

# Becoming Artemisia: Afterthoughts on the Gentileschi Exhibition\*

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IN MEMORY OF JOHN BREALEY

IT MAY HAVE BEEN IN 1614 that Marcantonio Bassetti traveled from northern Italy to Rome in the company of his fellow Veronese painters Alessandro Turchi and Pasquale Ottino. The first certain notice we have of him in the papal city, however, is a letter written on May 16, 1616, to his former mentor in Venice, Palma Giovane, whose advice he sorely missed. Bassetti assured Palma that he continued to make “brush drawings,” or oil sketches (*abbozzi*; Bassetti uses the word *botte*), from posed models—something the Romans referred to as Venetian academies, “much admiring the way that, while drawing, one was already painting.”<sup>1</sup>

Though Bassetti did not find Roman practice much to his liking, he had made friends with a diverse group of artists, including the prolific printmaker and painter of hunting and battle scenes, Antonio Tempesta; the protagonist of classical painting, Domenichino; and, most importantly for his art, the Venetian follower of Caravaggio, Carlo Saraceni. It was perhaps through Saraceni, with whom he worked on the decoration of the Sala Regia in the Palazzo del Quirinale, that Bassetti made the acquaintance of Orazio Gentileschi and gained access to his workshop. That he visited Orazio, then at the peak of his powers, there can be no doubt, for there exist in the Museo di Castelvecchio in Verona two drawings by Bassetti (Figures 1, 2) that record pictures that he can have seen together only in the Gentileschi workshop. The drawings, first recognized as Bassetti’s by Sergio Marinelli, record Orazio’s *Conversion of the Magdalene* (cat. no. 85), now in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich, and Artemisia’s *Judith Slaying Holofernes* (cat. no. 55), currently in the Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples.<sup>2</sup> Although we know nothing about the early history of these two pictures, we have no reason to believe that they were ever owned by the same collector.

When he published the drawings, Marinelli speculated on the fact that Bassetti portrayed the *Judith Slaying Holofernes* as a horizontal composition, whereas both of the autograph versions that have come down to us—the work in Naples and one other (cat. no. 62) in the Uffizi, Florence—are uprights. It is well known that the Capodimonte painting has been cut—X-rays demonstrate that the only significant cropping is on the left—but it was never a horizontal. What Bassetti has done is to extend the space on the right of each of the Gentileschi compositions so as to create pendants—another sure sign that he saw the *Conversion of the Magdalene* and *Judith Slaying Holofernes* together and made his visual record of them as a pair. We may well wonder whether he was aware that they were by different artists. If not, he would not have been alone: two small paintings on slate in the Quadreria Arcivescovile, Milan, pair Artemisia’s *Judith Slaying Holofernes* with Orazio’s *David Contemplating the Head of Goliath*.<sup>3</sup> (I believe the source of the latter was Orazio’s small version on copper in Berlin, though the copyist has taken a certain license with both prototypes, changing the position of Goliath’s head, just as, in the *Judith Slaying Holofernes*, he added a table with a burning candle, in the manner of Adam Elsheimer; he also altered the color of the costumes.)

Neither Bassetti nor the anonymous copyist of the paintings in Milan seems to have been much interested in the diverse authorship of the paintings: both were simply recording outstanding pictures to be seen in Orazio’s studio. For Orazio, too, Artemisia’s authorship of the *Judith* may have seemed incidental; especially after her departure for Florence in 1613, her paintings must have seemed to him merely part of his stock-in-trade. Current scholarship has focused so single-mindedly on identifying the emergence of

\* Orazio and Artemisia Gentileschi: Father and Daughter Painters in Baroque Italy, held at the Museo del Palazzo di Venezia, Rome, October 15, 2001–January 6, 2002; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, February 14–May 12, 2002; and the Saint Louis Art Museum, June 15–September 15, 2002.



Figure 1. Marcantonio Bassetti (Italian, 1586–1630). After Orazio Gentileschi, *Conversion of the Magdalene* (cat. no. 85), ca. 1615. Pen and ink, 9.5 x 12.6 cm. Museo di Castelvecchio, Verona (photo: Umberto Tomba, Verona)



Figure 2. Marcantonio Bassetti. After Artemisia Gentileschi, *Judith Slaying Holofernes* (cat. no. 55), ca. 1615. Pen and ink, 9.5 x 12.6 cm. Museo di Castelvecchio, Verona (photo: Umberto Tomba, Verona)

Artemisia as an independent artist that we have, perhaps, underplayed her role as Orazio's primary assistant and the consequent blurring of her artistic personality that this implies. Indicative of the problem is an apparent contradiction about the authorship of a *Judith and Holofernes* that is referred to in the testimony of the notorious 1612 trial of Agostino Tassi for the rape of Artemisia. In his initial petition in early 1612, Orazio claimed that the papal steward Cosimo Quorli had taken from Artemisia a large painting of Judith (described as "di suo padre," a phrase that can be interpreted as signifying either that it was his property or that he painted it). Later that year, on March 24, another witness, Giovanni Battista Stiattesi, gave what at face value would seem to be contradictory testimony, stating that he knew Artemisia had a painting of Judith that was taken from her by Cosimo Quorli.<sup>4</sup> If we adopt the reasoning set out above, the matter resolves itself quite simply: ownership, not authorship, of the painting was, in Orazio's view, the main issue; he was deprived of a work he could have sold for profit. Similarly, when we hear of Artemisia giving drawing lessons to Orazio's hired assistant, Nicolò Bedino, we ought to think of this in terms of workshop practice rather than as an indication of her artistic independence. As her father's prize pupil, she was merely fulfilling Orazio's obligations. (Judging from the menial tasks Bedino performed, there is no evidence that he had had much previous training.)

The first time we hear of Orazio actively promoting Artemisia's independent achievement is in July 1612, when he wrote a much-cited letter to the grand duchess of Tuscany to solicit her support of their case against Tassi. Significantly, the letter came at a time

when the trial was casting a pall over the reputations of father and daughter. It may already have become clear to Orazio that he would not be able to keep her in his workshop much longer and that it was time to set the stage for her career as an independent painter. On November 29, 1612, two days after Tassi's condemnation by the court, Artemisia was married. How Orazio expected the relationship with her painter-husband Pierantonio Stiattesi to work out is anyone's guess, but I suspect that one of the key factors in his mind was that Stiattesi was a Florentine and that in Florence Artemisia could count for assistance on Orazio's brother, Aurelio Lomi—in fact, she used the Lomi family name once she got to the Tuscan capital. It is there that her career took flight. If we allow that Artemisia's early paintings in Rome were, in a very pragmatic sense, an extension of her father's practice, we will, I believe, be in a better position both to deal with those ambiguities of authorship that still plague Gentileschi studies and to expand our understanding of some of her key pictures.

Foremost among the works in question is the Pommersfelden *Susanna and the Elders* (Figure 3, Colorplate 4; cat. no. 51), a painting that is usually discussed as though it were Artemisia's defining work but that, were it not signed and dated, would almost certainly be ascribed to Orazio. In a sense, the signature—which is not altogether unproblematic<sup>5</sup>—is less an assertion of artistic independence than a declaration of Artemisia's mastery of her father's style. Any interpretation of the thematic treatment must take this fact into account. At the Gentileschi exhibition in New York, the picture was shown together with virtually all of the key comparative works ascribed to

Artemisia and Orazio, and the factor of Orazio's participation—which Mary Garrard, in her 1989 monograph, was willing to acknowledge only “on a modest technical and stylistic level”<sup>6</sup>—became a lively topic of debate. The issue goes well beyond superficial analogies with Orazio's work. Although the figure of Susanna is often cited as an example of “uncompromising naturalism,”<sup>7</sup> her pose—with her legs positioned to the left, her arms extended to the right, parallel to the picture plane, and her abdomen viewed straight on—is at the limits of the physically possible. Nature has here been reconfigured to conform to a classical principle of *contrapposto*. This approach, like Susanna's gesture of defense—famously derived from a print of Michelangelo's *Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise* on the Sistine ceiling—conforms to Orazio's habit of basing motifs in his compositions on canonical models from the sixteenth century.<sup>8</sup> Indeed, the way the composition has been pieced together from individually observed details, with little

thought given to spatial logic, is typical of Orazio. (Note also the way the bank of clouds is used to frame and set off the joined contour of the elders.)

The similarity to Orazio's methods of composition can be extended to the handling of color and light—light being particularly crucial to any analysis. Throughout her career, Artemisia was interested in light principally as a dramatic device, to enhance narration: she preferred the controlled environment of interior settings. Orazio, by contrast, relished its descriptive possibilities and welcomed the challenge of capturing the dispersed sunlight of the outdoors. He is the master of transparent half tones; she, of striking contrasts. Thus, the subtle range of grays in the shadowed areas of Susanna's abdomen are what we expect from Orazio's work, as is the effect of silken hair and the attention to variations in flesh tones—blended, with glazes used to fuse lit and shaded areas. Even the palette, with its unusual combination of plum, a chartreuse-like green, and rose, reflects Orazio's interests. The plum-colored jacket of the younger man is blue underpainted with red, a technique Orazio notably used in a number of other paintings (the robe of Saint Joseph in the *Holy Family with the Infant Saint John the Baptist* [cat. no. 10]; the lining of Saint Cecilia's cloak in the *Vision of Saint Cecilia* [cat. no. 9]; and the lavender-colored sleeves of the Virgin in the Birmingham *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* [cat. no. 34]). Artemisia, too, was to use this technique in, for example, the Burghley House *Susanna and the Elders* (cat. no. 65), the authorship of which has been wrongly doubted: it was clearly one of those technical tricks she learned from her father.<sup>9</sup>

Artemisia's hand seems to me most clearly discernible in the face and hands of the elders. The hands of the younger of the two, with their soft, fleshy fingers and rounded nails, are unquestionably those of Artemisia—in the literal sense, as they correspond in morphology to the drawing of Artemisia's right hand done by Pierre Dumonstier le Neveu (Figure 4). This same type of hand can be found in a number of Artemisia's paintings, among them the Pitti *Conversion of the Magdalene* (cat. no. 58), the Burghley House *Susanna*, the *Portrait of a Gonfaloniere* in Bologna (cat. no. 66), the *Esther Before Ahasuerus* in the Metropolitan Museum (cat. no. 71), and there can be little doubt that occasionally she used her own hands as a model.<sup>10</sup> The cuffs and collars in *Susanna* are as though “drawn” with the brush, in a fashion that we find again in the *Judith Slaying Holofernes* at Capodimonte (cat. no. 55). (Orazio's *Madonna and Child* [cat. no. 15] in Bucharest presents some analogies with this manner of describing the folds of the white drapery, though I don't think it invalidates the trait as an indication of Artemisia's authorship of this area.)

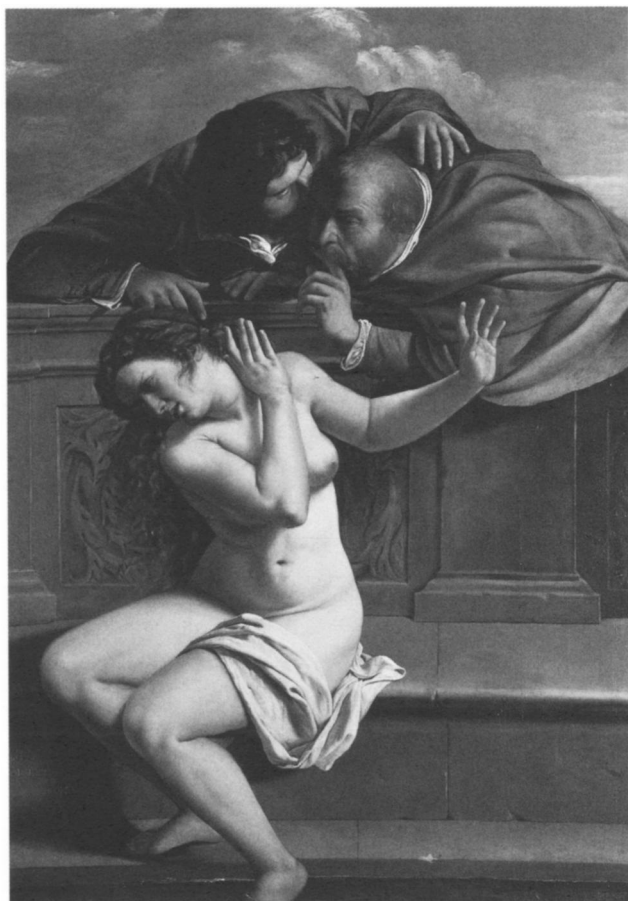


Figure 3. Artemisia (and Orazio) Gentileschi (Italian, 1593–1652/53). *Susanna and the Elders* (cat. no. 51), 1610. Oil on canvas, 170 x 119 cm. Collection of Graf von Schönborn, Pommersfelden, Germany. See also Colorplate 4



Figure 4. Pierre Dumonstier le Neveu (French, ca. 1585–1656). *Right Hand of Artemisia Gentileschi Holding a Brush*, 1625. Pen and ink, 20 x 16 cm. British Museum, London

Clearly, *Susanna and the Elders* was an important work for both Orazio and Artemisia: it must have been conceived as an advertisement of her talents, and in painting it she must have been closely supervised by her father. For this reason the changes visible in the X-rays are of particular interest.<sup>11</sup> The composition was painted over an abandoned one, of which only the upward-gazing head of a female figure remains on the prestretched, pregrounded canvas, which, rotated 180 degrees, was enlarged to accommodate the design of the *Susanna* (Figures 5, 6). (This creation of a larger picture support from bits and pieces of canvas is a persistent reflection of Orazio's thriftiness.) The X-rays also reveal that the two male figures were transformed from observers to conspirators. Was this Artemisia's idea, or did Orazio play a role in the conception? The idea for the conspiratorial dialogue is to be found in Orazio's art: for example, the disputing figures in the background of Orazio's *Circumcision* (cat. no. 7). The morphology and foreshortening of the head of the elder seen in the X-ray make it directly comparable to that of Tibertius looking through the door in the *Vision of Saint Cecilia* (cat. no. 9). Perhaps



