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We are indebted to our authors for sharing their research with us, and we thank them for their hard work and for their patience throughout the long editing process.

Finally, we extend warm thanks to Susan Sidlauskas whose unfailing support of graduate students inspired us to appraoch her for the opening essay in this volume. She graciously agreed to contribute her thoughts regarding the state of graduate education in art history, and we appreciate her contribution to this contentious debate, her time and energy, and her continued guidance.

On Graduate Education:

Is it Worth it? A Primer (with Memoir) for the Art History Graduate Student

by Susan Sidlauskas

If you are reading this, you are likely a graduate student in the field wondering whether to stay. Or perhaps you are a faculty member, worrying about the ethics of advising PhD students in a non-STEM field. Your students may be peppering you with questions such as: How will I pass my qualifying exams? Do I really have to take German? How do I find a topic for my seminar paper? Will I ever get a talk accepted to CAA? Ever?

For the *students* reading this, there is one question that trumps all the others: Will there be a job when I finish? You're wondering whether you've made a terrible mistake. At this point, your family and even some of your friends are asking what it is you *do* exactly, and when will you be *done*. They will envy your summers "off." Many people you encounter will not have heard of the field of art history, which tends to be offered these days only in the wealthy suburban and private secondary schools. To be polite, some will ask you what you like to paint.

Compounding the anxiety, there are those websites and wikis, the ones that confirm your worst fears that only a fool would dream of pursuing an advanced degree in the humanities. Gawker may have gone bankrupt from the settlement it was forced to pay to Hulk Hogan, but unexpectedly, not long ago, they hosted a chat for adjuncts in the humanities.[1] The frustration, even bitterness, of the recent PhDs and ABDs was palpable—understandably, as many had endured extreme commutes to multiple, ill-paying jobs, little or no professional respect from the departments with which they were affiliated, and virtually no time, let alone energy, to write. Many contributors were especially aggrieved with advisors who had failed them: *Why didn't my mentors tell me it was going to be like this?*

After nearly a quarter-century teaching art history, first at the University of Pennsylvania and now at Rutgers, navigating the rocky terrain from adjunct to tenured professor and everything in between, this particular advisor would like to offer graduate students – and perhaps those of you who mentor them – a different way to think about the jobscape before you. This is not a corrective, exactly. That would be irresponsible; we all know about the diminishing number of full-time academic positions. But I do want to suggest to students that in spite of all the uncertainties, there are excellent reasons to remain exactly where you are—whether you decide to spend two or three years and graduate with a master's degree, or commit yourself to the long slog of the PhD. (My only stipulation would be to avoid incurring a debt that could force you into the kind of job you never wanted.) But let me be clear: it's not because there's a prize awaiting you. It is because of who you will become in the crucible that is graduate school. Although you may not have fully experienced this just yet, dedicating yourself to a substantial, difficult project over a long period of time is transformative, and will shape you permanently for the good. Building an idea from scratch changes you.

You have probably heard the commonplace that academic arguments are so contentious because there is so little at stake. I would suggest to you that precisely the opposite is true: *everything* is at stake. A genuinely original idea comes from deep within yourself and must be fortified by all the pertinent evidence that you have had the imagination, patience and rigor of mind to gather. When we take the greatest risks, we have a chance to do our best work. By the time you have finished your degree, whether that takes two or seven years, you will have tested yourself in a way that relatively few attempt. Your anxiety about your professional destiny is understandable, but

don't let it eclipse the relative freedom and the resources you have right now. Never underestimate the importance of your cohort, for example. And know that although it may feel as if you are being judged and found wanting every single minute of every single day, you have embarked upon a process of self-realization that no one can take away from you. Unless you let them.

It has become a cliché to discuss the importance of failure to eventual success. "Fail better," those Silicon Valley CEOs say at their TED talks. Mike Birbiglia, the gifted actor and writer, recently published a short primer on how to succeed "small" in the world of comedy, which I believe has applications to our own field. Speaking of a recent appearance on the David Letterman show, Birbiglia wrote that his successful five-minute routine was "mined from three hours of so-so material that I'd tried and failed with for six years." That sounds about right. Following Mr. Birbiglia's example, my hope here is to demonstrate that even the worst defeat can set into motion a positive outcome that you would never have anticipated. Even if you are marked by the experience, you may well develop a fortitude that will surprise you.

I guarantee you that most professors with a full-time tenured position have had at least one spectacular failure. And here I don't mean getting booted off the stage at CAA for going over the allotted time; the article that took years to write, which has just been rejected by the fourth journal to which it was submitted; the conferences or workshops you have not been invited to, when so-and-so (fill in the blank—we all have that one person who seems to supersede us at every turn) has attended every single one. And then there are the countless job applications that go unanswered. (I'm still waiting to hear from Barnard that I didn't get the job for which I was a finalist; it's been 15 years.)

I have never received anything—a job inside academia or out, a fellowship, the acceptance of an article to a journal—on the first try. The first time I submitted an essay to *Art Bulletin*, I was crushed by the breathtakingly negative report from the reader. "Banal" was the kindest adjective I can recall. I was so discouraged that I couldn't look at the manuscript for months. When my desperation to have something published began—just barely—to exceed my fear, I realized that some of the reader's assessments were so clearly biased that they could be set aside. But other criticisms, I had to admit, had the ring of truth. I rewrote the essay, refuted the objections I believed were unjust or irrelevant, and clarified my argument. When I finally resubmitted it to the editor, it was accepted the next day, as long as I agreed not to use "privilege" and "foreground" as verbs.

I learned two lessons from this experience: first, there is useful and there is useless criticism. Learn to distinguish them, something you'll become better at with practice. Make sure to profit from the former, and try to forget the latter, even as you will feel compelled to allow it to cling to you like one of those thistles you can't get off your sweater. Second, don't let anyone else decide that something you've written is *not* worth publishing. If you feel strongly about your idea, test it out with at least a small circle of trusted interlocutors, and then keep at it as long as you can stand it. If you decide that the fifth rejection would put you over the top, keep it somewhere. (We used to say "put it in a drawer"; now you put it in Dropbox.) Those orphaned essays have a way of resurfacing in entirely new contexts: the academic's version of adaptive re-use.

When the *Art Bulletin* article was finally published, I was teaching as an adjunct at Penn (where I had earned my PhD several years earlier), undergoing what turned out to be a year-long audition for the Assistant Professor position I eventually did get there. One day, I received a hand-typed envelope from a Michigan address I did not recognize. It was a letter from Rudolph Arnheim, sending his warm congratulations on the article. We struck up a correspondence that lasted even after he could no longer type the letters himself. When he died at the age of 102, I reflected on how this unexpected, sustaining exchange never would have materialized if I had succumbed to that cranky reviewer's dismissal of my work.

Including that year-long audition, it was five years after graduation before I landed the job at Penn. In the meantime, I patched together adjunct teaching positions, and then got lucky with a couple of postdocs. Our older daughter was born within a year of graduation, and I became intimately familiar with the costs of combining family and work. (Incidentally, when asked, I advise graduate students *not* to wait to have children if they have the option, as long as they have endured the exams, produced a dissertation outline, and completed at least some of the most demanding travel needed for research.)

Chances are that if you do have a child during graduate school or a transitional period of part-time work, you will do something idiotic. You'll feel as if you have lost your bearings: you will ask yourself whether you should try to rewrite that dissertation chapter, *or* apply for a position as a set designer for daytime TV. (I had decided that this was one of my options.) You will wonder how you could ever have thought you had the smarts to be an academic.

Here's something I did during the first year of my older daughter's life, when I lived in a fog of sleep deprivation. I had a two-year postdoc at Columbia (note: I had been an alternate for this fellowship) and had just given my Art Humanities students their final exams. I was carrying twenty-five bluebooks home with me on the subway back to Jersey City. After I arrived at the World Trade Center stop, and headed toward the PATH station, I realized that my briefcase was no longer with me. Those exams were riding on the number 1 train, unless someone had already heaved them into the trash. I rushed home and started frantically calling every MTA lost and found office for which I could find a number. Nothing. Two hours later, I received a call from the Art History and Archaeology department. Apparently a homeless man had fancied my abandoned briefcase, but not the bluebooks inside, so he had dumped them on the subway train's floor. A man, whose name I never learned, recognized what they were, gathered up each and every one, brought them home and started calling Columbia to track me down. I collected the complete set the next day from his doorman in Battery Park City. One disaster averted. The worst was yet to come.

Failing to receive tenure at the University of Pennsylvania was a public humiliation that no one saw coming. In retrospect, I sensed that something was amiss when a senior colleague pushed me into a corner at a CAA meeting to explain—at excessive length—why he had not been able to write a letter on my behalf (incidentally, letter writers are never identified to the candidate). After that encounter, my heart sank as I approached the conference book exhibit and saw that the paperbound proofs of my book (an expanded and rethought dissertation that I spent way too much time writing) were invisible amidst the glossy dust jackets and large posters devoted to the latest products of far more prolific scholars.

The negative tenure decision was made at the Provost's level, which means that my work was evaluated by those who knew very little about the field. Many of these senior scholars were, I suspect, more accustomed to the benchmarks expected in the social and lab sciences, where collectively written articles can number in the tens, even for very young scholars. An assistant professor with "only one book" (an absurd phrase in the world outside academia, you realize) which is not even "between covers" yet, as deans like to say, a few articles and a teaching award has simply not excelled at the level necessary to be an associate professor. In fact, at a school like Penn, a teaching award can be the kiss of death, a sign of priorities seriously out of whack. (A colleague had told me this at the award ceremony; I assumed she was joking.)

As Penn allows everyone who is denied tenure to come up a second time, the committee was likely to have been tougher than it might have been otherwise. But this was no comfort. Fortunately, the History of Art Department, including two senior professors who had been my advisors, swooped in immediately and negotiated with the dean for an extra year before my next attempt. It was pointed out, subtly, to the powers that be that I had not had either a maternity leave or time off the tenure clock for my second child, perhaps an actionable omission in the case of an appeal.

I am not going to tell you that being denied tenure wasn't awful. It was. For a while I was the person no one wanted to be. People observed me for signs that I was cracking up. When even a glimmer of my sense of humor resurfaced, I was extravagantly praised for my great strength. I was unsure what the conventions were for managing public humiliation, whether there was something between complete social withdrawal and brazen self-assurance. In many lines of work, this would have been the moment to quit. But as the shock wore off, I dug in my heels. What about all that intellectual capital I'd built up over the past eleven years? What about all those paintings and photographs I wanted to write about? What would Rudy Arnheim, who had said that perseverance was the secret to his success, say if I abandoned what I'd regarded as my life's work? Bolstered by the absolutely essential support of family, friends, mentors and not least, my students, I decided to hang in there for the second round, even though there was no guarantee of success.

My colleagues at Penn went the extra distance on my behalf, and I will always be grateful

to them. And so did my family. Before that nightmarish school year had ended, my husband had arranged for me to travel to Zurich (which we could not exactly afford at the time), so I could visit the *Cézanne: Finished-Unfinished* exhibition I'd never thought I'd be able to see, although I very much wanted to write about the portraits of Madame Cézanne. When I saw ten of them, all clustered together on the white walls of the Kunsthaus Zürich, the book suddenly seemed possible. It was my way back—along with a lecture on Sargent I delivered at the Metropolitan Museum of Art the following fall.

The invitation came when the curator called me at my office at Penn to congratulate me (mistakenly) on getting tenure. She never missed a beat, and invited me to give a lecture on whatever topic I was thinking about. The talk and the reception that followed, attended by family, friends, students and mentors, was a high point of my professional life (and in fact much more fun than our wedding), and it came within a year of my worst defeat. The book finally came out—dressed in a glossy jacket (there was even one of those big posters at CAA, thanks to Beatrice Rehl at Cambridge University Press). There were a handful of new articles and two book contracts, one on Cézanne, the other on Sargent. That time, tenure went without a hitch.

Although it was very difficult to leave Penn, my intellectual home for so many years, being at Rutgers has given me opportunities I never anticipated. (True to form, the first time a position in my field was advertised at Rutgers, the search was canceled.) I doubt I would ever have taught a large lecture course called "Art and Medicine," for example, now one of my favorite classes. At this large rough-and-tumble university, there are multiple opportunities for unexpected collaborations.

At both Penn and Rutgers, it has been a privilege and even on some days, yes, a joy, to watch my students' thinking become deeper, braver and more subtle as they research, test out ideas with one another, and write. That deepening happens in fits and starts, and almost never on the schedule you imagined when you first entered your graduate program. No one claims this process is easy. Research often demands extensive, costly travel and the acquisition of multiple languages. And a nearly unimaginable amount of tedium is part of every ambitious project. (The riskiest ideas need the most fastidious references.) Then there is the isolation of writing, which is unbearable for some, and has occasionally prompted the entirely honorable decision to leave.

If those queries from your family about the exact date of the completion of your master's thesis or dissertation start coming too fast, remember that in choosing this life, you are going against the grain of twenty-first century America (as I'm writing this in the weeks before the election of 2016, the divergence seems especially extreme). Consider for a moment how often journalists have used the word "professorial" to describe President Obama over the past eight years—in part as a rebuke to a man who is averse to the glad-handing (and backroom deal-making) that someone like Bill Clinton relished. But what writers are really saying is that "Professor" Obama seems only to *think*, not to *feel*. (We know better at Rutgers; he gave a truly stirring speech here at the 2016 graduation ceremony, just before icy hail pounded the 50,000 spectators.)

In addition to dispensing advice about how to produce good comedy (such as "the key to writing is ten bad drafts. Maybe twenty."), Mike Birbiglia offered this observation to aspiring comic writers: "Cleverness is overrated, heart is underrated." We could substitute "fashionable theorizing" for cleverness (not that there's anything wrong with theory…), but the idea is the same. The kind of nuanced, multi-layered, deep, prolonged looking we learn to do as art historians *is* a form of feeling. That necessary combination of intellectual rigor and imaginative interpretation enables us to envision cultures, historical moments, and lives very different from our own. We need not give up "feeling" for "thinking." In the best art history, they are always intertwined.

Finally, some bits of practical advice: I've already stressed the importance of your cohort to you; but remember that *your* presence matters to others. By the time you are in your second or third year of study, you are living, breathing proof to rookie students that there is life beyond those exams; that in fact, actual human beings who look and sound a bit like them—only smarter—have come up with dissertation topics. They will think to themselves, "perhaps I could do that too." Also, if you don't show up for departmental events, you will miss the opportunity to have the kinds of casual but engaged conversations out of which ideas emerge, and confidence becomes shored up. A sense of community mitigates a great deal of the harshness that can surface in any graduate program.

In seeking an audience for your work, don't focus only on CAA as a venue. Consider the growing number of excellent graduate student symposia, as well as the interdisciplinary conferences. These are smaller events, but tend to be more congenial. You will meet colleagues whose work you admire who may become lifelong friends. Don't let the inevitable rejections linger too long. Give yourself twenty-four hours to feel awful about the rejection of your conference abstract or fellowship application, and then permission not to. At home, it's extremely important that your partner and/or cluster of close friends support what you do, even if they don't always understand it. It's worth taking the time to explain what you're working on, even if your idea is very much in progress. Your loved ones will appreciate being admitted into a world that can appear exclusionary from the outside, and your occasional absence and inattentiveness will be more easily forgiven. If it's at all possible, try to write at least a little every day; even a brief attempt helps dissipate that black cloud of worry.

