trunk, appears to be colossal. A recent x-ray of the painting revealed that in the course of finalizing her composition, Sofonisba deleted a figure that she had originally painted there. Placing a tree in that location allowed her to obscure the head with a dark tone.

The decision to include oak trees specifically cannot have been arbitrary. The rooks on the board take the form of acorns, and they number three, corresponding to the number of daughters the painting includes. Landscape and gameboard together emblemize the father-daughter relationship spelled out in the painting's inscription. Then there is the broader environment, which is unusual given the subject matter: all other sixteenth-century paintings of game-players are set indoors. Though evocative of her region of Lombardy, the mountains are rather too close to the river to represent anything that could be seen in the Po Valley, where Cremona lies. Part of the attraction of painting such a scene must have been that of demonstrating that she had mastered another Leonardesque motif. Yet combined with the carpet draped over the table, the painting's elements also evoke a particular kind of domestic space—namely, the extension of an urban residence, a private garden like the one in the Anguissola house where the sisters must have passed much time.⁵⁸

In the 1550s, that house had become a destination for travelers. This is evident in the first place from the artists and intellectuals who sat for Sofonisba: a Dominican astrologer, the poet Giovanni Battista Caselli, at least two canons. Annibal Caro, writing to Amilcare in December 1558, comments that he had gone to Cremona "only to visit your lordship's house," adding that a single visit was not enough.⁵⁹ A painting now in Burghley House which appears to include the same carpet featured in *The Chess Game* shows a man whose identity has never been established, though he wears the clothes associated with men of letters.⁶⁰ Vasari, who describes the Nivaagaard painting in the 1568 edition of his *Lives*, must have seen it on his visit to Amilcare in Cremona two years earlier.⁶¹ This suggests that the painting was in the Anguissola house, perhaps even that it was made for the house.⁶² Vasari's description remarked on the "gifted sisters, so much enamored of every rare art, and in particular of the matters of design, insomuch that the house of Signor Amilcare Anguisciola, father of a fair and honorable family, appeared to me the home of painting, or rather, of all the arts."⁶³ Vasari, it should be noted, may not actually have encountered any of the girls he praised. By the time he traveled to Cremona, Elena was in a convent, and Sofonisba was

(continued...)

INDEX

- Alberti, Leon Battista, 103, 302n26
- amateurs, 77–79, 89, 98–101, 137
- Anguissola, Amilcare, xvi, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16–47, 48, 74, 79, 80, 85, 88, 96, 98, 100–101, 108, 132, 167, 169, 173, 275, 285, 286, 290n9, 291nn6, 8, 13, 16, 22, 23, 292nn28, 29, 34, 294nn58, 68, 69, 295n91, 296n96