Figure 5. X-radiograph of the painting illustrated in Figure 3

Figure 6. Detail of Figure 5 (inverted)







Figure 7. X-radiograph of *David Contemplating the Head of Goliath* (cat. no. 18), by Orazio Gentileschi, 1610–12. Oil on canvas, 173 x 142 cm. Galleria Spada, Rome

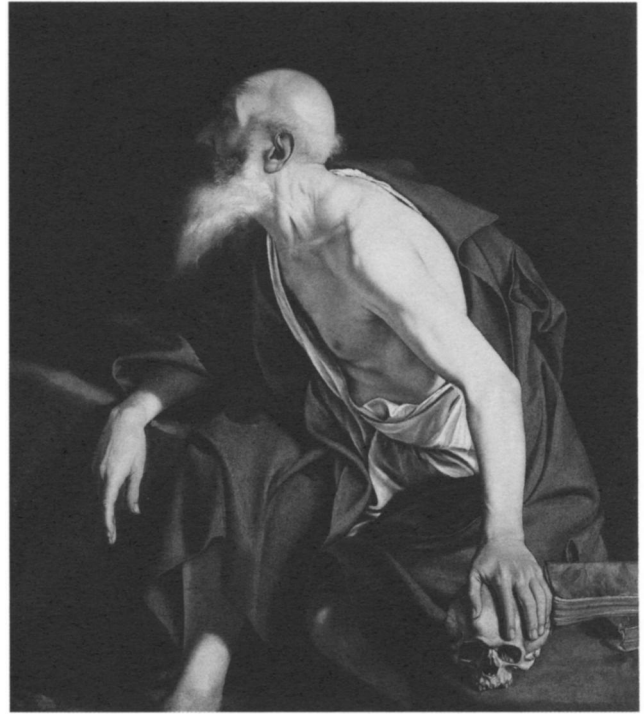


Figure 8. Orazio Gentileschi (Italian, 1563–1639). *Saint Jerome*, 1610/11. Oil on canvas, 127 x 112 cm. Private collection

even more importantly, the X-ray confirms what can be seen on the surface: that the paint is built up in a fashion indistinguishable from Orazio's practice. If the X-ray of the *Susanna* is compared with those of two roughly contemporary pictures by the latter, the *David Contemplating the Head of Goliath* (Figure 7; cat. no. 18) and one of the two known versions of the *Saint Jerome* painted by Orazio in 1610/11 (Figures 8, 9),<sup>12</sup> we find the same dense modeling of the flesh areas, with the portion occupied by the legs held in reserve so that there is the appearance of a strong contour (see the fuller discussion below). At the very least, then, we are confronted with a work in which Orazio's compositional methods and idiosyncrasies of handling have been fully assimilated by Artemisia and given a new expressive inflection. But we ought, perhaps, also to allow that an impatient, perfectionist Orazio helped lay in the composition and even occasionally wielded the brush to refine details or demonstrate how to achieve a certain effect. That single, deft, brushstroke used to create the ripple of water along the edge of the pool is something that comes from long practice and is precisely analogous to Orazio's treatment of the river Jordan in his *Baptism of Christ* for Santa Maria della Pace, Rome (cat. no. 11). Garrard has cautioned that "any approach to attribution that does not take the treatment of theme into



Figure 9. X-radiograph of the painting illustrated in Figure 8

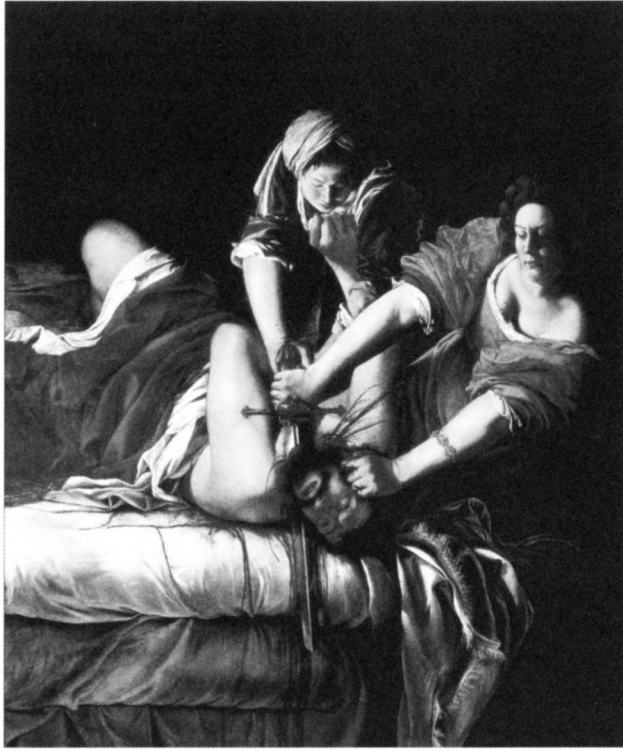


Figure 10. Artemisia Gentileschi. *Judith Slaying Holofernes* (cat. no. 62), ca. 1613–14. Oil on canvas, 100 x 162.5 cm. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence (photo: Alinari/Art Resource, N.Y.)

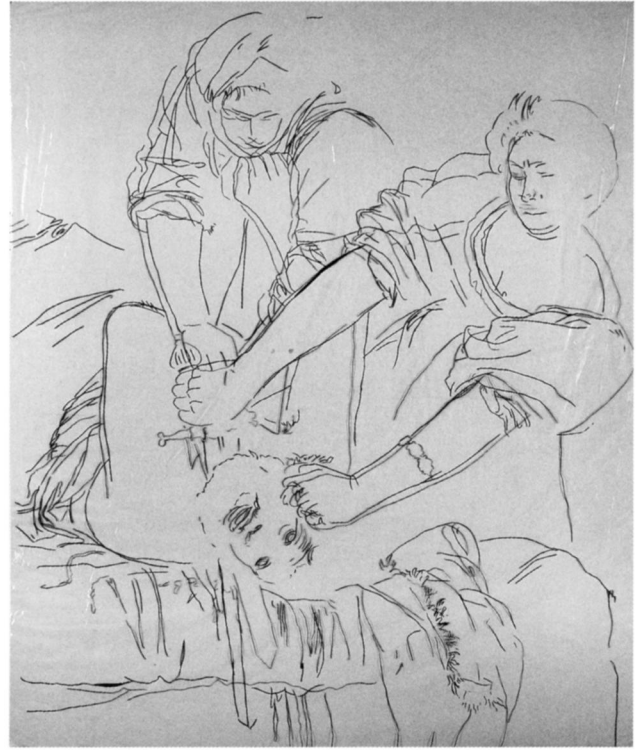


Figure 11. Tracing of *Judith Slaying Holofernes* (cat. no. 55) by Artemisia Gentileschi, 1612–13. Oil on canvas, 158.8 x 125.5 cm. Museo di Capodimonte, Naples

account is—at least as far as Artemisia is concerned—an incomplete mode of connoisseurship.” But it is surely no less reductive to read the *Susanna* as though it were the product of an independent artist asserting her independent point of view. There is simply too much of Orazio’s way of composing and painting in the picture.

Only by allowing for Orazio’s guiding hand in the *Susanna* can we account for the radical transformation—stylistic as well as expressive—of Artemisia’s painting in the *Judith Slaying Holofernes* at Capodimonte (cat. no. 55). In that work the descriptive beauty, the concern for elegance of design and poetry of light that is at the core of Orazio’s art, is rejected in favor of dramatic urgency and expressiveness. One need only compare the fluency and sophistication of the Pommersfelden *Susanna* with the far more awkward but dramatically and spatially more ambitious *Judith* to appreciate where Artemisia’s real interests lay (and the degree to which she had been guided by her father’s example in the earlier work).

It has long been recognized that in painting the Capodimonte *Judith*, Artemisia must have returned for inspiration to the source of her father’s art, Caravaggio, as well as to Elsheimer, whose depiction of

the theme (Victoria and Albert Museum, London) seems to have left a strong impression on the young artist.<sup>13</sup> Yet because of the very damaged state of the Capodimonte painting, which has been completely deprived of its final surface and cut at the left,<sup>14</sup> it is in the Uffizi version of the picture (Figure 10; cat. no. 62) that we can best judge Artemisia’s astonishingly close yet intensely original response to Caravaggio’s work. The handling of the whites in the Uffizi painting, with rich, black glazes to create the shadows, is as close to Caravaggio as any artist came. (We find a similar handling in Orazio’s work of around 1607–9—the Oslo *Judith and Her Maidservant* [cat. no. 13], for example—but Artemisia goes much farther in this direction, and she uses the shadows not to explore the surface texture of fabrics but to enhance dramatic impact.) Throughout the picture, there is an effect of physical weight and density that recalls Caravaggio’s work of about 1600–1602—the moment of his canvases in the Cerasi Chapel in Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome, or the *Mattei Supper at Emmaus* in the National Gallery, London. The *Conversion of Saint Paul* and the *Crucifixion of Saint Peter* in the Cerasi Chapel are, by the way, among the few paintings by Caravaggio that we can be certain the teenage Artemisia, largely

confined to her home, knew firsthand, as Santa Maria del Popolo was her parish church.

It has often been said that the Uffizi *Judith* develops the idea of the Capodimonte picture on a grander scale and with a greater command of space. It therefore comes as something of a surprise to realize that it was based on a tracing of the Capodimonte version (Figure 11). As with the examples by Orazio that I have documented and discussed in the catalogue, tracings of the two pictures match up closely, with only minor slippage or displacement of the features between the two halves of the composition. It is the completeness of the Uffizi composition, which has not been cut, and the artist's more accomplished rendition of form that are responsible for the strong impression the picture makes. Artemisia enlarged the space and gave it greater definition by adding a fringed curtain behind the women, a detail that has so sunk into the canvas that it is only visible under strong illumination.

A few words are in order about the date of the Uffizi *Judith*. Although often placed at the end of Artemisia's stay in Florence or after her return to Rome in 1620/21, this dating puts it chronologically too close to a group of pictures predicated on a very different visual culture, among which the Detroit *Judith and Her Maidservant* (cat. no. 69) is the prime example. That work differs from the Uffizi picture both in narrative conception and in the handling of paint, notably in the abandonment of the densely modeled forms, the use of black to achieve deep, resonant shadows, and the raking light used to maximize dramatic effects. In the Detroit *Judith* the brush is handled with great looseness. The surface effects—achieved by a constant layering and blending of lights and darks—are incomparably richer, and the harsh, focused illumination of Caravaggio is exchanged for the haunting effects of candlelight, used less to freeze the action within the confines of the canvas than to animate it and suggest an expansion of space beyond the frame of the picture. As is widely recognized, the Detroit *Judith* reflects the work of the new generation of Caravaggesque painters that Artemisia encountered upon her return to Rome, above all Simon Vouet and Gerrit van Honthorst.<sup>15</sup> (In Florence, Artemisia would have known Honthorst's impressive *Nativity*, painted for the Guicciardini Chapel in Santa Felicità in 1617, but it was only in 1620 that Cosimo II acquired a series of works from the Dutch artist.) To suggest that the Uffizi *Judith* dates from about 1620–22 is to confuse two distinct moments in the history of Caravaggism in Rome. The Uffizi picture seems to me more likely to have been among the first paintings Artemisia did upon her arrival in Florence in 1613. Although she



Figure 12. X-radiograph of the Capodimonte *Judith* (see Figure 11)

used a tracing as a point of departure, as did her father, she placed new emphasis on costly costumes, in conformity with Florentine taste, thereby boldly announcing to a potential Florentine clientele her mastery of the most innovative style in Rome.<sup>16</sup>

It is, then, with the Capodimonte *Judith* rather than the signed Pommersfelden *Susanna* that we see Artemisia strongly asserting her artistic personality. This is certainly borne out by the X-ray examination (Figure 12). To put the X-ray in context, however, it is necessary to make some preliminary, very general remarks about the most typical differences between X-rays of Orazio's paintings and those by Artemisia, recognizing that these observations are still based on a limited sampling of the work of both artists. The X-rays that we have of Orazio's paintings throughout his career are remarkably consistent. They reveal a methodical worker who usually planned his compositions carefully and worked them up area by area. As we have seen, he carefully laid in the poses of his figures on the canvas and then concentrated on distributing the lights and darks. The result is a greater emphasis on contour and silhouette as well as clarity of structure than on narrative interpolation. He often allowed himself more freedom in painting the drapery and



Figure 13. X-radiograph of *Madonna and Child* (cat. no. 15) by Orazio Gentileschi, 1609. Oil on canvas, 98.5 x 75 cm. Muzeul National de Artă al României, Bucharest

landscape backgrounds, though in the case of that masterpiece of refined imagination, the *Danaë* he painted for Giovan Antonio Sauli (cat. no. 36), the configuration of the folds of the bedsheet was also meticulously planned out. The X-rays of the Spada *David* (Figure 7; cat. no. 18) and the Bucharest *Madonna and Child* (Figure 13; cat. no. 15) may be taken as typical of his approach to painting in the years around 1610. It was a process that combined the deliberation of a Renaissance master with the Caravaggesque practice of painting directly from the model.

By contrast, Artemisia tended to approach the canvas with greater directness and was more open to modification and change—just as, throughout her career, she showed herself open to a variety of styles. The X-ray of the Pitti *Judith and Her Maidservant* (Figure 14; cat. no. 60) testifies to that combination of decisiveness in laying in the composition and freedom in carrying it through: note the vigorous brushwork for her first idea for the sleeve of Abra and the changes in the bunched drapery of Abra's dress. The same traits are evident in the X-ray of the *Judith and Her Maidservant* in Detroit (Figure 15), where the tendency to brush in quickly, or *abbozzare*, rather than delineate the primary features of the composition, is also to be seen.



