

Dott. NOEMI MAGRI of Mantua gave the following paper to the De Vere Society meeting:
Shakespeare and Italian Renaissance Painting

The three wanton pictures in *The Taming of the Shrew*

The precise and faithful descriptions of Renaissance pictorial works contained in the poems and plays of Shakespeare highlight various problems regarding Shakespeare's sources, the location of such pictorial works, and their accessibility. The majority of the critics suggest a literary connection, but parallel examination of the classical or Renaissance literary works and Shakespeare's descriptions rules that out.

The problems provoke other questions, for example, the reason why Shakespeare makes those allusions that are not essential to the plot (in many cases they are even extraneous to the story); or the relevance such paintings had to him. But the most crucial question is: whether he ever saw the art works he describes, and where, given the fact that they were not found in England. In fact, owing to the Protestant Reformation, the links with the cultural centres of Catholic Europe had become very weak.

Shakespeare's knowledge of art works that were present only on the continent may be one of the reasons to exclude William of Stratford from authorship of the works, in favour of Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford, who visited France and Italy in 1575-76.

In the Induction to *The Taming of the Shrew* Shakespeare describes three pictures, calling them 'wanton': a term that, applied to art, may be explained as 'luscious, voluptuous, erotic'.

All Renaissance art is erotic. On the other hand, it seems that the forms of art existing in England were not. So, Shakespeare must have found his inspiration outside England. Also paintings of religious subjects were erotic: in them, eroticism and mysticism blend together to form a harmonious unity. This is because the Catholic doctrine of the 16th century approved of wanton art by recognizing the moral teaching of pagan images. It was established that pagan images had an edifying purpose and performed the function of *excitatio mentis ad Deum*, 'a spur of the mind to God'. Popes, cardinals and princes competed to have the greatest artists work for them and represent pagan subjects.

Whether the author of *The Taming of the Shrew* was aware of that doctrine is not known; it is a fact that, in the play, erotic paintings decorate the home of an English lord.

In this paper, I hope to identify the three wanton pictures and try to answer the many questions that

those references raise.

My identification has been made on the basis of the following elements: Shakespeare's descriptions of the subjects; the clue given by the word 'wanton'; the date of execution of the paintings (only works executed before 1575-6 have been taken into account); the location of the paintings at that date: in fact, the place is essential to substantiate where Lord Oxford might have seen them.

The three pictures

In the Induction to the play, an English Lord, back from hunting, sees a drunken man lying outside an inn and, with the intention of playing a trick on him, tells his gentlemen to carry him to his [the Lord's] home, dress him in fine clothes, put rings on his fingers and prepare 'a most delicious banquet by his bed'. It is the Lord's conviction that, dressed and treated as a Lord, the man called Sly, a tinker, will believe himself to be an aristocrat:

'Would not the beggar, then, forget himself?'

The identification of dream with reality, of vision with truth is a favourite theme in Shakespeare. In fact, at the end of the play, when he wakes up outside the inn, dressed again in his shabby clothes, Sly will say to the tapster that he had dreamt a most wonderful dream: he had imagined himself a lord.)

The Lord in the Induction orders the attendants to perfume Sly with rose-water, play heavenly music for him and arrange a play to make him enjoy his new status. Then he says,

Carry him gently to my fairest chamber
 And hang it round with all my wanton pictures
 (*Taming* Induction 1.44-5)

It appears that, in Elizabethan England, paintings of a wanton nature were not usually part of the decorations in royal palaces or aristocratic homes, probably because the increasing wave of Puritanism favoured Flemish portraits or Dutch seascapes. The walls of the rooms were oak-panelled or covered with tapestries. So, decorating a room with wanton pictures does not appear to be in conformity with the established English customs. Yet, here Shakespeare makes a point of including them among the refined luxuries in an aristocrat's bedroom, luxuries that were found mainly in courts and palaces in continental Europe.