There are more people than you realize who share your professional and intellectual anxieties; and some of them have begun to organize. For example, recent PhD's Karen Leader and Amy Hamlin have begun a project called *Art History That* (or AHT), whose purpose is "to curate, crowd source, collaborate on the future of art history."[2] Things may actually be looking up in the job world: this past year, four recent Rutgers PhD's accepted tenure track positions at small state schools and county colleges with vibrant programs and a supportive faculty. If you are willing to be flexible geographically, there are still opportunities to teach.

One of the biggest challenges that faculty advisors face is that we must re-orient the way we support our students, and affirm that a job that happens to be in a museum, or a publishing firm, or a corporate art collection, or an auction house is no "back-up." It is a success. To that end, we need to educate our deans about the need to re-configure the metrics by which their version of "success" is measured. Too often, the only kind of employment that counts on the administrative spreadsheet is a full-time academic position. Faculty need to give a pragmatic form—through both informal mentoring and more structured workshops – to our insistence that there are many worthy ways to exercise the skills our students have acquired. And we need to mean it when we say it. The nuanced strategies for synthesizing evidence; the analytical skills that long, concentrated looking brings; the ability to make connections that no one else would have thought of: these are habits of mind that can be adapted to any number of positions. Employers will be happy to have you.

In the meantime, plunge in. Take intellectual risks. Be generous to your fellow students; you will be repaid tenfold. Be especially kind to the first year students; you may have forgotten how terrified you were at the beginning. If you are struggling, come talk to one of us. It's true that we have our own preoccupations and worries. We are all haunted by blown deadlines. But like you, we are working to sustain a belief in a collective enterprise whose benefits can greatly outweigh the costs, as long as we play the long game.

Susan Sidlauskas spent a total of eight years as a graduate director at the University of Pennsylvania and Rutgers University. She is the author of Body, Place and Self in Nineteenth-Century Painting *(2000), and* Cézanne's Other: The Portraits of Hortense *(2009), the winner of the 2010 Motherwell Prize from the Dedalus Foundation. She has recently published essays on the medical portrait, which will be part of a book on nineteenth-century medical photography called* The Aesthetic as Evidence*, and is writing a book on Sargent's later portraits called* John Singer Sargent and the Physics of Touch. *She was a 2014 Guggenheim Fellow.*

Notes

I want to thank the editors of the *Rutgers Art Review*, Stephen Mack, Hannah Shaw and Kimiko Matsumura for inviting me to write this essay, which I hope has done at least some of what they'd intended, which was to humanize the current experience of art history graduate students. In particular, I thank Stephen for hashing out some topics with me, and pointing me to the Gawker site, which I mention in the essay. I would also like to thank my friend Ilona Bell, who asked just the right question at just the right time. I also thank the editors for their patience in waiting for this piece. A broken ankle this summer threw a wrench into what was already an overly optimistic schedule of writing and research.

1. Hamilton Nolan, "The Horrifying Reality of the Academic Job Market," May 17, 2016, accessed May 19, 2016, http://gawker.com/the-horrifying-reality-of-the-academic-job-market-1776914525.

2. https://sites.google.com/site/arthistorythat/home.

Inventing Abstraction, Reinventing Our Selves: The Museum of Modern Art's Artist Network Diagram and the Culture of Capitalism

by Nicole E. Reiner and Jonathan Patkowski

If the studio and the workshop are the places where artworks and new ways of thinking and seeing most often take shape, exhibitions are the sites where such creations meet the public and, in the course of their reception, make, and re-make, art history.

Inventing Abstraction at the Museum of Modern Art (December 23, 2012-April 15, 2013), which critics praised as offering a fresh, inclusive and cross-disciplinary perspective on the origins of artistic abstraction, is one such exhibition summoning the full potential of this form of object-based historiography.[1] Alongside modernist titans like Picasso and Mondrian, the exhibition spotlighted comparatively unfamiliar figures and many women artists. Curator Leah Dickerman further stressed the transmedial reach of abstraction beyond the traditional domains of painting and sculpture by foregrounding abstract photography, music, dance and poetry, paralleling MoMA's own disciplinary re-orientation beyond painting and sculpture over the preceding decade.

In this paper, we focus attention on the less commented upon, but equally significant, Artist Network Diagram (Figure 1) produced as part of the exhibition, which gives potent visual form to the exhibition's historical and institutional revisions. The Diagram—which was displayed as a wall-sized didactic at the exhibition's entrance and exit, was featured prominently in its promotional materials, and was available for purchase as a poster in the Museum's gift shops—boldly redraws the origin myth of abstraction, we argue, according to a neoliberal conception of art history and of creative activity.[2] The Diagram challenges the idea, made famous by the Museum's founding director, Alfred H. Barr, Jr., that abstraction arose through an evolution of avant-garde styles shaped by historical, cultural, and aesthetic vectors. We argue that the exhibition and the Artist Network Diagram reread the logic of the avant-garde through the lens of post-welfare autonomization of the self and visualize the results using the newly ascendant imagery of the social network.

To create the Diagram, Dickerman enlisted the help of a prominent business management specialist whose expertise in the administration of human capital includes network analysis. Through their interdisciplinary collaboration, they approached the invention of abstraction as a kind of neglected case study revealing the under-appreciated importance of social capital and interpersonal relations for achieving entrepreneurial innovation.[3]

Despite the exhibition's generally positive critical reception, we wish to describe three troubling implications in its conception of art history and creative activity: first, its apparent presumption of a dominant entrepreneurial model of artistic labor; second, its complicity with contemporary, exploitative neoliberal discourses of human resource management and network theory; and, lastly, its marginalization of non-European cultures in the formation of modernism.

Through this discussion, we aim to forge a space to reflect critically on art's apparently ever-expanding relationship to neoliberalism. We also offer a concrete example of neoliberal governmentality at work, understood as an ethos (rather than a specific historical moment or single doctrine) operating within nearly every aspect of our individual and social lives.[4] Examples such as *Inventing Abstraction*'s extraordinary revision suggest that, at least to some extent, neoliberal practices of infusing market values and logic into all aspects of social life have led us to all but take for granted a brand new cultural image of the artist: the entrepreneurial artist.

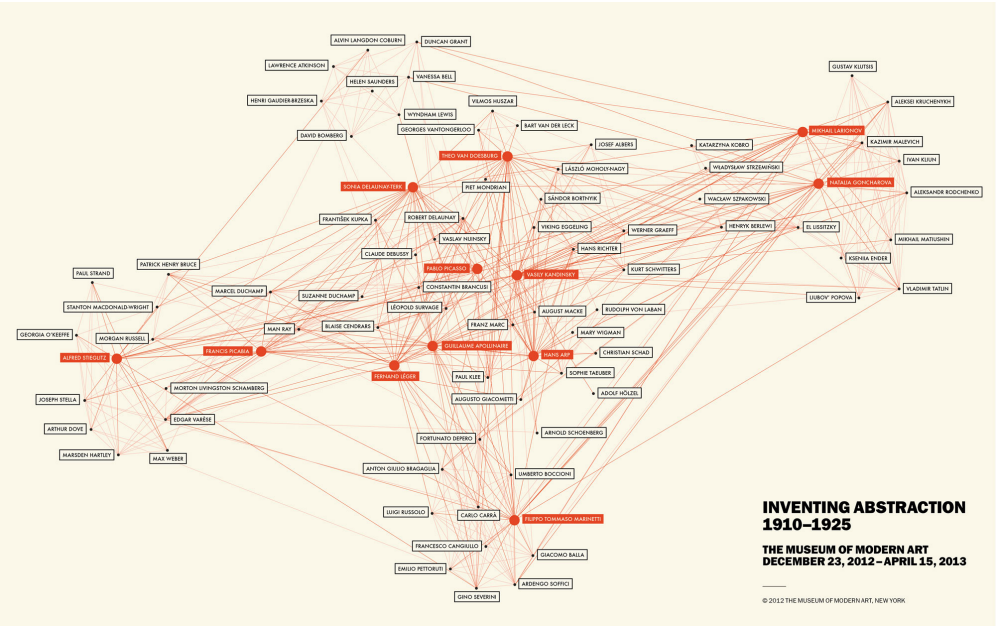


Figure 1. The Artist Network Diagram in *Inventing Abstraction: 1910-1925*, an exhibition at The Museum of Modern Art, 2012–2013, organized by Leah Dickerman with Masha Chlenova. Courtesy of The Museum of Modern Art. © 2012 The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Available for download on MoMA's website: https://www.moma.org/interactives/exhibitions/2012/inventingabstraction/MoMA_InventingAbstraction_Network_Diagram.pdf.

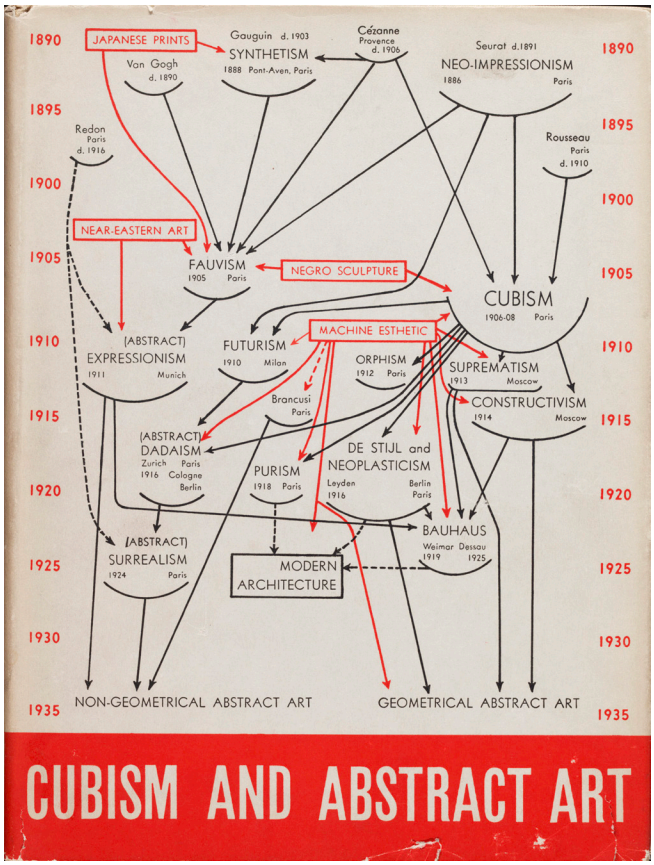


Figure 2. Dust jacket with chart prepared by Alfred H. Barr, Jr., of the exhibition catalogue, *Cubism and Abstract Art*, by Alfred H. Barr, Jr. 1936. © The Museum of Modern Art/Licensed by SCALA / Art Resource, NY.

Linking In the Avant-Garde

Produced by MoMA's curatorial and design teams in collaboration with members of Columbia Business School, the Artist Network Diagram endeavors to update and rethink the iconic flowchart that Barr designed for the cover of the catalogue for MoMA's seminal 1936 exhibition, *Cubism and Abstract Art*. This original diagram, though not unchallenged, continues to serve as a key didactic device for pictorially representing the artistic transformations of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Figure 2).[5]

True to the reigning formalism of mid-century American art criticism, Barr's chart harnessed the positivist language of the natural sciences to demonstrate how abstraction was the traceable culmination of artistic developments since the late nineteenth century. Tracking stylistic paths of influence along routes guided by transpersonal (e.g. cultural and aesthetic) forces, Barr sought to sketch the sequences of organic conversions from one avant-garde movement to the next, all leading to the summit of abstraction. One trajectory, for instance, charts a continuous development from Japanese prints to Synthetism, forward to Fauvism, and onward to Surrealism, the immediate precursor, we learn, to Non-Geometrical Abstract Art. Another outlines the path from Near Eastern art at the dawn of the twentieth century, to Expressionism in Munich, to Weimar and Dessau-based Bauhaus design and finally, to Modern architecture.

But while the Artist Network Diagram adopted the same typography, font and color scheme as Barr's chart, the similarities end there. Rather than charting a history of stylistic advancement through a succession of *-isms*, the Network Diagram is intended to visualize the social and professional relations between various members of the international avant-garde from 1910 to 1925. Pictorialized through a hemispheric network of nodes, the Diagram's land- and ocean-crossing lattice of affiliations evokes a vast, interconnected social body; it is a prototype, we might imagine, of today's so-called global art world. On the right-hand side, we find the names of Eastern European avant-gardists like Kazimir Malevich and El Lissitzky. To the left, we encounter New York-based artists like Francis Picabia and Alfred Stieglitz. To the north and south, we come upon clusters of artists who primarily worked in Britain and Italy, respectively. And at the literal and symbolic center lie those artists and intellectuals—from Picasso to Apollinaire—who worked in France and Germany, the conventional epicenter of modernist innovation. The names of those

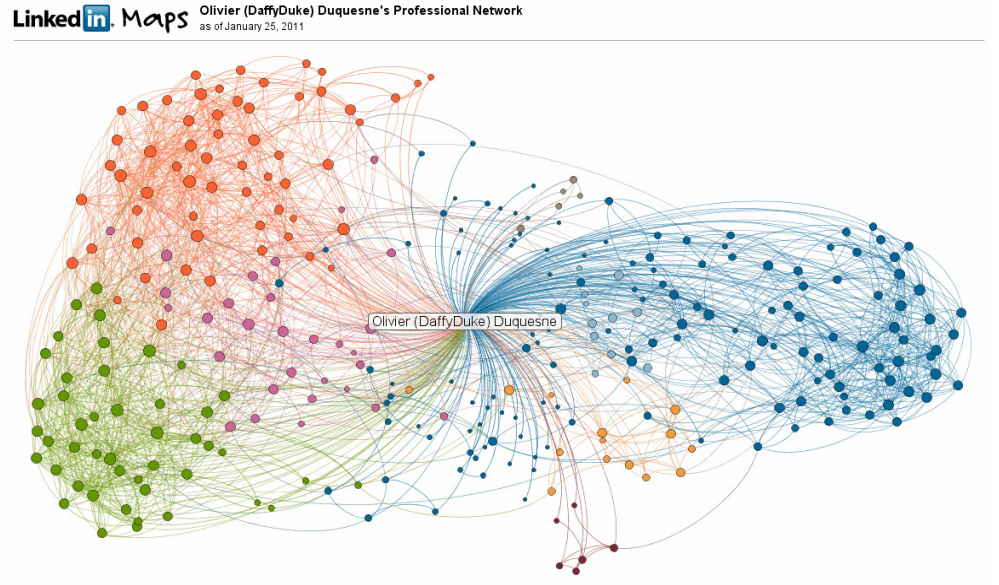


Figure 3. Linkedin professional network map, 2011, posted to Flickr by Olivier Duquesne, https://www.flickr.com/photos/daffyduke/5388328755 (accessed September 15, 2016), Creative Commons License (CC BY-ND 2.0).

carrying twenty-five or more connections in the grid are highlighted in red and denoted by enlarged nodes. Artists with fewer proven connections (the majority) appear in black and are tethered to smaller pinpoints. Links joining the nodes stand in for known communications and encounters between artists as established through archival research. Together, they provide a compass of influence that is calibrated in terms of the quantity of interpersonal relationships cultivated by a given artist.

The result is a diagram purposefully resembling the digital visualizations of the webs of interrelated users of social networking platforms like LinkedIn and Facebook (Figure 3). In a streaming video interview, "Behind the Scenes: The Making of *Inventing Abstraction*'s Artist Network Diagram," published on the official exhibition website, Curator Leah Dickerman explained how her exhibition and design teams set out to "imagine what Barr's chart would look like in this moment in time" and thought "immediately of social networks."[6] Rendered in this way, what had been institutionalized by earlier generations of MoMA curators as a relatively linear progression of stylistic innovation from one avant-garde movement to the next is presented anew in *Inventing Abstraction* as the outcome of the free exchange of ideas across a social network of creative individuals.

