Titian’s *Poesie*: The Visual Allegories of Morality and Religion

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TITIAN’S POESIE: THE VISUAL ALLEGORIES OF MORALITY AND RELIGION

by

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B.A. August 2018, Old Dominion University
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Approved by:

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ABSTRACT

TITIAN’S POESIE: THE VISUAL ALLEGORIES OF MORALITY AND RELIGION

Holli M. Turner
Old Dominion University, 2020
Director: Dr. Anne H. Muraoka

Venetian painter Tiziano Vecellio, more commonly referred to as Titian, created a cycle of mythological paintings based on scenes from Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* for King Philip II of Spain. These works are often viewed through an eroticized lens due to this inclusion of nude mortals and goddesses. This thesis argues for the cycle’s moral and religious significance for Philip by utilizing comparative iconography, scholarly texts, and translated allegorical material.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The Venetian painter Tiziano Vecellio (commonly referred to as Titian; ca. 1485–1576) is widely known for his allegorical and religious paintings. His skillful handling of paint and his eye for detail garnered the artist many high-ranking patrons inside and outside of Italy. One of his most notable patrons was King Philip II of Spain (r. 1556–1598) of the Habsburg Dynasty. Titian created a number of works for the King, but his cycle of paintings that he referred to as the poesie (visual representations of classical poems and literature) have led to scholarly debates on whether the works could be interpreted outside of its profane symbolism. Titian’s poesie for Philip II include: Danaë (1551–1553; Fig. 1), Venus and Adonis (1553–1554; Fig. 2), Perseus and Andromeda (1554–1556; Fig. 3), Diana and Callisto (1556–1559; Fig. 4), Diana and Actaeon (1556–1559; Fig. 5), and lastly the Rape of Europa (1560–1562; Fig. 6).

These painted scenes are aggressive in terms of both story and paint application. At surface value, the poesie showcase Titian’s unique interpretations of Ovid’s Metamorphoses (ca. 8 CE). Scholars have largely focused on his distinctive interpretation of these mythological stories, the eroticism of the goddesses and his bravura handling of his brush during his Late Period. This thesis argues that Titian’s poesie for Philip II of Spain functions beyond retelling stories from mythology, but that they also serve as visual representations of the moral and religious standard by which the ruler was to follow.

In their notable similarities also is the prominent display of women as the central figures of the works. In order to evaluate the relationship of the inclusion of women to the patron, one must look beyond their mythological identities. Recent scholarship considers less of what the
women represent for the patron and more about what they can do for his desires as tantalizing stimuli. For instance, according to Italian historian Carlo Ginzburg in *Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method* (2013):

Intentionally erotic images, inaccessible to the masses…could be found in great numbers in the private iconic circuit of the elite. In the overwhelming majority of cases they were couched in a culturally and stylistically elevated code, the mythological, whether they represented ancient images or images expressly painted or carved by contemporary artists. Sixteenth-century erotic fantasy discovered in classical mythology a ready-made treasury of themes and forms able to be instantly comprehended by such international clientele as the patrons of Titian’s “poems.”

Although the nudity of the women can be viewed sensually, I argue against the dominant eroticized view of the women in favor of a new reading. This reading establishes the religious interpretation of the works which was widespread at the time and how the works function as moral allegories for the king of Spain. This view is further established by the tapestries presented to his father Charles V, which include mythological figures. It is noted by art historians Marie Tanner and Thomas Puttfarken that German art historian Harald Keller has expressed that the series of the works in the *poesie* act as a “mirror of Princes.” By ‘mirror of Princes’ it is not implied that works are necessarily biographical in their depiction, but rather representational of virtue and honor that is expected of the ruler. The widely accepted premise of art as visual stimuli does not have to determine its ultimate function. These mythological stories are composed with the purpose of an underlying moral or theocratic message.

By the fifteenth century, several moralized versions of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* were available in various languages. First composed around the early fourteenth century, the *Ovide moralisé* (or *Moralized Ovid*) adopts thousands of lines from the poet’s *Metamorphoses* placed into a Christian framework. Based on the circulation of this text during Titian’s lifetime, an appropriate postulation would be that the mythological scenes too can be read and understood
through a Christian lens. This could especially hold true as Titian was a faithful follower of the Catholic religion. The Habsburg’s patronage of the arts reiterates their interest in the propagation of a mythological alliance. Chapter two, “The Divinity of Venice,” outlines the beginnings of Venice that provides an explanation of its divine origins. Titian was a prominent artist in Venice, thus establishing the city as divine provides the grounds in which he would be familiar with commissions of myth and religion. Moreover, in relation to this is the importance of Venice as a port city, which further explains the exposure to Spanish patrons and Netherlandish works.

