

Francesco Furini:
“Paintings of Exceeding Beauty” in Seicento Florence

Jena Mayer

A thesis

submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

University of Washington

2016

Committee:

Estelle Lingo

Stuart Lingo

Ivan Drpić

Program Authorized to Offer Degree:

Art History

©Copyright 2016
Jena Mayer

University of Washington

Abstract

Francesco Furini: “Paintings of Exceeding Beauty” in Seicento Florence

Jena Mayer

Chair of the Supervisory Committee:
Associate Professor Estelle Lingo
Art History

Francesco Furini, one of the most intriguing artists to emerge from Seicento Florence, is primarily remembered for his depictions of the female nude. A discussion of his use of the model and citation of antique sculpture will reveal insight into the relative eroticism of Furini’s mythological and religious works. It will be argued that Furini used citations of sculpture in an attempt to desexualize scenes with potentially erotic connotations. Simultaneously, he worked to alleviate the “hardness” that came to be negatively associated with the concept of “statuino” during this period through a use of a painterly technique that synthesized the artistic interests of various Italian cities. Conversely, Furini’s devotional works become more erotically charged due to the more visible presence of the model. A discussion of Furini and his works offers valuable insight into the role of the female model and sculpture in Seicento Florentine artistic culture.

Francesco Furini: “Paintings of Exceeding Beauty” in Seicento Florence¹

Francesco Furini's (1603-1646) depiction of *the Wife of Lot* (c. 1640) [Fig. 1], likely dating to the 1640s, represents a stunning example of the artist's engagement with eroticism and sculptural form. The painting depicts Lot and his family as they flee the burning Sodom, here represented with the Florentine skyline. The body of Lot's wife has been transformed into a pillar of salt, depicted as if it were a marble sculpture, which Furini juxtaposes with the bodies of Lot and his two daughters, each depicted with varying degrees of sensuality and amounts of sculptural influence. Furini portrays the central daughter with a sense of studied-from-life naturalism in her face and legs, but she has been imbued with a sculptural aesthetic. The hard, white skin of her chest appears similar to her mother's, possibly to mitigate a potentially erotic reading of her naked breast. Lot and the daughter depicted to the viewer's left appear studied from life, with ruddy undertones to their skin and a sense of softness of flesh. Furini presented the scene with the “hardness” that had come to be associated with the sculpturally-inclined Florentine tradition, the color associated with Venetian painting, combined with a sensual softness inspired by a Leonardesque *sfumato*. Furini, like so many artists of the seventeenth century, embraced a broadening definition of the artistic ideal, combing historical trends of various cities and time periods to create individualized works. More particularly to Furini's oeuvre, the contrast of the sculptural form of the Lot's wife and the softer, partially nude bodies of Lot's daughters reveal themes central to Furini's painting: the citation of classical sculpture, the use of the model, and the production of erotically charged images. While this painting functions differently than many of Furini's works owing to the overt depiction of a sculptural form in comparison to human bodies, it offers insight into Furini's other paintings, in which the tension between sculpture and human models becomes evident, as does Furini's use of each to limit and promote eroticism. An

exploration of Furini's engagement with sculpture, his use of the model and his erotically-inclined works will offer a greater understanding of the artist, as well as the function and reception of sensual works in Seicento Florence.

Furini is probably most remembered for his sensual depictions of the female nude, but his citation of classical sculpture and devotion to the use of models are also issues central to his career. While the practice of citing antique sculpture is an uncontroversial topic in the history of Seicento painting, the use of nude, female models in the Seicento Italy remains a complex issue. The approval of the practice, and the degree to which artists had access to models remains unclear. However, unlike many artists of the period, Furini's engagement with the female model has been confirmed by his own letters, which offer insight into his personal use of the model. During Furini's second trip to Rome in the winter of 1645, the artist sent a series of letters to Francesco Fazzi, a priest in the service of his Duke Jacopo Salviati. Furini traveled to Rome in the service of the duke, a member of the Roman branch of the prominent Florentine family and one of Furini's most consistent patrons; Furini hoped to complete several paintings for Salviati and for Prince Don Lorenzo de' Medici, another frequent patron of the artist. Furini's letters tell of his struggle to finish these works, apparently due to the impossibility of finding suitable female models willing to pose nude. In a letter dated December 16, 1645 Furini lamented, "As for the models, I could not have had worse luck, because I have not found any, despite having spent that which in Florence would allow me to finish ten of these paintings: the beautiful do not want to undress, the ugly that is not the case."² Furini conceded that the inclemency of the winter season and not mere prudishness may have prevented potential models from undressing, also noting that he had encountered similar problems outside of Rome. He continued that "these last three years I had models, in whom I have not found proportions and contours similar to the

Medici Venus.”³ The veracity of Furini’s complaints come into question in a letter written by Salviati to Fazzi in which the duke acknowledged that while Furini’s female models may not have been the best, they were “more than reasonable.”⁴ Furini and the duke apparently understood the quality of the models differently as in the next letter to Fazzi, dated January 6, the painter continued to complain that while the women of Rome were “... accustomed to living with so much freedom that it is a shame,” they remain unwilling to pose nude, even after his attempts to persuade them of his honorable intentions.⁵ Furini apparently found the situation so dire that he asked one of the female models he had used in Florence to travel to Rome, but as he wrote to Fazzi, “When I was to send for one of those two sisters who had served me there in those same occasions, she replied to me that she too, like the other sister, is pregnant.”⁶ He finally resolved to give up the search for adequate models and rely on the Medici Venus, along with studies of life models he had made previously. Furini wrote, “Where finally I am resolved to make use of the *Medici Venus*, and with those beautiful contours and with the models sketched in my other letter to form the best possible in terms of proportion and coloring, given my ignorance.”⁷ In this final letter, Furini hints at the growing period distaste for overreliance on sculptural forms not mitigated by elements studied from nature. In the 1640s, it would seem, it was no longer appropriate to quote sculpture without artistic intervention that would allow the final product to conform to the taste for works that embraced *colore* in addition to *disegno*.

In addition to providing commentary on the shifting role of sculpture in Seicento art, Furini’s letters also offer an understanding of his personal use of the model, while simultaneously adding to the wider knowledge of the use of the model during the period. The letters confirm Furini’s use of the nude female model in Florence, where he primarily worked, mentioning two sisters who posed for him there, with the implication that they would have posed

nude. They also provide evidence that there was some availability of female models in Rome, despite their apparent low quality. Furthermore, Furini's letters offer a first hand perspective into the growing role of life-models relative to antique sculpture in seventeenth-century painting. While Furini decided to model his figures from the Medici Venus, the letters indicate a strong preference for a life model, illuminating Furini's own complex relationship with both sources. Furini's preference for the model likely related to the increasing preference for study from life over the study of the antique that emerged during the Seicento in certain circles. Still, Furini never fully rejected the study of antique sculpture. Because of his deep engagement with both the antique and life models, his paintings become a point of entry into the complex syncretism present in Florentine artistic circles during the early Seicento. In her work on the writings of Michelangelo Buonarroti the younger (1568-1646), a figure central to the artistic and literary culture of the Florentine Seicento and one of Furini's patrons, Janie Cole has suggested that Buonarroti remains a particularly challenging figure to understand because his works fail to adhere to any of the established categories of Seicento literature, thus problematizing the categories. Cole writes "[Buonarroti] does not appear to have aligned himself with one particular poetic tradition, whether contemporary or preceding trends. Instead he referred to both contemporary and older national models, whilst also drawing on a rich resource of Tuscan, particularly Florentine, poetic idioms." Furini's paintings appear to function in a similar manner. He borrows freely from the Roman, Bolognese, and Venetian artistic traditions while simultaneously embracing his Florentine heritage in a way that allowed him to create incredibly sensuous works in dialogue with artistic trends of the moment. Still, like Michelangelo Buonarroti the younger, Furini's works remain nearly impossible to categorize as the aims of Seicento Florentine art have yet to be completely understood.⁸ As such, an exploration of

Furini's art and his artistic practices allows insight into the complexity of Florentine art theory during this period. He painted during an era that is often overlooked and in a city that scholars generally deem marginal, causing Furini and the period to remain misunderstood to this day. In addition to the obscurity brought on by a lack of comprehensive scholarship, Furini's own biography creates more questions than it answers. Erotic depictions of the female nude saturate Furini's oeuvre, and he makes his frequent use of the female model blatant, even using female models in place of male models.⁹ Despite this, he became a priest in 1633, forcing scholars to attempt to reconcile the relationship between his priestly profession and his erotic art; however, few have offered satisfying explanations as they typically rely too heavily on the artist's personal engagement with the female nude, rather than exploring period interest in the subject.¹⁰

Nevertheless, an exploration of Furini's paintings, paired with evidence taken from his letters and the seventeenth-century biography written by Filippo Baldinucci, may contribute to our understanding of the use of the model, engagement with sculpture, and the culture of the female nude in mid-Seicento Italy. In this essay, I will attempt to understand the complex relationship between the life model and classical sculpture in Furini's paintings and the sense of eroticism that arises in relation to the use of each prototype. I will argue that Furini attempted to temper overtly sexual mythological scenes through the citation of sculpture, while alleviating the "hardness" that came to be associated with sculpture during this period through painterly technique inspired by Leonardo and the Venetians. In addition, the visible presence of the model in Furini's devotional paintings creates unsettling sensuality in works painted by a post-Tridentine priest, leading to questions regarding the reception of the female nude in Seicento Italy and its relation to religious art. Moreover, Furini's verifiable use of the model challenges the notion that female models were either not used or used sparingly during the period. While

Furini's use of the model does not confirm a universal acceptance of the practice, it does suggest that artists like Furini engaged with the female model in a calculated way, intentionally imbuing certain works with a sense of eroticism unachievable through other means. Finally, a discussion of Furini's art will allow for insight into our growing understanding of seventeenth-century Florentine art culture. While the period remains understudied, strides are being taken to overturn some of the biases that have led to construction of Seicento Florence as an artistic backwater.

Seicento Florence

The art of Seicento Italy suffered considerable scholarly neglect for many years, only attracting serious scholarly interest towards the middle of the twentieth century. Florence, considered a peripheral region during the period, suffered even greater neglect. Rodolfo Maffei noted that scholarship devoted to Seicento Florence frequently considered the art produced during the era to be devoid of innovation and consistently questioned whether Seicento Florentine artists should be "placed inside or outside of the baroque."¹¹ Since the 1960s, however, a number of publications and exhibitions have presented the city in a new light and call for increased study and investigation. Simultaneously, the renewed study of the period has allowed various intriguing artists to reemerge from obscurity, notably including Giovanni da San Giovanni (1592-1636), Cecco Bravo (1601-1661), and Lorenzo Lippi (1606-1665).¹² Still, the artistic culture of the city is far from understood and lingering biases continue to detract from the attempts made towards deepening the understanding of Seicento Florence.

Older scholarship narrated a general decline in the quality of artistic production in Italy during the seventeenth century. Giuliano Briganti, following in the tradition of Roberto Longhi, interpreted the seventeenth century as the death of the innovations of the Renaissance.¹³ Scholars pointed towards the effects of the Counter Reformation, along with political, cultural, and

economic changes within the Italian peninsula as the forces to blame for the apparent decline in artistic production during the century.¹⁴ Even with the reappraisal of the seventeenth-century Italian art in the second half of the twentieth century, scholarship on Florence often emphasized the city's turn towards decadence, describing its transition from the center of artistic innovation during the Quattro- and Cinquecento into what Rudolph Wittkower referred to as a "stagnant backwater" during the Seicento.¹⁵ Scholars have understood the artistic production of seventeenth-century Florence as lacking in innovation, peripheral, and courtly, owing to apparent intellectual and economic decline paired with a lack of strong leadership and a general tendency towards a lazy decadence in place of individual innovation.¹⁶ Despite this, renewed investigation of the period reveals that such opinions cannot be sustained. While the city certainly underwent a number of changes, it is unfair to claim a universal decline in all elements of Florentine economic, political, and social spheres. An examination of the works of artists like Furini and Giovanni da San Giovanni reveal nuance and originality in the artistic production of the period and the subtle subversion of artists attempting to work within the confines of an absolutist regime.