Figure 14. X-radiograph of *Judith and Her Maidservant* (cat. no. 60) by Artemisia Gentileschi, ca. 1618–19. Oil on canvas, 114 x 93.5 cm. Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti, Florence



Figure 15. X-radiograph of *Judith and Her Maidservant* (cat. no. 69) by Artemisia Gentileschi, ca. 1625–27. Oil on canvas, 182.8 x 142.2 cm. Detroit Institute of Arts, Gift of Mr. Leslie H. Green

Figure 16. X-radiograph of *Cleopatra* (cat. no. 53) by Orazio Gentileschi, ca. 1610–12. Oil on canvas, 118 x 181 cm. Gerolamo Etro, Milan



Following her stay in Venice, Artemisia mastered the Venetian technique of laying in the structure of drapery folds in broad strokes of white paint, over which the local color was painted as a glaze. In this her work resembles that of Nicolas Régnier, who left Rome for Venice a few years before Artemisia. The most extreme example in Artemisia's work of this Venetian, painterly approach—mentioned, as we have seen, by Marcantonio Bassetti—is her *Clio, Muse of History* (cat. no. 75), in which the much abraded blue glaze of the figure's cloak has left the white underpainting clearly visible. (The same technique is found in the 1630 *Annunciation* from Naples, cat. no. 72.) As X-rays show, contours in Artemisia's paintings are important but rarely emphatic, and she tends not to distribute her lights and shadows with the same clarity and tidiness of her father.

The Capodimonte *Judith Slaying Holofernes* encapsulates those characteristics of her approach that would be developed and refined throughout her career, and if anyone harbors doubts about its authorship, the X-rays ought to put them to rest.<sup>17</sup> The figures are positioned decisively, yet there is none of the emphasis on the hard contours so prevalent in X-rays of Orazio's work. In Judith's right shoulder one can see the sketchlike brushstrokes Artemisia used to summarily indicate the placement of the arm; an even better demonstration of this preliminary laying in of the composition is provided by Holofernes's left arm, which Artemisia initially considered showing extended outward, with a clenched fist—much as in Elsheimer's small painting of the same subject. Her abandonment of the clenched fist for a pose expressing embattled defense indicates her willingness to rethink the fundamentals of the narrative as she worked. Similarly, the

structure of the drapery developed gradually: look, for example, at the network of quickly delineated forms for Judith's right sleeve. There is nothing tidy about the distribution of the lights and darks, despite her use of a raking light. In all of these ways, Artemisia's approach to painting was more modern than her father's.

In the context of the coherent, Caravaggesque style of the Capodimonte and Uffizi *Judiths*, the attribution, dating, and interpretation of several other pictures merit discussion, notably the *Cleopatra* and the *Lucretia* in the Gerolamo Etro collection, Milan (cat. nos. 17, 53, 67); and the related paintings of the *Madonna and Child* in the Galleria Spada (cat. no. 52) and Palazzo Pitti (see cat. no. 52, fig. 107). In the catalogue I presented the case for ascribing the *Cleopatra* to Orazio and dating it to around 1610–12. There is no reason to belabor the issue here, and I will only note that whatever awkwardness exists in the treatment of the bulky female nude, the emphasis on light, transparent shadows, and the surface texture of the fabrics reflect Orazio's—not Artemisia's—interests. The X-ray made at the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 16) seems to me to tip the scales decisively toward Orazio. We find Orazio's emphasis on a strong silhouette, with the figure drawn onto the canvas and the forms worked up in a fashion that leaves distinct edges between them. We also find that judicious distribution of lights and darks so characteristic of Orazio. We need only compare the X-ray of the *Cleopatra* to those of the Bucharest *Madonna and Child* (Figure 13) and the Spada *David Contemplating the Head of Goliath* (Figure 7) to see how similar the approach to painting is to Orazio's and how fundamentally alien to Artemisia's. Here





Figure 17. X-radiograph of *Lucretia* (cat. no. 67) by Artemisia Gentileschi, ca. 1612–13. Oil on canvas, 100 x 77 cm. Gerolamo Etro, Milan

attribution is fundamental to our understanding of the creative dynamics behind the picture, and it seems to me that in the *Cleopatra*, as in the *David Contemplating the Head of Goliath*, painting directly from the model is intentionally played against the classical convention of the idealized nude. Orazio was keenly aware of the way Caravaggio appropriated poses from paradigms of classical style—whether Roman statues or the paintings of Raphael and Michelangelo—while at the same time undercutting their idealizing premise by painting directly from the model. Orazio has accomplished this here by basing Cleopatra's pose on that of a celebrated antiquity in the Vatican, the so-called *Sleeping Cleopatra*, or *Ariadne*. In Gentileschi's *Cleopatra* the critical concepts of *vero* and *verosimile* that inform contemporary responses to Caravaggio's work are consciously played off one against the other, with results that are not without a certain ambivalence.<sup>18</sup>

The *Lucretia* in the Etro collection, Milan (cat. no. 67), often discussed as a sort of pendant to the *Cleopatra*,<sup>19</sup> belonged, like the *Cleopatra*, to one of Orazio's Genoese patrons, Pietro Gentile, and until recently there was a presumption that, together with the *Cleopatra*, it dated to about 1621, when Artemisia was thought to have made a trip to Genoa. We now know that such a trip is very unlikely, though it has been discovered that in 1624 she wrote from Rome to Orazio's Genoese patron, Giovan Antonio Sauli.<sup>20</sup>

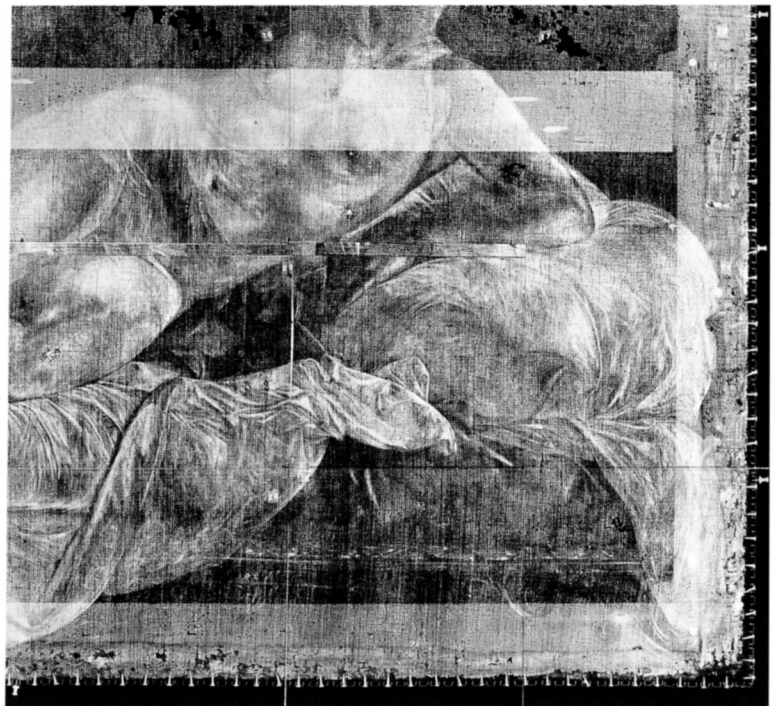


Figure 18. X-radiograph of detail of *Danaë* (cat. no. 41) by Orazio Gentileschi, ca. 1622–23. Oil on canvas, 162 x 228.5 cm. Cleveland Museum of Art, Leonard C. Hanna Jr. Fund (1971.101)

The strongly Caravaggesque lighting and the calf-length format of the picture, which has been returned to its original dimensions, point to an earlier date—regardless of whether we believe the picture to be by Orazio or Artemisia.<sup>21</sup> In the catalogue I suggested that the *Lucretia* and the *Cleopatra* were brought by Orazio to Genoa in 1621 as part of his inventory of unsold paintings (in the aftermath of the trial he had, perhaps, decided against marketing two paintings of a female nude in Rome). Pietro Gentile could have purchased them when he acquired—or more likely commissioned—two other works by Orazio, a *Sacrifice of Isaac* (now in the Galleria Nazionale di Palazzo Spinola, Genoa) and a *Judith and Her Maid-servant* (cat. no. 39). All four were ascribed to Orazio in later inventories and biographical references to the Gentile collection. As we have seen, Orazio's stock of paintings may well have included works by Artemisia, and there is no a priori reason that the *Lucretia* should not be by one artist and the *Cleopatra* by the other; nor that Pietro Gentile should have been unaware of the fact. While I am convinced that the two pictures are not by the same hand, there is a complicating factor—the *Lucretia* is not a prime version.

During the exhibition in New York, a number of scholars expressed to me their puzzlement about the hardness of the *Lucretia*'s forms—an aspect that has been accentuated by the very strong cleaning the painting has sustained. However, an X-ray of the painting (Figure 17) makes it abundantly clear that we are dealing with a second version. To demonstrate this point it is only necessary to compare the X-ray of the *Lucretia* with that of Orazio's *Danaë* in the Cleveland Museum of Art (Figure 18), which is an autograph second version of the masterpiece he painted for Giovan Antonio Sauli. The hard contours, the preordained distribution of the whites, and, especially, the precisely rendered folds of the drapery in the *Lucretia* are all indicative of a second version. At the same time, the brushwork of the *Lucretia* is confident and subtle, and unquestionably by Artemisia.

Now that the picture has been restored to its original dimensions by the removal of the added strips of canvas, on which had been painted a bed, bed linens, and curtains, its emblematic character comes into sharper focus. As Garrard rightly noted, the dagger is “rhetorically poised” rather than wielded like a weapon, and it is deliberately set in opposition to *Lucretia*'s breast.<sup>22</sup> The upward gaze of the figure is a familiar dramatic device found in almost all depictions of the theme. Unique here is the fact that *Lucretia* holds the dagger with her left rather than her right hand, a mirror-image reversal most artists would have

corrected as a matter of course. I believe the explanation for Artemisia's emphasis on this narrative detail lies in a desire to affirm the representation as a mirrored image of the artist. By this I do not wish to suggest that the picture originated as a simple transcription of Artemisia's reflection as she posed before a mirror, an idea that would confuse process with intention. Rather, the right-to-left reversal emphasizes the critical notion of painting as a mirror of nature; of the act of painting as an extension of subjective experience. It is from the act of self-identification that the painting derives its dramatic intensity: a psychologically neutral *exemplum virtutis* transformed into a vivid allegory of violation and vindication. The prominence of the dagger in the painting cannot help but recall Artemisia's account of her rape: how, snatching a knife from a drawer, she threatened Agostino Tassi, crying, “Ti voglio ammazzare con questo cortello che tu m'hai vittuperata.”<sup>23</sup> We ought not to underrate the role of anger in Artemisia's work—not simply against Tassi (her rage against him involved a sense of betrayal that extended beyond the rape), but against her father and the circumstances of her life, both private and professional. By the same token, in using the term *self-identification* I do not wish to overplay the card of art as an extension of biography. Elizabeth Cropper has written that “the new direction in the Gentileschi studio around 1610 involved the bodily presence of Artemisia as both model and painter.”<sup>24</sup> If, as I have argued in the catalogue, Artemisia's presence as her father's model for the *Cleopatra* generates in the viewer a response of shock and discomfort, it is in the *Lucretia* that her double role as model and painter becomes not merely provocative but transforming. So long as the *Lucretia* was dated to the 1620s, it seemed a bit of an anomaly: expressively too direct, too insistently naturalistic, and spatially not as complex as might have been expected. Only if dated to her early career does the picture's style come into proper focus.

In the *Susanna and the Elders*, the *Lucretia*, and the Capodimonte and Uffizi *Judiths*, we see a progressive assertion by Artemisia of her artistic identity in her father's workshop. She reaches back beyond the example of Orazio to the very processes of Caravaggio's work: his initial use of the mirror to insert himself into pictures such as the *Bacchino Malato* (Galleria Borghese, Rome) and his self-identification with the act of representation. As Michael Fried has observed, “Caravaggio is one of those rare painters (Courbet is another) whose paintings must be understood as evoking a primary, even primordial relationship to the painter himself,”<sup>25</sup> and this is true of these early works by Artemisia. The *Cleopatra* and the *Lucretia* seem to



Figure 19. Artemisia Gentileschi. *Madonna and Child* (cat. no. 52), 1616–20. Oil on canvas, 116.5 x 86.5 cm. Galleria Spada, Rome

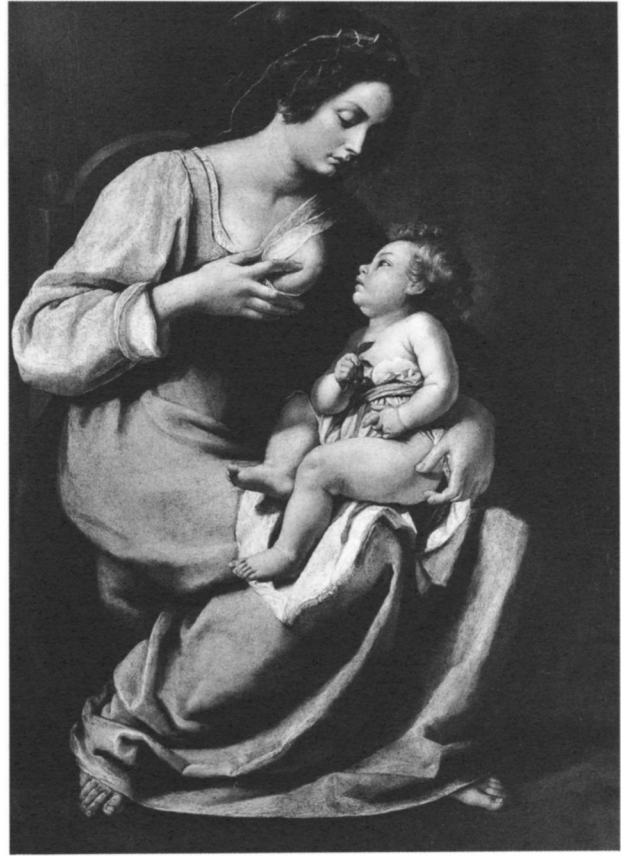


Figure 20. Artemisia Gentileschi. *Madonna of the Cherries*, ca. 1615–20. Oil on canvas, 118 x 86 cm. Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti, Florence

manifest two very different dynamics. One proceeds from an objectifying instinct, even when the model posed before the artist (to my way of thinking, Orazio) is his daughter and a subjective response threatens to disrupt his habitual detachment. (The discomfort we feel in front of the picture is, I suggest, an extension of what Orazio experienced.) The other seeks to break down the aestheticizing impulse of Renaissance art by merging the roles of model and painter. Later, as Artemisia established an independent activity, this radical act of self-identification was subsumed into the profession of making pictures. It is important to insist on the fact that it was Caravaggio's practice of painting directly from the model and his abandonment of the objectifying process of *disegno* that opened the road to Artemisia's self-identification. Similarly, it was her move beyond Caravaggesque practice that closed it off. Although she continued to introduce her own face and features into her work, the pictures lose that quality of immediacy and urgency that came from those early acts of self-identification.

