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Lavinia Fontana's Pallade Ignuda

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For centuries, generations of scholars have been fascinated by the enigmatic *Nude Pallas* created by Lavinia Fontana (1552–1614), who depicted one of the most sensual representations of Minerva in two different versions (Figs. 1–2). In both of the paintings, the warrior goddess shows off her nudity in an intimate environment, engaging the viewer with her alluring look that forever breaks the barrier of traditional iconography. This daring subject highlights the painter's little-explored interest in refined images, which marvelously combines allegory and mythology, disclosing the ambitious contribution of a sophisticated patron.

Fig. 1: Lavinia Fontana, *Nude Pallas*, 1604–1605. Pavirani Collection, Bologna. Photo credit: Wikipedia

Fig. 2: Lavinia Fontana, *Nude Pallas*, 1613. Borghese Gallery, Rome. Photo credit: Scala/Ministero per i Beni e le Attività culturali/Art Resource, NY ART303430.

This essay aims to deepen our knowledge about one of Lavinia Fontana's most prestigious commissions in early seventeenth-century Rome, by analyzing the iconography of the *Nude Pallas*. It also seeks to understand how she may have been influenced in her artistic choices, by investigating her relationship of patronage.

The recent temporary exhibition at the Prado Museum, *A Tale of Two Women Painters*: *Sofonisba Anguissola and Lavinia Fontana*, has highlighted the necessity of further study of the Bolognese painter.[1] Although this exhibit has drawn new attention to the artist,

providing the opportunity to study some of her key works side by side, it has not put enough emphasis on concerns related to her Roman patronage and cultural context, which warrant deeper investigation. Furthermore, previous studies on Lavinia Fontana, although very valuable, do not focus extensively on her Roman period.[2]

This essay addresses these issues in order to establish a better understanding of the genesis and development of the complex iconographies devised by the Bolognese painter during the later stage of her career and draw attention to the patronal requests behind her works. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Lavinia Fontana painted an increasing number of mythological subjects with nude figures, probably in response to a growing demand for this subject matter. The two *Nude Pallas* paintings created during her time in Rome are crucial sources, which contribute to the examination of her artistic process and may reveal the interests that shaped her patronage in Rome. Thus, their visual and archival analysis will be the focus of this study.

Lavinia Fontana moved to Rome in 1603, as reported by Karel van Mander.[3] She was probably seduced by the artistic innovation promoted under Pope Clement VIII Aldobrandini, which initiated the Roman Baroque. Until that moment, she had lived in her hometown of Bologna, where she successfully ran the workshop inherited from her father, Prospero Fontana.[4] It is almost certain that this was not the artist's first stay in the papal city, since many biographers recorded her presence under the papacy of the Bolognese pope, Gregory XIII Boncompagni. Indeed, numerous portraits, such as those of Costanza Sforza and Jacopo Boncompagni, testify that the pope's family was Lavinia Fontana's principal sponsor.[5]

In all likelihood, in 1603 the painter decided to permanently leave Bologna as a result of two important commissions that she received from Cardinal Girolamo Bernerio. These paintings, representing Saint Stephen's martyrdom and the vision of Saint Hyacinth, must have been a crucial stepping stone in Lavinia Fontana's career and toward moving to the papal city. When she obtained Bernerio's commissions, she had already reached the pinnacle of her success and was well known for her ability to work in a wide range of pictorial genres. Moreover, sources reflect the reputation of a sophisticated female painter extremely admired for her talent who was "always received as a princess"[6] by her aristocratic commissioners.[7] Although her profession made her a woman out of the ordinary, she embodied the perfect features of a virtuous court lady. Lavinia had studied in Prospero's workshop, stimulated by the cultural activity of Bologna, where the Tridentine ideas promoted by Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti impelled a new modern language. Since her youth, her father had introduced Lavinia to artists, humanists, and to their academies, fashioning a refined female painter who would eventually become a model for the following generation. Aside from painting marvelously, she was able to play music and write in Latin. As a result, her artistic talents were increasingly in demand. Thus it is not surprising that in 1579 the erudite Alonso Chacón included her self-portrait in a series of paintings representing illustrious men and women.