From *Inventing Abstraction* to Reinventing Our Selves

Inventing Abstraction is not the first example of Dickerman's interest in the social networking activity of the avant-garde. In 2005, she co-curated *Dada: Zurich, Berlin, Hannover, Cologne, New York, Paris*, a major exhibition of Dada art that prefigured *Inventing Abstraction*'s concern with establishing the social links that gave rise to new forms of advanced art.[7] Against traditional interpretations of Dada as a coherent movement of artists allied by their anti-aesthetic convictions, Dickerman argued that what distinguished it from previous avant-garde formations was its open-ended, network-like structure and international scope, describing it in the catalogue as a "web of connections linking actors and local groupings, which served as a conduit of ideas and images" that was "diffuse in an unprecedented way."[8] The unconventional exhibition installation reinforced this understanding of Dada as a geographically dispersed nodal network, with artworks grouped according to the city centers in which they were produced, rather than chronologically or by theme or medium.

However, *Inventing Abstraction* differs from the Dada exhibition due to the involvement of a leading scholar of business management theory in the creation of its central didactic, and consequently, by its neoliberal rationale. Paul Ingram, Kravis Professor of Business at Columbia Business School specializing in management and organizational behavior, led a team that helped to design the Artist Network Diagram. Dickerman met Ingram at the Center for Curatorial Leadership in New York, where Ingram's teachings on network analysis and building social capital are incorporated within an intensive training program that teaches art historians and curators management and administration skills.[9] Partly through Ingram's involvement, we contend that the Artist Network Diagram became equally an illustration of an important moment in art history and a device for teaching contemporary viewers how to conduct and empower themselves as enterprising individuals.

In an interview available on the exhibition website, Ingram draws a direct analogy between avant-garde artists and creative entrepreneurs, and cites Bauhaus artists, architects, and designers—who, in his telling, benefitted from living and working in close proximity—as ideal examples of successful creative networkers. Highlighting certain characteristics, Ingram explains that individuals who "do" creative networks best "embrace diversity," are "broad in their interests" and "have a capacity for social engagement with different types of people."[10] These capacities, Ingram believes, are so decisive for professional success that they can "explain why you may have two artists… in similar positions in the social structure and one of them reaches creative greatness" and the other does not.[11]

By many accounts, the image of an autonomous and enterprising human being that

Ingram describes is a hallmark of the present mode of advanced capitalism. French sociologists Luke Boltanski and Ève Chiapello, for instance, have helped bring to light the kinds of subjectivity that this emergent form of flexible and dispersed capitalism valorizes. In *The New Spirit of Capitalism*, the authors undertake a systematic analysis of human resources management texts and organizational culture since the 1960s. They argue that from the eighties onwards, individuals have been valued less for their efficiency, expertise and obedience—traits associated with static bureaucracy—than for their ability to communicate, mediate, take risks, self-start, problem-solve and innovate ideas and practices.[12] Exemplary individuals are flexible in the face of ever-changing environmental conditions, adroit at making connections and bringing people together and, above all else, eager to explore and integrate themselves into networks in order to generate future projects.[13]

For Ingram, the historic avant-garde offers an instructive example of such a network of creative and enterprising individuals. From his point of view, it "is a gold mine… it's the distilled essence of innovation" and an opportunity to further demonstrate that a "structural predictor of creativity is being on the path between others." Put another way, "the network structure is the key."[14] In fact, Ingram has begun using the diagram when teaching networks to MBAs and executives. In an article in *ARTnews* for which Ingram was interviewed, he explains that, "the quality of 'betweenness' in the network—being on multiple paths between others—is associated with creativity."[15] Thus, at least part of the perceived value in reassessing, quantifying and mapping the interpersonal connections between the individual contributors to what Dickerman calls "the greatest rewriting of rules of artistic production since the Renaissance," lies in the potential profitability of revealing the secret sauce to achieving such radical forms of industry-wide innovation.[16]

From this business-minded perspective, abstraction was not the logical outcome of the interaction between certain stylistic, cultural and historical antecedents, but the work of human innovation brought about through the exchange of ideas between creative individuals in a free-flowing network. Each artist in the Diagram, presumably, achieved success through his or her own agency by establishing connections and relying on the human capital of creativity and on the creative skills and abilities that enable people to continually change and adapt.

In a political climate that demands self-enterprise, the lesson that the Artist Network Diagram encodes can also be linked to a contemporary discourse on post-welfare citizenship in which the exhibition consumer is implicated. It idealizes a flexible subject, reliant upon personal connections and resources rather than institutional structures, flowing from post-1990 neoliberal calls for personal responsibility and self-empowerment within a deregulated social and economic field. British political theorist Nikolas Rose has described how the care of individuals became privatized and dispersed in the wake of the partial dismantlement of the Western welfare states.[17] Likewise, techniques of management and sociality that once flowed predominantly through static and hierarchical institutions like the workplace and the nation state are increasingly dispersed across sprawling networks of privatized and individuated entities. In turn, citizens are encouraged, by welfare-to-work government policy as much as by competitive reality TV shows, to fend for themselves within a deregulated capitalist economy that devalues organized labor and job security and cultivates their capacities for self-motivation, self-promotion and adaptability.[18]

A direct connection between a museum exhibition and strategies of liberal governance might seem improbable. Like most art exhibitions, *Inventing Abstraction* was billed as a product of art historical scholarship and as compelling entertainment, not as a formal tutorial in governing. But this should not prevent us from exploring the exhibition's relevance to diffuse mechanisms of power. Far from a neutral storehouse of culture, the museum acts as a narrative space for showing and telling with a very particular historical development as an apparatus of social regulation. In his famous political genealogy of the museum, Tony Bennett demonstrates how the idea of the public museum as an agent of social reformation lies at the foundation of the modern museum idea. What had begun in the sixteenth century as an encyclopedic venture was skillfully redeveloped within the ideological framework of nationalism in the nineteenth century in order both to promote the idea of a shared national identity and to "organize a voluntarily, self-regulating citizenry."[19] Additionally, Carol Duncan has theorized the modern art museum as a significant technology for cultivating civic capacities and for acculturating citizens into the behavioral norms of polite bourgeois society.[20]

Museums still perform this subjectifying function today. Considering neoliberalism's

broad rethinking and remodeling of the Welfare State, the lessons encoded in the story of *Inventing Abstraction* told through the museum exhibition and illustrated by the Diagram are meaningful in relationship to neoliberal ideals of "governing at a distance" as opposed to the perceived ineffectiveness of public assistance and big government.[21] The problem is not that Ingram or Dickerman misrepresent the origins of artistic abstraction, or that the museum has an ideological effect on impressionable audiences; rather, the exhibition format and the cultural power of museums are useful to a political rationality that favors dispersed and informal means of guiding the ethics, behaviors and aspirations of ordinary people over formal policies and institutions (e.g., public welfare).[22] As exhibition consumers experience the Diagram's wisdom—that the secret to creative greatness lies within ourselves—within our capacities for self-motivation, self-promotion and flexibility, we become even more the kinds of subjects who can be ruled through freedom rather than control.

From Artist to Artrepreneur

How has the imperative to behave as enterprising individuals—to perform as, what sociologist Paul du Gay calls, "entrepreneurs of the self"—affected contemporary artists?[23] In *Your Everyday Art World*, art critic and historian Lane Relyea draws on Boltanksi and Chiapello to argue that artists today must exhibit the values of extroversion and adaptability in order to succeed in an art world organized around short-term projects, professional networks and ceaseless travel.[24] Art theorist Jen Harvie also appraises the relationship between art production and contemporary commercial culture in her recent book *Fair Play: Art, Performance and Neoliberalism*. According to her analysis, dramatic cuts in government funding for the arts over the past twenty years have placed increasing pressure on artists to behave entrepreneurially in ways that expand the effects of neoliberal capitalism.[25] Though her research focuses on the United Kingdom, similar cuts have affected arts infrastructure in industrialized countries throughout the West.[26]

Following Relyea's and Harvie's analyses, we suggest that Ingram's ideal creative networker takes the precise shape of the model subject that embodies the new spirit of capitalism and is also meaningful in the context of the rise of the so-called creative industries and the repositioning of arts and culture as essential to economic growth.[27] As Harvie details, as early as the 1980s, cultural workers took on new importance in the post-industrial West, since it was these people who were seen to possess the creative capacity required to drive the emerging knowledge economy. At the same time, post-industrial European and North American economies bent on permanent growth want more entrepreneurial innovation and risk-taking, as the initiative of entrepreneurs is regarded as a key element in generating wealth. Entrepreneurial creative industry practitioners, or entrepreneurial artists, are the perfect hybrid. An *Art Monthly* commentator observes, "…In the era of info-capital and the rise of the creative industries the artist has become the model worker. Innovation, flexibility, creativity—these are valued above all."[28]

In light of these arguments, it is apparent that the ideological principles informing the Diagram, and the art historical re-reading crystallized within it, contribute to and are symptomatic of a redefinition of the kinds of subjects that artists are expected to be. Considered against the backdrop of the rise of the creative industries over the last two decades, and the idea that individuals have a responsibility to empower herself or himself privately, citizens generally, and artists in particular, are under increasing pressure to model entrepreneurialism. Therefore, the revisionism of *Inventing Abstraction* confirms the emergence of a potent new cultural image of the artist: the entrepreneurial artist or, following Jen Harvie, the *artrepreneur*.[29]

Unsurprisingly, there are many potentially detrimental effects of expectations on artists to model entrepreneurial business practices. At an institutional level, expectations that artists should act entrepreneurially can fuel arguments for further reducing state funding of arts organizations and artists, possibly forcing them to secure private funding and to marketize to survive. It is especially detrimental to the viability of less commercial art, including some immaterial, socially engaged and/or community-based arts practices situated outside the circuits of for-profit art galleries and international art fairs. And as public support for artists continues to decline, the socioeconomic and ethnic and racial diversity of arts practitioners is also jeopardized as access to independent sources of wealth becomes requisite for subsistence.[30] Far from an open field for personal maximization

and self-realization, as Ingram's remarks above suggest, cultural work is an intensely uneven terrain marked by the same increasing social and economic divisions cutting through the rest of society.

Still more pernicious—if also more abstract—are the ideological consequences of this troubling redefinition of the kinds of subjects artists are supposed to be and the enterprising behavior they are meant to emulate. On this point, we are of the same mind as Jen Harvie, who argues that, "overall, accepting that artists should be entrepreneurial… fundamentally reifies neoliberal values as legitimate and legitimately ubiquitous."[31] As part of a broader spectrum of activities within neoliberal governmentality, this acceptance can contribute to a process which "re-signifies democracy as ubiquitous entrepreneurialism."[32]

Affinities of the Tribal and the Modern?

The representational strategies adopted by the Artist Network Diagram have another significant and troubling consequence: even as the Diagram painstakingly restores the connections between each individual avant-garde artist, it quite literally drops entire (non-European) populations of the world off the map. In doing so, *Inventing Abstraction* diverges greatly from other stories about European modernism told at MoMA, such as the 1984 exhibition *"Primitivism" in 20th Century Art: Affinity of the Tribal and the Modern* (Figure 4) in which indigenous and tribal materials produced by peoples in Africa and Oceana were central. Co-curated by William Rubin and Kirk Varnedoe, *"Primitivism"* addressed the relationship between non-Western visual culture and European artistic modernism through the paradigms of "influence" and "affinity," presenting striking juxtapositions of modernist and tribal objects to reveal unexpected visual congruities across space and time.[33] However, as American critic Thomas McEvilley and others quickly pointed out, this comparative formalist approach was deeply problematic and essentially racist, as it categorically stripped non-Western objects of their cultural context and function so as to aggrandize the creative powers of European modernists, who, it suggested, merely shared affinities with non-Western cultures, rather than owing them any debts, stylistic or otherwise.[34]

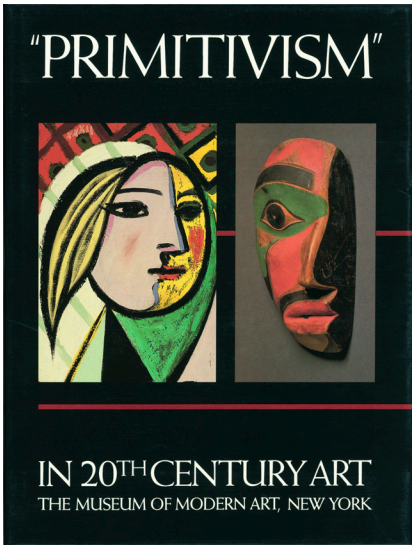


Figure 4. Cover of exhibition catalogue, *"Primitivism" in 20th Century Art: Affinity of the Tribal and the Modern*, New York, The Museum of Modern Art, 1984-1985. © The Museum of Modern Art/Licensed by SCA-LA / Art Resource, NY.

Without a doubt, *"Primitivism"* was a spectacular failure, but the question of how to account for non-Western indigenous art and culture in our institutional stories of modern art history remains important, and it is one that *Inventing Abstraction* does not address. In fact, though the subject of the appropriation of indigenous material by the historic avant-garde has been richly researched, discussed and exhibited—even Barr included "Negro Sculpture" on his flowchart—those transactions and non-Western individuals do not figure in the Diagram at all.[35]

Of course, the invisibility of non-Western makers in the Diagram is not unique, and stems in part from how the field has historically defined such terms as "art" and "artist" within specific arts disciplines and geographic locations. Most often, the African and indigenous people who created the tribal objects that famously inspired European avant-gardists like Picasso in the early twentieth century were not considered artists, neither by the individuals who acquired them from their source communities nor by the source communities themselves. Consequently, they rarely made the effort to determine and attribute authorship of the objects to specific individuals, as this would have required them to perceive those artifacts as art and their makers as artists.

These factors notwithstanding, we believe that the network-based methodology of the

Diagram and exhibition adds a new dimension to these cultural and geographic exclusions due to its formal inability to render the unequal power relations that derive from the uneven application of the term "artist," which only applies to certain individuals working in certain places and at certain times. In other words, by virtue of its nodal structure, the Artist Network Diagram can only chart relationships between autonomous individuals that are personal and *reciprocal*. It does not account for relationships that are mediated and inequitable, such as those entailed between producers in colonial West Africa and Parisian artifact dealers across the Atlantic. As a result, the Diagram assures the invisibility of exploitive and oppressive relations between individuals as a matter of pure procedure. The visibility of certain artists is sustained and justified by the *a priori* invisibility of other actors.

Conclusion

To be clear, we do not seek to discount the historical importance of sociality and connectivity in the development of new modes of cultural production, nor to suggest that artists should necessarily refuse the individualistic imperatives of enterprise culture in the name of social democracy and collective good. But we do believe that it is important to reflect critically on art's apparently ever-expanding relationship to and imbrication with neoliberalism. It is precisely this kind of critical reflection that seems absent in the case of *Inventing Abstraction*'s retelling. Indeed, the fact that MoMA solicited a scholar of business management to help reconceive a pivotal moment in the history of modernism exemplifies the sheer power and ubiquity of enterprise culture today.