- Anguissola, Anna Maria 7, 11, 18, 23, 147, 163, 189, 210, 290n13, 292n23, 293n47, 296n96; paintings historically attributed to, cat. 113
- Anguissola, Asdrubale, 10, 18, 23, 40–45, 82, 87, 100–101, 111–13, 146–47, 293nn23, 47, 58, 295nn89, 93, 296n95, 305n62; images of, figs. 48, 93, cat. 13
- Anguissola, Elena, xv, 7, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 29, 90, 290n8, 291nn13, 16, 21, 292n27, 293n47; alleged depictions of, fig. 34, cats. 7, 70
- Anguissola, Europa, xxii, xxx–xxxii, 7, 18, 23, 28, 45, 80, 85, 86, 87, 291nn8, 14, 293n47, 294n61, 296n96, 300n23, 307n20, 308n34; paintings by: *Portrait of Bianca Schinichelli*, xxviii–xxxv, fig. 17, *Calling of Peter and Andrew*, xxix–xxx, fig. 18; paintings historically attributed to, cats. 57, 102, 107, 113, 148, 151; possible authorship of Uffizi portrait, xxxiv–xxxvi; possible depictions of, figs. 9, 10, 11, 35, 83, cats. 8, 15, 113
- Anguissola, Lucia, xviii–xix, xxii, xxiv, 7, 8, 11, 18, 22, 23, 30, 55, 57, 82, 86, 87, 94, 96, 107, 108, 159, 160, 163, 168, 169, 170, 171, 179, 180, 187, 188, 199, 207, 211, 213, 215, 222, 227, 228, 230, 232, 233, 239, 244, 253, 289nn7, 8, 290nn9, 13, 293n47, 295n91, 296n96, 300nn24, 26, 301n48, 302n18, 308n34; paintings by: *Portrait of Europa Anguissola*, fig. 11, *Portrait of Pietro Manna*, fig. 14; paintings historically attributed to, fig. 100, cats. 25, 30, 44, 55, 56, 57, 67, 68, 82, 104, 106, 117, 123, 164, 169, 173, 208; alleged depictions of, figs. 31, 35, cats. 15, 31, 44, 82, 104, 131; possible depictions of, 287n27
- Anguissola, Minerva, xx–xxiv, 7, 8, 18, 22, 23, 28, 30, 40, 44, 45, 80, 82, 86, 87, 105, 108, 118, 121, 289n8, 291n14, 295nn89, 93, 296nn94, 95, 96, 299n15, 301n47, 302n25, 308n34; alleged depictions of, figs. 30, 48, 83, 84, cats. 10, 14, 44, 55, 57, 113, 195; possible depictions of, figs. 8, 9, 10, 35
- ANGUISSOLA, SOFONISBA: date of birth, xiv, 287n15, 291n20; and genre painting, 25–28, 86, 104, 128, 293n54, 302n27; and landscape, xxxvii, 14, 29, 43, 45; manner of dress, 50–54, 57, 66–67, 89–94, 115, 134–35, 298n33, 301n41; and music, xx, 2, 19, 23, 83–84, 86, 89, 90, 97, 105, 114, 152–53, 289n3, 292n25, 300n26, 303n37; name of, 18; painting technique, 67–73; sense of humor, 105–15; signatures of, xv, xix, xliii, 10, 11, 13, 14, 25, 28, 30, 32, 33, 56–57, 58–59, 69, 82, 128, 294nn66, 68, 69, 74; and smiling figures, vi–ix, 82, 87, 89, 103, 109–10, 116, 140–41, 287n5
- ANGUISSOLA, SOFONISBA, paintings by: Burghley House portrait, 29, 296n101, cat. 18
The Chess Game, viii, xviii, xx, xxiii, xxvi, xxix, xxxvii, 4, 6, 10, 11, 25–30, 33, 43, 45, 56, 73, 80, 82, 86–89, 90–91, 94, 103, 108, 110, 113–14, 140, 168, 291n14, 292n29, 293n54, 300n20, 302n15, figs. 9, 27, 35, 36, 83, cat. 15
Family Portrait, xx, xxiii, xxvi, xxxvii, 29, 40–45, 46, 82, 105, 132, figs. 1, 10, 48, cat. 13
Giovanni Battista Caselli, cat. 9