When the Bolognese artist moved to Rome, she immediately entered into contact with some of the most prominent members of the Roman court. This comprised an audience of educated people with a marked sensitivity for painting and literature, which may have included Pope Clement VIII. Indeed, according to her most reliable biographical source, Carlo Cesare Malvasia, Lavinia Fontana's son Flaminio had fallen into favor with the Aldobrandini pope, by whom he was salaried.[8] In 1604, Lavinia's presence was recorded in the palace of the famous collector Cardinal Alessandro d'Este, who was known to host the notable artist and provide her the use of a big room for painting.[9] Immediately after, she also gained the honor of entering the prestigious Academy of Saint Luke.

Despite her success in life, reconstructing Lavinia Fontana's Roman period is quite problematic, since her fame was obscured soon after her death, perhaps due to the great success achieved by the female painters of the following generation, such as Artemisia Gentileschi. Interestingly, most of Lavinia Fontana's masterpieces were already assigned to Venetian painters at the very beginning of the eighteenth century. This also happened to both versions of the *Nude Pallas*, which were recorded as Titian's paintings in the 1700s.[10] As a consequence, drawing an accurate picture of Lavinia Fontana's commissioners in the papal city is extremely difficult.

The most famous of Lavinia Fontana's *Nude Pallas* was commissioned by Cardinal Scipione Borghese and, due to its large dimensions, has been held in the storeroom of the Borghese Gallery on the third floor since 2005. This celebrated collector owned at least two of Lavinia Fontana's other works, which are still on display in the Borghese Picture Gallery (*Head of a Young Boy* and the small *Virgin of Silence*), confirming Scipione Borghese's interest in the Bolognese painter. Over the centuries, the *Nude Pallas* was wrongly attributed to Titian, Padovanino, and Forabosco.[11] Remarkably, Lavinia Fontana's authorship was confirmed only in 1954, when an archival document was published by Paola Della Pergola.[12] Following this discovery, the painting finally underwent a complete restoration by Alvaro Esposti, who brought Lavinia Fontana's usual signature formula to light: "*Faciebat MDCXIII*."[13] This first intervention, followed by new diagnostic tests conducted in 1994, has partially returned the original paint layer, showing the high quality of Lavinia Fontana's masterpiece.[14]

A considerably different version of the *Nude Pallas* is now preserved in the private Pavirani Collection in Bologna. This canvas was only rediscovered in 2002, although in 1971 it emerged from a document that Lavinia Fontana had depicted another painting representing this subject.[15] Even after its discovery, this version has rarely been mentioned by the majority of scholars, due to its unknown location, which surprisingly has only been reported in the Prado exhibition.[16]

It is noteworthy that, until now, this painting was believed to have been executed in 1613, concurrently with the Borghese version. This error had been deduced from a letter dating from 1613, written by Ettore Dosio Fontana.[17] In the letter, the author reveals that he had purchased Lavinia Fontana's *Nude Pallas* in Rome for Count Francesco Gambara

with the task of sending it to Brescia alongside other paintings. Ettore Dosio Fontana not only describes the subject of the canvas but also compares it to the Borghese version, providing a certain identification with the Pavirani picture.

Besides this, and despite Lavinia Fontana's familiarity with Count Gambara, who had already bought at least one of Lavinia Fontana's paintings in the summer of 1604, it has been proven that the Count was not the original commissioner of the Bologna *Nude Pallas*.[18] In fact, a fundamental source addressed by Patrizia Tosini reveals that Count Marco Sittico Altemps IV was the commissioner of the Pavirani *Nude Pallas*.[19] Therefore, Count Gambara must have bought the canvas in 1613, immediately after Marco Sittico's departure to Salzburg, where he was made archbishop.

The information concerning Count Altemps's commission appears in a short poem, or *canzonetta*, *La Pallade Ignuda della famosa pittrice Lavinia Fontana*, printed in Rome in 1605.[20] This recently discovered text was composed by the humanist Ottaviano Rabasco in order to praise Lavinia Fontana's painting.[21] This literary composition has incredible value since it provides a *terminus post quem* for the picture, which was, surprisingly, created long before the Borghese version. In light of this, the latter must be considered a variation of the original Altemps prototype.