It is telling that, unlike MoMA's 1984 *"Primitivism"* exhibition, which sparked extensive debates on Eurocentrism and multiculturalism that reverberated through the art world, the ideological principles undergirding the Diagram, and the art historical re-reading pictured within it, have failed to raise eyebrows.[36] This, we believe, testifies to the degree to which the language and political imagery of the social network, and the neoliberal rationality underpinning it, have achieved cultural hegemony.[37]

Thinking of art historical discourse in this way is not unprecedented. As social art historian T.J. Clark once wrote in regards to his approach to understanding the origins of artistic modernism, it is as important to read the silences in art criticism as the words of critics themselves, for "the public, like the unconscious, is present only where it ceases."[38] We hope that this analysis serves to open up for discussion a moment in art history in which the fantasy of the solitary genius is giving way to that of the well-connected and ever-flexible creative entrepreneur, and grand historical narrative may even be losing ground to the logic and ethos of the free market.

Notes

* Originally presented as a colloquium paper at the inaugural Wollesen Memorial Graduate Symposium at the University of Toronto on March 20, 2014, this essay is the result of independent research undertaken collaboratively by the authors. Some of the ideas presented herein were also published in a short blog post on Material World on February 23, 2013: http://www.materialworldblog.com/2013/02/inventing-abstraction-reinventing-our-selves.

1. See: Roberta Smith, "When the Future Became Now," *The New York Times*, December 20, 2012, accessed June 25, 2016, http://www.nytimes.com/2012/12/21/arts/design/inventing-abstraction-1910-1925-at-moma.html; Thomas Micchelli, "MoMA's Show of Shows: 'Inventing Abstraction, 1910–1925,'" *Hyperallergic*, December 22, 2012, accessed June 25, 2016, http://hyperallergic.com/62402/momas-show-of-shows-inventing-abstraction-1910-1925; Peter Schjeldahl, "Shape of Things: The Birth of Abstraction," *The New Yorker*, January 7, 2013, accessed June 15, 2016, http://www.newyorker.com/arts/critics/artworld/2013/01/07/130107craw_artworld_schjeldahl; Hal Foster, "At MoMA," *London Review of Books*, February 7 2013, accessed June 25, 2016, https://www.lrb.co.uk/v35/n03/hal-foster/at-moma.

2. The Artist Network Diagram displayed at the exhibition's entrance/exit stood 16 feet tall and 25 feet wide. Its scale was, according to MoMA graphic designer Hsien-yin Ingrid Chou, meant to immerse the visitor so as to convey the feeling of being "part of this network." See: "Behind the Scenes: The Making of *Inventing Abstraction*'s Artist Network Diagram," video interview with Leah Dickerman, Paul Ingram, Sabine Dowek, and Hsien-yin Ingrid Chou, accessed September 1, 2016, http://www.moma.org/interactives/exhibitions/2012/inventingabstraction/?page=conversations.

3. Ibid.

4. As Andrew Barry, Thomas Osborne, and Nikolas Rose observe in their introduction to *Foucault and Political Reason: Liberalism, Neo-liberalism and Rationalities of Government*, eds. Andrew Barry, Thomas Osborne, and Nikolas Rose (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996), 8.

5. Barr's chart is a fixture in authoritative histories of modern and contemporary art from the popular to the scholarly. Examples from the last decade include: David Cottington, *Modern Art: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford University Press, 2005), 48; Benjamin Buchloh, Hal Foster et al., eds., *Art Since 1900: Modernism, Antimodernism, Postmodernism* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2005), 221; Jonathan Harris, ed., *Globalization and Contemporary Art* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 10; and Richard Meyer, *What was Contemporary Art?* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2013), 171-173.

6. "Behind the Scenes: The Making of *Inventing Abstraction*'s Artist Network Diagram."

7. *Dada: Zurich, Berlin, Hannover, Cologne, New York, Paris* was co-curated by Leah Dickerman, then Associate Curator at the National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C., with Laurent Le Bon, Curator at the Centre Pompidou, Paris. The exhibition traveled from the Centre Pompidou, Paris (October 5, 2005 – January 9, 2006) to the National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C. (February 19 – May 14, 2006) and the Museum of Modern Art, New York (June 18 – September 11, 2006).

8. Leah Dickerman, "Introduction," in *Dada: Zurich, Berlin, Hannover, Cologne, New York, Paris*, ed. Leah Dickerman (Washington D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2005), 1.

9. Robin Cembalest, "MoMA Makes a Facebook for Abstractionists," *ARTnews*, October 2, 2012, accessed February 4, 2016, http://www.artnews.com/2012/10/02/momaabstractionfaceboo/.

10. "Networks and Creativity," video interview with Paul Ingram, accessed July 3, 2014, http://www.moma.org/interactives/exhibitions/2012/inventingabstraction/?page=conversations.

11. Ibid.

12. Luc Boltanski, *The New Spirit of Capitalism* (London: Verso, 2007). First published in French in 1999 and translated into English eight years later, *The New Spirit of Capitalism* has garnered interest well beyond the field of sociology, particularly among contemporary artists and art critics, as recently noted by Tim Griffin. See Tim Griffin, "Jacqueline Humphries," *Artforum*, December 2015 (54.4): 224-227.

13. In particular, see: Boltanski, "The Formation of the Projective City," in *The New Spirit of Capitalism*, 103–164.

14. "Behind the Scenes: The Making of *Inventing Abstraction*'s Artist Network Diagram."

15. Cembalest, "MoMA Makes a Facebook for Abstractionists."

16. "Behind the Scenes: The Making of *Inventing Abstraction*'s Artist Network Diagram."

17. Nikolas Rose, *Inventing Our Selves: Psychology, Power, and Personhood* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

18. James Hay and Laurie Ouellette, *Better Living Through Reality TV: Television and Post-Welfare Citizenship* (London: Wiley-Blackwell, 1998).

19. Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London: Routledge, 1995), 76.

20. Carol Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums* (London: Routledge, 1995). See especially: "The Modern Art Museum: It's a Man's World," 102-132.

21. For a concise overview of the discourse of "reinventing government" in the United States in the 1980s and 1990s see: Hay and Oulette, 18-24.

22. Michel Foucault, Luther H. Martin, Huck Gutman, Patrick H. Hutton, *Technologies of the Self: A Seminar with Michel Foucault* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988), 148.

23. Paul du Gay, *Consumption and Identity at Work* (London: Sage, 1996), 70.

24. Lane Relyea, *Your Everyday Art World* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2013).

25. Jen Harvie, *Fair Play: Art, Performance and Neoliberalism* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

26. For an overview of budget reductions at the United States' National Endowment for the Arts since the 1980s, see Andy Horowitz, "Who Should Pay for the Arts in America?," *The Atlantic*, January 6, 2017, accessed January 30, 2017, https://www.theatlantic.com/entertainment/archive/2016/01/the-state-of-public-funding-for-the-arts-in-america/424056/. Government funding for the arts has remained comparatively stable in continental Europe, but there have been significant cuts since the 2008 global recession in The Netherlands and Austria, among other countries. See Nina Siegal, "Dutch Arts Scene is Under Siege," *The New York Times*, January 29, 2013, accessed January 30, 2017, http://www.nytimes.com/2013/01/30/arts/30iht-dutch30.html.

27. Journalist and urban studies professor Richard Florida has done much to popularize the notion of creativity as an economic asset, coining the term "creative class" to characterize the enterprising artists, bohemians and technology workers that he views as decisive to the regeneration and development of post-industrial urban economies. See: Richard Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class: And How It's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 2002).

28. John Douglas Millar, "Polemic: Art Workers," *Art Monthly* 355 (April 2012): 35.

29. Harvie coins the term *artrepreneur* to encapsulate what she sees as the demands placed on artists today to "take initiative, take risks, self-start…be productive, effect impact and realize or at least stimulate financial profits," Harvie, 62.

30. The population of arts graduates and working artists, for example, is not representative of our country. The population of the United States is 63 percent White, non-Hispanic, but according to a study by BFAMFAPhD, 81 percent of visual and performing arts graduates are White, non-Hispanic. The population of the United States is 12 percent Black, non-Hispanic, but only 4 percent of arts graduates are Black, non-Hispanic and only 8 percent of working artists are Black, non-Hispanic. The population of the United States is 17 percent Hispanic, but only 6 percent of arts graduates are Hispanic and only 8 percent of working artists are Hispanic. BFAMFAPhD, *Artists Report Back: A National Study on the Lives of Arts Graduates and Working Artists*, 2014, accessed January 30, 2016, http://bfamfaphd.com/#artists-report-back. In recent years, studies

have also demonstrated a remarkable lack of diversity among the staffs and leadership of arts and cultural institutions in the U.S. Several of these, such as *Figuring the Plural*, have correlated the lack of racially diverse arts organization staffs to the lack of such individuals in arts management graduate programs. Mina Para Matlon, Ingrid Van Haastrect, Kaitlyn Wittig Mengüc, *Figuring the Plural: Needs and Supports of Canadian and US Ethnocultural Arts Organizations*, 2014, accessed June 1, 2016, https://www.arts.gov/sites/default/files/Research-Art-Works-ArtChicago-rev.pdf.

31. Harvie, 78.

32. Wendy Brown, "Neoliberalism and the End of Liberal Democracy," in *Edgework: Critical Essays in Knowledge and Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 50.

33. *"Primitivism" in 20th Century Art: Affinity of the Tribal and the Modern*, Museum of Modern Art, New York (September 27, 1984-January 15, 1985).

34. For key critiques of the exhibition, see: Thomas McEvilley, "Doctor, Lawyer, Indian Chief: 'Primitivism' in Twentieth-Century Art at the Museum of Modern Art in 1984," *Artforum* (Nov. 1984): 54-61; James Clifford, "Histories of the Tribal and the Modern," *Art in America* 73 (April 1985): 169-170; and Hal Foster, "The 'Primitive' Unconscious of Modern Art, or White Skin Black Masks," *October* 34 (Fall 1985): 45-70.

35. On the appropriation of indigenous material by the historic avant-garde see: Susan Hiller, ed., *The Myth of Primitivism: Perspectives on Art* (London: Routledge, 1991); Colin Rhodes, *Primitivism and Modern Art* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1994); and Jack Flam and Miriam Deutch, eds., *Primitivism and Twentieth-Century Art: A Documentary History* (Berkley: University of California Press, 2003). More recently, an exhibition held concurrently with *Inventing Abstraction* at the Metropolitan Museum of Art traced the reception in New York of African artifacts imported via French art dealers and exhibited and resold to New York collectors: *African Art, New York, and the Avant-Garde* (November 27, 2012-September 2, 2013).

36. See Hal Foster's review of *Inventing Abstraction* in the *London Review of Books*. Foster, who has long been keenly attuned to art's cultural politics and once offered a forceful critique of *"Primitivism"*'s bald cultural imperialism, makes only a passing reference to *Inventing Abstraction*'s "synchronic network" structure and focuses instead on abstraction's obsolescence as a contemporary artistic strategy. Foster, "At MoMA."

37. Drawing on the ideas of Italian cultural theorist Antonio Gramsci, "cultural hegemony" can be understood as a system of ideological power managed through a set of worldviews, such as the dominant self-enterprise philosophy, that help to maintain capitalist control. Cultural norms and values promoted by institutions become "hegemonic" when they appear to be natural "common sense," unavoidable and even beneficial to everyone although ultimately they only preserve the status quo. See: Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* (New York: International Publishers Co, 1971).

38. T.J. Clark, *Image of the People* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1973), 12.

The Allure of Artifice: Titian's Half-Lengths and the Courtesan as Masquerader*

Maureen McVeigh MacLure

Introduction

Titian's *Flora* (Figure 1) depicts a young, fair-skinned and fair-haired woman dressed in a diaphanous white *camicia*, an undergarment commonly worn by Renaissance women. Although the *camicia* fully covers the woman's arms and torso, it has fallen from her left shoulder, exposing most of her left breast. A length of rose-colored damask is draped loosely over her shoulder and around her waist, an incongruous adornment given her partial nudity. The subject's half-undone coiffure, with much of her golden hair loose over her shoulders, implies that she is situated in an intimate setting. However, Titian (ca. 1488-1576) has omitted any details that would confirm a specific context. Instead, the figure appears against a simple backdrop of subtly modulated brown tones. In the absence of a clearly articulated environment that would illuminate the figure's identity, her gestures and the few attributes that Titian imparts to her are the only means of interpretation. The small bouquet the subject clutches in her right hand has prompted her traditional identification with Flora, the Roman goddess of flowers and spring.[1] However, the contemporary gold ring she wears on the knuckle of her middle finger belies her connection with this mythological figure, as Flora is usually portrayed fully immersed in the natural world, outside the realm of material adornments.

Although *Flora* is one of Titian's most well-known female portraits, questions about the meaning of its iconography persist.[2] It can be classified as belonging to a problematic genre of half-length female portraits painted in Venice in the first half of the sixteenth century, which often feature subjects wearing an exposed *camicia* or performing gestures that suggest that they are paused in the action of dressing or undressing.[3] Rona Goffen characterizes such images as teasing, sensual and playful, contrasting them with Titian's full-length nudes such as the *Venus of Urbino*, which she argues represent a type of chaste bride portrait.[4] Similar, contemporaneous full-length female nudes, like Lorenzo Lotto's *Venus and Cupid* (Figure 2), often feature iconographic markers, including jewelry, headpieces, or attendant figures, that further denote an interpretation of the figure as an idealized bride or as a mythological figure.[5]

Conversely, the subject of Titian's *Flora* wears a garment that is explicitly associated with everyday sixteenth-century feminine dress. The *camicia* distinguishes her from classicizing portraits of women that, through a complete lack of clothing, fully dissolve the subject's contemporary identity into that of an allegorical ideal. Goffen asserts that Titian instead represents *Flora* as a liminal figure, changeable and multivalent, referencing both a classical nymph-like identity and a modern ideal of feminine desirability.[6] Indeed, although *Flora* includes elements that could be interpreted as classicizing or mythologizing, like her bouquet of flowers and loose drapery, I argue that these operate as props employed by a contemporary woman rather than as traditional attributes or as unambiguous functions of identity. The subject holds the loose cluster of flowers aloft, seemingly ensuring that they are visible to the viewer even as she offers them to an unseen companion. She also creates a highly-articulated "V" shape over the damask drape with the middle and pointer fingers of her left hand, pressing them against the fabric as if to draw the viewer's attention to its presence. These gestures, while graceful, do not read as relaxed or natural. Instead, they function as semi-theatrical signs that focus the viewer's attention on the objects displayed against the sitter's *camicia*. Titian presents the subject as a contemporary woman who adopts elements of an alternate mythological identity without diluting the proximity and availability of her body.

Figure 1. Titian, *Flora*, ca. 1515, oil on canvas, 31 3/8 x 25 in (79.7 x 63.5 cm). Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence. Photo: Scala / Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali / Art Resource, NY.

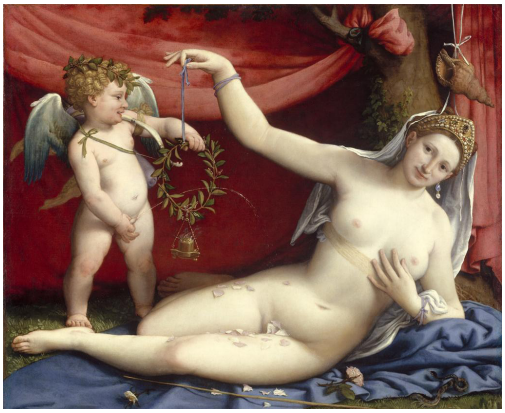


Figure 2. Lorenzo Lotto, *Venus and Cupid*, ca. 1520s, 36 3/8 x 43 7/8 in. (92 x 110 cm). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, purchase, Mrs. Charles Wrightsman Gift, in honor of Marietta Tree, 1986. Photo: Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Figure 3. Titian, *Portrait of a Young Woman,* ca. 1536, oil on canvas, 38 x 29 in. (97 x 74 cm.). The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. Photo: HIP / Art Resource, NY.