Giulio Clovio with a Miniature, xlii, 29, 37, 295n80, fig. 43, cat. 41
Holy Family with Saints Anne and John the Baptist, 149–50, fig. 125, cat. 7
Infanta Catalina Micaela (London), 305n36, cat. 39
Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia (Turin), 305n36, cat. 38
King Philip II, 126, 128, 129, figs. 115, 116, cat. 35
Maria Lactans, 149–50, fig. 124, cat. 6
Massimiliano II Stampa, x, xlii–xliii, 40, 43, 45, 132, 139–40, fig. 47, cats. 25, 68, 169
Portrait of a Canon Regular (Brescia), 30, 33, 56, fig. 37, cat. 5
Portrait of a Dominican Astrologer, 29, 32, 287n16, fig. 39, cat. 19
Portrait of a Lateran Canon, xv–xviii, fig. 5, cat. 22
Portrait of a Nun (Elena Anguissola?), xv, 10, 33, fig. 32, cat. 17
Portrait of a Woman (Bianca Ponzzone?), xxx–xxxii, 33, 56, 73, 82, 107, 108, 115, 132, 302nn15, 19, figs. 19, 77, 99, cat. 2
Portrait of a Woman (Uffizi), ix, 118–22, figs. 3, 109, cat. 30

- Queen Anne of Austria*, 129, 142, fig. 114, cat. 34
- Queen Isabel de Valois* (Vienna), 124, 128–29, 142, figs. 112, 123, cat. 21
- Self-portrait* (“Ashburnham Medallion,” Paris), xxxvii, 57, 288n53, fig. 58, cat. 14
- Self-portrait* (Boston), 14, 33–39, 45, 54, 56, 60, 79, 83, 86, 96, 288n53, 299n14, figs. 33, 40, 81, cat. 4
- Self-portrait* (Brera), xxiii–xxiv, 8, 118–21, 296n101, 297n11, 298n33, 303nn2, 7, figs. 13, 30, 108, cat. 10
- Self-portrait* (Chantilly), xxxvii, xliii, 122, figs. 107, 118, cat. 27
- Self-portrait* (Rome), xviii, xxxiii, 56, 57, 288n53, 297n11, figs. 6, 21, and 57, cat. 16
- Self-portrait at the Easel* (Łańcut), xxxiii, 63, 69–73, 83, 90, 249, 288n53, figs. 51, 65, cat. 32
- Self-portrait at the Keyboard* (Althorp), xviii–xx, 8, 32, 33, 54, 86, 114, 122, 207, 247, 252, 289n8, 294n68, 298n33, figs. 7, 33, cat. 1
- Self-portrait at the Keyboard* (Naples), xx, 30–31, 83–84, 288n53, 303n2, fig. 38, cat. 12
- Self-portrait with a Book* (Vienna), xxxiii, xxxvii, 2, 33, 54, 56, 57, 62, 83, 86, 90, 91, 94, 288n53, 298n33, 300n24, 301n50, figs. 25, 26, cat. 20
- ANGUISSOLA, SOFONISBA, drawings by:
- Boy Bitten by a Crayfish* (Naples), 100–103, 111–13, 300n28, 302n25, cat. 11
- Woman with a Book* (Uffizi), 94, 288n53, figs. 78, 89, cat. 30
- Young Woman Teaching an Old Woman to Read*, 109–13, frontispiece, fig. 101, cat. 8
- ANGUISSOLA, SOFONISBA, frequently ascribed works:
- Alessandro Farnese*, xliii, cat. 29
- Isabel de Valois Holding a Miniature of Philip II*, xliii, 129–30, 139, 140–41, 142, fig. 116, cat. 33
- Isabella Clara Eugenia* (Paris), 150, cat. 63
- Juana of Austria* (Boston), x, 126–27, 304n28, fig. 113, cat. 43
- Portrait of a Woman* (lost, formerly Hermitage), 122, fig. 110, cat. 75
- Madonna of Itria*, xxxvi–xlii, cat. 37
- Portrait of Minerva Anguissola* (Milwaukee), xx–xxiv, figs. 8, 1, cat. 58
- Sofonisba Anguissola* (Uffizi), xxxiii–xxxiv, 54–57, 61, 85, 153, 293n51, 301n45, fig. 55, cat. 45
- Sofonisba Anguissola and Bernardino Campi* (Siena), xxv–xxviii, 50–73, figs. 15, 52–54, cat. 73