While artists certainly created more innovative works than has been acknowledged, this does not mean that Florence had not undergone significant change. The city, like most other Italian locales, was struck by a certain amount of economic decline, but a widespread depression should not be considered as universal as it once was.¹⁷ Similarly, there is no denying that the Florence ruled by the Medici Grand Dukes in the seventeenth century differed from the Florentine Republic of the previous century. As Eric Cochrane has argued, the Florentine people accepted the city's transition into a courtly milieu with a fair amount of tranquility well before the start of the Seicento.¹⁸ Cochrane wrote that by the late 1590s "Florence had achieved a level

of social and political stability that once had been thought possible only within the framework of the exemplary Venetian constitution.”¹⁹ According to Cochrane, the well-educated and scientifically minded Florentine patrician citizens lacked inclination towards political careers, and had become “thoroughly depoliticized.”²⁰ A well-balanced distribution of power among the Florentine elites and a well-fed and entertained lower class allowed the city to avoid class conflicts that plagued other cities, and the Florentines instead slipped into idle complacency.²¹ According to Cochrane, over the course of the seventeenth century, Florence’s citizens became more apolitical while the increasingly decadent duchy began to lose its power and prestige abroad.²² Within the city, intellectuals became less concerned with the workings of politics than they were in achieving advancement in court titles, and frequent exemptions from laws led to an ineffective government.²³ This turn away from political freedom and towards courtly complacency has prompted some scholars to accuse Florentine artists of indulging the whims of their rulers. They are said to have pandered to the limited and old-fashioned tastes of the Medici, revealing limited ability to engage with the revolutionary artistic trends emerging in other Italian cities.²⁴ Oddly enough, while Florentine artists are accused of conforming to courtly tastes, a steep decline in Medici patronage of native Florentine artists after Pietro da Cortona’s arrival in the city in 1637 has been noted. Briganti and Wittkower used the decline in patronage of Florentine artists to support the narrative that native artists were incapable of competing with innovative artists from other cities; however, a revised approach to this evidence suggests that these assertions might not be entirely true.²⁵ While works commissioned by the Medici for public spaces tended to favor non-native artists during the later Seicento, this reflects the growing taste for Venetian and Bolognese works throughout Italy more than the failings of Florentine artists. Similarly, the notion of a complacent elite class and uninspired artists is slowly giving way to

reveal areas of dissent and innovation. Morten Hansen has suggested that Furini subtly criticized Medici rule in his frescos in the *salone terreno* of the Palazzo Pitti, while Malcolm Campbell has previously argued that Giovanni da San Giovanni's intentionally strange architectural framework in the same space challenged the "Grand Manner" of Pietro da Cortona and other Roman artists.²⁶ Arguments like these create a counter-narrative to the supposed complacency of Florentines with Medici rule and overturn the idea that Florentine artists failed to engage with the trends of the moment. It seems that some native artists were not content with Medici rule, but courtly constraints forced them to become less overt in their expression of dissent. While the city may have fallen from the heights of its political and economic power, it was by no means the "stagnant backwater" that Wittkower described. Florence undoubtedly retained at least some of the artistic, literary, and scientific prestige of previous centuries, which can be seen in the production of many Florentine artists of the period.²⁷ Florence remained home to countless academic societies in which artists, including Furini, honed their wit. Despite this, the failure of Florentine artists to embrace the same type of innovation that developed in other cities has created the incorrect assumption that artists lacked the will or ability to create meaningful works. This is an assumption that needs to be overturned, something that can be done by giving renewed attention to artists like Furini, while a larger goal of understanding the nuances of the artistic culture of Seicento Florence should be kept in mind.²⁸ A deeper investigation of Furini's paintings through the study of his engagement with the model, sculpture, and erotic depictions of the female nude offers a point of entry into the emerging narratives of the period. However, just as Seicento Florence has suffered from widespread acceptance of a biased narrative, so too has Furini, and many of these biases were initiated by Filippo Baldinucci's period biography of the artist.

Baldinucci and His Biases

Baldinucci's short biography of Furini, published in *Notizie de' professori del disegno da Cimabue in qua* (1681), remained the only published period source on the artist until 1974 when Anna Barsanti discovered and published an incomplete biography written by Furini's student and friend Domenico Peruzzi.²⁹ As the only available period source for some time, Baldinucci's biography informed much of the subsequent literature, allowing his biases to affect the modern perception of Furini. As established by Edward Goldberg, Baldinucci was moralistic and religiously conservative.³⁰ This appears especially clear in his biography of Furini, in which he fails to reconcile Furini's erotic paintings with his priesthood. While Baldinucci may not have been the best source to discuss Furini's sensual works, criticisms levied against the artist by the biographer continue to influence the perspective scholars take when attempting to understand Furini's depiction of the female nude.

While Baldinucci praised Furini's artistic skill, he took issue with a number of aspects of the artist's oeuvre, stressing the inappropriateness of his depiction of the female nude and prolific use of young, female models.³¹ To Baldinucci, Furini's priesthood only served to amplify such concerns. Furini took his orders in 1633, moving from Florence into the Tuscan countryside not far from the city and was by all accounts, including Baldinucci's, devoted to his profession. Still, Baldinucci finds Furini's depiction of the female nude incompatible his supposedly chaste life, insisting on the licentiousness of Furini's continued use of "the most beautiful models of the best proportions," stressing that Furini "always used young girls" no matter the expense.³² The biographer's struggle to accept Furini's use of the model, of course, was not limited to their expense, but related more strongly to the fact that Furini "[exposed] himself to such danger of the soul" by allowing himself close proximity to real, naked women.³³ While Baldinucci

conceded that Furini's study of the model allowed him to develop a "tender and beautiful" style of painting, he also believed that Furini's constant exposure to female models led him to create works that "could not satisfy the soul of more conservative and chaste" viewers.³⁴ While Furini's priesthood might be understood to desexualize the potentially erotic relationship between model and artist, in Baldinucci's opinion, it only made Furini's interest in the female nude more perverse. He wrote, in what is possibly his most blatant disparagement of the painter's character, "It is certain that it appears to us a thing of eternal blame to pair with sacerdotal dignity, in place of purity...the use of the mind and the hand in those things, which even when done by lay painters are rendered, by the common sentiment of the more prudent, more blameworthy than not."³⁵ This account of Furini's depiction of the female nude as "blameworthy" has followed the artist, forcing modern scholars to defend Furini's depictions. Instead of defending Furini's paintings against Baldinucci's criticism, it seems more worthwhile to discuss the context of his works in order to allow for appreciation of the nuanced nature of Furini's engagement with the female nude to be understood.

Baldinucci's biography, perhaps at in an attempt at impartiality, provides Furini's defense for his use of female models. According to Baldinucci, the artist proclaimed "If the scrupulous knew...the great effort, in fact the mortal agony that tests the artist in his desire to satisfy himself in giving truth to his work, they would know also how impossible a thing it would be, that who is so pained and suffering could at the same time be bothered with other thoughts."³⁶ Although the somewhat generic nature of this defense renders its accuracy questionable, it allows insight into the artistic goals connected to the study of the model in the period. While a search for "truth" remains an ambiguous objective, this statement clearly unites the study from life with truth. Furini, who apparently sought models whose bodies matched the proportions of classical

sculpture, may have equated truth with a living model with classical proportions. This search for real women with ideal bodies must have contributed to the difficulty that Furini faced when attempting to find suitable models in Rome and why he eventually settled on combining studies from life with the Medici Venus in lieu of a less-than-perfect woman.³⁷ This search for “truth” also coincides with the period struggle between the primacy of antiquity and nature. As discussed by Lorenzo Pericolo, the changing nature of the art theory during the Seicento, especially in Venice and Bologna, reveals growing tension regarding the role of antiquity in contemporary art.³⁸ Classical sculpture, once deemed the artistic ideal by theorists like Vasari, was rejected in favor for an artistic practice that favored the study of nature and the use of the model.³⁹ Still, “truth” and “nature” lacked a single definition across artistic circles and the relative amount of study from life and elevation to classical standards necessary for the creation of satisfactory art varied. Furini, it seems, maintained interest in the conventions of classical and classically inspired art so important to earlier Florentine artists, but blended his interest in antique sculpture with artistic styles developed in Rome, Bologna, and Venice to escape the increasing criticism of works that relied too heavily on sculpture. As will become apparent, Furini’s art can be read in dialogue with these changes and as well as in relation to the anxiety about the use of the model.

The tension between the use of the model and the study of antiquity, however, has rarely become a point of interest in scholarship related to Furini. When scholars have attempted to grapple with Furini’s dual role as a post-Tridentine priest and painter of the female nude, they usually discuss various strands of philosophy popular in Seicento Florence. Carlo del Bravo and Silvia Cosi offered somewhat farfetched solutions related to theological philosophy, respectively associating Furini’s nudes with the writings of Saint Augustine and the theories of the Christian

Stoics. Unfortunately, these theories rely too heavily on assumptions made about Furini's character and too little on the artistic culture of the moment.⁴⁰ Rodolfo Maffei proposes a more likely, although not fully satisfactory, explanation, suggesting that Furini's depiction of the female nude relates to a meditation on the nature of sin.⁴¹ Still, like the theories proposed by Del Bravo and Così, this postulation assumes too much about Furini's character without exploring the implications of greater artistic trends or Furini's reasons for becoming a priest.

While no evidence rejects the notion that Furini felt a true religious calling, a period poem written by Furini's close friend, Antonio Malatesti, implies that Furini may have had other reasons for taking the cloth. Malatesti, a well-known writer, lamented the artist's departure from the city but celebrated his motivation for leaving. As Elena Fumagalli explained, Malatesti expressed his unhappiness with Furini's decision to withdraw to his parochial parish "far from the noise of the city" but understood that the escape from Florence allowed him to better "paint and compose."⁴² Within the poem, Malatesti implied that solitude allowed Furini to paint free from the restrictions of courtly life and the demands of aristocratic patrons. Yet, while Malatesti's poem asserted that Furini desired freedom from courtly life, the artist did not seek total seclusion. The poem can be read to imply that Furini sought the freedom to paint what he pleased for whomever he pleased without the constraints placed on him by wealthy, aristocratic patrons, specifically allowing him to avoid Medici demands.⁴³ Around 1633, close to the time when Furini took his orders, Prince Don Lorenzo de' Medici, the youngest brother of Grand Duke Cosimo II, compelled Furini to work for him at Villa la Petraia with "gentle force (*dolce violenza*)."⁴⁴ Later in 1644, when Salviati expressed interest in bringing the artist to Rome, Furini responded favorably but required assistance in breaking free from his commitments to Don Lorenzo, who would not allow him to leave his service.⁴⁵ While Furini's post-1633 Medici

commissions reveal that he failed to escape courtly assignments, it is possible that the priesthood allowed Furini to become more selective in his choice of patrons. Likewise, the possibility that Furini became a priest for financial reasons cannot be overruled. Baldinucci recorded that Furini, noted for his use high quality materials in addition to his extensive use of the model, constantly faced financial ruin.⁴⁶ It is feasible that Furini chose to become a priest for the steady income, additionally allowing him to become more selective in the commissions he accepted. This does not negate the possibility that Furini felt a religious calling and nothing suggests that he led anything but a devout life. Even Baldinucci professed that Furini remained devoted to his priestly duties throughout his life, taking care to find an adequate substitute when his artistic pursuits took him away from his church.⁴⁷ Still, it should not be assumed that Furini's decision to enter the priesthood was solely based on religious sentiment, as it was likely paired with more practical reasons. This raises the possibility that Furini reconciled his religious sentiment with his erotic paintings with more ease than most scholars. I would suggest, furthermore, that Baldinucci's narrow-minded *Notizie* over-eroticizes the readings of Furini's works, or at least leads to the assumption that the nudity and use of the model should always be equated with excessively erotic associations. An exploration of paintings like *Venus Mourning the Death of Adonis* (c. 1626) [Fig. 2] and *Hylas and the Nymphs* (c. 1633) [Fig. 3] reveal Furini's attempt to desexualize the depiction of nudity in scenes with potentially erotic connotations through the citation of sculpture. Conversely, Furini's devotional works become more erotically charged, likely owing to the more visible presence of the model. This is seen in his depiction of the *Penitent Magdalene* (c.1640) [Fig. 4] and in one of Furini's most erotic works, *Lot and his Daughters* (c.1635) [Fig. 5]. The presence of the model and the role of classical sculpture within these works offer a point of entry into complex artistic debates of the seventeenth century.

Furthermore, Furini's paintings act as commentary on the shift of artistic tastes away from the central Italian tradition, which placed primacy on classical sculpture and the works of Michelangelo. Furini consistently pays homage to Michelangelo and his Florentine heritage, but in true Seicento fashion, expands his points of reference to allow for the influence of softer Venetian art, dramatic Caravaggesque lighting, and "truth"-seeking study from life, creating an alluring synthesis of styles. Simultaneously, Furini's amalgamation of regional interest allowed for an increased tension between sacred and profane to develop out of the painterly style of his works. Given the emphasis placed on Furini's study of the model, a compelling starting point for further discussion can be found in an examination of the study from life in the seventeenth century.