In her dissertation, Christine Anne Junkerman interprets the contemporary clothing and accessories of the women that appear in half-lengths, as well as their insinuation of an uncommon intimacy with the viewer, as signs that the subjects of the portraits may be courtesans.[7] This essay will argue that the subjects' tantalizing manipulation of textiles, both in revealing their bodies and in dressing them in appealing guises, would also have drawn popular associations with courtesans. Further, I will argue that two of Titian's half-lengths, *Flora* and a later painting of an unidentified woman (the so-called *Portrait of a Young Woman* [Figure 3], now in the Hermitage), are visual articulations of a fantasy in which, through play-acting and masquerade, the courtesan could fulfill the client's desire for a multitude of sexual experiences with a variety of erotic personas.

In order to illuminate this fantasy, this essay will examine three contemporary sixteenth-century literary sources: a letter to a courtesan by Andrea Calmo (ca. 1510-1571), a Venetian playwright; Pietro Aretino's (1492-1556) infamous collection of erotic poems and images, *I modi*; and Cesare Vecellio's (1530-1601) *De gli habiti antichi et moderni di diversi parti del mondo*, a compendium of archetypal Venetian costume. These sources describe the courtesan's eroticized imitation of patrician women, brides, goddesses and even boys, offering keys to interpreting the gestures and devices that Titian employed in his half-lengths.

Andrea Calmo and the Transformative Beauty of Textiles

Exquisite textiles served as primary tools of erotic masquerade in the sixteenth century. In Titian's half-lengths, luxurious fabrics enhance the allure of his subjects; their garments inspire a longing for touch that ultimately stokes a desire for their bodies. An account of a dream detailed in a letter by playwright and actor Andrea Calmo likewise demonstrates the ways in which such textiles can aid in the articulation of a vivid, tactile fantasy. Calmo published more than 150 letters during his lifetime,[8] including sixty that were ostensibly addressed to courtesans throughout Italy.[9] The letter I will examine, written to a "Madame Olivieta," details his fictional journey through a garden of sensuous delights to reach "Madame Venus," the pinnacle of feminine beauty and an analog for the addressee.[10]

Calmo recounts a walk through an impossibly fecund garden, blooming with jasmine and myrtle, plants associated with Venus and, by extension, with feminine beauty.[11] As the author

passes through a doorway festooned with yet more blossoming plants, two fairies appear to him. The speaker apologizes for "having dared to enter a place into which he was not invited," but the two servants before him dismiss his concerns, assuring him that he is "desired by a gallant lady who wants everything good for [him]."[12] This lady, like a courtesan, awaits him somewhere more private, ensconced within an exquisite setting that seems to anticipate the beauty of the lady herself. Proceeding through a loggia, Calmo next encounters a set of doors decorated with the lady's coat of arms and a chair with an inscription that reads: "throne of Venus."[13]

Calmo then enters a garden of cedars. He details the fine fabrics its inhabitants wear, including the "light blue veil(s)" draped "across the most delicate parts" of the winged youths who wait on him and the makings of the luxurious bed assembled for him. His resting place consists of "a mattress of crimson satin," heaped with "three coverlets of yellow, green, and turquoise silk."[14] The five maidens who entertain him wear "the finest cambric worked in vertical ribbons." The emphasis on the maidens' garments in this passage may have been inspired by the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, first published in Venice in 1499.[15] The protagonist of the tale, Poliphilo, provides a lengthy account of nymphs dressed in elaborate ensembles consisting of layered silks.[16] The *Hypnerotomachia* nymphs wear:

> Carpathian garments of the finest silk of various colors and textures…three tunics, one shorter than the other and distinct; the innermost of a purple hue, the next one over it of green woven with gold, the uppermost of the thinnest white fabric, wrapped and curled; cinched with cords of gold beneath their round breasts.[17]

The descriptions of the appearance, texture, and imagined feel of fabrics laid out by both Colonna and Calmo allow readers a visceral experience of a sensual realm. In the case of Calmo's letter, addressed to a courtesan, his imagined journey through this land adorned with textiles that are beautiful to the eye and beg to be touched, undertaken in order to reach "Madame Venus," seems to further stoke his desire to see and touch his "Madame Olivieta." Venus and her attendants present Calmo with several gifts of cosmetics.[18] The bower in the garden prefigures the sensual delights of her bed; the costumes of the nymphs and attendants build anticipation for the pleasure of gazing upon the garments that ornament her body and the way in which they will play against her own flesh.

Calmo refers to his attempts to translate ephemeral pleasures into words as "discourses, fairy tales, and fantasies (or chimeras),"[19] descriptors that also fit the manipulations of identity in which Titian's female subjects engage.[20] In both *Flora* and the *Portrait of a Young Woman*, Titian employs realistic, lovingly rendered textiles to pique the viewer's desire to stroke the garments the subject wears and to heighten anticipation of the revelation of the skin beneath them. Like Flora, the subject of *Portrait of a Young Woman* drapes a luxury garment over her basic *camicia*, wrapping herself in a soft, deep green velvet cloak lined with fur. She pulls the collar of the cloak toward her breast, the velvet showing traces of her fingers having grasped and moved through the fabric. Titian is precise in rendering evidence of touch and movement, using tight brushstrokes to indicate creases and areas of relative smoothness. The subject brings the fur to rest against her skin, its deep brown contrasting with her white flesh, and its lush, diffuse fibers tickling her smooth, bare chest.

Calmo teases the senses in a similar manner with descriptions of beautiful, lush fabrics and the manner in which they press against and caress the bodies of the inhabitants of the erotic realm through which he travels (for example, the way the gauzy fabric drapes the genitals of the winged servants). Both Calmo and Titian stimulate tactile senses to increase the erotic impact of their works. Titian further makes use of both luxury garments and *camicie* as tools of masquerade, suggesting that, like the yearning for Madame Olivieta that transports Calmo, their erotic power can transport their partners to the mythological realm of Venus.[21] This play with costume appears to manifest a fluidity of identity explicitly associated with courtesans. However, scholarly investigations of Titian's half-lengths consistently conclude that he employed guises in an attempt to veil or diffuse overtly erotic elements.[22]

Figure 4. Agostino Veneziano, after Marcantonio Raimondi, nine fragments regarded as the only surviving representations of Giulio Romano and Raimondi's designs for the first edition of *I modi*, ca. 1520s, engraving, sheet 9.4 x 10.6 in. (24 x 27 cm). The British Museum, London. Photo: ©Trustees of the British Museum.

Figures 5 & 6. After originals by Giulio Romano, "Sonnet 7" (left) and "Sonnet 14" (right) with accompanying illustrations, from the 1550 version of *I modi*, woodblock prints, original dimensions unknown. Photo: Image reproduced with permission from Bette Talvacchia, *Taking Positions: On the Erotic in Renaissance Culture.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001.

Aretino's *I modi* and the Erotic Guise

Although I argue that the loosely draped garments Titian's half-length subjects wear accentuate their partial nudity, such classicizing and mythological attributes have also been viewed as a form of censorship to make acceptable otherwise inappropriate exposure. Such is the case with the various iterations of *I modi*, a series of sixteen explicitly erotic sonnets with accompanying illustrations first printed around 1524. Although they were likely shared and reprinted secretly, due to their controversial subject matter, Vasari commented in his *Lives of the Artists* that the images seemed to turn up in the places one would least expect.[23] Titian may have encountered *I modi* through his professional connections and close friendship with Pietro Aretino, who composed sixteen sonnets for the second edition of the volume, possibly published in Venice in 1527, when Aretino took up residence there.[24]

Romano's initial images for *I modi* (Figure 4) were unique in that they depicted the sexual act without the mythological references that scholars such as Bette Talvacchia have argued Renaissance artists often employed to tamp down explicit eroticism. Later adaptations of the images, however, do feature mythological attributes.[25] Among the surviving examples of these modified renditions are several woodcuts from the so-called former Toscanini volume, now in a private collection in Geneva. The illustration for *Position 7* (Figure 5), for instance, features a faun and a woman with a braided and looped nymph-like hairstyle.[26] *Position 14* (Figure 6) depicts a female figure positioning herself atop a male figure lying on a cart pulled by Cupid.[27]

Talvacchia assumes that the producers of such later editions must have added mythological attributes in an attempt to lend the collection an air of erudition, or perhaps even to render it less overtly pornographic.[28] Indeed, if men viewed the later prints together in a homosocial setting, the coupling of apparently mythological figures could potentially be discussed in a multitude of ways. In addition to learning about various sexual positions, it is possible that viewers also conversed about some of the allegorical aspects of these unions, such as the connotations of the surrender of Persephone, the daughter of the grain goddess Demeter, to Pluto, god of the underworld, who is associated with the barrenness of winter. However, the primary purpose of the prints, to titillate and stimulate, would have remained quite clear. Even after the addition of mythological props and labels, the images remain highly explicit in their display of genitalia and depictions of the sexual act; thus, it cannot be assumed that these alterations would have diminished their blatant eroticism in the eyes of their sixteenth-century audience.

In addition to the mythological attributes that appear in the illustrations for later editions, Aretino's original accompanying text prominently features allusions to Roman gods and goddesses. Aretino's sonnet accompanying *Position 12* (Figure

Figure 7. After an original by Giulio Romano, "Sonnet 12" and accompanying illustration, from the 1550 version of *I modi,* woodblock print, original dimensions unknown. Photo: Image reproduced with permission from Bette Talvacchia, *Taking Positions: On the Erotic in Renaissance Culture.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001.

7; see Appendix for full Italian text) portrays a coupling in which the two participants play-act an encounter between Mars and Venus. The woman begins by admonishing her partner for treating her so roughly.[29] She chastises him for his aggressive and overly eager manner, chiding him that he should not behave in this manner when coupling with "Venus," but instead should "be measured and polite."[30] Her partner replies that he is not Mars, but Ercole Rangoni, a son of a prominent Modenese family, a soldier, and a correspondent of Aretino. Rangoni then identifies the female speaker as Angela Greca, a Roman courtesan who also appears in Aretino's *Ragionamenti*, first published in 1534.[31] In that text, a courtesan named Nanna states that Greca is well known for her skill in cultivating and controlling jealousy amongst her lovers and is equally recognized for her learning. According to Aretino, Greca eventually adopted the professional alias of "Hortensia," the name of a famed Ancient Roman female orator known for her education and eloquence.[32]

The Mars-and-Venus conceit, one perhaps appropriate for an erudite courtesan, is woven throughout the encounter described in the sonnet, mingling fantasy with the tangible reality of the sexual act. Rangoni compliments Greca on the way she moves beneath him ("su la potta ballar fareste il cazzo, menando il culo e in su spingendo forte"); his partner enthusiastically agrees that their coupling is pleasurable ("Signor sì, che con voi fottendo sguazzo").[33] In the persona of Venus, she states that she is nevertheless fearful of Cupid using Mars' arms against her in the midst of their union, as he is "only a crazy child [*putto e pazzo*]."[34] Having decided to take on the role of Mars and play along, the man responds that Cupid, who is his "boy" and Venus' son ("*figlio*") looks after his weapons only so that they may be dedicated to the "Goddess of Idleness [*la dea Poltronaria*]."[35] The couple role-play as Venus and Mars in a manner that clearly increases the excitement of the act and enhances the client's pleasure.[36]

Notably, the female speaker sets up the game, declaring herself Venus and warning her partner that although he is a god himself, he must display some measure of reverence and respect in order to be granted the privilege of enjoying her body. Although the male participant at first teases her for adopting such a lofty identity and implies that he is not well suited for the role of Mars, the woman's vigorous movements beneath him and her apparent pleasure seem to encourage him to give himself over to the fantasy as well. The exchange between the couple in the sonnet accompanying *Position 12* articulates the types of inventive sexual experiences men imagined courtesans could offer. If, as Lawner argues, the production and distribution of *I modi* was to some extent tied to the world of courtesans and their practices, the later addition of mythological attributes to figures in the illustrations was not necessarily an attempt to employ learned allusions to detract from the explicit sexuality of the figures.[37] On the contrary, Aretino may have deployed this strategy to evoke the courtesan's erotic ability to move between various identities. In addition to encouraging the client to treat the courtesan's body with respect, a mythological fantasy could also boost the client's ego by allowing him to become, if just for a moment, a god himself.[38] Titian's half-lengths offer the same possibility. They present an alluring, available female body partially revealed beneath seductive textiles, along with the prospect of her momentary transformation, via costume, into a companion outside their usual realm of sexual experience.

The Erotic Metamorphosis of Titian's *Flora*

In Aretino's sonnets for *I modi*, fantasy play intensifies the pleasure of the couples to which he gives voice. In light of this conceit, Titian's half-lengths can be reconsidered as combining the same manipulation of identity with a focus on the seductive look and imagined feel of textiles similar to that which Andrea Calmo employed in his account of the "Realm of Venus." Titian's *Flora* is the ideal starting point for this examination, as the mythological woman she appears to imitate is herself a particularly nebulous figure. She is sometimes regarded purely as a demi-goddess; however, as in the case of Boccaccio's account of her origins as a prostitute deified for her largess, she is also frequently conflated with the ancient Roman archetype of the *meretrix*, or high-class prostitute.[39] Thus, Titian's *Flora* functions as a pictorial version of a courtesan type expressed in both contemporary Italian and ancient texts.

Titian juxtaposes Flora's pale beauty against a dark, indistinct background. The contrast makes the creamy smoothness of her skin all the more inviting, and she appears even to radiate light

throughout her loose *camicia*. Although the garment is not completely translucent, Titian suggests that a beautiful body lies beneath. The roundness of her right breast, although fully concealed, is apparent beneath the pleated folds of her *camicia*, and the garment hugs the plump curve of her hip. Her attitude is demure—she gazes dreamily to the right, perhaps at a companion hidden from view. The composition of the painting casts the viewer as voyeur, as the subject does not return the viewer's gaze and seems unaware of an additional presence. Nonetheless, the viewer gazes upon her body in what is obviously a quasi-dressed state, one normally witnessed only by female servants or by men who were expressly admitted into the bedroom.[40]

The artist further conveys a sense of intimacy through his manipulation of setting and composition. As is typical for Titian's half-length works, the painting lacks an articulated background or specific historical or mythological context. Anne Christine Junkerman describes this ambiguous setting as an indication that Titian's subjects are, at the very least, "not-outside."[41] I would further posit that although they wear contemporary garments, Titian's half-length subjects do not belong to a particular time or place. They exist purely as foci of desire. The artist's choice to present his subject from the waist up denotes a sense of physical proximity, as if the viewer and Flora occupy the same space. Junkerman argues that the Venetian half-length format was in part inspired by earlier devotional half-length images, which, in their suggestions of real presence and creation of an intimate, one-on-one relationship between the subject and viewer, constituted "a private image that is possessable."[42] Thus, Titian's rejection of setting may serve to help the viewer to inhabit the fantasy of engaging with the tempting body before him.