In Shakespeare's description of the pictures, the Lord and his attendants are speaking to Sly:

Dost thou love pictures? We will fetch thee straight
 Adonis painted by a running brook.
 And Cytherea² all in sedges hid,
 Which seem to move and wanton with her breath
 Even as the waving sedges play with wind.
 We'll show thee Io as she was a maid,
 And how she was beguiled and surpris'd,
 As lively painted as the deed was done.
 Or Daphne roaming through a thorny wood,
 Scratching her legs that one shall swear she bleeds,
 And at that sight shall sad Apollo weep,
 So workmanly the blood and tears are drawn.
 (*Taming* Induction 2.50-61)

Most commentators agree with Brian Morris, Arden editor of the play, that Shakespeare 'did not have actual pictures in mind'³ or with M. F. Thorp that the source of this passage is literary, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* being the main source-book, either in the Latin original or in Golding's translation⁴. Lytton Sells, instead, is of the opinion that 'it is more natural to suppose that he [Shakespeare] is describing real pictures'⁵, and Dwyer, an Oxfordian, is certain that Shakespeare/Oxford did see them in Italy, though he does not venture to identify the painters nor to deal with the complex question of the location of the paintings.

Since Shakespeare explicitly refers to pictures and emphasises that they were painted or drawn, it is far from conjectural to maintain that his sources were pictorial, furthermore a great many paintings and frescoes of the subjects mentioned in the Induction decorated palaces and homes in 16th-century France and Italy. So, attention must turn to Renaissance art in order to explain Shakespeare's references and find his sources.

The identification of the first two pictures - 'Adonis and Cytherea', and 'Io' - is here considered definitive, unless other identical works come to light, - which is rather improbable; the one of 'Apollo and Daphne' may be open to discussion owing to the many (now lost) examples of that subject painted by Renaissance artists; however, the present identification fulfils the requirements, and no other 'Apollo and Daphne' corresponding to Shakespeare appears to be extant now.

1 Adonis and Cytherea

The details are specific. Adonis is 'painted by a running brook'. Most strangely, Venus is 'all in sedges hid', a peculiar pose considering that in traditional iconography Venus and Adonis are portrayed in love scenes, except for the representations of Venus mourning for Adonis's death where, in any case, she is never 'hidden'. Moreover, Shakespeare had written a poem of 1,194 lines describing the Titian

painting of an enamoured Venus trying to embrace her loved one⁷. So, here, this hidden Venus seems to be in a rather strange position: it is as if she wanted to remain concealed, unseen, far from the rest of the scene, all in sedges hid, completely out of Adonis's sight. One may wonder why she is hidden and what Adonis is doing by a brook.

Even supposing that this reference to a painting is Shakespeare's creation, the image of Venus 'all hid' is consistent neither with the traditional story of the two lovers nor with Titian's painting. This 'Adonis and Cytherea' is not a love scene, on account of the position of the protagonists. Yet, to Shakespeare, it is wanton, and its feature of voluptuousness is stressed by the lines:

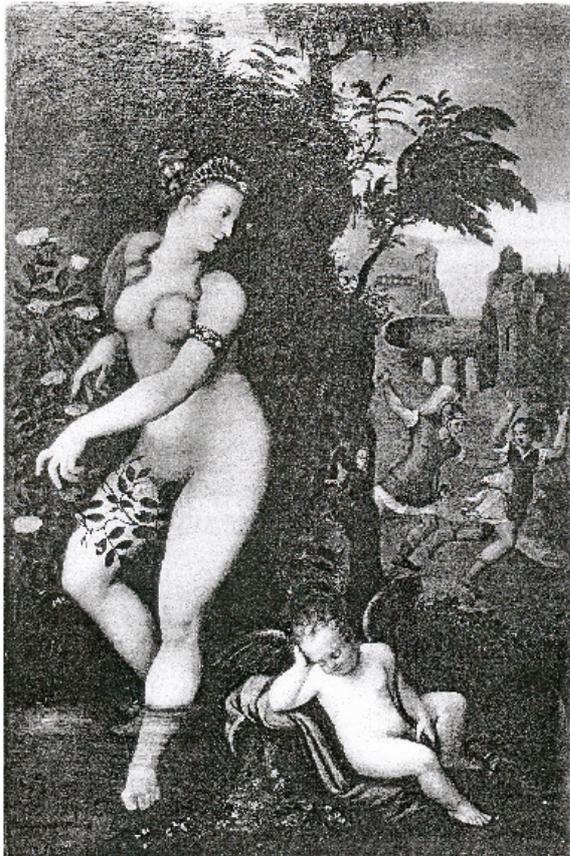
And Cytherea all in sedges hid
 Which seem to move and wanton with her breath
 Even as the waving sedges play with wind.
 (*Taming* Induction 2.52-54)

Sedges are plants growing in wet places, and the term is applied to the Sweet Flag and the Wild Iris (*OED*), so Venus must be in or near a pond, and there may be flowers in the sedges in the painting.