The Model in the Seventeenth Century

While ample evidence demonstrates Furini's frequent use of the female model, the practice of drawing the female nude remained controversial during the seventeenth century. Artists' ability to find and use female models willing to pose nude continues to be debated. As Furini appears to have found models willing to pose nude with regularity when he worked in and around Florence, the city may represent a location with more tolerance towards the study of the female model during the Seicento. This would not be incredibly shocking given Florence's historical relation to the study of the model. Leonardo, an artist celebrated in Seicento Florence, emphasized study from life and the use of the model in his writings.⁴⁸ While Leonardo makes no specific reference to drawing from nude female models, his emphasis on portraying nature with scientific accuracy would certainly have promoted the study among Seicento readers of his *Trattato della pittura*, which Furini himself owned. Unlike Leonardo, Vasari explicitly promoted the use of the female model, noting the importance of studying all things from life. In his explanation of how to

become a successful painter he writes, “But above all, the best thing is to draw men and women from the nude and thus fix in the memory by constant exercise the muscles of the torso, back, legs, arms, and knees, with the bones underneath.”⁴⁹ Vasari suggested a very scientific approach to the study of the body, implying nothing lewd about the relationship between artist and model. It would appear that Furini felt a similar need for technical study of the body instead of something more indecent, as Baldinucci implied. Nevertheless, as noted by Joanne Bernstein, just because Vasari promoted the study of the female nude, and visual evidence implies increased use of female models over the course of the Cinquecento, there is little proof that the study of the female nude became standard practice by the Seicento.⁵⁰ Even the use of male models was not without its complications. While artists recruited young apprentices to pose within their workshop, the process required a certain passivity that led to physical and emotional discomfort.⁵¹ Bernini noted the rarity of “find[ing] a beautiful model,” describing the difficult process of persuading an attractive porter to pose nude, which ended in the porter storming off.⁵² Even when using a willing male model, Bernini’s anecdotes emphasized the lack of physical contact between male artist and male model in the establishment of a pose.⁵³ If this much tension existed in the use of male models, the use of a female model could only strain the already tenuous relationship. The increasingly problematic relationship between art and eroticism brought on by the Council of Trent and the Counter Reformation likely added new challenges to the study of the nude female body. The tension surrounding the body during this period has led some scholars to suggest that artists only studied the female nude on extremely rare occasions. Carl Goldstein rejected the notion that members of the Carracci academy ever studied the female nude and even argued that they used male model with great infrequency, while Erna Kok argued that no clear evidence confirms that artists used female models with

regularity before the 1650s.⁵⁴ While these views might be extreme, study from the female model clearly remained controversial into the 1640s.

It could be suggested that Furini was an outlier with greater access to the female body than the average Seicento artist. It is possible that Furini was part of an open-minded circle, in which women had more freedom and were more likely to pose nude. The liberal nature of Furini's upbringing is suggested by the fact that two of his sisters became successful artists. His sister Alessandra studied painting under Cristofano Allori (1577-1621), and became an accomplished portraitist in Florentine court circles and married court poet Andrea Salvadori. Another sister Angelica became an accomplished musician, playing in the houses of many elite Florentines.⁵⁵ Furini's father Filippo, known to all as Pippo Sciamerone, also worked as a portraitist and was known in court circles for his humorous theatrical performances and eccentric behavior.⁵⁶ All of this suggests a somewhat unconventional familial atmosphere, and implies that the family may have been more liberal than was typical. This might allow for activities deemed scandalous by others, like Furini using female models, to occur more freely in their environment. Yet this does not diminish the concerns regarding the potential sexual relationship between artist and model, something used to emphasize painting's ability to promote lascivious thoughts within viewers.⁵⁷

In the post-Tridentine culture, the power of erotic paintings to promote lascivious feeling became central to debates regarding the legitimacy of images. While the Council of Trent proscribed religious scenes depicted in a "lascivious" manner, this largely impacted public religious commissions instead of the mythological scenes and private devotional works that Furini painted.⁵⁸ Still, apprehension regarding a work's capacity to provoke arousal and lead to impure thoughts or actions was widespread.⁵⁹ A variety of ancient sources, including Pliny's

discussion of the Praxiteles' *Aphrodite of Cnidos*, an example of a work of art seducing living men, functioned as evidence of the power of art to seduce its beholder.⁶⁰ This was not always viewed in a negative light, as the seductive power of art could be harnessed for explicitly erotic purposes. During the Cinquecento sensual paintings were given as marriage presents and kept in bedrooms, thus functioning in an unambiguously sexual manner.⁶¹ In the Seicento, art theorist Giulio Mancini approved of "lascivious" paintings seen in certain circumstances and noted that when viewed by a husband and wife they had the ability to arouse the viewers and aid in the production of "beautiful" and "healthy" children. Still, Mancini placed limits on the role of such paintings, maintaining that they be kept out of the sight of more "scrupulous" viewers, as the sensual nature of erotic works was not meant to be seen by everyone.⁶² It would stand to reason that the use of the female model only served to increase the inherently erotic nature of paintings that feature female nudity. It is generally agreed that visual evidence of a female model within a painting, in which the female body is not mitigated by the forms of antique sculpture, but reveals an imperfect, human model, increased the erotic potential of a painting because they placed the painter in close proximity to the nude model.⁶³ The knowledge that the form depicted derived from a real person, and that the artists had direct contact with that person, increased the eroticism of the image in relation to the sexual availability of the model.⁶⁴

In the seventeenth century, ancient and Cinquecento sources provided anecdotes that legitimized the sexualized perception of the relationship between artist and model. The episode of Apelles and Campaspe recounted by Pliny the Elder in *Natural History* underscored the possibility of romantic relationships between artist and model, as Pliny wrote that Apelles fell in love with Campaspe while she posed for him.⁶⁵ Similarly, Vasari cast the artist's studio as a place full of sexual tension and desire, associating artistic skill with amorous tendencies, which

is particularly apparent in his *vite* of Fra Filippo Lippi and Raphael. Vasari described Lippi as “lustful” and as having “amorous passion,” and made note of his numerous love affairs.⁶⁶ In Raphael’s *vita*, Vasari describes the painter as “a very amorous man who was fond of women,” recounting a scenario in which Raphael’s desire for his mistress rendered him unable to paint. Once the mistress was brought to him, Raphael promptly finished his work.⁶⁷ While these anecdotes fail to define the relationship between artist and model as explicitly sexual, they emphasized the lustful tendencies of artists, allowing the assumption to prevail that an artist’s close proximity to a nude woman would quickly promote less than chaste behavior. Providing anecdotes more specific to the sexual relationships between artist and model, Benvenuto Cellini described his sexual exploits with his models in his autobiography in a way that would certainly offend more prudish readers.⁶⁸ Given the perceived sexual relationship between artist and model, the potential for scandal brought upon a woman willing to pose for artist comes as little surprise. As suggested by Cellini’s autobiography and by the fact that artists like Titian hired prostitutes to pose for them, women of lower social classes would be more available to pose than those of elevated social status.⁶⁹ Yet not all women of a lower social class could pose without fear of shame or retribution; Caravaggio’s model Lena faced the scorn of the man who wanted to marry her after posing clothed for the artist, suggesting that, at least in Rome, it was nearly impossible for a woman in this era to pose for an artist, nude or otherwise, without potentially bringing scandal upon herself.⁷⁰ In witnesses’ attempts to sully Artemisia Gentileschi’s reputation during her rape trial, she was accused of having posed nude for her father.⁷¹ This is impossible to prove or disprove, but the fact that it was used in an attempt to tarnish a woman’s reputation attests that posing for any artist could bring shame upon a woman.

Nonetheless, artists like Furini and Artemisia certainly made use of female models. Furini's letters from Rome and those sent by Artemisia from Naples, in which she discussed her use of female models shed some light on the practice during the 1640s. In Artemisia's 1649 letter sent to Don Antonio Ruffo, she discussed the large expenses and the "great headache" endured in order to acquire suitable female models.⁷² She wrote, "When I find good ones they fleece me, and at other times, one must suffer their trivialities with the patience of Job."⁷³ At a very basic level, the Artemisia's letters provide proof of the availability of female models in Naples during the 1640s. Furini's letters additionally note the use of nude female models in Florence and Rome before and during the 1640s. While it is certainly possible that women might be more willing to pose for a female artist like Artemisia, Furini's letters make it apparent that he found women prepared to pose nude for him in Rome, they simply lacked the physical perfection that he required for his painting. The attractive models, instead, were more demanding, a complaint that Artemisia also seems to make, revealing the complications that came along with working with female models. Furthermore, the letters seem to imply a hierarchy of models willing to pose nude. Less attractive models might be willing to pose with fewer complications, while the attractive models seem to have understood the power they had over artists that allowed them to demand more money and better working conditions. The letters may not suggest the widespread use of female models during the period, but they do make it overwhelmingly clear that some women were disposed to pose nude. Furthermore, the casualness with which Furini and Artemisia discussed their experiences with female models implies that artists used them with some regularity during the mid-Seicento. This point has been emphasized by Burke who has noted the use of female models by Orazio Gentileschi and Salvator Rosa in addition to Furini.⁷⁴ Why was it, then, that Furini rejected the models that he found in favor of drawing from a

sculpture instead? And, if he wanted women whose bodily proportions matched that of a sculpture, would it not have been easier to simply draw from the sculpture without the hassle and expense of dealing with female models? This leads to a series of period polemics regarding the visible presence of the model in paintings and the role of classical sculpture in Seicento works.

Truth versus Idealism in Seicento Painting

Baldinucci wrote that Furini searched for “truth” within his paintings, but looking at a work like *Venus Mourning the Death of Adonis* [Fig. 10] reveals that the “truth” presented by Furini differs greatly from the truth presented by Caravaggio, just as Caravaggio’s truth differs from that of the Carracci. While many Counter-Reform artistic movements in Italian cities searched for a greater sense of “naturalism,” each method of attaining this artistic aim differed. In Florence, “anti-maniera” artists pursued a scientific approach to painting. According to Baldinucci, artists like Cigoli and Domenico Passignano, one of Furini’s early masters, undid the harm done to Michelangelo’s “perfect” art by later artists who imitated his style poorly, by embracing a return to scientific naturalism.⁷⁵ Many of Cigoli’s anatomical studies survive and reveal a commitment to scientific “truth” that worked to reverse the predilection for unnatural poses and strange proportions found in earlier Florentine art.⁷⁶ A studied-from-life “naturalism” is also present in the works of the Carracci and their followers, who blended the study of nature with classical poses, foreshadowing the works of Furini. Caravaggio created controversy with his naturalism, which eschewed any sense of classical idealism. In a critique of the artist’s style, Giovanni Pietro Bellori asserted that the artist added the traditional symbols associated with Mary Magdalene in order to transform his image of a “young girl... in the act of drying her hair” into his *Penitent Magdalene*.⁷⁷ Caravaggio similarly caused scandal with his overly realistic portrayal of the Madonna in his *Death of the Virgin*, prompting Mancini to describe the Virgin as a “dirty

whore.”⁷⁸ While some have taken this to mean that Caravaggio modeled the Virgin from a prostitute, Frances Gage convincingly argued that Mancini was less concerned with the status of the woman who posed for Caravaggio and more interested in the artist’s lack of idealization in his depiction of a religious figure and his failure to respect earlier art.⁷⁹ Criticisms of unnatural Florentine art and the works of Caravaggio, compared to the success of the Carracci reveal the artistic sensitivities surrounding art that strayed too far from the classical ideal. While Seicento art theorists denigrated overly artificial art, paintings that revealed too much presence of the model similarly garnered disparagement.