Chapter three, “The Protestant Reformation and Counter-Reformation,” explains this pivotal point in history in which quite drastic and violent changes were taking place in response to imagery. Chapter four, “Creating a Christian Empire: The Habsburg Dynasty,” explains the Habsburg lineage, marriages and their religious conquests and how they correlate to the mythologized history of the Habsburg dynasty. Chapter five, “Titian and Ovid: ut pictura poesis,” evaluates the connection between the paragone or comparison between poetry and painting. This specifically targets the potential reason why Titian chose Ovid’s Metamorphoses. I explore how myth is used to display a sense of real life; not as literal scenes of Philip’s life, but rather allegories that the king could use to live a pious and virtuous life. It is through the widely available and popular “moralized” translations of Ovid’s Metamorphoses that I will argue that these paintings are actually religious in nature which would explain why Philip II willingly accepted the works. In Chapter six, “Titian’s Poesie: Displays of Morality and Piety,” I explain the religious and moralistic function of each painting of the poesie. Here I offer a brief outline of the central themes within Charles V’s tapestries Los Honores and how those works function similarly to that of the paintings made for his son Philip II. I will link each painting’s religious and moralistic function by first recalling the story of the myth from Ovid’s Metamorphoses
translated by Frank Justus Miller to set up the text that Titian would have utilized as a starting point for his compositions. Continuing with the evaluation, I link the biblical associations of the paintings as presented by William Donald Reynolds in his 1971 PhD dissertation “The Ovidius Moralizatus of Petrus Berchorius: An Introduction and Translation.” Lastly, by relating the myths found in the paintings to their moralistic function and similarity in Charles V’s Los Honores (The Honors) tapestries of Fortuna (Fortune; Fig. 7), Prudentia (Prudence; Fig. 8), Virtus (Virtue; Fig. 9), Fides (Faith; Fig. 10), Honor (Honor; Fig. 11), Fama (Fame; Fig. 12), Justitia (Justice; Fig. 13), Nobilitas (Nobility; Fig. 14), and Infamia (Infamy; Fig. 15), I will argue that these works are more than erotic scenes for a powerful young ruler. By creating a moralized connection with all of the paintings in the poesie for Philip II, I am considering them to hold a similar function to works presented to his father Charles V. This thesis utilizes scholarly research specifically in the areas of the history of Venice, mythologized genealogy of the Habsburg lineage and the religious profundity of its rulers whilst engaging in visual analyses of the poesie. The visual analyses are paired with a careful examination of the iconography of the paintings, including figures, objects, text and its associated meaning.

My research question expands on the view from author Harald Keller from an evaluation of Thomas Puttfarken’s text Titian and Tragic Painting: Aristotle’s Poetics and the Rise of the Modern Artist (2005). Keller viewed the cycle that is Titian’s poesie as a “Mirror of Princes, [and] as a reminder to the prince and king of the ancient paradigms of virtuous behavior that he was meant to emulate.” My research also expands upon Tanner’s observation of the similarity between Los Honores and Titian’s poesie, in which she states that, “the tapestries include many of the mythological and allegorical figures and themes that recur in the Poesie,” thus seeing this as a potential source of inspiration for Titian. My research inquires, how does the poesie
function together as a mimetic work? Both of these sources proved as valuable points of departure. If works are only viewed through their original story that does nothing for the narrative as to how it works for or with the patron and artist. The selection of these works is not arbitrary and functions as displays of moral and spiritual authority. They therefore go beyond the seductiveness of the nude female bodies pictured therein.

In Marie Tanner’s *The Last Descendant of Aeneas* (1993) she establishes a connection with the imperial image of the Habsburg dynasty and mythologized histories of Roman antiquity. Tanner explains how pagan beginnings in Rome were given more Christian meanings. This evolution later leads into the structuring of pagan figures and stories in expressing Habsburg rulers’ own theocratic rule. Tanner suggests that the inclusion of solar identity in which God is associated with the sun and divine light, connects with Philip II’s appropriation of Apollo the sun god in his iconography as ruler. This further connects with the design of Philip II’s Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial or El Escorial Monastery, which functioned as a royal palace and place of worship, where solar symbolism is present. El Escorial is based on the floorplan and design of Solomon’s Temple. In this, is the foundation of the symbolic relationship between religious symbols and kingship. Philip’s El Escorial was viewed as a monument to the Christian religion. In Tanner’s *Sublime Truth and the Senses: Titian’s Poesie for King Philip II of Spain* (2018) she considers the mythological relationship of Philip’s *poesie* succinctly as it relates to Philip. She too has noticed that his *poesie* can be read in direct correlation to the King. What she has done in this text however is view the *poesie* in combination with Philip’s interest in science and the Habsburg’s interest in cosmology.