Flora's garment also emphasizes that the viewer glimpses the subject in a tantalizingly private moment. Cathy Santore has astutely interpreted *Flora* and other works featuring female figures in *camicie* as depicting women in a state of undress akin to the wearing of lingerie: that is, in an undone state that implies the sexualized display of undergarments.[43] The abundance of golden hair that flows over Flora's shoulders is another indication that she is in an intimate mode. Titian pays special homage to Flora's tresses, painting irregular crimps and curls to imply that she has recently unpinned her *coiffure*.[44] This is an excellent example, as David Rosand describes it, of Titian's skill in "heighten[ing] the basic experience of the tactile appeal of flesh by setting it off against other kinds of texture."[45] The charming imperfections of Flora's appearance suggest a transition from a highly formal self-presentation to one that emphasizes the undone beauty of the boudoir, although the painting and the subject's appearance are both highly-constructed images.

I argue that the erotic charge of changeable female identities is embodied by the *camicia*.[46] This undergarment, worn by Renaissance women of Titian's era, here becomes symbolic of a seductive liminal state. Santore has extensively analyzed the various possible implications of this garment, which commonly appears in images that may depict courtesans in the guise of Flora.[47] Among Santore's compelling evidence for the relationship between the camicia and mythological guises in Renaissance culture is that it was a common costume for actors playing nymphs in contemporary theatrical productions.[48] Conversely, Junkerman argues that the *camicia* alone cannot be interpreted as the costume of a nymph in the context of half-length female images, since it was always augmented in a theatrical setting by other pieces of clothing such as "short skirts and little boots."[49] I argue that the *camicie* in which Titian displays his subjects, while they do prompt associations with classical female figures and their drapery, are not intended solely to make allusion to nymph costuming. They also function as an indicator of a state of transition. In considering the history of artists' use of specific garment types to suggest transformation, it is useful to point to the garment worn by the nymph Chloris, as she appears in Botticelli's *Primavera*.[50] This long-sleeved, diaphanous white garment, unlike the similar garments worn by the Three Graces in the painting, lacks decorative draping or pinning, and resembles the *camicia* in its straight cut. The *camicia*, then, by Titian's time, had already developed at least some connection with female metamorphosis.

The half-length ensemble, as Junkerman describes it, also includes an accompanying drape of colored fabric. This outfit serves as the foundation for a more elaborate guise which the subject may be in the process of assuming or may have recently begun to strip away.[51] Whether or not the swaths of luxury fabric are representative of actual sixteenth-century attire, their richness and beauty indicate wealth and suggest a sumptuous lifestyle. Surviving inventories of the contents of Venetian courtesans' homes, such as the 1534 inventory of the possessions of Julia Lombardo, list

vast stores of clothing and fabrics.[52] The Lombardo inventory notes, for example, that chests in one of the three bedrooms in the house contained "65 *braccia* of fabric and an abundance of silk and lace trimmings."[53] In addition, the inventory reports sixty-four *camicie*. Santore writes that most noblewomen were sent off to their husbands with an average of about twelve *camicie*.[54]

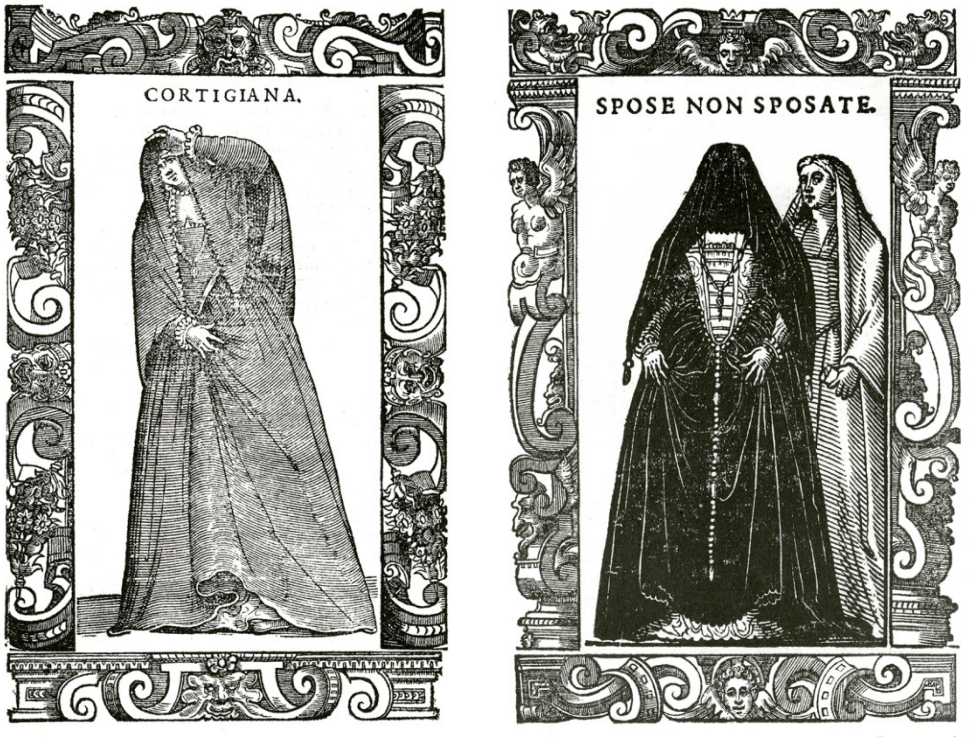
Flora emphasizes the beauty of the shimmering fabric draped over her own *camicia* with a caressing gesture, sliding her left hand beneath it and extending two fingers to stroke it. In the National Gallery of Art in Washington's catalogue for its 2006 exhibition on Venetian Renaissance painting, which included Titian's *Flora*, Sylvia Ferino-Pagden offers a comprehensive overview of scholarly opinion on the "V" that the subject forms with her fingers. Ferino-Pagden explores the possibility that the sitter points to her genitals specifically to indicate her status as a bride and to offer access to her body for the first time, as well as that the "V" shape may be interpreted as a reference to Venus, the goddess of love who presided over the sexual act in any context.[55] Giancarlo Fiorenza has further proposed that the "V" might serve as a proclamation of *virtus*, an appellation that would serve to idealize the subject if she was a bride. This argument, however, discounts the possibility that she could be a courtesan.[56] In my estimation, Titian may have instead, or perhaps additionally, employed this gesture as a symbol for the subject's sexual organs, making reference to them through correspondences in both the shape of Flora's fingers and the pink color of the drape.

Since they viewed the subject's body in a partially-undressed state, signifying their imaginary presence in her bedroom, men who owned images such as *Flora* could easily envision the possibility of impending interactions. I argue that ownership of such a painting may have implied ownership of the female body on display as well. Although other men may have been invited to view the painting, and thus to enjoy the subject's body and some aspects of her sexual performance, they were in reality permitted only to witness signs of the owner of the painting's possession and pleasure. As Simons asserts in her essay on seductive male Renaissance portraits, which, like half-length female images, may have been subjects of homosocial viewing, "fantasy could be all the more charged by a referential element, by the suggestion of some actual presence pre-existing the representation."[57] If the image, as I argue, reproduced tropes associated explicitly with sexual experiences with courtesans, the ability to draw on lived memories of what would come next in the erotic encounter that Titian represents would have been the owner's unique privilege.

Vecellio's *De gli Habiti Antichi e Moderni di Diversi Parti di Mondo* and the Courtesan's Emulative Masquerades

Although paintings like *Flora* depict private moments, viewers of Titian's half-lengths may have associated these images with courtesans' masquerades as observed through their appearance on the streets and piazzas of Venice. Just as they flouted sumptuary laws by wearing expensive textiles and jewels, Venetian courtesans also frequently declined to wear the culturally proscribed yellow veil intended to proclaim their profession and distinguish them from wealthy wives.[58] Instead, they engaged in in a kind of parodic emulation of these patrician women. Cesare Vecellio, Titian's cousin and the compiler of an exhaustive costume book, *De gli Habiti Antichi e Moderni di Diversi Parti di Mondo*, published in Venice in 1590, outlined in his text the many other ways in which courtesans were nearly indistinguishable from wives. According to Vecellio, they dressed in "the colors worn by brides," although they wore a shorter *fazzuolo*, or veil, than the women they imitated, one that accommodated the exposure of their face, neck and breasts. [59] One of Vecellio's prints, however, depicts a courtesan (Figure 8) as largely shrouded by her outer garment. It is the fact that she unabashedly lifts her veil to expose her face that indicates that she is not an inaccessible noblewoman.

The dress of Vecellio's bride (Figure 9) is more elaborately worked than that of his courtesan, but the courtesan's dress evokes an imitative similarity in its layered skirts and style of bodice. The gesture Vecellio assigns to the courtesan can be considered an erotic imitation of that of the bride, or *sposa non sposata*. Whereas the bride is demurely covered by her veil and her bodice, exposing nothing but a sliver of her upper chest, the courtesan exposes her breasts as well as her face. The courtesan wishes to be seen and to display her face to prospective patrons. Revealing her true identity, Vecellio's courtesan pulls at the fabric around her genitals in an effort to call attention to her sexual availability. This, too, is a version of the more modest gesture performed by Vecellio's bride, who



Figures 8 & 9. Cesare Vecellio, *Venetian Courtesan Outdoors* (left), and *Unmarried Bride* (right), from *De gli Habiti Antichi et Moderni di Diversi Parti del Mondo,* first published 1590, woodblock print, printer of this version and original dimensions unknown. Photo: Image reproduced with permission from Ann Rosalind Jones and Margaret F. Rosenthal, eds. *Cesare Vecellio's Habiti Antichi et Moderni: The Clothing of the Renaissance World. Europe—Asia—Africa—the Americas.* New York: Thames and Hudson, 2008.

lifts her skirt ostensibly to display the rich fabric of her underskirt. The bride's gesture is refined and measured, drawing subtle attention to the imminent male access to her body while remaining within expected boundaries of public female behavior. By contrast, the courtesan's gesture, as she grabs the fabric of her skirt in her fist, appears crude and vulgar; like Flora, she forms a "V" with her fingers, but they rest provocatively next to her genitals. This bride masquerade, observed on the streets of Venice and then synthesized and codified by Vecellio, represents one potential guise among many that the courtesan could assume in order to attract and please her clients. It is this perceived ability that Titian illustrates in his half-lengths.

The *camicia* Titian's Flora wears functions like the veil of the bride-courtesan. It is a symbol, as Eugenia Paulicelli has defined it, of the "site of two opposing forces" of modesty and seduction.[60] Titian maximizes Flora's appeal by depicting her in a manner that oscillates between these two states. The artist renders the slipping of the *camicia* from her shoulder in such a way that it can be read either as a tantalizing unintentional exposure or as a calculated attempt to stoke desire. The fallen garment visually echoes the curve of her left breast and tantalizes the viewer with the possibility of a peek at her nipple, manifesting a state that conveys both dress and undress and neither fully obscures the body of the subject nor fully reveals it.[61] The presence of an undergarment also suggests that the subject is, in this moment, caught between guises, not yet fully Flora and yet not simply her nude, unadorned self, without any pretention of an alternative identity. I argue that the fantasy courtesan's wearing of a *camicia*, a garment associated with transition, signals that she is able to vacillate between various desirable identities. Will she dress again in sumptuous attire that makes her like a noblewoman, or will she remove the garment to offer her body as a Flora amenable to the viewer's attentions? Her identity is fluid; the inclusion of a clutch of flowers and the *camicia*, a garment associated with nymphs, suggest her relationship to Flora, but she could easily become someone else.[62]

Titian's Portrait of a Young Woman and Erotic Plays with Gender

Titian's later so-called *Portrait of a Young Woman* (Figure 3) exhibits notable similarities to his *Flora*. Like Flora, the subject of this painting wears a loosely-draped *camicia* that falls teasingly from her shoulder, exposing the bare skin of her arms and chest. Unlike Flora, she wears her blond hair gathered up beneath her hat, rather than loose and flowing. However, her dark eyes, rosebud mouth, and long, straight nose resemble those of Flora.[63] These similarities are evidence that Titian may have consciously produced variations on a type, creating images that could be used as visual prompts for fantasies with courtesans as their protagonists.[64]

Portrait of a Young Woman presents such a fiction, articulated through an assemblage of signs of transformation. The female subject is again presented from the waist up and set against a dark background that removes her from an identifiable context. Although she is partially nude, her body is adorned with costly jewelry, marking her as extraordinary. She wears large teardrop pearl earrings, a pearl necklace and a bracelet made of gold and precious stones. The hat jauntily perched atop her head is ornately decorated and likely expensive as well. The brim of the red-gold hat is set off by what appears to be gold brocade wrapped in a second string of pearls, accented by a large, round brooch. None of the many feminine styles of hats documented in Cesare Vecellio's exhaustive costume book display the same voluminous and showy feathers, nor do they feature similarly large, bejeweled ornaments that may have served as emblems of family or fortune. In fact, the majority of Titian's female subjects are portrayed with bare heads. Those who do appear in a headdress wear one that is distinctly feminine in character, such as the richly-worked *scuffia* worn by Isabella D'Este in her portrait by Titian (Figure 10). Hats comparable to the one worn by the *Young Woman* can, however, be found in Titian's male portraits executed within several years of that painting, including his *Portrait of Ippolito de Medici* (Figure 11) and *Portrait of a Man Holding a Book* (Figure 12). The female subject's hat differs in shape from those featured in the male portraits, apparently made of a more structured, stiffer material. However, the masculine hats, which are decorated with feathers, and, in the case of the portrait of Ippolito de Medici, a brooch, are the closest cognates to be found in portraits of the period.

Thus, a study of contemporaneous visual sources suggests that the hat Titian's subject wears would appear out of place on a woman.[65] In addition, he chose to paint it resting on her head in a haphazard fashion. This unorthodox position could imply that either she or a companion has intentionally set it on her head in this way to suggest a playful masquerade or guise. Likewise, the subject does not so much wear the fur-lined cloak that covers her left shoulder and lower torso as simply drape it loosely over her body. A similar garment appears in Giorgione's *Laura*, an earlier work of the half-length format. The female subject of that painting is dressed in a heavy red mantle lined with soft brown fur. It is evident that, like that of Titian's subject, Laura's cloak does not properly fit her body, as the fabric of the garment's left arm swallows up and completely hides her left hand. Titian may have imitated Laura's gesture in his *Flora* as well. Laura grasps the edge of the mantle, in the process of either pulling it across her chest to cover her exposed right breast or, perhaps, to reveal it further. Titian's subject performs this ambiguous gesture with both hands, playing at concealing or exposing both her breasts and lower torso.

In her study of Giorgione's *Laura*, Junkerman's examination of similar mantles worn by men in the artist's *Adoration of the Magi* and in Carpaccio's *Leavetaking of the Betrothed Pair* leads her to convincingly identify the subject's garment as masculine. Junkerman also suggests that, because Venetian women were largely confined to the domestic sphere, they would likely have had no need for such a heavy, enveloping outer garment. She further argues that tailored outer garments were worn almost exclusively by men.[66] The simple veils and elegant, lighter winter garments worn by the women depicted in Vecellio's costume book may support Junkerman's assertion that Venetian women wore fashionable, layered clothing outdoors rather than bulky coverings such as fur cloaks.[67] With those references in mind, contemporary viewers would have identified both Laura's garment and the cloak draped over Titian's subject, as well as the hat she wears, as distinctly masculine. Titian, then, may have intended for the viewer to interpret the subject as wearing clothes that could belong to a well-appointed sixteenth-century Venetian man, perhaps the viewer himself.

Rona Goffen asserts that the fact that the subject of *Woman in a Fur Coat* (Figure 13)

Figure 10. Titian, *Isabella d'Este*, ca. 1534, oil on canvas, 40 x 25 in. (1.02 m. x 0.64 m). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. Photo: Erich Lessing / Art Resource, NY.