Furthermore, this poem offers a detailed description concerning the enigmatic iconography of the canvas and gives fundamental information on Lavinia Fontana's working context. There are only a few available copies of this poem, which certainly warrants deeper analysis. The frontispiece and the dedication that precede Ottaviano Rabasco's *canzonetta* not only express the fame of the female artist, who is described as "*famosa*" and "*eccellente*" but also reveal the inventor of the fascinating iconography.[22] Indeed, the writer affirms that Marco Sittico Altemps IV conceived the intriguing subject of the *Nude Pallas*, showing the complexity of a learned commissioner with expert knowledge in both war and literature.

Marco Sittico Altemps IV was a member of the noble house of Hems, known in Italy as Altemps. Deeply bonded to the Tridentine context, he was a cousin of Saint Carlo Borromeo and a grandson of Pope Pio IV. Coming from Hohenems, he went to Rome in 1584 when his famous uncle, Cardinal Marco Sittico III, introduced him to the ecclesiastic sphere at the Collegium Germanicum. He was treasurer to Pope Clement VIII and faithful adviser to Cardinal *Nepote* Pietro Aldobrandini. Consequently, he also became a close friend of Cardinal *Nepote* Scipione Borghese, who commissioned the second *Nude Pallas*. In 1612, Marco Sittico was finally elected Prince-Archbishop of Salzburg, and he left the papal city permanently. Although the Salzburg period is well documented, little is known about his time in Rome.[23] However, Rabasco's poem clearly suggests the image of a sophisticated collector, as testified by subsequent commissions in Salzburg, where Marco Sittico became a great patron of art and music. There, indeed, he sponsored the Rock Theatre, the University, and, first and foremost, Hellbrunn Palace, a residence of delights and aquatic games still celebrated around the world.

It is highly probable that the future archbishop met Lavinia Fontana for the first time between 1590 and 1591, while he was studying law in Bologna. He may have entered into contact with her through the medalist Felice Antonio Casoni. This artist, raised and trained in Bologna, was recorded as having been in Rome since 1603, when he became master of the Altemps house.[24] Marco Sittico IV provided him an annual salary of 200 *scudi*, and even when Marco Sittico moved to Salzburg, Casoni continued to send him his works.[25] Although it is not certain that the medalist was the point of connection between Count Altemps and Lavinia Fontana, there is no doubt that Lavinia was deeply appreciated by Casoni, who in 1611 dedicated a bronze commemorative medal to her honor. This precious artefact, showing the female artist as a symbolic personification of Painting, reflects the absolute prestige and regard achieved by Lavinia Fontana at the end of her career.

The great admiration for Lavinia Fontana also emerges through the verses composed by Ottaviano Rabasco. In 1605, this respectable author, like Antonio Casoni, was at the service of Marco Sittico IV Altemps. Indeed, he defined their respective roles as *patrone* and *servitore*.[26] The profile of this humanist is still quite unclear; however, it has been possible to trace a few important facts. The author came from Marta, located in the province of Viterbo, where he enjoyed the protection of the Farnese family. There he started his ecclesiastic career like his brother Carlo, who was a scholar of philology. Since 1588, Ottaviano Rabasco worked as a judge in Marta, where he also held the title of provost.[27] He still covered this important role in 1605, as recorded in the *Pallade Ignuda*. In 1596, the erudite priest wrote a pastoral play, *La Pietra Percossa*, dedicated to his powerful protector, Cardinal Odoardo Farnese.[28] It is almost certain that, at that date, Rabasco moved to Rome to the court of Cardinal Farnese. In fact, it is recorded that in 1596 he was already enrolled in the Roman Accademia degli Incitati with the appellative *Assicurato*.

In this cultural context, Ottaviano Rabasco must have won the favor of Count Marco Sittico Altemps IV and soon became close to Lavinia Fontana, about whom he wrote with great affection. In many sections of the *Pallade Ignuda*, he celebrates her "celestial manner"[29] and her ability to paint nature faithfully, defining her as a "divine craftswoman."[30] He also compares Lavinia to Aeneas, affirming that her precious *Nude Pallas* returns the mythical *Palladium* to Rome. Ottaviano Rabasco's familiarity with the artist emerges further from the dedication of this *canzonetta*, in which he reports to have admired Lavinia Fontana's canvas since its gestation process.[31]