Overly realistic religious figures were not the only types of images whose realism caused discomfort. Depictions of the nude, painted in a way that revealed excessive presence of the model, likewise provoked anxiety. The more idealized a nude, that is to say the more the nude resembled antique sculpture, the less uneasiness it provoked. For example, the Carracci depicted images of the nude in their style, which blended study from life with classical sculpture, without raising concerns of decorum until the production of the *Lascivie*, sexually explicit prints, made the erotic nature of the scenes too blatant.⁸⁰ Similarly, depictions of the female nude by Orazio and Artemisia Gentileschi had the ability to cause discomfort with less blatant eroticism than the works of the Carracci based on their obvious reliance on the model.⁸¹ It appears, therefore, that potential for eroticism could be measured by the presence of the model. This can be seen in relation to Artemisia’s *Allegory of Inclination* (1615-1616) [Fig. 6] and Furini’s *Painting and Poetry* (1626) [Fig. 7], which, although visually similar, provide differing approaches to the depiction of the female body. Michelangelo Buonarroti the younger commissioned the *Allegory of Inclination* for his gallery during Artemisia’s stay in Florence from 1612 to 1620. Using Cesare Ripa’s *Iconologia* as a basis for her allegorical depiction, Artemisia paints *Inclination*

with a star and compass, seated on a cloud in a heavenly setting. The painting originally exposed the woman's fully nude body, but a subsequent owner of Casa Buonarroti found the painting too suggestive and had her nudity covered with painted drapery.⁸² The Accademia del Disegno commissioned *Painting and Poetry* from Furini to mark his entrance on May 29, 1624, although the painting remained incomplete until 1626.⁸³ Unsurprisingly, a resemblance between the two paintings has been noted.⁸⁴ Furini's painting similarly depicts allegories inspired by Ripa's *Iconologia* seated on a cloud-like formation in a heavenly setting.⁸⁵ Despite the likeness of pose and inspiration, period viewers found Artemisia's *Inclination* far more seductive than Furini's *Painting and Poetry*.⁸⁶ It is certainly possible that the relative amount of nudity revealed in each painting impacted its seductiveness. Furini's allegories, unlike Artemisia's, were never depicted fully nude. However, the amount of nudity is not the only thing that differentiates the painting. Artemisia depicted *Inclination* with her own recognizable facial features and painted the nude body with an appearance of studied naturalism. Artemisia's use of her own image within her paintings is by now well accepted. While Elizabeth Cropper and Jesse Locker have urged the use of caution in the discussion of Artemisia's self-representation, the obvious appearance of her facial features paired with the naturalistic depiction of a nude body, whether her own or that of a model, had the ability to increase the painting's erotic potential.⁸⁷ Furini's image appears rather pristine in comparison, because he depicted his women in a more classically idealized way, painting faces that clearly do not derive from an actual person. Furthermore, Furini directly referenced classical depictions Cupid and Psyche embracing and paints the two allegories with a sense of stoniness that implies the study of sculpture instead of a model.⁸⁸ Furini's citation of classical sculpture limits, but does not eliminate, the erotic potential of his painting. The effects

of Furini's citation of sculptural sources further relates to period thinking about the role of classical sculpture in painting.

During the Seicento, opinions regarding the citation of sculpture in painting began to shift, as proven by the development of the term "*statuino*." In a discussion of the concept, Lorenzo Pericolo examined the increasing tension related to use of classical and sculptural-based aesthetics in painting. The term *statuino* developed in reaction to works in the Tusco-Roman tradition that were perceived as overly reliant on sculpture, which critics claimed gave the paintings a "hard" and "dry" aesthetic.⁸⁹ The excessive citation of classical sculpture without the intervention of study from life led to paintings that appeared overly-stylized, especially in comparison to works produced in the Northern Italian tradition, which relied more heavily on the study of nature. Art theorists began to assert the "primary" position of study from life compared to the "secondary" nature of the study from sculpture.⁹⁰ As proven by his letters, Furini preferred the study of the model to the study of sculpture; however, as part of the Tusco-Roman tradition, he engaged in near-constant citation of classical sculpture. His letters prove, however, that he took care to mitigate the impact of sculpture citations within his paintings through recourse to the model paired with his use of color.⁹¹ Nevertheless, he took steps to avoid criticism levied against an excessively sculptural aesthetic. The blending of the presence of the model with the use of sculptural citation allowed Furini to escape the label "*statuino*." His skillful use of Caravaggesque light, Venetian-inspired color, and Leonardesque *sfumato* softened the overall appearance of his works. Furthermore, an investigation of Furini's mythological works reveals an intentional use of sculptural aesthetic to temper excessively erotic readings of such painting, which frequently depict scenes with sexual connotations. Citation of sculpture in erotic contexts worked to lessen criticisms that arose from the presence of the female model in revealing poses.

Yet this should not suggest that classical sculpture did not bear erotic connotations of its own. In his discussion of the discovery of ancient works during the sixteenth century, Leonard Barkan argued that an inherent connection existed between antique sculptures and the erotic during that era. Barkan further contended that the discovery of antique sculptures allowed for an artistic exploration of the body, suggesting that "...the great leap forward that begins with the earliest revival of antique images is the ability to consider the human body as an unsymbolic form."⁹² Robert Gaston further emphasized this point when he noted that "An honest assessment of the erotic component of Italian art 1500-1550 would acknowledge a continuous, profound, and widespread interest among artists and patrons and one unceasingly stimulated by the discovery of Classical works."⁹³ Antiquity, it seems, allowed artists a point of access into depiction of the human body, specifically in erotic poses, which allowed for the creation of erotic series with inspiration from classical imagery like the Marcantonio Raimondi's engraving of *i Modi*, and later Agostino Carracci's *Lascivie*.⁹⁴ The heavy censorship of such works suggests that they breached the limits of decorum; however, their existence reinforces the association between the antique and the erotic.⁹⁵ This is something that appears to have continued into the Seicento, when issues of decorum became central to artistic production. As proven by the *Modi* and the *Lascivie*, eroticism presented through classical motifs could be read as indecorous when overtly sexual acts were depicted, but the eroticism associated with antique sculpture could also function in a less threatening way. In many of Furini's works, he layered citation of classical sculpture with depictions of the female model. In these images, which do not depict explicitly sexual acts, the citations work to temper the indecorum associated with the use of the model, while maintaining a sense of the erotic inherently associated with antique sculpture. In this way, Furini achieved a balance that allowed for the depiction of nudity, the exploration of the female body, and

implications of eroticism without overstepping the limits of propriety. In contrast, Furini's devotional works appear more sensual, as he does not use sculpture to create visual distance between painted figure and living model. Furthermore, it seems possible that Furini used the protection of religious subjects to paint erotically-charged works for audiences interested in such depictions. A discussion of Furini's mythological and religious works will uncover the complex role of the model, sculpture, and the nude body in Seicento painting and reveal the need for increased study of such subjects.

Furini's Mythological Works

Many of Furini's early works depict mythological scenes with close attention to the female nude. Despite potentially indecorous subjects, clever citations of antique sculpture limit the eroticism of the scenes. An artist deeply embedded in the Florentine tradition, Furini obsessively created preparatory drawings for his works.⁹⁶ A vast number of surviving sketches and drawings indicate his meticulous effort to discover ideal arrangements for his figures. Every pose held meaning, including Furini's choice to cite certain sculptures, although the precise function of many poses remains somewhat unclear. The inability to fully understand Furini's sculptural citations reveals a need for deeper knowledge about the relationship between eroticism and the antique during the seventeenth century. What is clear is that many of Furini's early mythological works present an interdependent relationship between eroticism, portrayal of the nude, and the citation of antique sculpture. Furthermore, Furini's paintings of the female nude also reveal a surprising influence of masculine bodies, both in the sculptures he chose to cite and in the manner in which he depicted female bodies, possibly indicating a lingering taste for masculine female bodies in Florence.⁹⁷ Both *Venus Mourning the Death of Adonis* [Fig. 2] and the *Hylas and the Nymphs* [Fig. 3] demonstrate Furini's vast knowledge of antique sculpture, which he used to create scenes

that maintain a sense of eroticism and concentration on the nude body without allowing the paintings to become excessively erotic. In fact, an investigation of these paintings reveals that the sculptural citations limit the eroticism associated with the use of the model, while signally a more decorous sensuality.

Venus Mourning the Death of Adonis remains one of Furini's most intriguing paintings. While little information exists regarding the work's commission, it is generally believed to have been completed between 1626 and 1628.⁹⁸ Baldinucci recorded that Florentine "shop keeper" Giavambatista Baccelli commissioned the painting from the young Furini.⁹⁹ While Baccelli may not have been the most sophisticated Florentine patron, the painting's subject relates to the literary culture of the moment. Furini likely took direct inspiration from Giambattista Marino's *L'Adone* (1623), which reinterprets the tale described in Ovid's *Metamorphosis*.¹⁰⁰ It has been suggested that Andrea Salvadori, whom some scholars credit with assisting Furini in the creation of his literary-minded works, developed the complex iconography, although the extent to which this is true has been questioned.¹⁰¹ With or without Salvadori's help, Furini likely intended the painting for an audience of well-educated viewers well-versed in both literary topics and artistic conceits. This is seen through his inclusion of references to classical and classically inspired works in a style that synthesizes the diverse nature of his early training. Filippo Furini's acquaintance with Grand Duke Cosimo II and close friendship with Cristofano Allori allowed the young Furini access to the Florence's most prominent workshops during his youth.¹⁰² By the age of sixteen, Furini had studied under Allori, Domenico Passignano, Giovanni Bilivert, and Matteo Rosselli, all central members of the Florentine artistic community who exposed Furini to myriad artistic trends. Peruzzi writes that Furini learned the "principles" of *disegno* from Allori before the artist's death. Passignano, well-versed in Cigoli's brand of naturalism, additionally

exposed Furini to his Venetian-inspired use of color, while teaching the young artist the “necessary fundamentals of drawing from the model.”¹⁰³ Giovanni Bilivert’s workshop, located in the Medici galleries, inspired Furini’s love of ancient sculpture and the paintings of Raphael.¹⁰⁴ More directly, Furini may have acquired an interest in blending sacred and profane subjects and a rich use of color from Bilivert. Baldinucci recorded that Furini additionally frequented Matteo Rosselli’s workshop, where he likely became acquainted with Giovanni da San Giovanni and Lorenzo Lippi, two of the most prominent Florentine artists of the Seicento.¹⁰⁵ Finally, in 1619, Furini traveled to Rome where he studied in the workshop of the prominent Caravaggesque painter Bartolomeo Manfredi and was exposed to the various trends popular in the city.¹⁰⁶ Anna Barsanti and Mina Gregori suggested that Furini’s Roman experience placed him in direct contact with Gian Lorenzo Bernini, as two of the sculptor’s cousins worked in close contact with Filippo Furini, possibly allowing the young artist to glean insight from the sculptor’s engagement with and modernization of classical motifs.¹⁰⁷

Even without direct contact with Bernini, Furini’s early training allowed him to amass a repertoire of ancient sculpture, both from works present in the Medici collection and those found in Rome, and a means of modernizing their aesthetic. Furini drew upon this repertoire in *Venus Mourning the Death of Adonis*, citing the *Laocoon* [Fig. 8] in Venus’ pose, revealing his proclivity for gender reversal in his citation of sculpture, and *Menelaus Supporting the Body of Patroclus* [Fig. 9], a sculpture present in Florence since the reign of Cosimo I (1537-1569), in Adonis’ limp arm and hanging head.¹⁰⁸ These citations of classical works function in multiple ways: in the first place, they allow the educated viewer to make associations between Furini’s painting and their vast knowledge of art; secondly, they allow for a distraction from Furini’s use of the female model, which is evident in his depiction of Venus’ face but not her body.

Meanwhile, Furini's painterly style, which embraced the growing taste for rich colors and dramatic lighting, counteracts the potentially hard and dry nature of sculptural citation. The artist drew upon all aspects of his training, employing the dark background and strong, contrasting light associated with the Caravaggesque, while the refinement of the painting's surface details works in dialogue with the Florentine tradition. The rich jewel tones of the fabric under Venus' foot and in Adonis' clothing speak to the works of "anti-maniera" painters like Cristofano Allori and Giovanni Bilivert, while the statuesque qualities of Venus appear inspired by earlier Florentine paintings.¹⁰⁹ It is not particularly shocking to see any of these elements in a painting from the mid-1620s; however, Furini's depiction of Venus is strange and, despite her nudity, lacks the erotic appeal associated with the use of life models. Instead, Furini relies on the association between classical sculpture and eroticism, embracing the permission granted by the antique to study and display the nude body, thereby creating an eroticism that is more symbolic than sensory.