It is my interpretation that Titian’s *poesie* creates a connection to the theocratic governance of Philip II. Critics have disagreed over the true nature of the paintings, particularly
in regard to whether these works should be treated symbolically or seen as clear visual representations of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*. By creating this connection between all of the paintings, it looks at and interprets the works through Titian’s eyes and his identity as an artist capable of creating conversations through his works that comment on faith, morality and narrative as it relates to allegory. This thesis looks to expand beyond limitations set by scholars such as art historian Fernando Checa where he says,

> It seems apparent that the king was intended to receive visual pleasure from the possession of such paintings. Although the tradition of the so-called *Ovide moralisé* dates from the Middle Ages, it seems that in this series of Titian’s paintings we find contents that are less moralizing and instructing and that simply provide visual, pictorial, intellectual and erotic pleasure, which is their true meaning.\(^{10}\)

My research fills the gap in research of Titian’s *poesie* as a complete cycle of paintings as it relates to the patron while contributing substantially to our understanding on how mythological scenes can function as exemplars of moralistic, virtuous and religious behavior in kingship.
CHAPTER II
THE DIVINITY OF VENICE

Venice was revered as a divine and favored city. The city was renowned for its artistic pursuits, religious piety, military aided expansion, and political history. The devastating impact of deadly diseases such as the Black Death and periods of famine caused significant shifts in the population and overall composition of Venice. Venice was a Republic that was ruled by a doge elected by the Great Council, which were composed of male members of the noble class. The categorization of the public generally is divided into the nobles, citizens, and common people. The power shift during the sixteenth century created less of an egalitarian society by granting select nobles dominance in legislature, which was further intensified by the expenses of war. The Renaissance between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries was a time of societal changes connected to the fluctuations in populace combined with the wealth and influence of state power.

Venice did not have a clear point of origin. The “myths of Venice,” as they are often referred, evolved from spurious claims that went on to be accepted by Venetians as historical fact. Considering the foundation of Venice and the establishment of Saint Mark as its patron saint, the account follows that the evangelist Mark was sent on a mission to Aquileia by Saint Peter to convert northeastern Italy to Christianity. Upon Mark’s return to Rome he was stopped by an approaching storm and forced to seek protection at an island in the Venetian lagoon. An angel appeared to Mark prophesizing that a great city would be erected at that spot and that he would be buried there. Mark, one of the four evangelists, alongside Matthew, Luke, and John, all were linked to the four living creatures of Revelation. He was linked to the lion because “his Gospel dwells most fully upon the Resurrection of Christ and proclaims with great emphasis the
royal dignity of Christ.” The lion is an iconographic representation of strength, majesty, courage, fortitude and is associated with Resurrection. Saint Mark and his winged lion, therefore, became the symbol of Venice. The winged lion was visible all over the city and held both political and religious associations signifying strength, authority, paternalism and justice. This lion would often be depicted holding an open book with the words Pax tibi Marce, evangelista meus, which translates to “Peace unto you Mark my Evangelist.” On 25 March 421, “God caused the city to come into being, collapsing the pagan Roman Empire, with the express purpose of creating a new Christian empire to take its place.” 23 25 March was not only the date in which Venice was founded, but it also marked the Feast of the Annunciation. This is the day that the archangel Gabriel came to the Virgin Mary telling her that she would be the mother of Jesus Christ. This happily created a connection between Venice and the Virgin, which resulted in the recognition of Mary as its special protector, further perpetuating the city’s religious supremacy. Texts and iconography present in artworks helped promote and provide a potential arena for validating the myths. The perpetuation of such stories created a history of purity and divinity of Venice being favored by God.

Trade continued to be a prevalent mode of prosperity for Venice. Its geographical location situated it at the head of the Adriatic and allowed for increased command of trade routes. These routes went to Egypt, Syria, central Asia, India, Constantinople, the Black Sea, North Africa, Spain and northwestern Europe. Trade through territorial expansion was challenged in Venice by pirates and competitive trading nations, notably by Turkish sultan Mehmed II (r. 1444–1446 and 1451–1481) of the Ottoman Empire. The Turkish army and navy conquered the Christian city of Constantinople in 1453 and then set their sights on controlling the domain of Venetian maritime between 1463 and 1479. The Venetians lost a number of
battles to the Turks during this period. In an effort to better secure trade Venetians shifted territory from the sea to the *terraferma* located on the Italian mainland.\textsuperscript{30} This allowed Venice to further expand and protect its market.