It is not exact to affirm that the source of this reference is literary, for there is no episode of Venus hiding behind a bush and Adonis near a brook told in Ovid: Ovid is not Shakespeare's inspiration. Instead, Shakespeare is right in referring to a picture: in fact, that episode is the subject of a painting called 'Venus and the Rose', also known as 'Venus Wounded by the Thorn of a Rose', by Italian artist Luca Penni⁸. It shows Venus bathing in a pond behind a rose-bush. She is turning her head to look behind her and sees Mars brandishing a baton and chasing Adonis. Mars and Adonis are running by a brook. It is true that, to the viewer, Venus may look as if she were hiding.

Venus all in sedges hid and Adonis by a running brook is no invention of Shakespeare's: it is a precise, accurate description of an actual painting. Shakespeare follows Penni very closely, though he omits some details, for example, jealous Mars attacking Adonis, or Cupid asleep. 'Venus and the Rose' has the erotic quality of Penni's works, which accounts for Shakespeare calling it 'wanton'.

At the age of about 25, Penni moved to France where he worked for the French kings. In Paris he met Mantuan engraver Giorgio Ghisi (Mantua c. 1520-82) and the two artists started a close collaboration. Ghisi executed engravings from designs by Luca: 'Venus and the Rose' (1556) is one of his prints⁹. (In it the detail of the 'running brook' is more clearly seen than in the painting.)



Above: 'Venus and the Rose' by Luca Penni



Above: 'Io' by Correggio (Antonio Allegri)



Left: 'Apollo and Daphne', anonymous work in Casa Vasari, Arezzo (detail)

The episode of 'Venus, Mars and Adonis' is not Penni's personal interpretation of the myth: it is his own adaptation of a short narration contained in the erudite allegorical romance by the Dominican Friar, Francesco Colonna (Treviso 1433-Venice 1527), written in Italian vernacular with parts in Latin, Greek and Arabic, the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* 'Polifilo's love-battle in a dream', first published in Venice in 1499. This work celebrating the Humanistic concept of beauty in all its forms and the ideals of divine and sensual love, and containing many descriptions of classical buildings, Egyptian art and the formulation of architectural theories, was the source of inspiration of many Renaissance artists.

The passage tells that two lovers Polifilo and Polia travelled to Adonis's tomb. There, the nymphs related how Venus, in stepping out of a fountain naked where she was bathing, and running to Adonis's help to rescue him from Mars's attack, was wounded by the thorn of a rose. Drops of blood fell on the flower and turned the white rose to red¹⁰.

Since Penni drew on that short narration, it may be objected that, on the supposition that he had read it, Shakespeare, too, may have been influenced by that narration, and not by Penni. This can be excluded on the basis of iconographic analysis. Shakespeare may have read the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, either in Italian or in one of the very popular French translations (1546, 1554, 1561), but his description of the painting does not find any correspondence with the romance. Only Penni's painting and Ghisi's engraving based on Penni show a Venus 'all hidden' and an Adonis 'by a running brook'.

No other pictorial work of this subject and content is known as having been executed in Renaissance times or beyond. Penni's 'Venus and the Rose' is the only one: this painting is here taken as Shakespeare's pictorial source: in fact, the description perfectly matches the painting.

The French version of the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* contains a woodcut from which, in the opinion of some art critics, Penni may have derived the idea of his composition. (cf. Boorsch & Lewis, pp.95-7.) That is possible. But the organisation of the painting is completely different: the woodcut shows Adonis's tomb on which are engraved the three figures of Venus, Mars and Adonis. Their gestures are different from in Penni. Adonis is drawing back from Mars's attack: he is not 'by a brook'. Venus is anxiously running to Adonis's aid: she is not 'all hidden'. Then, on the sarcophagus there is engraved ADO/NIA, which means 'Religious festivities for the mourning of Adonis's death'. In Penni there is

no iconographic element foreshadowing Adonis's end, nor in Shakespeare either¹¹.

Where could Shakespeare/Oxford have seen 'Venus and the Rose'?

Penni worked in Paris and Fontainebleau¹². In the second half of the 16th century the painting was in the French royal collections; in fact, Ghisi made an engraving of it when he was in France¹³. It has been established that Lord Oxford took the route Lyon-Paris to return to England. Fontainebleau was one of the customary stops on the way. As an aristocrat from an illustrious family, he certainly lodged at the Château (allusions to this place and Diana of Poitiers are found in *All's Well That Ends Well*, IV, ii: in the play the lady courted by Bertram is called Diana). The Château in 1575-6 displayed magnificent examples of erotic paintings in a most colourful Italian tradition. De Vere was in Paris twice and was received at court. It is certain that he saw the painting in France.