The learned scholar may have previously met Lavinia Fontana in Bologna. Indeed, he was a member of the famous Bolognese Accademia dei Gelati, registered with the appellative *Assicurato*, as he was in the Roman Accademia degli Incitati. The artist was surely very close to the inner circle of this literary institution, since another *Gelato* academician, Ridolfo Campeggi, known as Rugginoso, wrote a sonnet in Lavinia Fontana's honor in 1608. He celebrates this "very famous painter," praising her pictorial skills and renowned beauty.[32] It is remarkable that both Campeggi and Rabasco reported Lavinia Fontana's common practice of depicting her semblance into her paintings, giving her own

physiognomy to her female characters. Nevertheless, in the features of the *Nude Pallas*, it is possible to recognize Lavinia Fontana's daughter Laudomia, who died in 1605 while Lavinia was working on this canvas.[33] Moreover, it is noteworthy that the same Carlo Cesare Malvasia, who was a *Gelato* academic, widely applauded the Bolognese painter.[34]

The praises of these intellectuals confirm the high status achieved by Lavinia Fontana, who, from an early age, was introduced to her father's entourage. Furthermore, Prospero Fontana himself was a member of the famous Bolognese Achille Bocchi's Academy, which had a significant impact on his daughter's works.

The development of the Italian academies is a complex phenomenon, which warrants further investigation, especially in relation to cultivated women. There is not much information on most of these cultural institutions, where delight and erudition were often combined together, stimulating the publication of books on highly varied topics. For instance, little is known about the Roman Accademia degli Incitati, sponsored by Bishop Luigi d'Este. This cultural institution, active between 1581 and 1615, displayed the emblem of an unharnessed horse followed by the motto: "They lend their souls to the stroke," taken from the Book VII of Virgil's *Aeneid*.[35]

This academy reflects an intense scholarly interest in images and symbols that transcends the traditional boundaries between literature and painting and shows their complex interaction in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This dialogue between poets and artists gave origin to a new ornate and witty type of poetry, which includes similitudes and metaphors widely used in *ekphrasis*, such as Rabasco's *Pallade Ignuda*. This singular *canzonetta* belongs to the same genre of the famous *Galleria* by Giambattista Marino, later known as Marinism, and Marino himself did not forget to celebrate Lavinia Fontana in one of his madrigals.[36]

Ottaviano Rabasco was a typical literary courtier of his time, who perfectly embodied the tastes and interests of Italian court life, as is testified by his main work, *Il Convito*, published for the same Roman academy in 1615.[37] This work, often overlooked by scholars, falls within the genre of Baldassarre Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano*. *Il Convito* is a peculiar compendium of banquet types, which expresses the magnificent atmosphere of the courtly world in which Lavinia Fontana created her precious network of contacts.

Interestingly, Malvasia reported that a Roman academy sponsored a book of poems in Lavinia Fontana's honor, showing her portrait in the frontispiece.[38] Although this collection has not yet been found, in light of Rabasco's *Pallade Ignuda* discovery, there are reasons to believe that the Accademia degli Incitati may have sponsored this collection of compositions that honored this prestigious painter.

Thus, Marco Sittico Altemps IV is the creator of the ambiguous Minerva iconography sung by Ottaviano Rabasco in his *Pallade Ignuda*. Immortalized in her *cubiculum*, Lavinia Fontana's graceful warrior goddess wears a transparent veil decorated with red

ribbons and golden threads, which completely exposes her nudity. She is about to don a precious military vest embellished by gold braiding and pearls. Although the feathered helmet is already on her head, the shield and the spear are still placed on a table, while the rich armor lies on the ground. Minerva, conscious of having been observed, hesitates while turning toward the viewer's prying eye. The intimate scene captured by Lavinia Fontana conveys a subtle eroticism that surprises the viewer. Even an expert viewer wavers in the face of such ambiguous iconography. Indeed, all of the traditional visual elements are altered, and the deity, who until now embodied wisdom and pudicity, seems to take the shape of the sensual goddess of love, disguising as Venus.