Figure 11. Titian, *Portrait of Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici*, ca. 1533, oil on canvas, 54 x 42 in. (138 x 106 cm). Galleria Palentina, Palazzo Pitti, Florence. Photo: Scala/Ministero per i Beni e le Attività culturali / Art Resource, NY.

Figure 12. Titian, *Portrait of a Man Holding a Book*, ca.1540, oil on canvas, 38.5 x 30 in. (98 x 77 cm.) Boston: Museum of Fine Arts. Photo: © 2017 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Figure 13. Titian, *Woman in a Fur Coat*, ca. 1535, oil on canvas, 37 x 24 in. (95 x 63 cm). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. Photo: Erich Lessing / Art Resource, NY.

drapes herself with a masculine garment may indicate both a male presence and the sexual power the subject holds over the man in question.[68] Junkerman suggests that the masculine connotations of Laura's cloak in Giorgione's similar composition may also insinuate that the man to whom the garment belongs claims her body, using an article of clothing that can be connected to his own body as a proxy.[69] Alternatively, it is possible that the subject of Titian's *Portrait of a Young Woman* has dressed herself in clothing that her companion has recently set aside in an attempt to prolong her teasing revelation of her own body. Since she is dressed in a *camicia*, she has evidently already begun to undress, but now tantalizes her lover by making playthings of his garments. In encountering Titian's *Young Woman*, as in gazing upon Giorgione's *Laura*, viewers were "surprised and delighted" by the unusual and incongruous sight of beautiful women wearing and removing male garments in a seductive manner.[70]

The Venetian fascination with erotic play with gendered clothing, like the more general idea of sensual masquerade, finds its roots in the observed behavior of courtesans in the public sphere. Courtesans were widely known for cross-dressing, a practice concealed beneath their outwardly feminine garb and viewed as an exciting subversion of sexual norms.[71] Two well-known Venetian prints (Figures 14, 15, and 16) show courtesans out in public, dressed as noblewomen in a manner similar to that of the women in Vecellio's prints. However, the viewer may actually perform the act of lifting the courtesan's skirt, revealing the secret that she wears men's breeches underneath.[72] Patricia Simons suggests that it is the contrast between projected femininity and a hidden play with masculine garments that delights the viewer.[73] Viewers might have found it thrilling to see an attractive woman in male garments, especially knowing that a womanly body was concealed beneath. These voyeuristic depictions of cross-dressing courtesans, which, unlike paintings, could be held in the owner's hands, offer a more immediate experience of the interaction between subject and viewer implied by Titian's half-lengths.

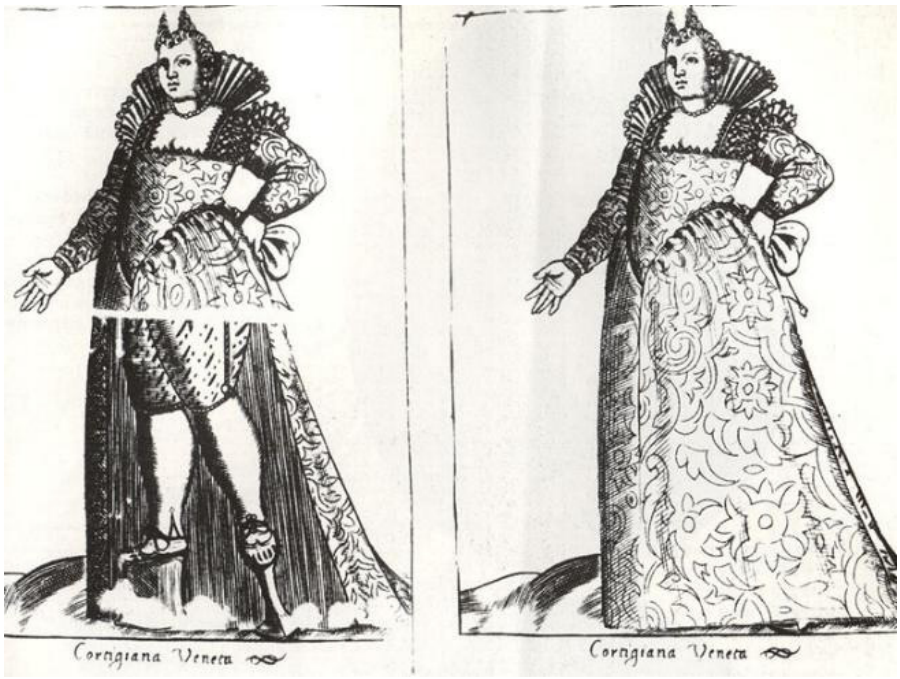
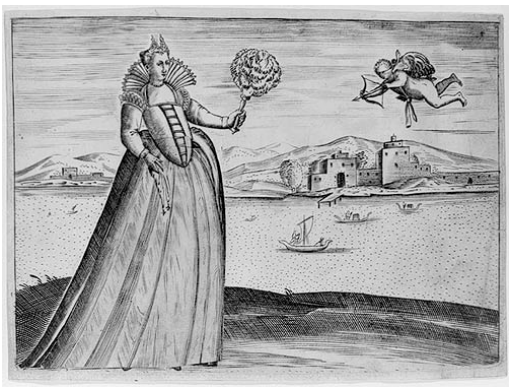
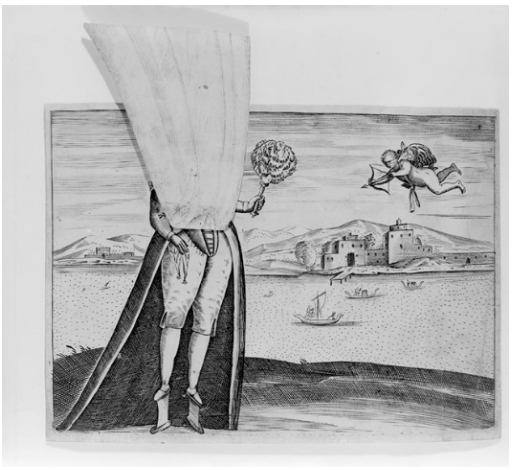


Figure 14. Pietro Bertelli, *Cortegiana Veneza,* from *Diversarum Nationum Habitus,* 1591, woodblock print, printer of this version and original dimensions unknown. From a copy in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Photo: © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.





Figures 15 & 16. Pietro Bertelli, *Courtesan and Blind Cupid*, ca. 1588, engraving and etching, 5 ½ in. x 7 ½ in. (14 cm x 19 cm). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Photo: Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Titian's *Portrait of a Young Woman* may also reference a second fantasy often explored in cultural depictions of courtesans. Aretino's sonnets for *I modi* make repeated mention of women engaging in, and in fact being specifically desirous of, anal penetration.[74] Lawner observes that Aretino, immersed in the world of courtesans, "dwells over and over on the possibility of alternating the natural and unnatural ways of making love with a woman. It is the choice that fascinates him, as well as the possibility of doing it both ways."[75] In dressing the subject of *Portrait of a Young Woman* in a fur cloak and a hat that carry masculine gender associations, Titian may be offering this very choice to the viewer.

Although his study focuses on fifteenth-century Florence, it is worth noting Michael Rocke's discussion of contemporary legal accounts that detail wives' distress in response to their husbands' intention to "use them from behind." Many of these accounts imply that this desire originated in the husband's early sexual involvement with young men.[76] Additionally, N.S. Davidson cites the record of an August 1500 Venetian trial that condemned a woman named Rada de Jadra to death for arranging anal sex between young female prostitutes and male clients. Although societal authorities condemned anal sex and in some cases strictly punished participants, it nonetheless clearly remained a desire actively pursued.[77] Although many men had experienced male/male anal sex before their marriages, laws in both Florence and Venice technically prohibited such acts once they had become husbands.[78] In Florence in particular, sexual relations between men, although illegal, were tolerated on a social level if they were pederastic in nature, with an older, unmarried man as the dominant participant.[79] Judging by an emphasis on the act in erotic narratives associated with courtesans, it is possible that men may have visited courtesans specifically to engage in anal sex, although these women could not serve as direct substitutes for the young men with whom their clients may have engaged in this act in the past. However, through costume and play-acting, the courtesan could create the illusion that she could be either man or woman, or even both simultaneously. Titian, in his *Portrait of a Young Woman*, may allude to this fiction.

Titian's pictorial choices diminish the subject's feminine qualities, as the hat she wears covers most of her curled hair, and her breasts are entirely obscured by her right arm, pressed close to her chest, and by her *camicia*. Although the curve of the subject's right breast is partially visible next to her arm, her chest is much flatter and less voluptuous than that of Flora, for example. The viewer is not afforded a glimpse of her nipple, as in the case of Titian's *Woman in a Fur Coat*, or teased with the suggestion of the breast's roundness beneath the *camicia*. She seems to make a greater effort to obscure her sexual parts than Titian's other half-length subjects, concealing her genitals by doubling the coat over her body so that the fur lining is exposed. Her left arm and hand extend across her genitals, masking them if not suggesting a prohibition of access. Her left hand reaches toward her side, while her pointer finger extends this gesture to indicate her backside. This may

be a reference to an accommodation of a desire for anal sex, recalling Nanna's words in Aretino's *Ragionamenti* on the sexual proclivities of Venetians for "ass, and breast, and hard and soft things of fourteen or sixteen years, or at the most twenty years…"[80] While her pearl jewelry denotes her female gender, the subject's face is smooth and young, her chin sharp. Titian presents the subject in the midst of manipulating sumptuous props to conform to her companion's desires. He eroticizes the subject's interaction with the garments and accessories she employs, whether she is playfully dressing up as her companion, exploiting his garments to delay his access to her body, or adopting them to suggest that she can stand in for a boyish lover. She is putting on a show, using props to play-act for the pleasure of an implied male companion, namely the viewer. The enjoyment of her body, once it is stripped of all of its accoutrements, is the culmination of an elaborate fantasy, either that of the pleasurable deception of obscuring and then revealing her female parts or of the continuation of her charade as a boy.

Like the female characters in contemporary writings such as Aretino's Sonnet 12 for *I modi*, the women of Titian's half-lengths vacillate between various self-presentations, including identities as nymphs, goddesses, and even as boys. Reading Titian's half-length, semi-nude figures through this lens of masquerade offers a solution for the problems posed by their ambiguous dress and gesture. These paintings exist in dialogue with a contemporary cultural acknowledgement of the courtesan's appeal as a sexual chimera, as well as a related set of oft-articulated male fantasies. The prevalence of this courtesan-as-masquerader trope furthermore indicates that guises, mythological and otherwise, can be considered amplifications of eroticism rather than veils of propriety. It is possible, then, that Titian's half-length images do not portray either a courtesan or an alternate identity assumed via elements of contemporary costume. Instead, they exemplify the cultural conception of the courtesan as embodying the potential to realize a multitude of erotic fantasies.

Appendix A

Transcription of "Sonnetto 12" from a 1527 "counterfeit edition" of I modi most likely printed in Venice.[81]

[D].—Marte, malatestissimo poltrone,
così sotto una donna non si reca,
e non si fotte Venere a la ceca,
con assai furia e poca discrezione.

[U.]—Io non son Marte, io son Ercol Rangone,
e fotto voi che sete Angela Greca,
e s'io avessi qui la mia ribeca
vi suonerai fotendo una canzone;

e voi signora, mia dolce consorte,
su la porta ballar fareste il cazzo,
menando il culo e in su spingengo forte.

[D.] –Signor sì, che con voi fottendo sguazzo,
ma temo Amor che non mia dia la morte
con le vostre armi, essendo putto e pazzo.

[U.]—Cupido è mio ragazzo
e vostro figlio, e guarda l'arme mia
per sacrarle a la dea Poltronaria.

Notes

* This article developed from a project first undertaken in an art history graduate seminar entitled "The Renaissance at Home," taught by Monika Schmitter at the University of Massachusetts Amherst. I am grateful to Professor Schmitter for her support as I revised and expanded the article and prepared it for publication. I would also like to extend my thanks to the editors of *Rutgers Art Review*, whose thoughtful and productive questions and comments helped shape the final version.

1. Sylvia Ferino-Pagden indicates that the painting was first identified as a depiction of Flora via a caption that accompanied a 1640 Sandrart engraving of the image. See Sylvia Ferino Pagden, "Pictures of Women—Pictures of Love," in David Allen Brown and Sylvia Ferino-Pagden, *Bellini - Giorgione - Titian and the Renaissance of Venetian Painting* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), 226.

2. On *Flora*'s identity, see Hans Tietze, *Titian. The Paintings and Drawings* (London: Phaidon, 1950), 14; Julian S. Held, "Flora, Goddess and Courtesan," in *Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, ed. Millard Meiss (New York: New York University Press, 1961), 208-213; Emma H. Mellencamp, "A Note on the Costume of Titian's Flora," *Art Bulletin* 51, no. 2 (June 1969): 174-177; Charles Hope, *Titian* (New York: HarperCollins, 1980), 61-62; Augusto Gentili, *Da Tiziano a Tiziano: Mito e allegoria nella cultura venziana del Cinquecento* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1980), 82-105; Peter Humfrey, *Titian: The Complete Paintings* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 2007), 94; Rona Goffen, *Titian's Women* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), 72; Jochen Sander, *Italienische Gemälde im Städel 1330-1550: Oberitalian, die Marken und Rom* (Mainz am Rhein, 2004), 319.

3. For a comprehensive overview of earlier literature on female half-lengths, including examples such as Titian's *Vanitas* (1515), Giorgione's *Laura* (1506), and Palma Vecchio's *Young Woman in Profile* (ca. 1520-25), see Ferino-Pagden, "Pictures of Women," 189-235. For a sampling of arguments pertaining to the general issues associated with female "portrait" images, including half-lengths, see Cathy Santore, "Like a Nymph," *Source: Notes in the History of Art 19*, no. 3 (Summer 2008): 20-26; Anne Christine Junkerman, "The Lady and the Laurel: Gender and Meaning in Giorgione's *Laura*," *Oxford Art Journal* 16, no. 1 (1993): 49-58; Elizabeth Cropper, "The Beauty of Woman: Problems in the Rhetoric of Renaissance Portraiture," in *Rewriting the Renaissance: The Discourse of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Margaret W. Ferguson, Maureen Quilligan, and Nancy Vickers (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 175-190.

4. Rona Goffen, "Sex, Space, and Social History in Titian's *Venus of Urbino*," in *Titian's Venus of Urbino*, ed.

Rona Goffen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 68.

5. On the differences between male and female portraiture, see Patricia Simons, "Portraiture, Portrayal, and Idealization," in *Language and Images of Renaissance Italy*, ed. Alison Brown (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 266-267. On Lotto's *Venus and Cupid* as a mythologically-inspired bride portrait, see Goffen, "Sex, Space and Social History," 66; Andrea Bayer, "Venus and Cupid," in *Art and Love in Renaissance Italy*, ed. Andrea Bayer (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008); Keith Christiansen, "Lorenzo Lotto and the Tradition of Epithalamic Painting," *Apollo* 124 (September 1986): 166-173; Everett Fahy, *Recent Acquisitions: A Selection, 1986–1987* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1987), 33–34; Bernhard Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance* (Oxford, 1932), 310.

6. Goffen, *Titian's Women*, 72.

7. Anne Christine Junkerman, "'Bellissma donna': An Interdisciplinary Study of Venetian Sensuous Half-Length Images of the Early Sixteenth Century" (PhD dissertation, University of California, 1988), 339.