2 Io

We'll show thee Io as she was a maid,
And how she was beguiled and surpris'd,
As lively painted as the deed was done.
(*Taming* Induction 2.55-7)

The description of this painting focuses on the female figure: a maiden, beguiled, that is 'charmed', and surprised, 'taken hold of unexpectedly, taken unawares' (*OED*). Shakespeare gives an essential detail for the identification of his source: the painting shows the moment when she was charmed. It may seem strange that Io's suitor is not mentioned.

The Greek myth of Io is told in Roman authors, most notably in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (I, 583-600) and in Boccaccio's *Genealogia Deorum* (VII,22), as well as some 16th-century commentators on Ovid, but none of them is Shakespeare's source, as will be seen.

The story tells that Jupiter, in love with Io, the daughter of Inachus, a river god and first king of Argos, leaves Mount Olympus and comes down to the earth with the intention to fulfil his desire. Io is so frightened by the god's courting that she runs away in fear. In order to win her and conceal himself from Juno, his jealous wife, Jupiter turns himself into a cloud, thus disappearing from Juno's sight. Ovid writes, *rapuitque pudorem*, 'and he stole her virginity': in Ovid, the 'deed' is a violent, mischievous act. Shakespeare, instead, says she was charmed by the embrace. Juno realizes what has happened and will revenge herself on Io.

In spite of the deceit practised on the maiden, in

Shakespeare the 'deed' is no act of violence, no ravishment, no distressing offence. Io does not try to defend herself or avoid the embrace and does not appear to be the victim of an assault; she is not frightened and does not try to escape Jupiter: on the contrary, she is attracted to him. Besides, Shakespeare extols the life-like, lively, manner, the naturalness, the beauty of the 'deed' such as it was executed by the painter. His description of the scene evokes wantonness and sensual pleasure.

The only painting which matches Shakespeare's description is the 'Io' by Antonio Allegri, who is known as Correggio. This painting is now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna¹⁴. Correggio treats the subject as a love scene and depicts the actual embrace¹⁵.

Correggio does not follow the classical tradition. It is known that his source was a classical relief on the 'Ara Grimani' now in the Museo Archeologico in Venice. The relief shows a nymph kissed by a Satyr¹⁶. Correggio's Io, captivated by the god, at once surrenders to her lover and tenderly embraces him. She abandons herself to ecstasy.

Ekserdjian comments, 'She takes pleasure in his evanescent presence'¹⁷. Jupiter is not merely concealed by the cloud but becomes an incorporeal form made of a cloud. His face is depicted close to Io's lips and his right hand inside the cloud appears to slip round her waist but he is not visibly portrayed. This may be the reason why Shakespeare does not describe him. Her head thrown back voluptuously and her languishing eyes express amorous rapture and pleasure. Ricci describes the scene: 'Her mouth offers itself to the kiss of the god' and her left arm embraces the cloud 'as if to draw it to her'¹⁸.

The 'Io' is one of the four paintings known as 'Amori di Giove', Loves of Jupiter,¹⁹ commissioned from Correggio by Federico II Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua (1500-1540)²⁰.

This is Cecil Gould's judgement of the 'Loves of Jupiter': 'The fact that all four remain great art and not pornography is partly due to the extreme skill and delicacy of the painter and partly also to the fact that none of them includes the form of a man, Jupiter having assumed various disguises - an eagle, a swan, a cloud and a shower of gold - in order to further his designs'²¹.

On iconographic grounds, Shakespeare's description of Io is not derived from any literary source: it has been inspired by Correggio. Indeed, it matches the sensuality of Io's rapture and surrender in the painting. Since it is the only representation of the actual embrace, of how she was 'beguiled and surpris'd', Correggio's 'Io' is, in this article, held to

be Shakespeare's pictorial source.

The history of the painting is rather complex²². Vasari's erroneous description - he confused the Io, the Leda and other Correggio works - and the vague contemporary references do not allow us to trace the original in the second half of the 16th century: the only certain information is that there were a great many copies of the painting in courts and palaces and that an Io was sent to Spain at an unknown date as a present from the Gonzaga: it is not known whether it was the original or a copy²³.