Although some scholars have argued that this image is completely absent of sensuality and erotic desire, the immediate response contained in the verses of Rabasco's *canzonetta* undeniably elucidates Lavinia Fontana's seductive intention.[39] Starting from the title, the author points out the distinctiveness of the painting that exists in in the unexpected nudity of the warrior goddess. The deceit is so subtle that Ottaviano Rabasco himself felt the need to describe this ambiguous iconography:

> While painting the goddess (Pallas)
>
> You (painter) mock the sense of sight twice
>
> If you make her seem alive and breathing in the eyes of other people and you provide her with real motion.
>
> Moreover, you are misleading
>
> because through her (Pallas) you paint the one who created Love.
>
> Your *chiaroscuro*
>
> Succeeds in depicting her as alive to the others,
>
> But you depict Venus by representing Pallas and the deceit appears double:
>
> So, the Hunter himself often falls victim
>
> Of the deceit of his own trap.[40]
>
> (…)
>
> And even though the helmet
>
> Covers her locks and she keeps the spear and the shield next to her
>
> The vivid ivory of the beautiful naked body
>
> Reveals Venus.[41]

Lavinia's Minerva embodies the perfect fusion of chastity and seduction, a visual oxymoron that seems to anticipate the seductive glance of the nymph painted by Domenichino in *The Hunt of Diana*. This ambiguous iconography appears more explicit in the later Borghese version. In this second variant, the duplicity of the female figure becomes more evident, and the overlap between the two goddesses appears complete. In this bigger painting, Pallas is not only depicted completely naked; she also wears one of Venus's attributes. In fact, she shows off an elaborate headdress decorated with pearls, which replaces the helmet, and the vestment held by the goddess becomes more feminine. In order to balance the ingenious iconography, Lavinia Fontana inserts a small owl and an olive tree, typical attributes of the warrior Minerva, in the background, which helps the viewer identify the subject. The domestic environment is accurately represented and enriched by a precious green velvet curtain, which intensifies the intimate atmosphere of the scene. It is not purely conjecture to consider that Lavinia Fontana took into account Ottaviano Rabasco's poem when she painted the second version for Scipione Borghese. Indeed, she seems to carefully follow some suggestions described in the verses composed by the humanist:

> I have already pictured the image
>
> Of the falling Minerva's helmet[42]
>
> (…)
>
> And if you look more carefully
>
> You can picture invisible *amorini* around her feet.[43]

As suggested by Ottaviano Rabasco, in this second painting, the helmet lies on the ground, becoming Cupid's toy, and the viewer would expect to see Mars, Venus's disarmed lover, appearing to reclaim his stolen weapons.[44]

These refined canvases are infused with Baroque intellectual sophistication, which reflects the cultivated framework of Lavinia Fontana's audience.

As suggested by many scholars, an important source of inspiration for Lavinia Fontana may have been Achille Bocchi's *Symbolicae Quaestiones*, which Prospero Fontana illustrated.[45] For instance, the *Symbol X* shows a correlation between Pallas and Venus, who are described as personifications of beneficial virtue and true *voluptas*, respectively.[46] In the text, the goddesses become allies who aim at goodness in life, sitting on the same throne. Many verses of Bocchi's work convey this need to subdue passions and this tension between desire and reason, which suggests Platonic implications. Indeed, Minerva is also the goddess of wisdom, who knows when it is necessary to keep peace. For this purpose, she seems to stipulate a non-belligerence pact with Love, who does not dare to shoot the warrior goddess.[47]

The theory of concord between the two goddesses based on Achille Bocchi's text, although very intriguing, does not explain the explicit eroticism of Lavinia Fontana's Minerva, who, in contrast, seems to be subjugated by Venus. Pallas, indeed, deceives the viewer by imitating Aphrodite's sensuality and appearing to be seduced by Love. In Lavinia Fontana's painting, Eros comes out as the winner, conquering even the threatening goddess of war. The undressed Minerva shows her nudity, finally surrendering to Virgil's motto: *Omnia vincit amor*.[48] Therefore Eros, implied in the first *Nude Pallas* version, becomes visible in the later Borghese painting. This sophisticated iconography displays a new idea of subtle eroticism, which derives especially from a more sensual way of looking at mythology and Antiquity. In this specific period, many artists clearly express their greater artistic freedom in mythological subjects due to the strict control imposed by the Counter Reformation on Christian images.[49] Lavinia Fontana's canvases then reflect an artistic transformation, whose leading actors are Annibale Carracci and Domenichino.