Furini's Venus, depicted nude except for blue drapery falling from her waist and a strip of sheer fabric clinging to her stomach, fills the left third of the painting. Depicted in a stream of light with pale skin, which appears more like the surface of stone than flesh, she catches the viewer's eye with her dramatic pose. The depiction of the goddess is at once erotically charged and sterile. Her nudity is apparent but Furini emphasized the hardness and pallor of her skin, creating a figure that is seductive but not excessively so. The citation of the *Laocoon* was likely meant to increase the legibility of the Venus' suffering, but it also works to distract from her nudity and the fact that Furini likely studied the pose directly from a model. James Grantham Turner argued that Giulio Romano, responsible for the drawings that inspired the *Modi*, "check[ed]" the poses that he derived from classical sources "against a live model," something

Raphael was also known to do.¹¹⁰ The individualized features of Venus' face, as well as the wrinkling of her forehead, and redness of her nose, imply that Furini followed in this tradition. This practice would also explain Furini's inability to find suitable models, as he likely required women with body types that would easily conform to those found in ancient sculpture. This practice reveals an interdependent relationship between model and sculpture in Furini's artistic practice. The layering of sculptural citation with presence of the model allowed for the depiction of the female nude and a close study of the body, without the threat of being labeled unduly erotic. However, study of the model and ancient sculpture cannot explain the entirety of Furini's depiction of Venus. Oddly, the area of Venus's body with the most potential to create erotic desire, her uncovered breasts, appear both strangely unnatural and unrelated to classical sculpture. Nevertheless, their inspiration may be sculptural. The space between the breasts and their strangely rounded shape appear similar to Michelangelo's sculpture of *Night* [Fig. 10], pointing to Furini's attention to the works of Michelangelo and a reinterpretation of the Florentine past. Furthermore, the strange depiction of the goddess' breasts further emphasizes the fact that Furini masked the use of model within his painting. The sensuality of the work, then, arises through connotations inherent to antique sculpture and the goddess rather than through use of the model or an overtly erotic display of the female body. In a way, Furini transforms his depiction of Venus into a painted representation of a sculpture. The goddess appears motionless, and almost incapable of motion, and her body appears stuck in an impossible pose. The depiction is thereby imbued with the purity and perfection of classical art, but also the eroticism inherent in antique sculpture. The abundance of fabrics that populate the image indicate Furini's ability to paint a number of textures, and the other figures in the painting prove his capability of depicting flesh in a soft and natural manner. It is therefore evident that Furini intentionally depicted Venus

in a sculptural way. The goddess' features also stand in contrast to those of the three attendants who support Adonis. The contracting muscles, individualized facial features, and olive skin tones of these women suggest a less mitigated use of the female model, which works to emphasize the otherworldliness and unattainability of Venus' beauty. Even the lifeless Adonis, whose pose also derives from sculpture, appears more human and life-like than Venus. From this, it becomes evident that Furini's interaction with sculptural citation was complex and not limited to a single purpose, although the precise function of the citations remains unclear.

Furini continued his citation of classical sculpture to create a nuanced reading of the female nude in his depiction of *Hylas and the Nymphs* [Fig. 3], commissioned by Agnolo Galli, a wealthy Florentine banker who amassed a collection of Furini's paintings.¹¹¹ The scene depicted relates to Hercules' travels with the Argonauts, telling the story of the abduction of Hylas, Hercules' companion and lover, by water nymphs. The story was recounted by several ancient poets, including Apollonius of Rhodes and Theocritus and featured prominently in Marino's *L'Adone*, but was depicted with rarity in Seicento art, despite its popularity in ancient times.¹¹² The nature of the story is overtly sexual, featuring nymphs, who uncontrolled in their lust, kidnap and, in some versions, kill Hylas. Furini's depiction is elegant and refined, seen in Hylas' rich dress and the complex hairstyles of the six nymphs. Much like in *Venus Mourning the Death of Adonis*, chiaroscuro lighting creates a spotlight effect on the nude bodies of the nymphs, which stand out from the dark, mercurial sky. The darkness of the background paired with the strong contrast of light allow the pale, twisting bodies of the nymphs, which cite ancient sculpture, to become the central focus of the scene. The central nymph, standing out of the water with her back towards the viewer, appears related to images of nereids seen on many ancient sarcophagi.¹¹³ Barsanti noted a direct citation of the Borghese *Hermaphrodite* in the nymph

depicted to viewer's right, again revealing Furini's interest in the fluidity of gender, noted by Monbeig Goguel in her discussion of the artist's drawings.¹¹⁴ Furthermore, the citation of the *Hermaphrodite*, the various back views of the nymphs, and the homoerotic content of the myth might suggest a connection to earlier Florentine art with similar interests. The other nymphs appear in variations of similar poses, and present the female nude from all angles, suggesting an interest in *varietà*, however the artist skillfully obscures the breasts and genitalia of nymphs. Despite the intense concentration on the depiction of female nudity and the attention given to the female body, the overall sense of eroticism is both mitigated and reinforced through association with sculpture and the slight masculinity of their muscular bodies. The image certainly celebrates the nude body but it does so in a way that is removed from associations with real life, because, like Venus, the nymphs appear more like sculpture than they do like real women. Although the skin tones appear naturalistic, the way Furini poses each nymph's body creates an unnaturalness that again implies the study of sculpture combined with the study of the model, which the similar facial features and body of each nymph imply. *Hylas and the Nymphs* was one of Furini's most successful paintings, and it is likely that Furini's depiction of the nude and the eroticism of the work played a role in its success.¹¹⁵ The subtle push and pull between sculpture and the model permitted a more intense study of the nude female body than might otherwise be allowed. It seems that while a work like this would have been considered erotic, it would not have been deemed indecorous.

The suggestion that this work was not considered excessively erotic or indecorous by Seicento standards is supported by Agnolo Galli's patronage. Galli, remembered for his devotion to his family, largely collected paintings with religious themes or "cheerful" subjects.¹¹⁶ Nonetheless, the large dimensions and expensive price of the *Hylas* mark it as a work of some

importance in Galli's collection.¹¹⁷ Patricia Bradshaw suggested Galli's interest in commissioning a work with such an erotic subject may have been related to intellectual pursuits instead of sensual interests owing to the subject's connection to poetry.¹¹⁸ While this may be true, a connection to poetry does little to limit the erotic potential of the work. Many of Furini's clients, including Galileo and Michelangelo Buonarroti the younger, were members of Florence's intellectual elite, suggesting that Furini's erotic scenes appealed to those in search of intellectual stimulation.¹¹⁹ Educated and intellectually-inclined viewers likely appreciated works that elevated nudity and eroticism through citation of classical sculpture, but this does not explain the full extent of Furini's success. While anxiety over the depiction of nudity often takes a position of importance in discussion of Seicento art, it is possible that viewers were less concerned with this than has been suggested. Eric Sluijter justly warns that Seicento viewers appear to have been far more interested in the erotic nature of paintings than scholarship generally accepts.¹²⁰ It therefore becomes plausible that Baldinucci's judgement of Furini's works as "blameworthy" and unacceptable to morally conservative viewers may represent a marginal opinion. Yet an acknowledgement of preference for erotic subjects fails to fully explain the complexity of Furini's works. Furthermore, a deeper exploration of Furini's paintings reveal an increasingly complex engagement with sculpture and the female nude.

This strange relationship between sculpture and the female body appears especially evident in Furini's *Three Graces* [Fig. 11]. In this painting, the function of the artist's sculptural citation work differently than in *Venus and Hylas*. The three Graces would appear to be a perfect subject for an artist interested in ideal depictions of the female nude. Nevertheless, Furini's rendition fails to conform with tradition. Baldinucci mentioned the *Three Graces* as one of the two works completed by Furini for Don Lorenzo de' Medici during his stay at Villa la Petraia

between 1632 and 1633, although a lack of documentary evidence makes this difficult to confirm.¹²¹ Furini depicted the Graces in an unclear setting, in which they appear to hover atop dark clouds. The unsettling depiction of the usually idyllic subject creates a sense of uneasiness not usually found in depictions of the Graces. Following traditional depictions of the scene, however, each Grace is depicted in a vaguely classicizing way and appears nude except for drapery. Characteristically, Furini cited ancient sculpture in the Grace to the viewer's left, whose seated pose derives from the *Ara Grimani*, also quoted by Raphael in his *Three Graces* in the Loggia di Psiche [Fig. 12]. This quotation functions much like Furini's use of sculpture in *Venus* and *Hylas* by simultaneously promoting and limiting the erotic potential of the Grace. In an artistic choice that is more difficult to understand and another instance of gender reversal, the pose of the Grace to the viewer's right derives from Michelangelo's *Bacchus* [Fig. 13]. Offering a side view of the Grace, Furini utilized the unstable contrapposto of the sculpture in the Grace's pose, and mimics *Bacchus*' body type. The visual connection is strengthened through the leafy crown the Grace wears, which recalls the grapes and ivy leaves in the hair of Michelangelo's sculpted god.¹²² Intriguingly, Furini's use of *Bacchus* as inspiration disrupts the traditional unbroken connection between the Graces, because, faithful to the sculpture, the *Bacchus*-inspired Grace's left arm hangs limply, leaving the Graces' circle broken. The citation of *Bacchus* creates further tension with traditional depictions by inserting a masculine figure into a scene that typically features idealized female beauty. Perhaps Furini cited *Bacchus* to challenge the expectations of ideal beauty. More likely, Furini may have been interested in the visual interchangeability of male and female forms, and ability of artists working in the Florentine tradition to achieve perfection in the depiction of both. In Vasari's discussion of Michelangelo's *Bacchus*, he writes "In that figure it may be seen that [Michelangelo] sought to achieve a certain

fusion in the members that is marvelous, and in particular that he gave it both the youthful slenderness of the male and the fullness and roundness of the female - a thing so admirable, that he proved himself excellent in statuary beyond any other modern that had worked up to that time."¹²³ Furini appears to have engaged with the Florentine artistic tradition through a continuation and reinterpretation of earlier artistic interests. The representation of *Bacchus*, one of Michelangelo's softer and more feminized sculptures, also emphasizes the superiority of the Florentine tradition, which could achieve supremacy in hardness and softness. Through his inclusion of *Bacchus* Furini may have attempted to challenge criticisms of Michelangelo's overly-masculine style by revealing the ability of Michelangelo's works to conform to representations of the female nude. In any case, Furini's citation of the sculptor reveals a continued interest in the Florentine artistic tradition that offers a point of entry into the complex artistic interests of the Florentine Seicento.

Without further research, it is only possible to say that Furini engaged profoundly with sculpture in his mythological works. The exact purpose of the citations and their reception among Florentine viewers remains unclear. Study of Furini's paintings help to construct the framework of the Florentine culture of the era, and function as a window into the complex intellectual and philosophical interests of Seicento Florence. While a deeply embedded interest in portrayals of the female nude in relation to sculpture is evident in Furini's works, a fuller understanding of their meaning and reception in Florentine circles will only be uncovered through further reflection on artistic and theoretical issues central to seventeenth-century Florence. Furini's popularity as a painter among the Florentine elite demonstrates the existence of a taste for such sensual paintings among educated and aristocratic viewers; however, simply accepting viewers' interest in the female nude does not de-problematized Furini's oeuvre. While

Furini's mythological paintings reveal an ability to simultaneously create and limit eroticism in his paintings in dialogue with the Florentine tradition, complications arise when attempting to explain his sensual and erotic religious paintings. In works like the *Penitent Magdalene* [Fig. 4] and *Lot and His Daughters* [Fig. 5], the painter's blatant use of the female model and sensual *sfumato* create an added sense of eroticism that function in a complex manner.