It is a fact that the Gonzaga, in particular Federico II, were never willing to be separated from their works of art. So, they used to have copies made. In Renaissance times, and until the 19th century, copies of paintings were considered as prestigious as their originals, so long as they were masterfully executed. What mattered was the subject and the copyist's skill, rather than the artist's name. Replicas of a lot of pictorial works, together with their originals, were held not only in the Gonzaga palaces and aristocratic homes in Mantua, but also in many other continental courts and rich homes²⁴.

In the Mantuan palace of Count Nicola Maffei junior (d.1589) - the Maffei had long served the Gonzaga as ambassadors and army generals - there were 129 paintings and 31 sculptures. The 'Inventory of the Goods' drawn up at Nicola's death lists two paintings by Correggio: 'Venus, Cupid and a Satyr' (now in the Louvre) and 'The School of Love' (National Gallery, London), besides one painting described as *una donna ignuda*, 'a female nude'²⁵. The fact that the notary that drew up the inventory did not identify the subject means that the nude was not a Venus or a Lucrece - the common subjects of Renaissance female nudes - therefore the Maffei nude is likely to be a copy of the 'Io', or the original itself, not identified owing to the absence of Jupiter.

Also the notary who drew up the Inventory of the Goods of the Gonzaga of Novellara did not identify the two versions of 'Io' held in that collection: in fact, the two paintings were described respectively as 'A dream by Correggio' and 'A large upright painting in the manner of Correggio showing a woman dreaming of her deceased husband who appears to her in the form of a ghost in the act of embracing her'²⁶.

Correggio's 'Io' was copied by Italian and foreign painters and engravers from the 16th to the end of the 19th century²⁷. A 16th-century copy, held in the Belvedere, Vienna, was destroyed in World War II. Others are now in the Hermitage, St Petersburg, the Galleria Borghese, Rome and the Museo Civico in Montepulciano, Siena.

Given that copies of the 'Io' were present in many Italian homes, Lord Oxford is likely to have seen a copy, or even the original, in Mantua or in one of the residences in northern Italy where he was received.

In *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* (IV.3.22-3), Silvia, determined to find her lover, says, 'I would to Valentine, / To Mantua, where I hear he makes abode.' Commentators find no reason for introducing this place; however, it may be that, while revising that play, Shakespeare/Oxford was recollecting his stay in that town.

An example of the popularity the painting still had in the 18th century is a work by William Hogarth, 'The Countess's Levée, one of the six paintings forming the cycle of 'Marriage à La Mode' (1745, National Gallery, London): it shows an interior with a copy of the 'Io' on the wall.

Other artists have painted the Ovidian myth but their treatment of the subject is completely different from Correggio. The 'Jupiter with Io' by Paris Bordon (Treviso 1500-Venice 1571) about 1560 (now in the Göteborg Konstmuseum, Stockholm) depicts the lovers the moment after the deed. The lovers are trying to cover each other as if they had become aware of Juno's presence. Jupiter looks concerned and Io is thoughtfully gazing into space as if she had a premonition of her unhappy future, of which we are actually warned by Juno approaching on her chariot drawn by peacocks. The scene is pervaded with a feeling of worry and sadness. The eagle in the top right corner is the iconographic symbol of Jupiter.

Another example is the 'Jupiter and Io' (c.1563, now in the Hermitage) by Lambert Sustris (Amsterdam c.1515-Venice c.1591) a pupil of Titian, the two lovers, becoming aware of being caught by Juno, are turning their heads to her in hesitation and surprise. Io is timidly trying to cover herself. The paintings by Paris Bordon and Lambert Sustris are pervaded by a feeling of uneasiness or worry: for this reason, they may not be described as wanton, even though the figures are nudes.

3 Apollo and Daphne

Or Daphne roaming through a thorny wood,
Scratching her legs that one shall swear she bleeds,
And at that sight shall sad Apollo weep,
So workmanly the blood and tears are drawn.
(*Taming* Induction 2.58-61)

Ovid tells that Apollo fell in love with Daphne but, having taken vows of chastity, she rejected him. When he tried to embrace her she ran away across a thorny land imploring the goddess Earth to save

her. She was at once turned into a laurel-tree. Hence the name Daphne from the Greek word for 'laurel'. Although he follows the myth, Shakespeare refers to a specific painting and to precise details present in it and not mentioned in Ovid, that is, blood on Daphne's scratched legs and tears on Apollo's face.