Over the last two decades, attention has understandably focused on Artemisia's uniqueness. We must,

however, always bear in mind that her activity as an independent artist was defined by seventeenth-century practice and predicated on what she had learned in her father's workshop. Like other artists, she worked not only on commission but also maintained a stock of paintings. Some of these were the conventional kinds of paintings intended as devotional aides, and they were carried out in a style intended to appeal to a clientele distinct from those who sought her more ambitious history paintings (not surprisingly, the identification of these more psychologically neutral pictures has proven especially difficult, though their existence is assured by citations in early inventories of seventeenth-century collectors).<sup>26</sup> She was perfectly ready to replicate successful compositions, despite her protest to the contrary in a well-known letter of 1649 addressed to the Sicilian collector Don Antonio Ruffo, and when she did so she adopted the methods she had learned from her father. Like Orazio, she courted an elite clientele by sending unsolicited pictures accompanied by flattering letters. She was also uncommonly attuned to the prevailing tastes in the cities in which she worked, whether Rome, Florence,



Figure 21. X-radiograph of the painting illustrated in Figure 19



Figure 22. Detail of Figure 21

Venice, or Naples; it is this trait that has made her occasionally seem like a chameleon.

Two paintings that seem to me to exemplify the practical side of Artemisia's professional activity are the *Madonna and Child* in the Galleria Spada, Rome, and the related picture in the Pitti, Florence (Figures 19, 20). There has been a tendency among scholars to accept one or the other picture, but not both, and to explain their conventional character by identifying one or the other as her earliest work. Mary Garrard and Gianni Papi, for example, accepted the Spada painting, but not the Pitti version, while Bissell accepted the Pitti example but not the Roman one.<sup>27</sup> The Spada picture, which appears as the work of Artemisia in a 1637 list of paintings, was heavily reworked by the artist. This is evident from even a cursory examination of the surface of the painting, but the X-ray made at the Metropolitan establishes beyond any question that the present composition is painted over one almost identical to the Pitti picture (Figures 21, 22). There can now be little doubt that the Pitti version preceded the Spada picture, which was begun as a replica of the Pitti painting and then repainted. In

revising the depiction, the poses became more artificial, the surface treatment more refined, the general effect more distant from a work based on posed models. We are far from the unadorned naturalism of Orazio's treatment of the theme in his own *Madonna and Child* in Bucharest (cat. no. 15).<sup>28</sup> Indeed, it is difficult to imagine that Orazio's and Artemisia's paintings can be even approximately contemporary; or that the artist who, in the *Susanna and the Elders*, so successfully counterfeited the naturalist style of her father and who, in the *Judith Slaying Holofernes*, explored a new realm of dramatic theatricality, would also have painted such a sentimentally sweet picture.<sup>29</sup> In 1991 Papi very tentatively suggested that the Pitti picture was painted around 1620 by a Florentine artist, and if we accept these two works as Artemisia's, as I believe we are bound to do, they must be seen as the outgrowth of her Florentine years and her conscious refashioning of the Caravaggesque realism of her training (still present in the Pitti *Madonna and Child*) toward a style emphasizing artifice and sophistication.<sup>30</sup>

Now, it so happens that the inventory of the contents of Artemisia's Florentine studio was drawn up in

1621, following her move to Rome, and it lists a “quadro alto 2 braccia di una Madonna”—a description compatible with either the Pitti or the Spada paintings, which are 118 and 116.5 centimeters high, respectively. Also mentioned are two paintings of the Magdalene.<sup>31</sup> The presence of these works clearly demonstrates that alongside the dramatically charged pictures that have attracted so much critical attention, there was a more conventional side to Artemisia’s Florentine production: one that sought merely to capture a piece of the market for private devotional paintings. Another example of this activity—one of the most fascinating precisely because of its espousal of a *maniera devota* we might expect from Scipione Pulzone or Sassoferrato—is a bust-length Annunciate Virgin published by Papi.<sup>32</sup>

To recapitulate: it is in Florence that Artemisia’s status as an independent artist really begins, and it is for this reason that her transformation during those crucial years, 1613–20, merits close study.<sup>33</sup> That she established bonds of friendship with the leading Florentine painter Cristofano Allori, the court poet and playwright Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger, and Galileo is widely known, but the deep impact they made on her art has, perhaps, still not received sufficient recognition.<sup>34</sup> Yet the issues involved lie at the very core of Artemisia’s art: naturalism and the use of the model; self-imagery and the relation of biography to allegory; and a poetics of painting dependant less on dramatic devices than on conceitful contrasts and juxtapositions for a literate and literary-conditioned viewer.

Whether Artemisia may have met Allori, Galileo, or Buonarroti in her father’s house in Rome cannot be said.<sup>35</sup> They all had close ties with the doyen of Florentine painting, Cigoli, who during the years Artemisia worked under her father’s guidance was, like Orazio, employed by Scipione Borghese in the decoration of a garden loggia on the Quirinal. The first notice of her association with this illustrious and tightly knit group of Florentines is in July 1615, when Artemisia and Allori stood as godparents to a child named after her. Later that year she named her own newborn son after Cristofano, who stood as godfather. It was about that time that she probably began work on the *Allegory of Inclination* (Figure 23) for the gallery of Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger. In 1617 a patron of Allori’s, Aenea Piccolomini, stood as godfather at the birth of Artemisia’s daughter Prudenza (her only child to live to adulthood), and in 1618 the wife of the dramatist Jacopo Cicognini and the poet Jacopo di Bernardo Soldani stood as godparents to her daughter Lisabella. Clearly, by this time she was an intimate in the circle of literary and artistic figures at



Figure 23. Artemisia Gentileschi. *Allegory of Inclination*, ca. 1615–16. Oil on canvas, 152 x 61 cm. Casa Buonarroti, Florence (photo: Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.)



the Medici court, which involved a number of outstanding women, including the celebrated singer and composer Francesca Caccini, known as La Cecchina. (Buonarroti provided La Cecchina with verses she set to music, and the two corresponded frequently; in 1619 she and Marco da Gagliano composed the music for Buonarroti's court spectacle, *La Fiera*. In 1631 Cicognini published verses in praise of Galileo.) Yet another figure in this circle was the nobleman-poet Ottavio Rinuccini.

Allori was at the very center of this group of literary and musical figures, and it is his art that holds the key to understanding the transformations in Artemisia's more ambitious Florentine paintings.<sup>36</sup> He was a gifted actor with a particular faculty for imitating the voices and gestures of his acquaintances, and in his pictures the worlds of theater and painting intersect, more so even than in the work of his one-time teacher Cigoli. Allori's obsessively finished paintings combined a Florentine devotion to *disegno* with a Venetian mastery of *colore*, and although we might be prone to view his works in other terms, it was for their naturalism—their “*naturalezza del colorito*” (as the Venetian Giovanfrancesco Sagredo described the artist's work in a letter to Galileo)<sup>37</sup>—that they were admired by contemporaries. Thanks to his beautiful life studies of heads it is possible to appreciate how fundamental the model was to his art.<sup>38</sup> His seventeenth-century biographer, Filippo Baldinucci, recounts how Allori obtained the services of a Capuchin friar to model for him for an hour a day over a period of fifteen days so that he could make the necessary adjustments to the eyes of a Saint Francis. Similarly, for months he kept a piece of silk arranged on a lathe figure to study the sleeve for his most celebrated painting, *Judith with the Head of Holofernes* (principal versions in the Queen's Collection, Galleria Palatina, Florence, and Liechtenstein). “He was not content until his mind and his erudite eye [la sua mente, e l'occhio suo eruditissimo] were convinced that his painting was at one with reality [una stessa cosa col vero],” wrote Baldinucci.<sup>39</sup> It was Allori's technical prowess that led Piero Guicciardini, ambassador of the grand duke in Rome, to dismiss the results Orazio Gentileschi obtained in working from the model, declaring that he would be useless at a court that already possessed Jacopo Ligozzi as well as Allori, “who for imitation, *disegno*, and even diligence is very excellent.”<sup>40</sup>

At issue is the negotiation of the critical worlds of *vero* and *verosimile*—terms that have a direct counterpart in Allori's use of biography to enrich the poetic content of his works, and the prime example of which is his *Judith with the Head of Holofernes*. In 1612 a version

of this much-copied work was commissioned by Cardinal Alessandro Orsini in Rome (work dragged on for four years, during which time Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger acted as go-between).<sup>41</sup> Using the literary topos of the rejected lover as the victim of his beloved, Allori gave Judith the features of his mistress, known as La Mazzafirra, Abba those of her mother, and Holofernes his own (he is reported to have grown a beard for the occasion). This did not so much introduce a biographical subtext as it established a poetic conceit, for part of the attraction of the picture was the knowledge of who had posed for the painting and what the relationship among them was. Nor should we minimize the depth of feeling the picture conveyed. Each figure was studied meticulously from life, as was Allori's habit, and so strongly did he identify his emotions with the resulting drawings that when La Mazzafirra broke off their relationship he ripped apart the likeness he had drawn of her and introduced the features of another woman into subsequent versions of the composition.<sup>42</sup> Fortunately, the drawing was rescued by his friend Michelangelo Buonarroti, who, appreciating its significance as well as its beauty, inscribed the reverse with an account of the story, which seems to have become common knowledge (it is reported in full by Baldinucci). Not surprisingly, the picture was the subject of poetic tributes, by both the Medici court poet and intimate of Allori, Ottavio Rinuccini, and the outstanding literary figure of the seicento, Giambattista Marino.<sup>43</sup> In 1620 Marino commissioned a copy of the picture for his collection (intriguingly, he wished to hang it next to his painting by Caravaggio of Susanna and the Elders, of which we have no other notice).<sup>44</sup> His poem on the picture, published in 1619 in *La galleria*, turns on the notion that Judith—“la bella vedovetta feroce”—killed Holofernes twice: once with the love her beauty inspired and then with her sword (“Vedi s'io so ferire, / e di strale, e di spada”). Did he intend his poem to address the biographical/metaphorical content of the picture, or was he simply spinning one of those conceits that are at the heart of his poetry?<sup>45</sup>

The *Judith* was not the only picture to employ this sort of biographical metaphor. Allori also endowed his personification of Hope on the ceiling of the Sala della Speranza in the Palazzo Pitti with La Mazzafirra's features, and, a bit later, she “appeared” as the Penitent Magdalene in a picture Allori painted for his friend and patron Alberto dei Bardi.<sup>46</sup> In the *Penitent Magdalene* he blurs not only the lines between biography and historical (or hagiographical) representation but also those between sacred and profane—the female nude as a vehicle for moral instruction and an object of desire. The preparatory drawing of La

Mazzafirra that was used for the head of the Magdalene was, like that for Judith, crumpled and torn by Allori and rescued by Buonarroti for his personal collection. It has, fortunately, survived.<sup>47</sup> As Miles Chappell has suggested, in these three paintings we have not merely *Hope*, but Allori's hope for the fulfillment of his love; not simply *Judith with the Head of Holofernes*, but Allori as the victim of love; not simply the *Penitent Magdalene*, but Allori's expectation of La Mazzafirra's remorse.<sup>48</sup> Mina Gregori has written, with great perspicacity, "What is specific to Cristofano is the material density [of his paintings], and the ability to make the material aspect vibrate as a subjective element and as a conveyor of sentiment."<sup>49</sup>

It is to this aspect of Allori's work that Artemisia surely responded, and nowhere more so than in her *Allegory of Inclination* and the *Conversion of the Magdalene*. Elizabeth Cropper has written of Artemisia's "pact" between painter and viewer," but it was also a pact with the patrons of her work.<sup>50</sup> When Michelangelo Buonarroti commissioned the *Allegory of Inclination* to decorate the ceiling of his gallery, he must have done so with a view to the poetic opportunity it provided the artist to embody herself, quite literally, as the personification of a natural proclivity for genius (*Ingenio* itself was the subject of the pendant canvas of a nude male by Francesco Bianchi Buonavita).<sup>51</sup> This required modifying her previous commitment to Caravaggio's exaltation of *vero* in favor of a "naturalzza" informed by "un'occhio eruditissimo." We see the same concerns—those promoting a "consubstantiality of art and artist"—at work in her depictions of herself as a musician, a virgin martyr or, later, as Painting.<sup>52</sup>

There seems to me every reason to suspect that it was the success of Allori's *Judith with the Head of Holofernes* that prompted Artemisia to make her Florentine debut with a revised, more sophisticated version (cat. no. 62) of her own prior treatment of the subject (cat. no. 55): indeed, a picture in which the Caravaggesque style could be read as a response to the tempered or erudite naturalism of Allori's painting and in which the insistence on dramatic moment broke through the conventions of decorum within which Allori operated, offering a compelling alternative to his more emblematic masterpiece. (Pizzorusso has shown how Allori began with a narrative approach, only to abandon it in favor of one that underscored the subject as metaphor.)<sup>53</sup> At the same time, the costumed splendor of her heroine—like Allori's, dressed in a gold-colored brocade—is far more than a superficial concession to Florentine taste. It is an effort, at some level, to embrace the sophisticated visual language that Allori's art epitomized. In Artemisia's *Judith* we observe a subtle tendency to sub-

vert the dramatic thrust of the painting by giving emphasis to superficially decorative details that establish a series of poetic counterpoints and appeal to a literary frame of mind. She gives us her own version of the elegantly costumed heroine—"la bella vedovetta feroce" (the fierce little widow)—who, dressed for seduction and incongruously wearing an elegant bracelet on her sword-wielding arm, has stained her dress and spotted her bosom with her victim's blood, which spurts out in pearl-like droplets and trickles down the white linen sheets in repulsively elegant rivulets.<sup>54</sup> It is a poetics of contradiction or *contrapposto*.