- Sofonisba Anguissola at the Easel* (private collection), xliii, cat. 40
- Young Woman with a Book* (lost), xxviii, cat. 203
- Anne of Austria, ix, 129, 142, 219, 247; images of, figs. 3, 114, 120, cats. 34, 121
- Barbaro, Francesco, 96
- Battiferri, Laura, 92, 94
- Betussi, Giuseppe, 21, 22
- Boccaccio, 19, 22, 23, 32, 60, 295n84, 297n15
- Bos, Jacob, viii, 103–10, 116–17, 253
- bravura*, 67–69, 139
- Bronzino, Agnolo, xi, 44, 73, 82, 86, 92, 94, 139, 211, 222, 228, 247
- Buonarroti, Michelangelo, viii, xii, 14, 21, 36, 57, 67, 86, 88, 89, 98, 100–103, 110, 112, 116, 132, 137, 145, 179, 289n3, 295n91, 301nn39, 5, 302n7, 306n79
- Calvin, John, xvi
- Cambiaso, Luca, 39, 61–62, 149, 158, 159, 210, 242, 289n3, 297n18, 307n20
- Campi, Bernardino, xii, xxvii, 7, 11, 19, 20, 22, 48–73, 126, 128, 136, 137, 139, 145, 289nn3, 8, 292nn29, 33, 34, 297nn25, 27, 28, 298nn31, 35, 38, 299n45, 300n29, 305n72; paintings attributed to, xxvi–xxviii, xliii, figs. 15, 52, 53, 54, 59, 64, 66, 67, 68, 69, cats. 25, 36, 73, 113, 151
- Campi family, 4
- Caro, Annibale, 21, 24–25, 29, 31, 294n68, 295n91
- Carracci, Annibale, xxvii, 112, 114, 211
- Catalina Micaela, Infanta, vi, 148, 191–93, 236, 306n2; portraits of, cats. 39, 49, 50, 52, 71, 76, 77, 126, 136, 167, 186
- Cavalieri, Tommaso, 21, 98–103, 109–12, 137, 179, 241, 253
- Cereta, Laura, 92–94
- Chizzola, Ippolito, 29, 157–58, 203, 206
- Ciacón, Alfonso, 23–24
- Coello, Alonso Sanchez, ix, xi
- Colonna, Vittoria, 22, 24, 85, 293n45
- Danti, Teodora, 19, 22
- Della Casa, Giovanni, 25
- diligenza*, 68–73, 139, 298n40
- Dolce, Ludovico, 88, 96, 137
- Dürer, Albrecht, 2, 25, 225
- El Greco (Doménikos Theotokópoulos), xlii, 12, cats. 42, 153
- Este, Duke Ercole II d’, 21, 32, 39, 96, 166
- Fedele, Cassandra, 21, 88–89
- Fontana, Lavinia, x–xi, 6, 19, 23, 60, 67, 90–91, 97, 113, 114, 153, 234, 290n16, 292n39, 298n38, 299n14, 300n26, 308n32
- Francesca di Giesù, 76, 78
- friendship portraits, 114–16
- Frizzoni, Gustavo, xxviii
- Galizia, Fede, 47, 113–14, 153–54
- Gallerati, Partenia, 20, 85
- Gambara, Ginevra, 22
- Gambara, Veronica, 22
- Garrard, Mary, 4, 50–51, 54, 90, 290n17, 292n30, 297n17, 300nn26, 29, 303n32, 307n30, 308n34
- Gatti, Bernardino, xvi–xvii, 7, 21, 57, 129, 165, 189, 297n28, fig. 4
- Gentileschi, Artemisia, 7, 19, 20, 68, 113, 179, 290n17
- Ghisi, Diana, 19
- Ghisi, Giovanni Battista, 19
- Ghisoni, Fermo, xxvii
- Giovio, Paolo, 23
- Gonzaga, Cardinal Ercole, xvi
- Guinaccia, Deodato, xxxviii–xxxix, fig. 23
- Hemessen, Catharina van, 7, 46, 83, 300n17
- Iaia of Cyzicus, 32, 60, 290n22
- Isabel de Valois, Queen, 11, 46, 66, 100, 122–45, 146, 148, 250, 252, 253, 292n39, 305n48, 306n67; images of, figs. 111,

- Isabel de Valois, Queen (*cont.*)
112, 116, 117, 119, 122, 123, cats. 21, 33, 43, 135
- Isabella Clara Eugenia, Infanta, 146, 148, 150, 166, 181, 184, 197, 204, 214, 234, 242, 252, 306n2; images of, fig. 121, cats. 38, 63, 94, 126, 137, 156, 177, 202
- Juana of Austria, 126–27, 134, 139, 252, 269