Furini's Devotional Works

While many of Furini's most-well known paintings depict mythological scenes, he also painted numerous devotional works typically featuring a three-quarter length depiction of a female saint, twisting away from or towards the viewer. Some of the works feature the female nude but many do not. As limited information is available on the commission of such works, it is difficult to understand their exact context, but they are unquestionably erotic. Intriguingly, few of Furini's religious paintings cite classical sculpture. Nagel argued that Michelangelo, engaging in humanist thinking popularized around 1500, incorporated antique motifs in his Christian art, and aimed "to reinvest the narrative expressiveness of contemporary Christian art with spiritual significance."¹²⁴ Yet Furini does not engage in this type of complex quotation in his religious works. The artist instead allowed the presence of the model to become more visible in his religious paintings, thereby infusing the works with increased eroticism. Given the long history of sensual religious paintings, this is not overly surprising. Eroticized depictions of female saints were relatively common and, at times, even sanctioned by church officials for their ability to inspire emotional reactions.¹²⁵ Nevertheless, the relationship between religious themes and the erotic was always complicated. The production of erotic religious works arguably reached its peak in the mid-sixteenth century, when artists like Parmigianino and Titian painted female religious figures in highly provocative poses with attention to their corporeal presence. The exact

function of such works is still undetermined; some scholars have argued that images like Titian's *Penitent Magdalene* [Fig. 14] primarily served erotic purposes, while others have suggested that these types of paintings expressed genuine religious sentiment that attempted to equate earthly beauty with heavenly grace.¹²⁶ Many have cited Cinquecento interests in Christian Petrarchism and sensuous religious poetry to confirm the conflation of religious and erotic sentiments during the era, but Una D'Elia convincingly argued that the irreconcilability of sensuality and religion was already apparent to certain sixteenth-century viewers.¹²⁷ Nagel argued religious paintings like Titian's *Penitent Magdalene* developed out of experimentation that sought to reconcile divine love with earthly beauty in a manner similar to the sensual religious poetry of Vittoria Colonna. Problematically, painting articulated the erotic nature of earthly beauty more powerfully than poetry, allowing Titian's mix of sensuality and religion to exist only in that precise moment of experimentation.¹²⁸ Later, Nagel argued, artists of the seventeenth century were able to depict religious figures with even greater emphasis on nudity and corporeal presence because they engaged in evident citations of earlier works that made their status as art clear.¹²⁹ This appears true of many of Furini's mythological works and may be true of some his religious paintings, like his *Penitent Magdalene* dating to 1634 [Fig. 15], in which he embraced a more stylized depiction of the nude, mitigating that saint's nudity through artificiality of pose. This work is more easily understood as a work of art than some of his other paintings, which embrace the presence of the life model. Much like the sensuous religious works of the Cinquecento, the exact function of Furini's religious paintings is still undetermined but a superimposition of the cultural issues present during the Cinquecento fails to fully explain the complexity of Furini's Seicento works. The uncertain patronage of many of Furini's religious paintings further complicates attempts to understand their function, but the decreasing distance

between religious and non-religious works in the Seicento, seen through the development of the *galleria*, suggests that the role the works played was not strictly religious.¹³⁰ Perhaps religious subjects with legitimate erotic associations permitted production of sensual images that offered Furini and his patrons the ability to openly meditate on erotic female beauty regardless of the genre of the work. This is not to suggest that these paintings cannot also be read from a perspective of genuine religious sentiment, only that Furini's works likely held some other meaning. D'Elia argued that ascribing single reading to Titian's depictions of the Magdalene detracts from what she considers to be their most important function, or their "openness to interpretation."¹³¹ It seems that Furini's religious works engage in a similar plurality of function, offering insight into the function of religious paintings in Seicento Florence.

What can be stated definitely about Furini's religious paintings is that they are undeniably erotic. In many cases, Furini's depiction of religious figures are highly invested in the sensual portrayal of the body. Furini's *Penitent Magdalene* (1630-1644) [Fig. 4] and *Lot and His Daughters* (c. 1634) [Fig. 5] are highly erotic works, within which the religious subject can be overlooked in favor of close study of the body; however, Furini's priesthood and the post-Tridentine society in which he painted imply that such works maintained some sort of religious function. Maffei argued that Furini's painting represent an obsession with corruption and sin. He suggested that the artist understood an equivalency in early modern artists' inability to achieve the purity and perfection of antique art and the moral corruption of man through sin. While Furini's early mythological works represent an obsession with obtaining the perfection of ancient art, his later religious works reveal a turn away from the search for classical perfection and ideal beauty and instead emphasized emotional reflection on sin.¹³² Nevertheless, while Furini's engagement with the antique may have lessened, his interest in corporeal beauty

certainly did not. The continued attention given to female beauty can be seen in Furini's *Penitent Magdalene* (1630-1635) [Fig. 4], which depicts the saint as a beautiful and seductive woman in the tradition of Titian. The circumstances surrounding the commission of the work are unclear, although the presence of Hebrew text on the left edge of the table suggests a well-educated patron with possible connection to the Medici.¹³³ The painting offers a typical presentation of the penitent Magdalene, although the naturalism of the saint's depiction, subtle worldly details, and the soft *sfumato* that blankets the scene create a sense of eroticism more powerful than is typical. Profane details like the elaborate hairstyle, gilded ointment jar, and elegant clothing create an atmosphere that moves readily between sacred and profane. Period viewers justified the nudity of Titian's *Magdalene* as part of the saint's abandonment of her worldly goods. Titian thus represented the Magdalene's rejection of her past sins and the embrace of "divine grace," while her ecstatic expression relates to the flush of joy experienced by the embrace of God's forgiveness and love.¹³⁴ Furini's *Magdalene*, however, is not nude. Nor does she bear an expression of elation or joy. The saint instead appears richly dressed and almost dejected. She slumps over a table, while her richly colored blue dress slips from her shoulders, revealing her chest, but no more. Pearl-like tears stream down her cheeks and left arm, which is raised to support her falling head. Her downcast gaze conveys an immense sense of sadness. Furini represents the moment of the Magdalene's contemplation of her sins, rather than her acceptance of God. Her elegant hairstyle and the rich blue of her dress express the lingering relevance of worldly interests and suggest that she has not fully turned away from her sinful past. Furini's depiction of the Magdalene also reveals a seductive presence of the model. The saint's furrowed brow, slightly disordered hair, reddened nose, and the crinkle in her skin where her arm meets her breast all suggest the presence of a real woman, who posed in the presence of the artist.

While the woman's face has been idealized, the individualized features act as proof of Furini's use of a model, something that would have added to the overall sense of eroticism. Finally, the soft *sfumato*, which Tristan Weddigen suggested Furini used precisely to increase the sense of eroticism in his paintings, adds a sense of softness to the saint's body and flesh, creating the desire to touch.¹³⁵ While focus on the saint's body is typical of devotional scenes of the era, the extreme sensuality with which Furini paints the Magdalene's body raises the question of the function of a religious painting such as this, especially one painted by a priest. Maybe, as Sluijter argued, seventeenth-century viewers simply enjoyed erotic images more than has been accepted, even in religious contexts. It might be suggested that contemplation of sensual, religious images could inspire a passion that could overcome the space between the sacred and the profane, or perhaps the unsettling beauty of the painting intended to aid in contemplation of divine and earthly pleasure. What seems evident is that even Furini's religious paintings were appreciated for their erotic appeal.

The power of Furini's depictions to express an unsettling beauty was noted by Baldinucci, who described his works as "paintings of exceeding beauty."¹³⁶ While Baldinucci's precise meaning is slightly unclear, he seems to have indicated that Furini's paintings were in danger of being too beautiful, and possibly too sensual. This designation seems an especially apt description of Furini's *Lot and his Daughters* [Fig. 5], a work which Baldinucci wrote was commissioned for the collection of Grand Duke Ferdinando II, a fact confirmed by Furini in a letter written to Fazzi.¹³⁷ Like the rest of Seicento Florence, Ferdinando II has suffered from lack of scholarship; however, the Grand Duke's interest in science and desire for his son, Cosimo, to receive a liberal education, confirms that he held less conservative views than his wife, Vittoria della Rovere.¹³⁸ This is certainly supported by his ownership of Furini's *Lot and His Daughters*.

The image represents a more fundamentally erotic scene than most of the mythological works Furini depicted, but the biblical origin of the story likely served to mitigate potential criticisms of Furini's blatantly sensual image. The painting depicts Lot's largely nude daughters in the act of seducing their father. One daughter stands with her back to the viewer, depicted fully nude except for a sheer cloth draped around her waist; the other daughter, seated to the viewer's right and twisting towards her father, exposes her stomach and breast to the viewer. The repeated depiction of back views of nude women within Furini's paintings suggests the erotic implication to such views. Furthermore, this painting, unlike many of Furini's religious works, features as much nudity as many of his mythological scenes, and the nudity functions in a more provocative manner. This occurs partially because of the overtly sexual nature of the scene and partially because of the manner in which Furini paints the scene. Like the *Magdalene*, the poses of Lot's daughters appear more life-like than most of Furini's mythological figures because they do not derive from sculpture, and Furini does little to mitigate the presence of the model. Instead, the painter depicted the women with more natural skin tones and utilizes *sfumato* throughout the painting to create a sense of softness and engender a desire to touch. Like in the *Penitent Magdalene*, the use of the model is suggested in the face of the seated daughter and through the elaborate hairstyles of both daughters, which appear studied from life. Like the *Magdalene*, Furini perfects the features of both daughters, but they have not been stylized and classicized to the same extent as Venus or the nymphs, whose frozen poses are difficult to relate to those of real women. Like in the *Penitent Magdalene*, Furini emphasized refined details. He depicted elaborate hairstyles adorned with jewels and ribbons, along with the beautifully rendered chalice and jug in the hands of the standing daughter, which add a sense of the profane, and increase sensual engagement with the scene. While there are notable similarities between *Lot and his*

Daughters and *Hylas and the Nymphs*, including the backgrounds and, to a certain extent, the poses of the women, the bodies of Lot's daughters appear far softer with less defined musculature than those of the nymphs owing to the use of *sfumato*. Like in the *Magdalene* their ability to inspire a desire to touch becomes the central focus of the scene. While it is possible that viewers of this work would channel erotic, sensual engagement for higher, religious purposes, it seems likely that Furini, or his patron, intentionally selected religious subjects that would allow for erotic depictions.

Furini's paintings present clear evidence that the engagement between sensual beauty and religion gained relevance in the mid-Seicento. Nothing would expressly forbid Furini's religious paintings from being painted in an erotic or sensual manner because they were likely not public commissions. While it is possible that he did not intend for his paintings to be read in an erotic way, this seems unlikely. Furini mastered the ability of depicting nudity without overwhelming sensuality in his mythological works through the skillful citation of sculpture. He certainly understood how to blend sensual themes and colors with mitigating elements to lessen the overall erotic impact of the work, but he does not do this in his religious works. Instead Furini allowed the full sensuality and erotic nature of these paintings to become central to their function. Interests in the erotic during the seicento should not be underestimated.

Conclusion

Francesco Furini and his paintings have suffered from a lack of scholarship that has rendered their interpretation challenging, but close study of his works offers a framework through which additional study of the period can be developed. Through examination of Furini's paintings, issues central to the artistic culture of Seicento Florence, like the competing roles of classical sculpture and study of the model and interest in sensual religious works, become apparent.

Through Furini's paintings, the artistic culture of Seicento Florence can be understood to be deeply engaged with the artistic trends developed in Northern Italy and Rome, while preserving many specifically Florentine interests. Much like Michelangelo Buonarroti the younger, Furini synthesized artistic interests from across cultures and time periods to create works that are at once relevant to the period in which he worked and difficult to classify within pre-existing artistic categories; however, certain themes found within Furini's paintings, including his blended citation of ancient sculpture and the model in his depiction of the sensual nude body, provide a point of entry into the complex artistic interests of the period. The nature exact of eroticism and the role of the nude body in both mythological and religious paintings Seicento Florence is far from being fully understood, but Furini's paintings suggest a complex relationship with the depictions of the female body. Furini's unique interpretation of artistic interests originating in Venice, Rome, and Bologna allowed him to engage in a revision of traditional Florentine artistic interests; however, further exploration is needed to deepen our understanding of the distinctive artistic culture of Seicento Florence.

Figures



Fig. 1. Francesco Furini. *Wife of Lot*. 1640-1645. Oil on canvas, 173 x 237 cm. Museo Horne, Florence.



Fig. 2. Francesco Furini. *Venus Mourning the Death of Adonis*. 1626-1628. Oil on canvas, 233 x 190 cm. Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest.



Fig. 3. Francesco Furini. *Hylas and the Nymphs*. 1630-1631. Oil on canvas, 230 x 261 cm. Palazzo Pitti, Palatine Gallery, Florence. Image courtesy of Scarlett Strauss.



Fig. 4. Francesco Furini. *Penitent Magdalene*. 1630-1635. Oil on canvas, 69 x 59.5 cm. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.



Fig. 5. Francesco Furini. *Lot and His Daughters*. C. 1634. Oil on canvas, 123 X 120 cm. Museo del Prado, Madrid.



Fig. 6. Artemisia Gentileschi. *Allegory of Inclination*. 1615-1616. Oil on canvas, 152 × 61 cm. Casa Buonarroti, Florence.



Fig. 7. Francesco Furini. *Painting and Poetry*. 1626. Oil on canvas, 180 x 143 cm. Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti, Florence.



Fig. 8. *Laocoon and His Sons*. Copy after a Hellenistic original from ca. 200 BC. Marble. Vatican Museums, Rome. Image courtesy of Scarlett Strauss.



Fig. 9. *Menelaus Supporting the Body of Patroclus*. Late 1st century, BCE, restored and completed c. 1570. Marble, Loggia dei Lanzi, Florence, Italy.