8. First compiled in the 1540s, the letters were described in a later 1576 Venetian edition as "various and artful speeches, and humorous, philosophical conceits (*varij & ingeniosi discorsi & fantastiche fantasie Filosofiche*)" rather than as true correspondence. See Jennifer Neville, "Learning the Bassadanza from a Wolf: Andrea Calmo and Dance," *Dance Research: The Journal of the Society for Dance Research* 30, no. 1 (Summer 2012): 82. For a summary of what is known about Calmo, his background, and his involvement in early Commedia dell'Arte, see the introduction to *Le lettere di Messer Antonio Calmo, riprodotte sulle stampe migliori*, ed. Vittorio Rossi (Torino: E. Loescher, 1888), 4-15.

9. Lynne Lawner, *Lives of the Courtesans – Portraits of the Renaissance* (New York: Rizzoli, 1987), 61.

10. Lawner, *Lives of the Courtesans*, 64.

11. On plants traditionally associated with Venus, and which often appear as her attributes in Renaissance art, see Eve D'Ambra, *Roman Women* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 176.

12. Lawner, *Lives of the Courtesans*, 28.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.

15. Although the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* is an allegorical account of a youth attempting to reclaim his lost love, it too is suffused with sensual details. On his quest, the hero wanders through a garden which is exceptionally similar to the one described by Calmo, containing "lilies and blooming Lysimachia and fragrant reeds and celery root and many other aquatic herbs and noble flowers…" ("lilii convallii et la florente lysimachia et il odoroso calamo et la cedovaria, apio et di assai altre appretiate erbe acquicole et nobili fiori… "), Francesco Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, ed. Giovanni Pozzi and Lucia A. Ciapponi (Padua: Editrice Antenore, 1968), 65. Unless otherwise indicated, English translations are those of the author of this article.

16. The original text describes the nymphs that appear to Poliphilo thus: "Vestite di carpantico habito di seta ornatissimo et di vario coloramento et textura. Erano tre tuniche, la una più breve di l'altra et distincta: la infima conchiliata, di sopra sequiva la sericea di verdissimo colore intramata d'oro, la suprema bombicina tenuissima, croceata et crispula; succinte di torque aureo sotto al termine dille rotonde mammillule." Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia*, 67.

17. Ibid.

18. Lawner, *Lives of the Courtesans*, 28.

19. "Discorsi, fiabe, e chimere." Rita Casagrande di Villaviera, *Le cortegiane veneziane nel Cinquecento* (Milan: Longanesi, 1968), 172.

20. As Maria H. Loh recounts, scholars have suggested that Titian may also have been familiar with the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphilli*, a likely source for Calmo's imagery. They have proposed in particular that the

illustration of the sleeping nymph in the *Hypnerotomachia* inspired the pose of Titian's *Sleeping Venus* and *Venus of Urbino*. See Maria H. Loh, *Titian Remade: Repetition and the Transformation of Early Italian Art* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2007), 22-23.

21. For an example of Titian's blurring of contemporary and classicizing dress outside of the half-length genre, see his repainting of *Feast of the Gods* (1514/1529), now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

22. For an assessment of Titian's *Flora* and *Venus with a Mirror*, respectively, see Rona Goffen, *Titian's Women*, 72-75 and 133-139.

23. Giorgio Vasari, *Le vita dè più eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori italiani*, ed. Luciano Bellosi and Aldo Rossi (Turin: Einaudi, 1986), 418.

24. Lynne Lawner, *I Modi: The Sixteen Pleasures: An Erotic Album of the Italian Renaissance* (Chicago: Northwestern University Press, 1989), 17. See also Luba Freedman, *Titian's Portraits Through Aretino's Lens* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), 11. Although Freedman's book focuses on Aretino's letters to Titian's clients, missives that praised portraits the artist completed between 1537 and 1550, Titian would have been well aware of Aretino's reputation prior to this project and presumably knew of his involvement in the production of the second edition of *I modi*, especially if it was indeed published in Venice. Given that Titian began producing paintings for Federico Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, beginning in 1523, it is also possible that in his frequent visits to court he may have met or been exposed to the *I modi* controversy surrounding Giulio Romano, who lived and worked at the Mantuan court from 1524. See Erwin Panofsky, *Problems in Titian: Mostly Iconographic* (New York: New York University Press, 1969), 7.

25. Bette Talvacchia, "Il mercato dell'Eros: Rappresentazioni della sessualità femminile nei sogetti mitologici," in *Monaca, moglie, serva, cortegiana: vita e immagine delle donne tra Rinascimento e Controinforma*, ed. Sara F. Matthews-Grieco (Florence: Morgana, 2001), 194. See also Bette Talvacchia, *Taking Positions: On the Erotic in Renaissance Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 4.

25. Talvacchia, *Taking Positions*, 32. Talvacchia argues that the faun-like features of the male figure in this image represent an intervention of the later wood-cut artist who adapted Romano's original design, stressing that Romano's innovation was that his figures were fully human.

27. Ibid., 40.

28. Talvacchia, "Il mercato dell'Eros," 193-94.

29. Pietro Aretino, "Sonnet 12," in Lawner, *I Modi*, 82.

30. Translation in Lawner, *I Modi*, 82. Original Italian text cited in Lawner, *I Modi*, 129: "Marte, malatestissimo poltrone, così sotto una donna non si reca / e non si fotte Venere a la ceca / con assai furia e poca discrezione."

31. Lawner, *I Modi*, 96, note 12. See Appendix A for full original text of Sonnet 12.

32. Ibid. Lynne Lawner writes that another of Aretino's poems mentions that Greca later married Ercole Rangoni; however, as it is a satirical piece, it is uncertain whether the marriage did actually occur. See Lawner, *I Modi*, 86, note 12.

33. Lawner instead translates the Italian *ragazzo* as "servant." Lawner, *I Modi*, 129. In translating the imagined exchange, Lawner also describes Rangoni as calling Greca his "lady and sweet wife." In the original text, Aretino uses the Italian word *consorte*, which does not necessarily correspond to the English *wife*, and may function as a simple equivalent to the English word *consort*, referencing Mars' traditional role as Venus' lover. Talvacchia uses this alternate translation in her own examination of *I Modi*, treating the English "consort" as a direct equivalent to the term.

34 Lawner, *I Modi*, 82; 129.

35. Lawner, *I Modi*, 82.

36. The male voice is very complimentary toward the act and toward the female participant's body. See Aretino,

"Sonnet 12," in Talvacchia, *Taking Positions*, 82.

37. The woodcuts reproduced in Lawner's book are taken from an early sixteenth-century copy of *I Modi* purchased by Walter Toscanini in Italy in 1928 and now held in another private collection. This particular volume is bound together with an additional set of fourteen postures and sixteen sonnets which appear not to be the work of Aretino, along with other erotic works, including two pertaining specifically to courtesans: Lorenzo Venier's *La puttana errante* and *Il trentuno della Zaffetta*. Lawner, *I Modi*, 14. On the relationship of the images and text of *I modi* to the world of courtesans, see also Lawner, *I Modi*, 22.

38. Patricia Simons points out a well-known manifestation of this fantasy in another of Titian's paintings, his Naples *Danae* (ca. 1545), painted for Cardinal Alessandro Farnese. Simons suggests that, as Cardinal Farnese viewed the painting in his *camera propria*, his visual access to this Danae's body would allow Farnese to mentally play-act as Zeus. See Patricia Simons, "Portraiture, Portrayal, and Idealization," in *Language and Images of Renaissance Italy*, ed. Alison Brown (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 299.

39. Goffen, *Titian's Women*, 72-75.

40. Rona Goffen compares the attitude and dress of Titian's Flora to an iteration of the same figure in Botticelli's *Primavera*, thus connecting Titian's work to an allegory of transformation from bride to wife. She further suggests that the gold ring on Flora's right hand and her loose hair indicate her status as a bride. While these details can be construed as marks of such a status, they are just as likely the attributes of the courtesan. Goffen, *Titian's Women*, 73-74.

41. Junkerman, "'Bellissima donna,'" 23.

42. Junkerman, "'Bellissima donna,'"130.

43. Santore, "Like a Nymph," *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 27, no. 3 (Summer 2008): 23.

44. On the connotations of undone coifs, see Monika Schmitter, "Botticelli's Images of Simonetta Vespucci: Between Portrait and Ideal," *Rutgers Art Review* 15 (1995): 33-57.

45. David Rosand, *Titian* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1978), 33.

46. Goffen, *Titian's Women*, 72.

47. Santore, "Like a Nymph," 20-26.

48. Santore, "Like a Nymph," 20.

49. Junkerman, "'Bellissima donna,'" 352-353.

50. Goffen, *Titian's Women*, 72.

51. Junkerman, "'Bellissima donna,'" 24-25.

52. Cathy Santore, "Julia Lombardo, 'Somtusoa Meretrice': A Portrait by Property," *Renaissance Quarterly* 41, no. 1 (Spring 1988): Appendix I.

53. Santore, "Julia Lombardo, 'Somtusoa Meretrice,'" 44.

54. Santore, "Julia Lombardo, 'Somtusoa Meretrice,'"47-48.

55. Ferino-Pagden, "Pictures of Women," 226.

56. Giancarlo Fiorenza, "Pandolfo Collenuccio's 'Specchio d'Esopo' and the Portrait of the Courtier," *I Tatti Studies: Essays in the Renaissance* 9 (2001), 84, note 65, as cited in Ferino-Pagden, "Pictures of Women," 227.

57. Patricia Simons, "Homosociality and erotics in Italian Renaissance portraiture," in *Portraiture: Facing the Subject*, ed. Joanna Woodall (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1997), 41.

58. See Goffen, *Titian's Women*, 84 and Eugenia Paulicelli, "From the Sacred to the Secular: The Gendered Geography of Veils in Italian Cinquecento Fashion," in *Ornamentalism: The Art of Renaissance Accessories*, ed. Bella Mirabella, ed. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011), 48 for background on the yellow veil as a cultural marker.

59. Ann Rosalind Jones and Margaret F. Rosenthal, eds., *Cesare Vecellio's Habiti Antichi et Moderni: The Clothing of the Renaissance World. Europe—Asia—Africa—the Americas* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2008), 182.

60. Paulicelli, "From the Sacred to the Secular," 48.

61. Junkerman "'Bellissima donna,'" 9.

62. See Ferino-Pagden, "Pictures of Women," 226.

63. X-radiography has also shown that Titian's original rendering of the subject of *Portrait of a Young Woman* was nearly identical to that of the roughly contemporaneous *Woman in a Fur Coat* (Figure 13); it appears that Titian merely altered the costume. Humfrey, *Titian*, 165.

64. Maria Loh has argued that Titian's workshop routinely produced coveted "types" that were "customized and personalized…for subsequent users." She cites as a specific example the Cardinal of Lorraine's easy acceptance of a copy of a painting of "a woman" that was unavailable because it had been sold to another patron. Although it is impossible to say with certainty whether this was a painting of the half-length type, it seems that this genre was subject to the same business practice. Loh, *Titian Remade*, 42.

65. An additional piece of evidence that, during the Renaissance period, feathered hats were exclusively associated with masculine fashion is their appearance in early-seventeenth-century English engravings of the "Hic Mulier" or "Man-Woman." Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass cite feathered hats as the defining attribute of this pictorial type. See Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 80-82.

66. Junkerman, "The Lady and the Laurel," 53.

67. For a comparison in a contemporaneous Italian painting depicting a man and woman walking outdoors, see Nicholas Bollery, *Maria de' Medici Accompanied by Grand Duke Ferdinando de' Medici*, ca. 1613-14, oil on canvas, Cherbourg-Octeville, Musée Thomas Henry, as reproduced in Elizabeth Currie, *Fashion and Masculinity in Renaissance Florence* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016), 33. The man's cloak is made of velvet lined with ermine, and is long and voluminous, so much so that it is carried behind him by an attendant. The female figure wears long sleeves and an overdress rather than a cloak.

68. Goffen considers the garment worn by Titian's *Venus with a Mirror* (ca. 1555, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.) as analogous to that worn by Giorgione's *Laura*. Technical analysis of the *Venus with a Mirror* demonstrates that the artist reused a canvas on which he had previously painted a portrait of a contemporary couple. In converting it to a depiction of Venus, he retained the male half of the couple's fur-lined cloak as the goddess' drapery. Goffen suggests this is indicative both of economy and of Titian's intention to suggest a male presence in the room that Venus occupies. Goffen, *Titian's Women*, 137-138.

69. Junkerman, "The Lady and the Laurel," 55.

70. David Allen Brown, "Venetian Painting and the Invention of Art," in *Bellini – Giorgione – Titian and the Renaissance of Venetian Painting*, ed. David Allen Brown and Sylvia Ferino-Pagden (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), 23.

71. Simons, "Portraiture, Portrayal, and Idealization," 296.

72. Patricia Simons has astutely highlighted the interactive quality of prints of this type, which treat the paper "as though it were cloth" and insinuate that "the manipulator [has] control over fictive and actual material alike." Patricia Simons, "The Visual Dynamics of (Un)veiling in Early Modern Culture," in *Visual Cultures of Secrecy in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Giancarlo Fiorenza, Timothy McCall, and Sean E. Roberts (Kirksville: Truman State University Press, 2013), 35.

73. Ibid.

74. Lawner suggests that several of the positions featured in Giulio Romano's woodcuts are ambiguous and may represent anal sex; the text supports this conjecture in several instances. Primary among these examples is Sonnet 10, which begins with the line, "Io voglio in cul, tu mi perdonerai!" ("I want it in the ass, forgive me!") Sonnet 16 also appears to reference sodomy, as the female participant narrates, "Tu per a gambe in collo in cul me l'hai" ("You have me in the ass with my legs drawn up to my neck.") Author's translations from the original text printed in Lawner, *I Modi*, 78; 128; 90; 131. Because of the changeable nature of the contemporary definition of "sodomy" (*sodomia*), I have refrained from using the term to describe anal intercourse. Michael Rocke offers a comprehensive examination of the word and its Renaissance meanings, observing that religious authorities originally defined it as a sexual act between two people of the same gender. However, it was employed legally and socially to describe a set of acts which could not result in procreation, and which were thus considered to be contrary to natural sexual relations. See Michael Rocke, *Forbidden Friendships: Homosexuality and Male Culture in Renaissance Florence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 11. For an explanation of the use of the term in contemporary Venetian society, see N.S. Davidson, "Sodomy in Early Modern Venice," in *Sodomy in Early Modern Europe, ed*. Tom Betteridge (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), 66.

75. Lawner, *I Modi*, 45. Sonnets 8, 11, and 14 indicate that that the male participant is interested in both types of intercourse. See Lawner, *I Modi*, 74; 80; 86.

76. Rocke, *Forbidden Friendships*, 129-130.

77. Davidson, "Sodomy in Early Modern Venice," 68.

78. Because male/male sexual acts were considered to have a negative impact on procreation and the creation of new families, Florentine religious and civil authorities spoke out against them. The Florentine municipal government took additional action via a dowry investment scheme, sponsorship of confraternities that allowed for non-sexual homosocial interactions, and the establishment of state-run brothels that made female prostitutes available. Adrian W.B. Randolph, "Homosocial Desire and Donatello's Bronze *David*" in *Engaging Symbols: Gender, Politics, and Public Art in Fifteenth-Century Florence* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), 184.

79. Rocke, *Forbidden Friendships*, 12-13.

80. "Culo, e tette, e robbe sode, morbide, e di quindici o seidici anni, e fino in venti anni…" Pietro Aretino, *I raggionamenti*, ed. D. Carraroli (Lanciano: Carabba, 1913), 41.

81. Lawner, *I Modi*, 2.

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