In his poem about the biblical heroine, included in the *Ritratti/Donne/Belle, caste e magnanime*, Giambattista Marino overwhelms the reader with the shocking image of Judith cleansing with her victim's blood the bed Holofernes had befouled by his vile passion for her: "Lavò col suo sangue il letto osceno, / ch'era d'infame amor macchiato e sozzo." Caravaggio had already explored this poetic strategy of stupefying the viewer in his own treatment of the theme, and he employed it again—to appropriately petrifying effect—on his shield in the Uffizi showing the bleeding and screaming head of Medusa, to which Marino dedicated a poem.<sup>55</sup> The object was to create a *maraviglia*, a work that that would arouse wonder and amazement through an extreme or ingenious means of presentation. Artemisia had employed this Caravaggesque/Marinesque strategy to brilliant effect in the earlier Capodimonte *Judith*. It is in contrast to that work that we ought to understand the more sophisticated reading she intends in the Uffizi version.<sup>56</sup>

Although it is not until 1627 that we have a series of poems dedicated to Artemisia's paintings,<sup>57</sup> in Florence she began to explore those Horatian analogies between poetry and painting celebrated by Marino with his habitual fecundity ("tra le tele e le carte, tra i colori e gl'inchiestri, tra i pennelli e le penne, e somigliansi tanto queste due care gemelle nate da un parto, dico pittura e poesia, che non è chi sappia giudicarle diverse" [canvas and paper, colors and inks, brushes and pens: these two dear twins, born together—I mean painting and poetry—so resemble each other that no one knows how to judge them otherwise]).<sup>58</sup> The emphasis was increasingly on moments of psychological rather than physical drama, and the appeal was to those with a taste for poetry of inverted expectations and metaphor. In the Pitti *Judith and Her Maid-servant* (cat. no. 60) the screaming face decorating the pommel of Judith's sword is contrasted to the silenced head of Holofernes. In the *Conversion of the Magdalene* (cat. no. 58), the saint pushes a mirror away from herself at the moment of her conversion;

a common symbol of vanity, especially when juxtaposed with a skull (as in Artemisia's picture), it reflects the costly pearl earring that the saint—"at once beautiful and mournful"<sup>59</sup>—has yet to discard. In *Jael and Sisera* (cat. no. 61), a monkeylike, grotesque head on the sword lies alongside the sleeping Sisera, a pungent emblem of the guile of which he was the victim. "I don't know how to write and can only read a bit" (Io non so scrivere e poco leggere), she had declared at the rape trial.<sup>60</sup> Yet not even in the work Caravaggio carried out for the cultivated Cardinal del Monte do we find such a sophisticated manipulation of realist style in the interest of literary-based conceits.

Artemisia's newfound literacy and pictorial sophistication were accompanied by an increasing emphasis on finish (the "sapere e d'osservanza del naturale con

gran diligenza" [knowledge combined with the diligent observation of the model] that Mancini singles out in Allori's paintings) and what might be called a stylistic mobility (or modality). It was doubtless from Allori that Artemisia learned how to layer and blend her brushstrokes to achieve a rich surface and how to use this surface refinement to enrich the naturalist impulse of her art. In Florence she gave astonishing proof of her ability to remain open to new stimuli and to remake herself. There has been a tendency to play down or to lament this responsiveness—particularly when, in Naples, it meant abandoning her Caravaggesque roots. Yet such an attitude is as misplaced as the one that would diminish the importance of her initial training and self-definition under her father's watchful, and doubtless fretful, eye.

#### APPENDIX: NOTES ON PAINTINGS IN THE EXHIBITION (arranged in the order of the exhibition catalogue)

I am deeply indebted to the collaboration of Dorothy Mahon and Charlotte Hale, Conservators of Painting at the Metropolitan Museum. Mahon undertook a surface examination of the paintings with me; Hale did all the X-rays. Their discussions have proved invaluable.

*Susanna and the Elders*, Collection Graf von Schonborn, Pommersfelden (cat. no. 51)

Although the picture has been strongly cleaned, with some local damages, it is basically in good condition. The folds of the plum-colored jacket and the chartreuse cloak of the elder are now more schematic than would have been the case originally. That the picture was, to a degree, put together part by part is evident from the fact that Susanna's raised left hand is painted over the red cloak of the elder. For the X-ray, see the above text (Figures 5, 6).

*Madonna and Child*, Galleria Spada, Rome (cat. no. 52)

The picture is in fine condition. The blue is underpainted with white and is somewhat abraded. As X-rays confirm, the composition is massively reworked: see the above text (Figure 21).

*Cleopatra*, Gerolamo Etro, Milan (cat. nos. 17, 53)

The figure is much abraded, especially in the abdomen and around the fist gripping the asp, and the surface has been flattened in a past relining. There are small

losses on the crown of the weave. A canvas strip of about 3.5 centimeters has been added at the top. For the X-ray, see the above text (Figure 16).

*Judith Slaying Holofernes*, Museo di Capodimonte, Naples (cat. no. 55)

The condition of the picture is much compromised by solvent action; the glazing for the shadows has especially suffered. Not only are the transitions between lit and shadowed areas weakened, but the shadows have lost their depth and the effect of volume is greatly lessened. Look, for example, at the extended left arm of Judith, where the shadows defining the hand, wrist, and arm are completely abraded and the modeling along the upper contour is largely lost. The same is true of the sheet, part of which (behind Holofernes's left arm) is reduced to the pale brown underlayer or ground. Abra's head and right arm convey some of the original strength (and hardness) of the modeling. The blue of Judith's dress is painted over white. For the X-ray, see the above text (Figure 12).

*Conversion of the Magdalene*, Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti, Florence (cat. no. 58)

On the whole, the condition is splendid. There has, however, been considerable restoration along the vertical seam of the joined canvases, on the back of the chair, and on the background to the left of the seam. Regarding

these additional strips of canvas, there is no question that the horizontal one at the bottom, which runs the full width of the composition, is original. The best place to check this is in the cascading drapery over the figure's left leg, where the paint surface is absolutely homogeneous in character, as is the crackle pattern, suggesting a uniform preparation. The left vertical strip, which runs from the top of the composition to the horizontal strip, is not quite as straightforward, since the color of the background shifts from slate gray to the right of the seam to a dark, greenish gray to the left. Much of the dark gray is concentrated on the seam and is clearly restoration. Toward the top of the composition the slate gray is continuous across the seam, and the darker gray is restoration work, which perhaps originated from a misunderstanding of the shadowed area behind the chair. The crackle pattern, however, is not entirely consistent, probably the result of using canvas of a different weave (something that can only be confirmed with an X-ray). The seam between the vertical and horizontal strips is not absolutely horizontal but runs at a slight diagonal. The evidence, then, strongly suggests that the picture was painted on a support made up of three pieces of canvas, not that it was enlarged.

In a similar fashion, the dark shadow on the backrest of the chair has apparently been restored up to the seam, creating a seemingly arbitrary edge at the seam. The fringe on the chair between the Magdalene's rump and the seam of the canvas is repainted. Close inspection reveals that the Magdalene's hair was shown flowing down her back. This area blanched and was overpainted as shadow and fringe.

As for the inscriptions, the one on the chair is most likely original: the crackle pattern is consistent with the adjacent paint layers, and there are even remnants of some glazing. In contrast, the inscription on the mirror frame is almost certainly later (though early: cracks run through it). Not only are the letters cruder and done in a thinner medium, without the crackle pattern found in the signature, but they do not observe the angle of the frame; in addition, the flourishes on the A's float above the edge of the frame, as, to a degree, does the upper horizontal stroke of the E.

*Judith and Her Maidservant*, Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti, Florence (cat. no. 60)

There are discrete, scattered losses, and the darks have been somewhat abraded, but these do not greatly effect the general appearance of the picture, which has been trimmed on all sides. The filling of losses and restoration of abraded glazes have been done in *tratteggio* and thus are readily visible from close range. Losses affect the throat, face, and hair of Judith and the shadowed

portion of Abra's face and turban. In the turban, the texture of the brushwork in the buildup of the surface is especially visible: this picture was painted with great directness. The towel was painted over red, which was the original color of Judith's dress; its trailing end has been much restored. Artemisia subsequently changed the color of the dress to blue, which has mostly deteriorated, except below the basket, where it remains legible. When she painted it blue, she also enlarged the contour of the figure's right shoulder. The effect must have been a sort of plum.

It is important to note that the whites here are not strongly modeled in black and charcoal gray, as they are in the Uffizi *Judith Slaying Holofernes* (cat. no. 62). Rather, in this painting, she uses umber for the darks and abandons the dense modeling. The brushwork is looser and the effect is more open, with a less dramatic play of light. For the X-ray, see the above text (Figure 14).

*Jael and Sisera*, Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest (cat. no. 61)

This picture has suffered throughout from abrasion, and, on balance, this is a more important factor in the appearance of the picture than the many scattered losses, which do not affect the principal parts of the composition. There are several layers of retouching. The best preserved area is Jael's head (though it now appears softer than it would have because of abrasion to the shadows), her raised arm, the sleeve of her blouse (beautifully intact), and the upper bodice of her dress. By contrast, the skirt has suffered. The figure of Sisera is much compromised. His pink cuirass has been significantly abraded, and there is a major loss at his waist, at the top contour running into his rib cage, as well as other, lesser losses. His beard has lost all definition, his hair has been much reinforced, and the unsatisfactory shadow on his left hand has been restored and lost its transitions. The blue skirt is much repainted and restored, and so also is the shadow it casts on his leg.

The block with Artemisia's signature is thin and retouched, but the signature, though reinforced, is basically intact. There is no visible pattern of cusping along the edges of the canvas, which must have been trimmed.

*Judith Slaying Holofernes*, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence (cat. no. 62)

Apart from some discrete, scattered losses the picture is in wonderful condition. There are some tears resulting from the 1993 terrorist bombing at the Uffizi, but these have been extremely sensitively mended with little significant effect to the appearance of the painting. The major damage is to Abra's left eye and the shadowed side of her face, where there is significant abrasion.

Yet even this is not really serious. Similarly, the sword blade is somewhat abraded. The picture does not suffer from the wear and strong cleaning that mars so many of Artemisia's paintings. The handling of the whites in this work is a touchstone for the quality and character of her painting.

*Susanna and the Elders*, Collection of the Marquess of Exeter, Burghley House, Stamford, Lincolnshire (cat. no. 65)

Overall, the condition of this painting is good, though past strong cleanings have left the shadows somewhat abraded: see, for example, the right wrist and sleeve of the elder in purple. The contrasty appearance of the picture is due predominantly to the darks having sunk. This has especially created some confusion in the reading of the water, where it is not immediately apparent that the curved form is a reflection of the fountain basin. The landscape was painted last, but by Artemisia or by another, Guercinesque artist? The appearance of the trees is due to a combination of blanching of the middle tones and discoloration of the dark greens. There seems no technical reason to question the signature and date, and only in the case of the landscape and, possibly, the revised fountain would I consider the intervention of another artist.

A new complete X-ray was made of the picture. It confirms that the major area of the composition to undergo transformation was the left side: the fountain, landscape, and wall. It is likely that the position of the balding elder was moved to its current position from the left of his companion—more or less similar to that in the earlier, Pommersfelden canvas (cat. no. 51)—as proposed by Mary Garrard on the basis of a partial X-ray of the painting and the brush drawing visible to the naked eye.<sup>61</sup> However, the change was made at a very early stage in painting the picture—the figure was never more than barely indicated—and there is no evidence for Garrard's thesis that Artemisia's original figures were repainted by another artist; the hands of this balding elder are not painted over the finished shoulders of his companion, as one might have expected had he been repositioned at a late stage. (Garrard's reading of the technical evidence seems to be strongly colored by her dislike of the finished product.) The X-ray of the figures compares in character to that of the Detroit *Judith and Her Maidservant* (cat. no. 69), and there is no reason to doubt the ascription or the authenticity of the signature.