Available from Wikimedia commons: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Firenze-piazza_signoria_statue02.jpg. ©2005 Creative Commons Attribution 2.0 generic.

<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.0/>. By sonofgroucho. Pasquino Group, Firenze-piazza signoria statue. Original: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/sonofgroucho/56029685>



Fig. 10. Michelangelo. *Night*. 1526-1533. Marble, 194 cm. Sagrestia Nuova, San Lorenzo, Florence. Image courtesy of Scarlett Strauss.



Fig. 11. Francesco Furini. *Three Graces*. C. 1633. Oil on canvas, 226 X 176 cm. Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg.



Fig. 12. *Cupid and the Three Graces*. 1517-1518. Fresco. Loggia di Psiche, Villa Farnesina, Rome. Image courtesy of Scarlett Strauss.



Fig. 13. Michelangelo Buonarroti. *Bacchus*. 1496-1498. Marble. Museo nazionale del Bargello, Florence. Image courtesy of Jena Mayer.



Fig. 14. Titian. *Penitent Mary Magdalene*. 1533-1535. Oil on canvas, 85 x 69.2 cm. Palazzo Pitti, Florence.



Fig. 15. Francesco Furini. *Penitent Magdalene*. C. 1634. Oil on canvas, 168 x 150.5 cm. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

¹ Filippo Baldinucci, “Francesco Furini,” in *Vite Dal Baroccio a Salvator Rosa: vite di pittori italiani del Seicento*, 93-102, ed. Guido Battelli (Firenze: Sansoni, 1914), 99. “quadri di eccedente bellezza.”

² Francesco Furini in Gino Corti, “Contributi alla vita e alle opere di Francesco Furini,” *Antichità vita* 10 (1971): 21. “Quanto ai naturali, non ho potuto haver la peggio fortuna, poiché non ho trovato niente, non ostante che abbi speso quello che in Firenze m’harebbe fatto finire 10 di questi quadri: le belle non vogliono spogliarsi, le brute non sono il caso...”

³ Ibid. “...questi ultimi tre anni ho havuti naturali, a’ quali non ho trovato proporzioni e dintorni più simili che la Venerina de’ Medici...”

⁴ Jacopo Salviati in Corti, 19. “...Il Furini poteva avere qualche modello meglio, se bene in ogni modo non ha havuto se non cose più che ragionevoli...”

⁵ Furini in Corti, 22. “use a vivere con tanta libertà che è una vergona...”

⁶ Ibid. “ch’era di far venir qua una delle due sorelle delle quali mi servivo costà in queste medesime occasione, e mi vien risposto esser anch’ella, come l’altra sorella, gravida.”

⁷ Ibid. “Dove per fin mi son risoluto a farmi formare la Venere de’ Medici, e con quei bellissimi dintorni e con i naturali accenatigli nell’altra mia, formare quello che sia possibile meglio alla mia ignoranza, di proportioni e di colorito.”

⁸ Eva Struhel, “‘La Semplice Imitazione del Naturale’ Lorenzo Lippi’s Poetics of Naturalism in Seventeenth-Century Florence,” (Ph.D. diss., Johns Hopkins University, 2007), 216-219. The exact nature of art theory in Florence during the period in which Furini worked is somewhat uncertain. Eva Struhel noted that Baldinucci’s *Notizie*, which was not published until the 1680s, represents the first instance of a Florentine historiography, and thereby an expression of art theory, since Borghini’s *Il Riposo*, dating to roughly a hundred years earlier. Still, this should not imply that Florentine artists were uninterested in art theory, only that no text exists that directly states the objectives of Florentine art during the early-to-mid Seicento.

⁹ Giuseppe Cantelli, *Disegni di Francesco Furini e del suo ambiente* (Florence: Leo S. Olschiki Editore, 1972), 34. Catherine Monbeig Goguel, “Francesco Furini dans le prisme du dessin,” *Un’altra bellezza: Francesco Furini*, ed. Mina Gregori et al., (Florence: Mandragora, 2007), 69.

¹⁰ Carlo del Bravo, “Francesco Furini, prete e pittore,” *Artista* (2005), 76-89. Silvia Cosi, “Proposte di interpretazione per Francesco Furini.” *Annali* (2008): 179-207. Carlo del Bravo suggests that Furini’s interest in the female nude can be tied to Saint Augustine’s *De vera religione*, which suggests that carnal beauty can serve as a reflection of heavenly beauty. Silvia Cosi adapts this hypothesis to suggest that Furini’s nudes function within the framework of Christian stoicism and are meant to be understood as moralizing, functioning as memento mori.

¹¹ Rodolfo Maffei, “La pittura Fiorentina e la ‘questione del barocco,’” In *Firenze Milleseicentoquaranta: arti, lettere, musica, Scienza*, ed. Elena Fumagalli et al. (Venice: Marsilio Editori, 2010), 233-234. “. . . si siano posti dentro o fuori del barocco.”

¹² Books and Exhibitions include: *Il Seicento fiorentino: arte a Firenze da Ferdinando I a Cosimo III*: [exhibition] Palazzo Strozzi, 21 December - 1986 4 May 1987. Pagliarulo, Giovanni. *Pittura fiorentine del Seicento: Firenze, Palazzo Ridolfi, 28 aprile-31 maggio 1987*. Florence: G. Patresi, 1986. Baldassari, Francesca. *Seicento Fiorentino: Sacred and Profane Allegories*; [exhibition, New York, 1.5. - 25.5.2012, London, 20.6. - 30.7.2012.] New York and London, Moretti, 2012.

¹³ Maffei, “La pittura Fiorentina e la ‘questione del barocco,’” 234.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, 234-235.

¹⁵ Rudolph Wittkower, Jennifer Montagu, and Joseph Connors, *Art and Architecture in Italy 1600 to 1750: Vol. 1. Early Baroque* (New Haven: Yale University Press) 1999, 59.

¹⁶ Hugh Trevor-Roper, “Religion, the Reformation, and Social Change,” in *The Crisis of the Seventeenth Century: Religion, the Reformation, and Social Change* (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1967), 1-2.

¹⁷ Eve Straussman-Planzer, “Court Culture in 17th- Century Florence: The Art and Patronage of Medici Grand Duchess Vittoria della Rovere (1622-1694),” (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 2010), 26. Judith C. Brown, “Prosperity or Hard Times in Renaissance Italy?” *Renaissance Quarterly* 42 (1989): 777-778. Domenico Sella, *Longman History of Italy: Italy in the Seventeenth Century* (London and New York: Routledge, 2014), 42. While the Florentine wool industry certainly suffered during the seventeenth century other industries, like silk manufacturing were able to replace it, and the alleged economic failure of Italian cities does not seem to have been as severe as once suggested.

¹⁸ Eric Cochrane, *Florence in the Forgotten Centuries 1527-1800: A History of Florence and the Florentines in the Age of the Grand Dukes* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1973), 172.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, 172.

²⁰ *Ibid*.

²¹ *Ibid*, 172-173.

²² *Ibid*, 192-194.

²³ *Ibid*, 194. Cochrane wrote that the artist Giovanni da San Giovanni was granted an exception that allowed him to hunt in the otherwise forbidden Cascine, which he flouted openly. Veronica Cibo, wife of Jacopo Salviati, ordered assassins to murder Salviati’s mistress, the assassins were punished while Salviati’s wife was not.

²⁴ Straussman-Planzer, 31-44. The idea of decadence, conceptually linked with decline, repeatedly appears in scholarship as the antithesis of creative and original artistic production, and represents longstanding theme of Seicento studies. Straussman-Planzer noted that the term was first applied to the Medici rulers by Jacopo Riguccio Galluzzi in his 1781 *Istoria del granducato*

Toscana sotto il governo della casa Medici which he used to denote the lack of innovation in sculptural production under the reign of Ferdinand I de' Medici.

²⁵ Giuliano Briganti, "Appunti su Giovanni da San Giovanni," *Paragone.Arte* 7 (1950), 52-57. Wittkower, 149-150.

²⁶ Morten Hansen, "Pro bono malum: Furini, Ariosto, and the Verso of Painting," Forthcoming *Art Bulletin*. Malcolm Campbell, "Medici Patronage and the Baroque: A Reappraisal," *The Art Bulletin* 48 (1996): 137-146.

²⁷ Cochrane, 172.

²⁸ Miles Chappell, "Reform and Continuity in Later Florentine Drawing," *Master Drawings* 43, No. 3 *Sixteenth-Century Florentine Drawings* (2005): 339-348. Mina Gregori, "La pittura a Firenze nel Seicento," in *La Pittura in Italia: il Seicento*, ed. Mina Gregori et al., (Milan: Electa, 1988). *Storia delle arti in Toscana: Il Seicento*, ed. Mina Gregori (Florence: Edifer, 2001).

²⁹ Anna Barsanti, "Una vita inedita del Francesco Furini," *Paragone.Arte* 25:289 (1974): 67-86. Anna Barsanti, "Una vita inedita del Francesco Furini (continuazione)," *Paragone. Arte* 25:291 (1974): 79-87. Peruzzi's biography is a more reliable source than Baldinucci's but was left unfinished at the time of Peruzzi's death.

³⁰ Edward Goldberg, *After Vasari: History, Art, and Patronage in Late Medici Florence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), XV-XVI.

³¹ Baldinucci, "Furini," 93-102.

³² *Ibid.*, 102. "...e le intollerabili spese che 'e' fece sempre ne' naturali delle femmine... convenendogli tener naturali a dieci e fino a quattordici lire il giorno, perché non solamente premeva in aver naturali di ottime parti e proporzioni, ma per ordinario tenne sempre fanciulle."

³³ *Ibid.* "...dell'esperre se stesso a tanto pericolo di anima..."

³⁴ Baldinucci, "Furini," 94. "Siamo lecito a dire ciò che non potrà contentare gli animi de più prudenti e de' più casti" and "...col grand' uso del naturali, egli si era fatta una maniera di colorire tenerissima e vaga."

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 97. "È certo che pare a noi cosa di eterno biasimo l'accoppiare colla sacerdotale dignità, in luogo del candore... l'uso della mente e della mano in quelle cose, che anche ne' secolari artefici si rendono, per comune sentimento de più prudenti, biasimevoli anzi che no."

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 102. "Se e' conocessero, diceva egli, questi scrupolosi la gran fatica, anzi la mortale agonia che prova l'artefice nel voler sodisfare a se stesso ne dar verità alla sua fattura, conoscerebbe altresì quanto impossibile cosa sia, cha chi tanto pena e fatica, possano in un tempo stesso essere importuni altri pensieri..."

³⁷ Furini in Corti, 21.

³⁸ Lorenzo Pericolo, "Statuino: An Undercurrent of Anticlassicism in Italian Baroque Art Theory," *Art History* 38 (2015): 864.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 866-876.

⁴⁰ Del Bravo, 76-89. Così, 179-207.

⁴¹ Rodolfo Maffei, "La camera della luna. Storia di Francesco Furini," In *Un'altra bellezza: Francesco Furini*, ed. Mina Gregori et al., (Florence: Mandragora, 2007), 39-45.

⁴² Elena Fumagalli, "Un componimento poetico per Francesco Furini," *Paragone.Arte* 60 (2009): 79. Malatesti in Fumagalli, 83.

"Signor Furini, ognun si maraviglia
che voi vi stiate in luogo sì romito,
e lontan da Firenze tante miglia.
Voi c'eri pur da tutti riverito

e conosciuto per quel che voi sete,
 perché senza cagion ve ne ser'ito?
 Ma so ben io che vi faceste prete
 Perch' Aristotil v'avea fatto esperto
 che dov'è il moto non può star la quiete.
 Voi sete savio: io ve ne lodo. Al certo
 chi vuol dipingere bene e ben comporre
 più che un palagio apprezza un vil deserto.
 Costi per impedirvi alcun non corre.
 Io ben venir fra poco giorni spero
 a darvi noia, s'altra non occorre.”

⁴³ Malatesti in Fumagalli, 83.

⁴⁴ Baldinucci, “Furini,” 98. “... quando dal principe don Lorenzo di Toscana fu con dolce violenza obbligato a starsene seco nella Villa de Petraia...”

⁴⁵ Furini in Corti, 19-20.

⁴⁶ Baldinucci, “Furini,” 101-102.

⁴⁷ Ibid, 97.

⁴⁸ Tristan Weddigen, “Leonardismo Seicentesco: Furini e il *Trattato della pittura*,” in *un'altra bellezza: Francesco Furini*, ed. Mina Gregori et al. (Florence: Mandragora, 2007), 121-124. Weddigen discusses Furini's interest in Leonardo, which he sees as surface level; however, he noted that Furini owned a copy of Leonardo's *Trattato della pittura*.