- Julius III, Pope, 21, 253
- Lamo, Alessandro, 7, 19, 20, 48, 64, 66, 73, 85, 89, 291n21, 292nn27, 29, 34, 296n1, 298n30, 299n45, 304n26
- Leonardo da Vinci, viii, 11, 28, 45, 74, 78–79, 86, 96, 103, 106, 145, 188, 226, 248, 289n3, 320n13
- Leoni, Leone and Pompeo, 14, 73, 139, 240
- Licinio, Bernardino, 42–43
- Lomellino, Orazio, 11, 128, 147–48
- Metsys, Quentin, 69, 105–6, 108
mirrors, 32, 35, 37–8, 60–64, 94–96, 295n76, 297nn20, 21
- Moncada, Fabrizio, xxxvi–xlii, 146–47, 233, 306nn3, 6, 307nn12, 19
- Mor, Anthonis, xi
- Morelli, Giovanni, xxv, xxvii, xxviii, 54–59, 156, 162, 165, 166, 168, 170, 178, 180, 184, 191, 201, 202, 203, 214, 231, 232, 248, 291n20, 292n24, 297nn4, 6, 12
- Nicodemism, xvi
- Nochlin, Linda, xl, 6, 289n2
- Nogarola, Isotta, 22
- Pallavicini, Bianca, 16
- Palomino, Antonio, xi, 7
paragone, 74, 84, 299n1
- Pascoli, Leone, 22
- Philip II, King, 11, 21, 40, 46, 47, 48, 66, 94, 118, 126, 128, 129, 134, 139, 140, 142, 144, 145, 146, 153, 201, 212, 219, 240, 248, 252, 292nn39, 40, 296n99, 304n31, 306nn66, 67, 72; images of, figs. 115, 116, cats. 33, 35, 129, 138, 198
- Pliny, 19, 32, 70, 293n42, 295n76, 297n15
- Pontormo, Jacopo, 98, 137
- Ponzone, Bianca, xxxi–xxxii, 12, 16, 18, 46, 73, 107–8, 144, 147, 296n95; possible images of, figs. 19, 74, 98, 99, 100, cats. 2, 113, 173
- Properzia de' Rossi, 4
- Rapari, Colombino, xvi, fig. 4
- Raphael, 11, 38, 114–15, 289n3
- Rembrandt, Harmenszoon van Rijn, 2
- Ribera, Pietro Paolo di, 19, 23, 46, 57, 66, 76, 123, 125–26, 128, 149–50, 252
- Rubens, Peter Paul, 126, 141, 187, 218, 292n39, 304n20
- Salviati, Francesco, 11, 65–66, 94, 292n34, 297n26
- Sánchez Coello, Alonso, ix, xi, 12, 125–33, 136, 139, 140, 141, 144, 151, 173, 174, 175, 181, 185, 186, 187, 189, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 201, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 228, 245, 247, 303n4, 304nn17, 21, 22, 28, 305nn37, 54, 306nn66, 71
- Schinchinelli family, xxix
- Spilimbergo, Irene di, 19, 76–77, 81, 82, 118, 152, 299n6
- still-life painting, 28, 153
- Sutherland Harris, Ann, 6, 289n2, 290n19, 291n23, 294n74, 298n40, 299nn1, 9, 300n17, 303n1, 307nn19, 22
- Tagliente, Giovanni Antonio, 77–79
- Teerlinc, Levina, xlii, 38, 46, 175, 295n80
- textiles, 76–82
- Tintoretto, Jacopo (Robusti), xi, xxv, xxviii, 20, 47, 62, 67, 70, 180, 191–92, 222
- Tintoretto, Marietta (Robusti), 20, 47, 81–82, 152–53, 305n58, 307n30
- Titian, xi, xxv, xxviii, 14, 40, 67, 70, 73, 74, 137, 139, 144, 152, 164, 175, 186, 219, 221, 233, 236, 243, 244, 248, 289n3, 304n34
- Van Dyck, Anthony, xii, xxviii, 19, 106, 108, 150, 151, 223, 242, 307n21; portrait of Sofonisba, fig. 126
- Vasari, Giorgio, xxii–xxiii, 4, 7, 12, 21, 29, 30, 40, 43, 57, 66, 68, 69, 86, 111, 123, 125, 128, 137, 145, 160, 161, 162, 179, 210, 241, 245, 253, 293n45, 294nn61, 63, 295n89, 296n96, 298nn29, 39, 40, 299n41, 300n27, 302nn15, 28, 303n11
- Veronese, Paolo, xxv, xxviii
- virtuosity, 31, 294n65, 300n28
- Woolf, Virginia, xx