For instance, Minerva's pose devised by Lavinia Fontana was certainly inspired by the celebrated antiquity *Venus Callipyge*, on display in the collection of the Farnese Palace since 1594.[50] This famous Roman statue, dating from the second century ad, became popular due to Ateneo's myth described in Vincenzo Cartari's *Le Immagini* in 1556. The original missing head of the sculpture was reconstructed, providing the goddess with an unusual gaze that looks over her shoulder at her own buttocks. This lascivious gesture reflects a new eroticism displayed in mythological subjects at the end of the sixteenth century, later expressed by Lavinia Fontana. According to Enrico Maria Dal Pozzolo, the same sculpture also inspired Lavinia Fontana's mythological painting preserved in the House of Alba Foundation, which shows *Mars and Venus* in a blatant sensual attitude.[51] A similar sensuality appears in previous mythological paintings by Lavinia Fontana, such as *Venus Suckling Cupid* in the Hermitage Museum and *Venus and Cupid* in the Rouen Museum of Fine Arts. Lavinia's interest in statues is, moreover, recorded by the Uffizi Gallery self-portrait, which shows the Bolognese artist in her studio, intent to study scale models of ancient marbles, again revealing her high level of education.

It is probable that those mythological paintings by Lavinia Fontana were bound for a private domestic context, and it cannot be excluded that they were covered with a curtain to hide their explicit sensuality. For instance, in 1700, the Borghese *Nude Pallas* was preserved in the room of the sensual *Sleeping Hermaphroditus* that, at the time, was used as a bedroom.[52] The canvas was hung alongside twelve paintings showing licentious suggestions, including a copy of the famous *Cupid kissing Venus* by Pontormo, confirming the persisting erotic perception of Lavinia Fontana's visual solution.

In essence, the analysis of Ottaviano Rabasco's *canzonetta* sheds light on the subtle eroticism of Lavinia Fontana's *Nude Pallas*, helping the viewer to decipher its intriguing subject. Moreover, this examination offers insight into Lavinia Fontana's patronage in Rome, highlighting the cultivated framework of her Roman audience, who provided her with many stimuli for her creative and unusual iconographies.

This research paves the way to further studies on other cases of female painters and their relationships with the Roman court during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, once again highlighting the ground-breaking role played by Lavinia Fontana, who went down in history as the first successful female painter and who became an essential model for following generations.

The elaborate deceit created by Lavinia Fontana and her ambitious commissioner Marco Sittico Altemps IV has finally been unveiled. Minerva's seductive gaze invites the viewer to linger over her sacred body. The enchanted audience remains unsuspecting of the punishment, which damned the wise Tiresias, who paid with his eyes for the audacity of admiring "Pallade Ignuda."

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[1] Leticia Ruiz, *A Tale of Two Women Painters: Sofonisba Anguissola and Lavinia Fontana*, exhib. cat. (Madrid, Prado Museum, 2019–2020), Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, 2019.

[2] Maria Teresa Cantaro (ed.), *Lavinia Fontana bolognese: 'pittora singolare,' 1552–1614*, Jandi Sapi, Milan, 1989; Caroline P. Murphy, *Lavinia Fontana*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 2003; Romeo Galli, *Lavinia Fontana pittrice, 1552–1614*, Paolo Galeati, Imola, 1940.

[3] Maurice Vaes, *Appunti di Carel van Mander su vari pittori italiani suoi contemporanei*, Cremonese, Rome, 1931, pp. 195, 204, 208.

[4] Cantaro, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[5] Carlo Cesare Malvasia, *Felsina Pittrice*, Per l'erede di Domenico Barbieri, Bologna, 1678, p. 177.

[6] Malvasia, *op. cit.*, *ibidem*.

[7] Giovanni Baglione, *Le Vite de' Pittori, Scultori et Architetti*, Andrea Fei, Rome, 1642, pp. 143–144.

[8] Malvasia, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

[9] Cantaro, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

[10] Domenico Montelatici, *Villa Borghese fuori di Porta Pinciana*, Giovanni Fancesco Buagni, Rome, 1700, p. 279.

[11] Paola Della Pergola, "Contributi per la Galleria Borghese," *Bollettino d'arte*, 39 (1954), pp. 134–140.