The story of Apollo and Daphne in itself may not seem suitable for a wanton representation because Daphne is necessarily portrayed while she is being turned into a tree and a tree is not likely to be an erotic image. Yet, to Shakespeare, the painting does have a sensual quality, and also an emotional content: Apollo is sad and weeps in seeing blood on Daphne's legs.

The work which is more in keeping with Shakespeare is an anonymous 'Apollo and Daphne' (now held in Casa Vasari, Arezzo) dating 1562-65, ascribed to a pupil of Vasari, either Lorenzo Sabadini or Orazio Samacchini. In it Apollo is running towards Daphne in an attempt to restrain her. His movement is emphasized by the swelling of his cloak. He looks anxious and worried. Daphne's posture does not suggest fear or distress: she is turning to Apollo and looks reassured by her incipient metamorphosis, visible only in her hands and feet. The painter has not depicted an imploring fugitive but a sensual nymph. The anonymous painting had always been held in the Florentine collections until 1950 when it became part of the Vasari Museum in Arezzo. Lord Oxford may well have seen it in Florence.

'Apollo and Daphne' is a very common subject in Renaissance art. But none of the known works has such features as to be considered Shakespeare's source. The work by Antonio Pollaiuolo (c.1480) in the National Gallery, London, has no element of wantonness - Daphne's arms being already turned into tree branches. Similarly, the Apollo and Daphne by Giovanni Luteri known as Dosso Dossi (d.1542) in the Galleria Borghese, Rome, is not likely to have offered any inspiration to Shakespeare: the god is singing his love and playing the viol, and Daphne in terror in the distance is disappearing into a laurel-bush. The painting on wood called 'Lo Schiavone' is by Andrea Meldolla (d.1563). This formed part of a cassone, chest, now in the Museo del Seminario, Venice. Even supposing that Meldolla had painted a copy on canvas - which is most probable - and that Lord Oxford had seen it in some Venetian home, this work is not likely to have been Shakespeare's source because it has no connection with the description in the Induction. The 'Apollo and Daphne' by Tintoretto (1540s) decorated a ceiling in the palace of Count Pisani in Venice (now in the Galleria Estense, Modena): it does not correspond to Shake

Shakespeare's source because it has no connection with the description in the Induction. The 'Apollo and Daphne' by Tintoretto (1540s) decorated a ceiling in the palace of Count Pisani in Venice (now in the Galleria Estense, Modena): it does not correspond to Shakespeare's description either. In conclusion, the three pictures described in *The Taming of the Shrew* are held to be 'Venus and the Rose' by Luca Penni, 'Io' by Correggio, and 'Apollo and Daphne'

by an anonymous artist. Wherever he stayed, in France and Italy, Lord Oxford found himself fully immersed in the beauty of Renaissance art. Shakespeare's knowledge of art derives from direct contact with the works. He described what most appealed to him: the three paintings in the Induction meant love, passion, in Lord Oxford's words 'fond desire', and this was the reason for calling them wanton.