The architectural backdrop (originally a balustrade), the fountain (initially a putto shown standing on an elaborate basin), and the landscape were completely revised, and here there is room for speculation (based more on the stylistic features than on any technical evi-

dence) that, perhaps from the outset, a second hand may have been involved; Artemisia may have turned to a landscape-architectural specialist to create the stage for her figures, and this portion may have required reworking because of the trivial effect produced by the first design (in the second attempt the putti are consistent in scale with the other figures, and the great basin serves to articulate the space as well as create a powerful, almost oppressive effect). The darkness of Susanna's head pertains to the thinness of the paint, as compared to the relatively rich buildup in her torso.

*Portrait of a Gonfaloniere*, Collezione Comunali d'Arte, Bologna (cat. no. 66)

Aside from flake losses and wear on the crown of the weave in the armor, this picture appears to be in splendid condition. The varnish is, unfortunately, much oxidized, which dulls the surface. The identity of the sitter is linked to the coat of arms, the colors of which have been wrongly described. The chevron pattern is silver (i.e., white) and green on a red background, and the tri-color feathers of the helmets—both the heraldic one on the coat of arms and the "real" one on the table—are again red, white, and green.

*Lucretia*, Gerolamo Etro, Milan (cat. no. 67)

The picture has been strongly cleaned and many of the glazes lost, which accounts for the appearance of brittle hardness. Bissell believed that the revised line of the bodice, where it has been raised to downplay the exposure of the breast, was a later addition. It seems, instead, to be a revision by Artemisia, but much abraded. For a discussion of the X-rays, see the above text (Figure 17).

*Penitent Magdalene*, Seville Cathedral (cat. no. 68)

On the whole the picture is in very good condition, though there has been damage along the bottom border. The drapery addition that extends over the shoulder and bosom is very old and has taken on the crackle pattern from below. At various points, however, the paint can be seen to have flowed into preexisting cracks. Moreover, the pigments are manifestly less granular than the paint in the other (original) parts of the picture. In X-rays the additional drapery disappears.

This picture is certainly a copy. The modeling is hard and schematic; the forms all predetermined and held in reserve. The foreshortening of the chair and the rendition of the Magdalene's rump seem remarkably inept. The highlights on the ointment jar are lacking in any quality of observation, especially when compared to the candlestick in the Detroit *Judith and Her Maidservant* (cat. no. 69). There is no way of bridging the gap between the mechanical, uninflected handling of paint in this



picture and the marvelously pictorial handling of the Detroit *Judith*. Two other versions of this composition are known (both in private collections): one is of lower quality, the other, unpublished, marginally finer in parts. (I was able to make a direct comparison during the run of the exhibition in New York.)

*Judith and Her Maidservant*, Detroit Institute of Arts (cat. no. 69)

Overall this picture is in splendid condition. When examined under magnification, there seemed no reason to consider the brownish scarves tucked into the bodices of both women as later modifications; basically they are glazes over a fully modeled figure. Note that Judith's costume is the same as that of the Magdalene in the Seville painting (cat. no. 68). This observation is important, as the two works are painted in a completely different and incompatible fashion. The X-rays of this work testify eloquently to Artemisia's fully developed painterly technique. Indications for the placement of features came first, then the configuration, for example, of the folds of the drapery. A defined contour plays no part; rather, the artist sought to establish areas of light and dark. The still-life elements are painted over the tablecloth. See also the discussion of the Detroit picture in the above text.

*Sleeping Venus*, Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond (cat. no. 70)

This picture is a puzzle, and it is difficult to resolve the issues of attribution and date given the overly fastidious cosmetic restoration. Every crack and perceived flaw has been indiscriminately retouched, creating a continuous cobweb of restorations across the surface. The putto is riddled with losses, and the blue has lost most of its modeling. Only the landscape is really well preserved.

*Annunciation*, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples (cat. no. 72)

The picture has suffered from severe abrasion. The half tones are in great part lost, and this, together with the sinking of the darks, has resulted in an exaggerated contrast between the highlights and the shadows. The blue has lost its intensity and now reads as a grayish tone. As in the *Clio, Muse of History* (cat. no. 75), the blue was painted as a glaze over the white underpainting of the drapery folds: so far from being highlights, the white crests of the folds indicate the areas of the most severe abrasion and deterioration. Although the orange color of the angel's dress is better preserved, there, too, the middle tones are largely gone.

*Penitent Magdalene*, Private collection (cat. no. 73)

Around the skull the lake of the reddish cloak has faded

to a sort of pink. However, on the whole the condition is good, though there are some flake losses along cracks. The handling of the paint in the surface effects of the golden yellow dress is virtually identical to what is found in the Detroit *Judith* and the Burghley House *Susanna* (cat. nos. 69 and 65, respectively): it is very painterly, with a layering and blending of lights and darks. The approach is optical rather than pedantically descriptive (here, again, is a great contrast with the Seville *Magdalene* (cat. no. 68), in which the modeling is dully mechanical). To my mind, this is a Roman, not a Neapolitan, period painting.

*Corisca and the Satyr*, private collection (cat. no. 74)

This is one of Artemisia's best-preserved Neapolitan paintings, in large part because admixtures of lead white have been extensively used in constructing the figures. However, abrasion has deprived the back of the satyr of the glazes that defined his form. Compared to the relatively well-preserved figures, the background has sunk and the colors have degraded to such a degree that the forms are no longer legible. The blue of the sky has lost much of its tint (it is, perhaps, smalt?), as have the leaves.

*Clio, Muse of History*, private collection (cat. no. 75)

The picture has suffered from abrasion, and the figure has been liberally retouched in the chest and throat. The abrasion, the thinness of the paint surface, and the changes in the blue (which is possibly smalt) result in a compromised image, with exaggeration in the contrasts of light and darks. The Bernardo Strozzi-esque effect of the white crests is completely misleading: the white was but the preliminary definition of the folds, over which the blue was painted. Originally, the form must have been fully integrated. As in the *Annunciation* (cat. no. 72), the orange sleeves have held up better than the blue, which is abraded and now has an almost ashen tonality. The laurel crown has also lost most of its color, and now reads as a dull blue green.

While the inscription on the left-hand page of the book is quite legible, there are a few places where there is room for interpretation. The left-hand portion of the inscription is covered by the frame. On the right side of the open book, the letters are far harder to decipher, both because of the dark tone and because some attempt has been made to make them follow the curve of the sheet. In addition, there is some repair work that further complicates any reading. After close examination of the picture with the aid of a retouching lamp and magnification, together with my colleague, Andrea Bayer, I offer the following reading: On the left page: [1]632 / [A]RTEMISIA / [fac]iebat / all Illu.to M. / Sing.re (the *re* squiggled in a fashion that connects with

the crossbar of the *T*) *T*Rosiers (the *T*—or *F*—and *R* configured as a monogram). On the right page: Servitor (the *r* overlapping the *v* and the *o* breaking down in legibility at the top and bottom) dev.t TIQ (the *Q* is a bit peculiar; there may have been another letter now marred by overpaint). The full inscription would thus read: “1632 Artemisia faciebat all’Illustro Monsignore T (or F) Rosiers, servitore devoto TIQ.” This does not accord with the transcriptions of Garrard and Bissell, who have attempted to relate the picture to a work done by Artemisia in 1635 for Charles de Lorraine, duc de Guise.<sup>62</sup> They postulated that the painting was a memorial to Rosières who, it was further asserted, had been a supporter of the duc de Guise. François de Rosières died in 1607, Antoine de Rosières in 1631. We ought, perhaps, to take a more critical look at the chain of conjecture behind the current interpretation of the picture.

*Cleopatra*, Private collection (cat. no. 76)

The painting is much abraded, particularly in the shadows, which are sometimes reduced to the dull brown preparation. Although the blue has been heavily repainted, there are passages of beautiful ultramarine. The background figures were thinly painted and have sunk. The web of vigorous brushstrokes defining the sheet along the lower border of the picture is modern; the original painted surface is visible only in the area around and above the asp and basket of flowers. In re-creating the bedsheet, the restorer imitated the brushwork on the white sleeve of the foremost servant. I find no precise parallel for this treatment in Artemisia’s other Neapolitan paintings, which is all the stranger in that her whites are consistent—right down to the 1649 *Susanna* from Brno (cat. no. 83). The red or rose-colored curtain has lost much of its color.

The grayness of Cleopatra’s dead body must have been intentional (the lips are, indeed, painted blue), but the effect is now somewhat exaggerated. While I would not reject this as a work by Artemisia, I find it hard to reconcile with her other Neapolitan work (and it can hardly date earlier, given its Stazionesque quality).

*Birth of Saint John the Baptist*, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (cat. no. 77)

Sinking and blanching in the darks are among the main ills from which this picture has suffered greatly. The faces

of the seated servants are damaged and reconstructed. There is also a degradation of some of the pigments, as, for example, in the linen apron of the standing servant. These alterations make the transition between the two densely painted, sharply delineated figures in the foreground (the kneeling midwife and the child) and the more thinly painted seated and standing figures behind them particularly abrupt and disturbing. As in the *Annunciation* (cat. no. 72), the drapery has been loosely blocked in with white and then gone over with the tincture, which is especially evident in the seated servant wearing a rust-colored dress. Furthermore, Zaccharia’s hands are basically reconstructions. Although his head has sustained local losses, it still preserves some of its original character. Behind him, Anna and her accompanying servant are much sunk, and the colors have altered badly; the servant especially is little more than a shadow, and the brownish color of her shawl has deteriorated beyond legibility.

*San Januarius in the Amphitheater*, Museo di Capodimonte, Naples (cat. no. 79)

The surface of the picture shows heat damage. There has been serious flaking, with various losses. The blue has altered, and the darks sunk. Despite all of this, the composition still reads fairly well.

*Susanna and the Elders*, Moravská Galerie, Brno (cat. no. 83)

Despite the severe damage to this picture—abrasion, losses, pigment deterioration—its technique is completely in line with Artemisia’s other Neapolitan paintings, and it is this consistency in a picture signed and dated 1649 with Artemisia’s other Neapolitan paintings that makes it difficult to accept works painted in a markedly different fashion. As in the Columbus *David and Bathsheba* (cat. no. 80), the landscape appears to be by Domenico Gargiulo, but the authorship of the balustrade and pavement is less certain. The balustrade lacks the crispness of Viviano Codazzi, who is said to have painted the architecture in the *Bathsheba*; here the hands of the two elders were painted on top of the railing. The handling of the whites of the towel on Susanna’s lap is especially indicative of Artemisia’s authorship.

## NOTES

1. Giovanni Bottari and Stefano Ticozzi, *Raccolta di lettere sulla pittura, scultura, ed architettura*, vol. 2 (Milan, 1822), pp. 484–86.
2. The pen-and-ink wash drawings measure 9.5 x 12.6 centimeters each. See Sergio Marinelli and Giorgio Marini, *Museo di Castelvécchio: Disegni*, exh. cat., Museo di Castelvécchio, Verona (Verona, 1999), p. 60, nos. 24, 25; Sergio Marinelli and Giorgio Marini, *I grandi disegni italiani del Museo di Castelvécchio a Verona* (Verona, 2000), no. 16; and Giorgio Marini, *Italian Drawings and Prints from the Castelvécchio Museum, Verona*, exh. cat., Museo di Castelvécchio, Verona (Verona, 2002), pp. 75–76, no. 23. Note that throughout this article the catalogue references are to Keith Christiansen and Judith W. Mann, *Orazio and Artemisia Gentileschi*, exh. cat., Museo del Palazzo di Venezia, Rome, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and Saint Louis Art Museum, 2001–2 (New York, 2001).
3. See *Le stanze del Cardinale Monti, 1635–1650*, exh. cat., Palazzo Reale, Milan (Milan, 1994), pp. 224–25, nos. 93, 94. There it is argued that the two pictures could reflect lost versions of the known compositions by Orazio and Artemisia (see also R. Ward Bissell, *Artemisia Gentileschi and the Authority of Art* [University Park, Pa., 1999], p. 192). Although this cannot be excluded, it seems to me more likely that the copyist is responsible for the changes than that we happen to have no other record of precisely these two pictures.
4. “Io so ch’Artemisia haveva un quadro di una Juditta non fornito quale pochi giorni a dietro ella lo mandò a casa di Agostino.” See Eva Menzio, *Artemisia Gentileschi/Agostino Tassi: Atti di un processo per stupro* (Milan, 1981), pp. 72–73. The relevant passages from the trial are excerpted by Bissell, *Artemisia Gentileschi and the Authority of Art*, pp. 198–99. The use of the term “fornito” has been much discussed. According to the 1612 edition of the *Vocabulario degli Accademici della Crusca*, the verb *fornire* derives from the Latin *conficere* and *perfecere* and would thus signify “brought to perfection.” The adjective *fornito* also signifies *copioso*, *abbondante*. Thus in the present context it probably meant “unfinished”—as Bissell suggests. It is used in this sense in the 1626 *Inventario generale* of the Medici collection, in which Allori’s painting of Judith and Holofernes is described as “Un quadro in tela senza adornamento . . . che non è interamente fornito.” See Claudio Pizzorusso, *Ricerche su Cristofano Allori* (Florence, 1982), p. 122. This adjective seems to me to apply to a painting formerly in the Rondanini collection, Rome, for which, see Bissell, *Artemisia Gentileschi and the Authority of Art*, pp. 200–201.
5. The signature was examined at the Metropolitan Museum by Dorothy Mahon. It has been much abraded and reinforced, making a definitive conclusion difficult. Perhaps the most curious feature is the larger, cruder lettering of “Artemisia.” There is, however, not sufficient reason to doubt the inscription.
6. Mary Garrard, *Artemisia Gentileschi: The Image of the Female Hero in Italian Baroque Art* (Princeton, 1989), pp. 184–204.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 199–200.
8. So much attention has focused on the particular character of Susanna’s response to the threats of the elders and on their presentation as conspirators that it is important to emphasize the rhetorical tradition that informs Susanna’s gesture, which is one of refusal. We find the same gesture, with the palm of the hand raised as though to repulse an advance, in Lorenzo Lotto’s treatment of the theme (Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence) and in Guercino’s *Joseph and Potiphar’s Wife* (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.). As Richard Spear, *The “Divine” Guido* (New Haven and London, 1997), pp. 64–65, has shown, this gesture, signifying “detestation, despite, exprobration and averseness,” derives from a standard rhetorical repertory. Surely it was the significance of the gesture rather than a desire to emulate Michelangelo and/or classical sculptural sources that determined its use by Artemisia.
9. The chartreuse-colored garment on the opposite shoulder of the elder in the Pommersfelden *Susanna* has been achieved by underpainting the green layer with yellow ochre.
10. Gianni Papi, “Artemisia, senza dimora conosciuta,” *Paragone*, no. 529 (1994), p. 198, noted that hands presented a difficulty for Artemisia, which is most likely one of the reasons she resorted to the study of her own.
11. Like so many of Orazio’s made-up canvases, this one is composed of three pieces. The main section was pregrounded and had been stretched and painted on. It was then taken off its stretcher and stitched to two other strips to obtain the requisite dimensions for the new composition.
12. The *Saint Jerome* only reappeared in the months following the exhibition: see Keith Christiansen and Mina Gregori, *Orazio Gentileschi: San Gerolamo* (Milan, 2003). I am grateful to Carlo Orsi for making the technical material available to me. As can be seen in the X-ray, not only did Orazio emphasize the contours throughout in a fashion typical of his approach to painting, but there is a female head from an abandoned composition. In a recent article Gianni Papi has reasserted his view that the *David* is a work of around 1619–20, with the landscape painted by Simon Vouet: “Il ‘David’ Spada di Orazio Gentileschi: Opera di collaborazione,” *Paragone*, no. 633 (2002), pp. 43–48. His observations do not in any way detract from the usefulness of the X-ray in discussing Orazio. However, I do not believe he is correct either about the date or the collaboration.
13. The X-ray of the Capodimonte *Judith* reveals that Artemisia initially considered extending Holofernes’s left arm outward, bent up at the elbow—a pose closely analogous to that seen in Elsheimer’s painting.
14. Bissell, *Artemisia Gentileschi and the Authority of Art*, pp. 192–93, discusses at length the original size of the picture, based largely on its relation to various copies. For this reason, special attention was taken at the Metropolitan in examining the edges. As reported by Garrard, *Artemisia Gentileschi*, p. 495 n. 35, the canvas shows no weave distortion from stretching on the left, where it has clearly been cut; the other three sides show signs only of modest trimming.
15. Artemisia’s close association with Vouet is epitomized by his portrait of her, created for their mutual acquaintance and patron, Cassiano dal Pozzo (private collection).
16. See the correspondence between the Florentine secretary of state, Andrea Cioli, and the Florentine ambassador in Rome, Piero Guicciardini, published by Anna Maria Crinò, “More Letters from Orazio and Artemisia Gentileschi,” *Burlington Magazine* 102 (1960), p. 264, and Anna Maria Crinò and Benedict Nicolson, “Further Documents Relating to Orazio Gentileschi,” *Burlington Magazine* 103 (1961), pp. 144–45. Guicciardini was well informed about Caravaggesque practice and owned works by Honthorst, Manfredi, and Cecco del Caravaggio. But he was no admirer of Orazio. See Gino Corti, “Il ‘Registro de’ mandati’