[12] Pergola, *op. cit.*, *ibidem*.

[13] Cantaro, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

[14] Kristina Hermann Fiore, "Uno sguardo enigmatico nella Galleria Borghese: La Minerva di Lavinia Fontana del 1613," in M. von Bernstorff, S. Kubersky and M. Cicconi (eds.), *Vivace con espressione*, Hirmer, Munich, 2018, pp. 135–161.

[15] Daniele Benati, *Amor è vivo*, Marco Riccomini, Milan, 2002, p. 1.

[16] Patrizia Tosini, "Nude Minerva," in Ruiz, *op. cit.*, pp. 225–228.

[17] Camillo Boselli, *Il Carteggio*, Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere e arti, Venice, 1971, pp. 53–54.

[18] Boselli, *op. cit.*, *ibidem*.

[19] Tosini, *op. cit.*, *ibidem*.

[20] Ottaviano Rabasco, *La Pallade Ignuda della famosa pittrice Lavinia Fontana*, Guglielmo Facciotto, Rome, 1605.

[21] Romualdo Luzi, "Ottaviano Rabasco da Marta. Terza Parte," *Scrapante*, 4 (2008), p. 5.

[22] "Famous" and "excellent." Rabasco, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

[23] Werner Rainer, *Marcus Sitticus*, Die Regierung des Fürsterzbischofs nach der Chronik von Johannes Stainhauser, Salzburg, 2012.

[24] Marco Morici, *Antonio Casoni Architetto*, MA thesis, La Sapienza University, 2014, p. 26.

[25] Baglione, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

[26] "Master" and "servant." Rabasco, *op. cit.*, pp. 1–2.

[27] Romualdo Luzi, "Ottaviano Rabasco da Marta. Seconda Parte," *Scrapante*, 3 (2008), p. 4.

[28] Romualdo Luzi, "Ottaviano Rabasco da Marta," *Scrapante*, 1 (2008), p. 5.

[29] Rabasco, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

[30] Rabasco, op. cit., p. 5.

[31] Rabasco, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

[32] Malvasia, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

[33] Hermann Fiore, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

[34] Cantaro, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

[35] Virgil, *Aeneid*, VII.383.

[36] Giambattista Marino, *La Galeria del cavalier Marino distinta in pitture e sculture*, Ciotti, Venice, 1620, p. 67.

[37] Ottaviano Rabasco, *Il Convito*, Gio. Donato, e Bernardino Giunti, & compagni, Florence, 1615.

[38] Malvasia, *op. cit.*, pp. 178–179.

[39] Vera Fortunati, *Lavinia Fontana of Bologna: 1552–1614*, Electa, Milan, 1998, p. 108.

[40] "Ah, mentre la Dea pingi, / Doppia l'offesa al ver (Pittrice) fai; / S'à gl'occhi altrui la fingi / Viva, e spirante, e'l ver moto le dai; / E tù pur prendi errore, / Che, per lei, formi chi produsse Amore; / I tuoi chiari, e gl'oscuri / Rappresentarla viva altrui ben sanno, / Mà Venere figuri, / Se Palla fingi, e doppio appar l'inganno: / Così trovato è spesso / Entro I suoi lacci il Cacciatore istesso." Rabasco, *Pallade Ignuda*, p. 4.

[41] "E Se l'Elmo le copre / Le chiome, e presso tien l'Asta, e lo Scudo;/ Venere pur si scopre/ Al vivo Avorio del bel Corpo ignudo." Rabasco, *Pallade Ignuda*, p. 4.

[42] "Già già veggio l'Imago / De la Dea crollar l'Elmo." Rabasco, *Pallade Ignuda*, p. 3.

[43] "E se più adentro vedi, / Invisibili Amori hà intorno, e à piedi." Rabasco, *Pallade Ignuda*, p. 4.

[44] "L'Armi, o le invola al suo giacente Marte." Rabasco, *Pallade Ignuda*, p. 4.

[45] Liana De Girolami Cheney, "Lavinia Fontana's Nude Minervas," *Woman's Art Journal*, 36 (2015), pp. 30–40; Hermann Fiore, *op. cit.*, p. 143; Tosini, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

[46] Achille Bocchi, *Symbolicae Quaestiones*, Bologna, 1574, pp. 20–21.

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