NOTES

1. *The Taming of the Shrew* was first published in F1, 1623 but was not entered in the Stationers' Register with the other plays: therefore it was considered as a play already in print. In fact, in 1594 there had appeared a quarto edition entitled *The Taming of A Shrew*. It is significant that in the Induction to *A Shrew*, no paintings are mentioned. For this and other reasons extraneous to the present study, *A Shrew* is here taken as an early version of *The Shrew* written by Lord Oxford before he took his continental journey. *A Shrew* contains, in essence, the main themes which Shakespeare will develop in later works: the zest for playing practical jokes; the interchange of vision and reality; male friendship; the royal setting; the opening with a lord paying a visit to another lord, a very dear friend; disguises; sexual ambiguity; word-puns; declamatory style in citations from classical literature. *A Shrew* is set in Athens, and the main characters have classical names. *The Shrew*, here taken as a revision of *A Shrew*, is set in Italy; the characters have Italian names and in it there are traces of the *Commedia dell'Arte*. It is most significant that the name of the female protagonist is the same in both versions, - Kate or Katherina: the name of Lord Oxford's half-sister. The character of Kate may have been modelled not only on her but also on Mary Vere, the younger sister, in the judgement of the family 'a real shrew'.
2. Cytherea: one of the many names applied to Venus: from Cythera, the island in the Aegean where the goddess landed in a shell.
3. Morris, B (ed), *The Taming of the Shrew*. The Arden Shakespeare. (1994) p.165.
4. M.Farrand Thorp (1936) p.689.
5. A.Lytton Sells (1959) *The paradise of travellers: The Italian influence on Englishmen in the seventeenth century* p.176
6. J.J.Dwyer (1946) p. 1-15.
7. It is 'Venus and Adonis' (1554) now in the Galleria d'Arte Antica, Palazzo Barberini, Rome.
8. Luca Penni, called Romanus (Florence c.1504-Paris 1556), worked in Rome with his better-known brother Giovan Francesco called Il Fattore (Florence c.1488-Naples 1528), one of the closest collaborators of Raphael and Giulio Romano on the decorations in the Vatican. Giovan Francesco followed Giulio Romano to Mantua where both worked at Palazzo Te. Historians agree that Luca passed through Mantua while his brother was working there, and sojourned in that city en route to Genoa: thus he became acquainted with Giulio Romano's works. (Cfr. Boorsch & Lewis, pp.95-6.) In Genoa, Luca worked with Perin del Vaga, his brother-in-law, at Palazzo Doria. In about 1530, he moved to Paris where he became a protagonist of the artistic scene. From about 1537-47 he worked at the Château de Fontainebleau with Rosso Fiorentino and Francesco Primaticcio, two collaborators of Giulio Romano in Mantua. The tapestry cartoons for the Story of Diana alluding to Diana of Poitiers, King Henri II's mistress, are ascribed to Luca Penni.
9. On a tablet bottom centre: L.PENIS /R./IN. (Luca Penni, Romanus, Invenit, i.e. 'invented'). On a small tablet under Cupid's foot, Ghisi's monogram: G.MAF (Giorgio Mantuanus Fecit, i.e. 'made'), and the date: 1556. In the bottom margin two distichs: *Mortiferis spinis toto sum corpore laesa. / Purpurea estq. uno sanguine facta rosa. Dulcis amor causa est: sed nil mea vulnera curo. / Eripiam crudis dum puerum manibus.* (I am wounded in all my body by mortiferous thorns. And the rose has been made red with my blood. Sweet love is the cause: but I care nothing for my wounds. As long as I seize the boy [Adonis] [from Mars] with hands not yet healed up). I disagree with the translation of the last two lines given in Boorsch & Lewis, p.55, 'I would tear at the boy with merciless hands'.
10. *Il quale tumulto disseron le ninfe essere del Venatore Adone in quel loco dal dentato apro interempto; et in questo loco etiam similmente la sancta Venere, uscendo di questa fonte nuda, in quelli rosarii lancinovi la divina sura per soccorrere quello, dal zelotipo Marte verberato cum vultuosa facia et indignata et cum angore d'animo. Questa tale historietta si vedrà perfettamente insculpta in uno lato per lungo del sepulchro. Hyperotomachia Poliphili I. XXIV (Colonna 1980, Vol.I, pp. 366-7.)*
11. As art historians have pointed out, the organisation of 'Venus and the Rose' derives from at least 3 famous pictorial works: (a) for the landscape setting, the fresco of 'Venus Wounded by the Rose's Thorn' painted in 1516 by Giulio Romano and G. F. Penni, Luca's brother, after Raphael's designs, in the Stufetta of Cardinal Bernardo Dovizi di Bibiena (d.1520) in the Vatican. The now lost fresco is known from a print by Marco Dente (d.1527). (*The Illustrated Bartsch*. 27., Vol.14, Part 2. 'Marcantonio Raimondi', n 241.) (b) for the torsional movement of Venus, the 'Leda' by da Vinci (c.1508): it was at Fontainebleau until the end of the 17th century. (original is lost - contemporary replica in the Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence. The inventory of Luca Penni's property drawn up in Paris after his death lists an album of drawings: one is called Leda. Cfr. Grodecki, p.262.) (c) for the standing pose of Venus, Correggio's 'School of Love' now in the National Gallery, London, painted for the Gonzaga about 1528: it was in the Gonzaga collections in Mantua until 1627.
12. Penni, Rosso Fiorentino and Primaticcio, together with Niccolò dell' Abate and Giulio Camillo, created the famous 'School of Fontainebleau': it included numerous artists, mainly Italian: architects, painters, sculptors, stuccoists, engravers, wood-carvers, goldsmiths - engaged in the construction and decoration of the Palace of Francis, who wanted to embellish his new residence with classical and Renaissance works imitating Gonzaga palaces, especially Palazzo Te, and the sumptuous residences of the Pope and the nobility in Rome. His son, Henri II, continued the project. By 1576, Fontainebleau was a magnificent example of late Renaissance art.
13. Cfr. Bellini 1998, p.131.
14. Correggio (c.1489-1534) so called after the town near Parma where he was born and died, in his early years lived and worked in Mantua where he was influenced by Mantegna (d.1506). Correggio was a great admirer of Leonardo, and, after his educational journey