- dell'ambasciatore granducaale Piero Guicciardini e la committenza artistica fiorentina a Roma nel secondo decennio del seicento," *Paragone*, no. 473 (1989), pp. 108–46.
17. Here one may note that what Garrard (*Artemisia Gentileschi*, pp. 310–11) read as an indication that Artemisia initially thought of painting a curtain or tent opening in the background of the Capodimonte picture might just as well be a preliminary idea for the placement of Holofernes's leg. There is, in fact, no trace of the curtain on the surface of the painting. What Garrard interpreted as the opening of the bag for Holofernes's head seems to me merely a looplike drapery fold of Judith's dress, suppressed as the position of the figure on the bed was worked out.
  18. One of the primary arguments put forward for the ascription of the *Cleopatra* to Artemisia is Orazio's very different, more abstracting approach to the female nude in his *Danaë* painted for Giovan Antonio Sauli about 1621–23. But are the differences any greater than those between the Bucharest *Madonna and Child* (cat. no. 15) and the *Madonna with the Sleeping Christ Child* in the Harvard University Art Museums (cat. no. 28)? The years 1608–12 mark a special moment in Orazio's development, and the *Cleopatra* exhibits all the features we would expect from a picture of that date.
  19. The later canvas additions on the *Lucretia*, which showed bed-sheets, bed curtains, and an architectural feature, encouraged scholars to read the picture as a narrative. Now that the additional strips have been removed, it is clear that the picture is presented in emblematic terms: Lucretia as an emblem of virtue, much as in Marcantonio Raimondi's engraving after a design by Raphael. The pointed blade of the knife is menacingly juxtaposed with Lucretia's breast, and she strikes the rhetorical pose of gazing heavenward, not, as Garrard (*Artemisia Gentileschi*, p. 230) would have it, as though "questioning whether she *should* commit suicide," but to exemplify the twin aspects of shame and justification. In much of the literature prior to Bissell's 1999 book, as well as in the exhibition catalogue, the *Lucretia* was dated to about 1620–21, partly on the basis of its Genoese provenance. The notion was that prior to going from Florence to Rome, Artemisia traveled to Genoa to see her father and there received commissions from Pietro Gentile, in whose collection the *Lucretia* is first cited (as a work by Orazio). Now that we know that Artemisia went directly from Florence to Rome in 1620, the Genoa trip seems highly unlikely. Even more importantly, the style of the *Lucretia*—its Caravaggesque lighting combined with the calf-length format preferred by Orazio in the years Artemisia worked with him—is incompatible with her Florentine and post-Florentine paintings.
  20. The letter, in which Artemisia asked Sauli to pass on a personal note to her father, has evidently been lost. It is referred to in Marco Bologna's study *L'archivio della famiglia Sauli di Genova*, Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria 114, fasc. 2 (Rome, 2000), p. 437, and in Marzia Cataldi Gallo, "The Sauli Collection: Two Unpublished Letters and a Portrait by Orazio Gentileschi," *Burlington Magazine* 145 (2003), p. 345.
  21. Pronounced weave distortion from stretching the canvas is visible on all four sides, establishing that the current dimensions are original.
  22. Garrard, *Artemisia Gentileschi*, pp. 230, 238.
  23. Menzio, *Artemisia Gentileschi/Agostino Tassi*, p. 49.
  24. Elizabeth Cropper, in Christiansen and Mann, *Orazio and Artemisia Gentileschi*, p. 275.
  25. See Michael Fried, "Thoughts on Caravaggio," *Critical Inquiry* 24 (1997), p. 21. Fried, pp. 38–40 n. 33, also has some interesting observations on Artemisia's possible use of the mirror, related to the *Allegory of Painting* at Hampton Court (cat. no. 81). My own feeling is that, in Florence, Artemisia's art makes a decisive turn toward the objectification of the subjects she paints: self-identification is no longer primary.
  26. As an indication of the importance of this aspect of her work, it is worth noting that Bissell, *Artemisia Gentileschi and the Authority of Art*, pp. 374–75, 377–83, lists five lost paintings of the Madonna and eighteen paintings of saints, some bust length and others more ambitious in scale and treatment. Among these were pictures of remarkable quality and originality. The duke of Alcalá's *Penitent Magdalene*, known in three versions (each of which is, to my mind, a copy, including the one included in the exhibition, cat. no. 68), was an invention of the highest order—so unusual in theme that the duke's inventory describes the figure as asleep ("durmiendo sobre el brazo"). One hardly need follow the elaborate interpretation of Mary Garrard, *Artemisia Gentileschi around 1622: The Shaping and Reshaping of an Artistic Identity* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2001), pp. 25–75, to recognize the remarkable way Artemisia has combined references to the former prostitute's lassitude and moral laxity with her contrition, creating an image that draws on the traditions of genre painting and is at once profane and profoundly sacred.
  27. Garrard, *Artemisia Gentileschi*, pp. 23–24, 492–93 n. 19; Gianni Papi, in Roberto Contini and Gianni Papi, *Artemisia*, exh. cat., Casa Buonarroti, Florence (Rome, 1991), p. 114, no. 8; Bissell, *Artemisia Gentileschi and the Authority of Art*, pp. 184–85, no. 1, and p. 327, no. X-19.
  28. I would like to comment on the character of the naturalism of the Bucharest *Madonna and Child*. To judge from remarks made at the exhibition and again at the symposium held in Saint Louis in September 2002, some viewers have found the swollen, high-placed breast of the Virgin disconcerting, especially as the other breast has been flattened to the point of being almost invisible. How is one to explain this anatomical ineptitude if we grant that Orazio was working from a model? I believe that the problem derives from a confusion between the naturalistic intention of the style Orazio adopted for the picture and his desire to emphasize the act of nursing, an act so common that it must have been observed by every seventeenth-century male, yet one that here carried theological implications. The artist's practice of painting directly from the model should not be thought to entail an unedited transcription of what he staged and observed in the course of the multiple sittings that were necessary. Quite apart from the fact that all painting—even the most "naturalistic"—is an act of objectifying and interpretation, there is the simple fact that Orazio was negotiating not only the world of everyday experience but also the tradition of devotional painting. Contemporary viewers were well aware of this. The duke of Mantua's agent, for example, responding to a version of the Bucharest painting that he saw in Orazio's studio, sent to Vincenzo Gonzaga's secretary the report that "both figures look at each other with great affection, for all that the child is no more than one month old, but [the painting] is well executed and natural [*ben fatto et naturale*]. . . . In sum [the picture] demonstrates that naturalism [*il naturale*] is a very good thing." See Alessandro Luzio, *La galleria dei Gonzaga venduta all'Inghilterra nel 1627–28* (1914; reprint Rome, 1974), pp. 60–61 n. 1.

29. It is worth noting the tendency among Artemisia's apologists to emphasize her achievement at the expense of Orazio's, even when contradicted by the visual evidence. Thus we find Garrard, *Artemisia Gentileschi*, pp. 25–26, remarking on the lack of “earthy physicality and a tender intimacy between mother and child,” in Orazio's pictures, while Artemisia's are said to consistently exhibit an “intensity of her characters' engagement.” Based on this distinction, a characteristic work by Orazio—the *Madonna and Child* in the Johnson collection (cat. no. 8)—is reascribed to Artemisia. Similarly, Judith Mann has alluded to the “intimate interaction between mother and child” in the Spada *Madonna and Child*, while Orazio's painting at Bucharest is characterized as “contrived.” See Christiansen and Mann, *Orazio and Artemisia Gentileschi*, pp. 300–302.
30. Eva Struhal, a student of Elizabeth Cropper, prompted me to consider a Florentine dating for these two pictures; she had already become convinced of the matter. After my initial resistance to the proposal, largely based on received opinion, I came to the conclusion that a Florentine dating really explained the character of these two paintings better than any other solution.
31. A second version of the Pitti *Magdalene* recently appeared at auction (Sotheby's, London, July 11, 2002, lot 180) and was acquired by Richard Herner. It measures 143.5 x 105.5 centimeters and must be based on a tracing of the Pitti version. A number of changes were introduced, and the picture has a very different effect, since the Magdalene turns her head outward, away from the mirror, thus making it a more decisive repudiation of the vanities of the world. The painting has none of the surface refinement of the Pitti picture, but it is not out of the question that Artemisia was involved in its execution. In the auction catalogue the idea is floated that the painting may be one of the unfinished paintings mentioned in the 1621 inventory.
32. Papi, “Artemisia, senza dimora conosciuta,” p. 198. Papi suggested a date of about 1612, just prior to Artemisia's move to Florence. As he notes, the gesture is that of an Annunciate Virgin, and one wonders if the picture was not accompanied by a pendant with the bust of an angel.
33. See Elizabeth Cropper's insightful discussion in Christiansen and Mann, *Orazio and Artemisia Gentileschi*, pp. 276–79. Her comments provide the basis for my remarks. There is no consensus on the relation of Artemisia's art to Florentine culture. Perhaps the most extreme position is that taken by Roberto Contini (in Christiansen and Mann, pp. 313–19): “It is still, I fear, almost futile to wonder about the influence Florence had on her art, for there are so many concrete indications that it had none.” For less radical views, see Garrard, *Artemisia Gentileschi*, pp. 34–51; Gianni Papi, in Contini and Papi, *Artemisia*, pp. 45–50; and Bissell, *Artemisia Gentileschi and the Authority of Art*, pp. 18–22, 25–33. Garrard envisages Artemisia as an “instant Florentine success . . . as a protégée of . . . Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger, who was a strong advocate of Artemisia in Florence, and who may have been a close family friend.” Although she emphasizes the “shared Florentine style” of those who worked on the decoration of Buonarroti's gallery and plays down the notion of Artemisia's influence on her fellow artists, she does not ascribe to Allori the importance I do (quite the contrary, in fact). Papi notes as a characteristic of her Florentine production “that vaguely pathetic expression that seems a concession and contribution of Artemisia to the poetics of the *affetti* that was already being elaborated in Florence, above all in the work of Cristofano Allori.” Bissell sums up his view of her relation to Florentine art by noting that “between 1613 and 1620 the art of Artemisia Gentileschi was more touched by Florentine painting than Florentine painting at the time was by Gentileschi's manner.” He plays down the notion of Buonarroti's importance as a promoter of Artemisia rather than someone who came to support her once she was established in Florence. These various and sometimes conflicting points of view are reflected in the very different paintings and chronology that each author assigns to the artist's Florentine years. The views of Garrard and Bissell are complicated by dating the Pitti *Judith and Her Maidservant* early rather than late in this time frame and by placing the Uffizi *Judith* late rather than early, thus masking what to my mind is the general direction of Artemisia's work.
34. Bissell, *Artemisia Gentileschi and the Authority of Art*, pp. 25–33, gives a fine overview of the various ways Artemisia's Florentine work has been interpreted.
35. It may be remembered that Galileo was in Rome in 1611, Allori and Buonarroti possibly in 1610: see Pizzorusso, *Ricerche su Cristofano Allori*, pp. 46–47. All were closely attached to Cigoli, whom Orazio knew well. Orazio, of course, considered himself a Florentine and seems to have maintained close ties with Florentine artists in Rome. From a letter written in March 1612, we know that Galileo praised a young Roman woman who, in addition to her singing and music making, liked to draw (“giovane zitella Romana molto virtuosa, che, oltre al sonare e cantare, si diletta di disegnare”). This seems a rather unlikely description of Artemisia, and it reminds us that she was not the only talented female he took an interest in. In 1630 we find him corresponding with Buonarroti (both were in Rome) about another female artist, the engraver and still-life painter Annamaria Vaiani (“fanciulla di grandissimo merito,” according to Galileo). See *Le opere di Galileo Galilei* (Florence, 1929–39), vol. 14 (1935), letters 2021–23, 2026, 2027, 2048, 2063, and 2073, cited by Eileen Reeves, *Painting the Heavens: Art and Science in the Age of Galileo* (Princeton, 1997), pp. 7, 228 n. 17. Almost certainly because of the campaign mounted on Annamaria's behalf, she was employed by Cardinal Francesco Barberini doing some of the illustrations for Giovanni Battista Ferrari's *De florum cultura*, published 1633. Ferrari was horticultural consultant to the Barberini family; see David Freedberg, *The Eye of the Lynx: Galileo, His Friends, and the Beginnings of Modern Natural History* (Chicago and London, 2002), pp. 38–46, 420 n. 46.
36. On Cristofano Allori's relations with poets of the Medici court, as well as an illuminating discussion of the poetics of his paintings, see especially Pizzorusso, *Ricerche su Cristofano Allori*, pp. 13–20, 69–85.
37. *Ibid.*, pp. 15–16.
38. The most remarkable of these is a study for the head of Abra in his *Judith and Holofernes* that was sold at Sotheby's, London, December 6, 1972, lot 3: see Mina Gregori, “Note su Cristofano Allori,” in Maria Grazia Ciardi Duprè Dal Poggetto and Paolo Dal Poggetto, eds., *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Ugo Procacci* (Milan, 1977), vol. 2, p. 522. It was owned by Baldinucci, who noted that Allori “lo colori di primo gusto dal naturale,” that is, it was painted directly from nature. In his constant pursuit of perfection, Allori's practice aligns more with that of Barocci than with the Carracci, and it is in a direct line with that of his teacher Cigoli.
39. Filippo Baldinucci, *Notizie dei professori del disegno* (Florence, 1846), vol. 3, pp. 732–33.