⁴⁹ Giorgio Vasari, *On Technique*, trans. Louisa S. Maclehorse (London: J.M. Dent & Company, 1907), 210.

⁵⁰ Joanne G. Bernstein, “The Female Model and the Renaissance Nude: Dürer, Giorgione, and Raphael,” *Artibus et Historiae* 13:26 (1992), 61.

⁵¹ Adam Eaker, “Van Dyck between Master and Model,” *The Art Bulletin* 97 (2015): 177-181.

⁵² Paul Fréart de Chantelou, *Diary of the Cavaliere Bernini's Visit to France*, ed. George C. Bauer, trans. Margery Corbett (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 35-36.

⁵³ Eaker, 179.

⁵⁴ Carl Goldstein, *Visual Fact over Verbal Fiction: A Study of the Carracci and the criticism, theory, and practice of art in Renaissance and Baroque Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 67-70, 106. Erna Kok, “The Female Nude from Life: On Studio Practice and Beholder Fantasy,” In *The Nude and the Norm in the Early Modern Low Countries*, ed. K. De Clippel et al., 35-50 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 41-42.

⁵⁵ Baldinucci, “Furini,” 94. Maffeis, “La camera della luna,” 22.

⁵⁶ Alessandro Nesi, “Pippo Sciamerone: pittore, attore, affiliato alla corte medicea e padre di Francesco Furini,” *Medicea* (2012): 26-33.

⁵⁷ Baldinucci, 102.

⁵⁸ John T. Paoletti and Gary M. Radke, “The Demands of the Council of Trent,” in *Art, Power, and Patronage in Renaissance Italy*, 513-523 (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson, 2005): 515.

⁵⁹ Eric Jan Sluijter, “Intermezzo: Images of the Nude: Moral Disapproval and Erotic Impact,” in *Rembrandt and the Female Nude*, 103-163, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press: 2006), 144.

⁶⁰ Ibid. Erna Kok, “The Female Nude from Life: On Studio Practice and Beholder Fantasy,” In *The Nude and the Norm in the Early Modern Low Countries*, ed. K. De Clippel, et al., 35-50 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 36.

-
- ⁶¹ Sluijter, 158.
- ⁶² Giulio Mancini, *Considerazione sulle pitture, 1614-1630, vol. 1*, ed. Adriana Marucchi (Roma: Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, 1956), 141.
- ⁶³ Elizabeth Cropper, "Life on the Edge: Artemisia Gentileschi, Famous Woman Painter" *Orazio and Artemisia Gentileschi*, ed. Keith Christiansen et al., 263-281 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 273-274. Cropper discusses the differing reactions to depictions of the female nude based on presence of the model.
- ⁶⁴ Kok, 39-41.
- ⁶⁵ Ibid, 36.
- ⁶⁶ Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Artists. A Selection*, translated by George Bull, (New York: Penguin Books, 1987): 216.
- ⁶⁷ Ibid, 312.
- ⁶⁸ Benvenuto Cellini, *The Autobiography of Benvenuto Cellini*, trans. Thomas Roscoe (London and New York: George Newnes Limited and Charles Scribner's Sons, 1904).
- ⁶⁹ James Grantham Turner, "Intervention and Sexuality in the Workshops of Raphael: before the Modi," *Art History* 36 (2013), 91.
- ⁷⁰ Cropper, 274.
- ⁷¹ Ibid.
- ⁷² Artemisia Gentileschi in Lisa DiCaprio and Mary E. Wiesner, *Live and Voices: Sources in European Women's History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2001), 199.
- ⁷³ Ibid.
- ⁷⁴ Jill Burke "The European Nude, 1400-1650," in *Splendor, Myth, and Vision: Nudes from the Prado*, edited by Thomas J. Loughman et al., 16-49 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2016), 36.
- ⁷⁵ Baldinucci, *Notizie dei professori del disegno da Cimabue in qua, Florence, 1681-1728*, vol. 3, ed. F. Ranalli, (Florence: V. Batelli e Compagni, 1846), 231-233.
- ⁷⁶ Miles L. Chappell, "Cigoli's *Prospettiva pratica*: Unpublished but not Unknown," *Studies in the History of Art* 59 (2003), 106-107.
- ⁷⁷ Giovanni Pietro Bellori, *Le vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti moderni* (1672), 203.
- ⁷⁸ Mancini, 120. "Una sozza meretrica."
- ⁷⁹ Frances Gage, "Caravaggio's *Death of the Virgin*, Giulio Mancini, and the Madonna Blasphemed," in *Caravaggio: Reflections and Refractions*, ed. Lorenzo Pericolo et al. (Farnham, Surrey, UK; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), 99.
- ⁸⁰ Cropper, 273.
- ⁸¹ Keith Christiansen, "The Art of Orazio Gentileschi," 10-11. Christiansen, "Cleopatra," in *Orazio and Artemisia Gentileschi*, ed. Keith Christiansen et al., 97-100 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 97-100.
- ⁸² Ibid.
- ⁸³ Maria Giulia Aurigemma, "Francesco Furini e Giovanni da San Giovanni a Roma," *Paragone.Arte* 60 (2009): 162.
- ⁸⁴ Anna Barsanti, "Ancora sul Furini," *Paragone.Arte* 25 (1974): 62.
- ⁸⁵ Maffei, *Un'altra bellezza*, 161-163.
- ⁸⁶ Cropper, 277-278.
- ⁸⁷ Ibid. Jesse Locker, "L'immagine dell'autrice: Artemisia's Self-Portraits Revisited," in *Artemisia Gentileschi: The Language of Painting* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 131-140.

-
- ⁸⁸ Elisa Acanfora, “Furini giovane a Roma, le virtuose delle art e un’allieva libertina,” *Paragone.Arte* 60 (2009): 46. Acanfora suggested the pose may derive from the relief of *Cupid and Psyche* from the Camposanto di Pisa.
- ⁸⁹ Pericolo, 862-889.
- ⁹⁰ Ibid, 867, 882.
- ⁹¹ Furini in Corti, 21.
- ⁹² Leonard Barkan, *Unearthing the Past: Archeology and Aesthetics in the Making of Renaissance Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991): 264-269.
- ⁹³ Robert W. Gaston, “Sacred Erotica: The Classical ‘figura’ in Religious Painting of the Early Cinquecento,” *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 2 (1995), 259.
- ⁹⁴ Turner, 73-74.
- ⁹⁵ Cropper, 274. Alexander Nagel. *The Controversy of Renaissance Art*, (London and Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2011): 223.
- ⁹⁶ Mina Gregori, “Un tassello per Francesco Furini e l’antico” in *Un’altra bellezza: Francesco Furini*, ed. Mina Gregori, et al. (Florence: Mandragora, 2007): 13-19. Gregori discussed Furini’s engagement with antique sculpture and his modern interpretation of classical forms that aligns closely to the work done by Seicento restorers of ancient sculpture. Baldinucci, “Furini,” 97-98. Baldinucci recounted an anecdote in which a fellow priest attempted to encourage Furini to finish an overdue painting. Furini responded that he had already finished the work to his confused colleague who could see that Furini made no visible progress. Furini proceeded to present him with a vast number of preparatory drawings and studies he completed in the work’s planning, telling the priest “I say I have finished the works when I have finished these.”
- ⁹⁷ This issue will be discussed further below.
- ⁹⁸ Rodolfo Maffei, “Furini: Trailer,” *Paragone.Arte* 55 (2004), 34-35.
- ⁹⁹ Baldinucci, “Furini,” 94. “Poi gli fu data a fare da Giovambatista Baccelli, negoziante fiorentino, un quadro dove rappresentò la morte di Adone, con piú figure al naturale.” The more reliable Peruzzi makes no mention of the work.
- ¹⁰⁰ Maffei, “La Camera della luna,” 27-32. Bradshaw, 35.
- ¹⁰¹ Maffei, “La camera della Luna,” 33. Del Bravo, 83-84. Del Bravo questioned the extent to which Salvadori assisted in the creation of Furini’s iconography.
- ¹⁰² Peruzzi in Barsanti, “Vita,” 77-80. Elisa Acanfora, “Furini giovane a Roma, le virtuose delle art e un’allieva libertina,” *Paragone.Arte* 60 (2009): 53-57.
- ¹⁰³ Peruzzi in Barsanti, “Vita inedita,” 81.
- ¹⁰⁴ Ibid.
- ¹⁰⁵ Baldinucci, “Furini,” 93.
- ¹⁰⁶ Ibid. Domenico Peruzzi in Anna Barsanti, “Una vita inedita del Furini,” 81.
- ¹⁰⁷ Barsanti, “Ancora sul Furini,” 57. Gregori, “Un tassello per Francesco Furini e l’antico,” 16.
- ¹⁰⁸ Barsanti, “Ancora sul Furini,” 64.
- ¹⁰⁹ Baldinucci, “Furini,” 93. Peruzzi in Barsanti, “Una vita inedita del Furini,” 81.
- ¹¹⁰ Turner, 90.
- ¹¹¹ Maffei, “La camera della luna,” 36-37.
- ¹¹² Patricia Bradshaw, “Francesco Furini’s ‘Hylas and the Nymphs,’” *Athanas* 1 (1981), 33-35.
- ¹¹³ Barsanti, “Ancora sul Furini,” 58-59.
- ¹¹⁴ Ibid. Monbeig Goguel, 68-69.
- ¹¹⁵ Maffei, “La camera della luna,” 37.
- ¹¹⁶ Patricia Bradshaw, 35. Maffei, “la camera della luna,” 36.

-
- ¹¹⁷ Maffeis, “la camera della luna,” 37.
- ¹¹⁸ Ibid, 33-35.
- ¹¹⁹ Peruzzi in Barsanti, “continuazione,” 85. Maffeis, “La camera della luna,” 27-35.
- ¹²⁰ Ibid, 154.
- ¹²¹ Baldinucci, 97. Maffeis, “Le tre Grazie,” in *Un'altra bellezza: Francesco Furini*, ed. Mina Gregori et al., (Florence: Mandragora, 2007), 184. Maffeis noted that a work by Furini of the same subject appears in a 1647 inventory of Cardinal Giovan Carlo de' Medici's palace on Via della Scala, suggesting that he may have played some role in the work's commission.
- ¹²² Ibid, 184-187.
- ¹²³ Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the most eminent painters, sculptors, and & architects* (Volume IX: Michelagnolo to the Divers Flemings), translated by Gaston du C. de Vere, (London: Philip Lee Warner, 1912-1915), 13.
- ¹²⁴ Alexander Nagel, *Michelangelo and the Reform Art* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 87.
- ¹²⁵ Una Roman D'Elia, *The Poetics of Titian's Religious Paintings* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2005), 103-104.
- ¹²⁶ Charles Hope, *Titian* (London: Jupiter Books, 1980), 75-6. Rona Goffen, *Titian's Women* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 171-192.
- ¹²⁷ D'Elia, 91-106.
- ¹²⁸ Alexander Nagel, “Experiments in Art and Reform,” in *The Pontificate of Clement VII: History, Politics, Culture*, ed. Kenneth Gouwens et al., 385-409. (London: Ashgate, 2004), 388-392.
- ¹²⁹ Ibid, 392.
- ¹³⁰ Stephen Campbell, *The Cabinet of Eros: Renaissance Mythological Painting and the Studiolo of Isabella d'Este* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), 269. Campbell discussed the development of the *galleria* and the mixing of mythological and sacred works in the same space during the Seicento, which caused a shift in meaning and function of paintings.
- ¹³¹ Nagel, “Experiments in Art and Reform,” 106.
- ¹³² Maffeis, “La camera della luna,” 44-51.
- ¹³³ Maffeis, “Maddalena penitente,” in *Un'altra bellezza: Francesco Furini*, ed. Mina Gregori et al., (Florence: Mandragora, 2007), 196. The Medici Grand Dukes showed interest in Jewish culture and the Hebrew language since the time of Francesco I (1577-1583).
- ¹³⁴ Ibid, 391-392.
- ¹³⁵ Weddigen, 123-124.
- ¹³⁶ Baldinucci, “Furini,” 99. “quadri di eccedente bellezza.”
- ¹³⁷ Ibid, 98. Furini in Corti, 21. Furini writes that he is working on a version of *Lot and his Daughters* in Rome for Salviati, noting that the composition varies greatly from the version he previously made for the Grand Duke.
- ¹³⁸ Straussman-Planzer, 5-7.