- to Rome, of Michaelangelo and Raphael. He worked between Parma and his home town. His 'Loves of Jupiter' are masterpieces of mytho-erotic painting. He excels in the colouring of the nudes and the pictorial realisation of unlimited space. Raphael Mengs called him 'the painter of pleasure'. His mythologies influenced Rubens and rococo painting and were copied by Italian and foreign artists up to the 18th century. The 'Io', in particular, shows his method of painting flesh: Io's body seems to be made of translucent alabaster.
15. Re. Shakespeare's knowledge of art, some Stratfordian writers mention Correggio's 'Io' but do not suggest it might be a source because, they say, it is almost impossible to substantiate how Shakespeare could have seen the painting. As to Oxford, see n.23 below.
16. Cfr. Gould (1976) p. 133.
17. D.Ekserdjian (1997) p. 284.
18. C. Ricci (1876) p. 316.
19. The others are: 'Ganymede' (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna), 'Leda' (Staatliche Museum, Berlin. There is also a famous contemporary copy in the Prado, Madrid.), 'Danae' (Galleria Borghese, Rome).
20. Correggio painted other works for the Gonzaga. The known ones are: 'The School of Love' (National Gallery, London), 'Venus with Cupid and a Satyr', 'Allegory of Vice', 'Allegory of Virtue' (Louvre, Paris).
21. C.Gould (1976) p. 132.
22. Though Vasari wrote they were commissioned by Federico II Gonzaga as a gift to Charles V, 'Loves of Jupiter' were not delivered to Charles when he visited Mantua (1530 and 1532) but remained there until the 2nd half of the 16th century. Cf Quintavalle, p. 109.
21. C.Gould (1976) p. 132.
23. Lomazzo in his *Trattato*, 1584 (1844, Vol. I, p.303) writes that Correggio's 'Io' and 'Danae' were in the possession of sculptor Leone Leoni (1509-90) in Milan where 'they had been sent from Spain by Leoni's son Pompeo' (c.1530-1608). Lomazzo does not say whether they were originals or copies. Actually, it is recorded that Correggio's originals remained in the Royal collections in Spain until 1603 when they were acquired by Emperor Rudolph II and sent to Prague; there follows that, in Milan, Leone had copies of the two paintings: it is known that he was also a painter: he may well have made copies from Correggio after his visits to Mantua. Cf. *Leone Leoni tra Lombardia e Spagna*, 1996, p.38. Though there is no record that the 'Io' was already in that city in 1575-6, it is likely that a copy was in the Leoni collections at that time. Therefore, in the opinion of some Oxfordians, de Vere may have seen the 'Io' in Milan: whether it was a copy or original irrelevant. But, Oxford's stay in Milan is still under investigation: the letter of Francis Peyton (here taken as abbr. of Peyton or Payton) of 31 March 1576 from that city, appears not to be clear or explicit enough with regard to this issue
24. Cfr. Inventories of court and private collections of art: Campori (1870), Luzio (1913), Rebecchini (2002). For the copyists of the Gonzaga, cf. *Manierismo a Mantova* (1998) and Rebecchini, 'Exchanges' (Sept. 2002). Copies of antiquities and contemporary paintings and sculptures were commissioned by rulers to be given as gifts: personal and political ties were consolidated through giving presents. Copying art works of ancient and modern painters and sculptors was routine practice in artists' workshops.
25. AS.MN. AN. Regrazioni, year 1589, cc. 7822-92v. The Inventory is published in Rebecchini (2002).
26. Notaries did not always have good knowledge of the actual subjects of the paintings, so they made very personal and vague descriptions. The Novellara inventory is published in Campori (1870) pp. 644-56. The painter of the two copies is Lelio Orsi (Novellara 1511-87), the court artist of Counts Gonzaga of Novellara. Orsi was greatly influenced by Giulio Romano and Correggio as shown in his drawing for a frieze of the 'Storia di Giove e Io', now held in the Louvre. He also executed many copies of Correggio's paintings.
27. Cfr. Mussini (1995).

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