40. From the letter Piero Guicciardini sent to the grand duke's secretary, Andrea Cioli, on March 27, 1615. See Crinò and Nicolson, "Further Documents Relating to Orazio Gentileschi," p. 144.
  41. For the many versions and copies of this work, see John Shearman, *The Early Italian Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen* (London, 1983), pp. 6–7, and Miles Chappell, *Cristofano Allori*, exh. cat., Palazzo Pitti, Florence (Florence, 1984), pp. 78–80, no. 25. The history of the Orsini version is reconstructed by Shearman, "Cristofano Allori's 'Judith,'" *Burlington Magazine* 121 (1979), pp. 3–10.
  42. See Shearman, "Cristofano Allori's 'Judith,'" p. 3. A study from the model for the Palazzo Pitti version of the picture is in the Uffizi (1501).
  43. Rinuccini wrote a poem about the picture that is conspicuous for its straightforward interpretation of the theme in emblematic terms; virtue over vice, etc. One wonders if it was not intentionally silent about the double meaning of the painting. The poet was a close friend of Allori's and, with the artist, repented late in life of his "lascivious" work.
  44. Helen Langdon, *Caravaggio: A Life* (London, 1998), p. 205. Marino's letter mentioning the picture was addressed to the poet Paolino Berti.
  45. See Pizzorusso, *Ricerche su Cristofano Allori*, pp. 71–73. Pizzorusso notes as a possible literary source for Allori's picture Gabriello Chiabrera's poem on Judith. Chiabrera, in fact, specifically describes Judith's adornments, which include a "sovra aurea gonna."
  46. Bardi's version was sold to Cardinal Carlo de' Medici, who gave Bardi a copy of the painting by Jacopo Ligozzi that had been brought into conformity with stricter notions of decorum by the addition of drapery. Interestingly, it was Volterrano—the same artist paid to add drapery to Artemisia's *Allegory of Inclination*—who painted the drapery on the Ligozzi copy. Clearly, the cultural climate conducive to these complex pictures did not last long. See Pizzorusso, *Ricerche su Cristofano Allori*, p. 68.
  47. Gregori, "Note su Cristofano Allori," pp. 522–25. The inscription on the back confirms the story recounted by Balducci.
  48. Chappell, *Cristofano Allori*, p. 20.
  49. Gregori, "Note su Cristofano Allori," p. 520.
  50. Elizabeth Cropper, in Christiansen and Mann, *Orazio and Artemisia Gentileschi*, p. 275.
  51. See *ibid.*, p. 278: "*Inclination* was a reiteration of *Susanna*, declaring the presence of the artist in her work, whose very subject in this case was the personification of an artist's peculiar inclination toward making art." That the subject was customized for Artemisia is suggested by the fact that it does not appear in the first programs (Temperance and Tolerance had been considered earlier), whereas on a subsequent sketch giving the layout of the ceiling, Artemisia's is the only name of an artist indicated. The other allegorical figures were to be painted by the pupils of the most outstanding painters in Florence, which should be recalled when evaluating Artemisia's participation in the project. Although she was paid more for her single figure than her Florentine colleagues were for theirs, the very fact that she did not receive the commission to paint one of the large, narrative canvases surely indicates Buonarroti's notion of her abilities.
- The peculiarity of including a figure of Inclination may be judged by the fact that no such personification is included in either the 1603 edition of Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* (it makes its first appearance in the 1624 edition) or in Pierio Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica* (1621–26). In later editions of Ripa, the figure is clothed and has different symbols (including two stars). Jean-Baptiste Boudard, *Iconologie tirée de divers auteurs* (Parma, 1759), vol. 2, p. 112, distinguishes good from bad inclination (*Inclinazione, Inclinazione buona, and Inclinazione cattiva*). None is shown nude and none holds a compass; see Norma Cecchini, *Dizionario sinottico di Iconologia* (Bologna, 1976), pp. 21, 113. On the genesis of the program, see Adriaan W. Vliegthart, *La Galleria Buonarroti: Michelangelo e Michelangelo il giovane* (Florence, 1976), pp. 39–40, 49–50, 170–73. Michelangelo Buonarroti was a member of the Accademia della Crusca, and it is in the *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca*, published in 1612, that we find "Inclination" defined as a natural disposition for a particular thing, acquired more by volition than by the constellation under which one is born (*Attitudine, e natural disposizione a cosa particolare. . . . Che benchè ciascuno houmo nasca sotto alcuna costellazione, la qual gli dia alcuna inclinazione, con la sua influenza, in sua podestà è d'acquistarla, o nò*). This notion would have had obvious resonance for Artemisia. In analyzing Artemisia's depiction, one may recall that Vasari begins his life of Michelangelo with a reference to the "fateful and fortunate star" under which Michelangelo was born. Artemisia's painting declares that she, too, was born under such a star.
52. Elizabeth Cropper, in Christiansen and Mann, *Orazio and Artemisia Gentileschi*, p. 276. The interest of the Medici court in this sort of emblematic painting is well known. There is Giovanni Bilivert's painting of Maria Maddalena of Austria as the Magdalene and, later, Carlo Dolce's depiction of the archduchess Claudia Felicità as Galla Placidia (both Galleria Palatina, Florence)—paintings that put forward a poetic identity for a real person and use a historical reference as a means of characterization. That Artemisia's *Lute Player* (cat. no. 57) should be inventoried as a self-portrait is fully consonant with this manner of looking at paintings.
  53. Pizzorusso, *Ricerche su Cristofano Allori*, p. 70.
  54. The bracelet is composed of blue cameos or gemstones with white figures. Only two are legible and show, at the bottom, a female figure viewed from the back in a contrapposto pose, the left arm raised, the right one extended downward; the middle one viewed from the front with a shield in one hand and a sword in the other. While the bottom figure could be construed as a nymph or as Diana (Artemis)—the identification plausibly proposed by Garrard—the other figure certainly is not Diana. It could be Minerva or a slender Mars. Garrard, *Artemisia Gentileschi*, pp. 326–27, refers to the figures as "hazy but suggestive sketches." Examined under magnification, one can see that there is nothing hazy about their execution, although they are done in a sketchy style. Garrard suggests that Artemisia intended the Diana/Artemis as a sort of signature. In my opinion the bracelet, like the brocade dress, was Artemisia's way of enhancing the poetic paradox of the garments of seduction employed to perform an act of violence.
  55. See Elizabeth Cropper, "The Petrifying Art: Marino's Poetry and Caravaggio," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 26 (1991), pp. 193–212.
  56. It is difficult to speculate on Artemisia's awareness of the poetic scene in Rome. Orazio certainly knew Marino's rival, Gasparc Murtola, who dedicated a poem to Onorio Longhi—like Orazio, a member of the Caravaggio clique that Giovanni Baglione sued for libel in 1603 for writing scurrilous verses against his work. Orazio, too, painted his *Judith* (Nasjonalgalleriet, Oslo; cat. no. 13) richly garbed and bejeweled, but he avoids

precisely the drama that is at the heart of Artemisia's painting. The fact that Artemisia only returns to the convention of the richly dressed Judith while in Florence, prominently placing the bracelet on the sword-wielding arm, is surely significant. The X-ray of the Pitti *Judith and Her Maidservant* (cat. no. 60) shows that Artemisia initially thought of putting a bracelet on the heroine's arm there as well but then painted it out.

57. There is a strong possibility that the author of these verses was the Venetian admirer and biographer of Marino, Gianfrancesco Loredan. The poems, dedicated to three paintings Artemisia presumably painted in Venice—a *Sleeping Cupid*, a *Lucretia*, and a *Susanna*—employ Marinesque conceits. In the instance of the *Lucretia*, the conceit is that Artemisia's painting has revived the story of the Roman heroine and, in so doing, her brush, far more than the sword, is the instrument of death. Or again: it is no marvel that her *Sleeping Cupid* is so true to life ("al ver tanto è simile"): wasn't Venus able to make a living Cupid from love ("poiche potea / far anco un vivo Amor d'Amor la / Dea")? The play here is on Artemisia-Venus as a creator of living images and not a mere painter. There is an obviously gendered slant to the comment, though not in the direction proposed by Garrard, *Artemisia Gentileschi*, pp. 172–73. Indeed, Garrard's discussion of these literary tributes to Artemisia seems curiously blind to the intersection of seicento poetics with Artemisia's paintings and her ambitions as an artist. In the case of the *Lucretia*, the author recycled the conceit of Marino's famous poem on Guido Reni's *Massacre of the Innocents* that appears in *La galleria* (published in Venice in successive editions in 1619 and 1620). In it the poet plays on the contradiction of the painter's brush giving life to those who are perpetually dying: "Non vedi tu [Guido], che mentre il sanguinoso / stuol dei fanciulli ravivando vai, / nova morte gli dai?" In the *Sleeping Cupid* he took up the same line we find in Marino's characterization of Caravaggio as "Creator più

che Pittore" (*Adone*, 6, 55), but with a twist made possible by the fact that Artemisia was a beautiful woman who not only painted Cupid/love but inspired it. Bissell, *Artemisia Gentileschi and the Authority of Art*, pp. 39–40, 355–56 L-1, 374 L-54, 389 L-105, conveniently reprints the poems and discusses their authorship. Although much in these tributes is conventional, their application to Artemisia's work is hardly peripheral.

58. Taken from Marino's *Dicerie sacre* of 1614, quoted by Sebastian Schütze, "Pittura parlante e poesia taciturna . . .," in *Documentary Culture: Florence and Rome from Grand-Duke Ferdinand I to Pope Alexander VII*, ed. Elizabeth Cropper, Giovanna Perini, and Francesco Solinas, *Villa Spelman Colloquia* 3, 1990 (Bologna, 1992), p. 209.
59. "E de la prima età fresca e fiorita / Piagne le colpe." The line is from Marino's celebrated "La Maddalena di Tiziano." Titian's picture, of course, shows the nude penitential Magdalene in her retreat. Artemisia employed contrasting images to enrich the reading of the subject and take it beyond the level of a simple dramatic presentation. Her picture operates both as narrative and as poetic description. Marino's encomium to Titian's image at the end of his poem could well stand for this approach to painting: "But nature and truth cede / To that which the learned artificer has imaged, / For he painted her here, as beautiful and alive / As he conceived her in his soul and thought. / Oh, celestial semblance, oh, masterly craft, / For in his work he outdoes himself; / Eternal ornament of cloth and paper, / Marvel of the world, honor of art!" Translation from James V. Mirollo, *The Poet of the Marvelous: Giambattista Marino* (New York and London, 1963), p. 293.
60. See Menzio, *Artemisia Gentileschi/Agostino Tassi*, p. 124.
61. Garrard, *Artemisia Gentileschi around 1622*, pp. 86–97.
62. Garrard, *Artemisia Gentileschi*, p. 95; Bissell, *Artemisia Gentileschi and the Authority of Art*, p. 240.