Trade aided in developing the city’s artistic prominence by attracting artists, craftsmen, intellectuals and patrons. Artists would go to Venice to purchase high-quality pigments and goods at lower prices.\textsuperscript{31} Venice was an important center of the pigment trade.\textsuperscript{32} A noteworthy example of the wide array of vibrant pigments of the time can be seen in the draperies of the saints in Giovanni Battista Cima da Conegliano’s *The Incredulity of Saint Thomas* (1502–1504; Fig. 16).\textsuperscript{33} The combination of importing, exporting and traveling between city-states created networks which affected Venetian style and practice. Painting materials were sold by specialists called *vendecolori* or color sellers.\textsuperscript{34} The manufacturing, refining, importing and exporting of materials was a specialization that allowed *vendecolori* to play a significant role in engaging with artists. The position Venice had as a port city and a central trading post facilitated the connection between trade and Venetian style.

Commissioned art traveling along trade routes reflected changes in style and patron and donor tastes. An example of this was the importing of Flemish devotional panels to Venice during the fifteenth century, which inspired the adoption of oil painting as the city’s primary medium.\textsuperscript{35} Keeping in line with inspiration that encouraged the adaptation of oil, the premier subjects for painters in Venice were sacred, mythological and historical.\textsuperscript{36} The shift to using oil brought about a change in artists’ palettes.\textsuperscript{37} Adopting oil as their primary paint medium rather than using fresco or tempera—the mediums still favored by most Italian cities at this time—allowed Venetian artists to rework their painting surfaces, creating softness, naturalism and realism in their depictions. This attraction and movement toward naturalism resulted in the
incorporation of buildings and landscapes in their compositions and the reduction and elimination of the gold backgrounds.\textsuperscript{38}

Venetian painters experimented with layering of paint and variety in composition always keeping in the forefront their methodology of \textit{colorito} (coloring). Painting with oils encouraged the incorporation of layering pigments with glazing techniques to achieve stunning effects in both luminosity and color.\textsuperscript{39} During the 1520s and 1530s, the technique specifically referred to as veiling (\textit{velare}), involved the application of several layers of glazes to obtain harmony between colors.\textsuperscript{40} Italian painter, engraver and historian, Marco Boschini (1602–1681), listed this as one technique within an arsenal of methods used by Venetians, albeit used with increasing popularity in Florence and Rome as well.\textsuperscript{41} \textit{Colorito} dominated the Venetian method of painting versus \textit{disegno} (design or drawing), the favored method of composing works in central Italy, and in particular, Florence, Venice’s primary artistic rival. This distinction in practice directly tied into the dominant and favored mediums of fresco and tempera in Florence and Rome, which required swift and certain application of color as it was quick to dry on the plaster and panel surfaces.\textsuperscript{42} Color in this sense of the debate has more to do with the artistic evolution into oil-based pigments.\textsuperscript{43} Artists that epitomized \textit{colorito} and \textit{disegno} were Titian and Michelangelo respectively.\textsuperscript{44}

Venetian artist Tiziano Vecellio (Titian) was one of the leading artists of the Renaissance. Titian was born ca. 1485, to his father Gregorio Vecellio and mother Lucia.\textsuperscript{45} Dorotea, Francesco, and Orsa were Titian’s younger siblings.\textsuperscript{46} Titian’s family was not artisanal in class, but rather included members who were involved in business and local administration.\textsuperscript{47} This aided Titian in providing him an opportunity to train with less restriction. Thanks to these connections, he could apprentice at multiple major workshops in Venice.\textsuperscript{48} Titian’s initial
experiences in art were with mosaicist Sebastiano Zaccato to learn the “basic principles of art.” Zaccato would then send Titian to Gentile Bellini, which led to a moment of self-discovery for the artist concerning his excelling talent. Titian’s excellence was apparent early on in his career and he was sent to work with Gentile’s brother Giovanni Bellini as Titian, “could not bear to follow that arid and labored line of Gentile’s.” Desiring a style that was “pleasing” to the developing artist, he sought to work with Giorgio da Castelfranco (commonly referred to as Giorgione; ca. 1477–1510). The exposure Titian had to the works of Giovanni Bellini, Giorgione, Alvise Vivarini, Cima da Conegliano, Lorenzo Lotto and Sebastiano del Piombo all helped his understanding of mood, palette and topographical representation.

Titian’s success in his career relied on connections that he built with royal families and rulers. Understanding their preferences and interests ultimately allowed Titian to create works that would readily be accepted by patrons, as they took notice of his mastery in the field of painting. Although Titian primarily worked in Venice for a majority of his life as an artist, he did lend his artistic aptitude to those in power outside of Venice. In 1545–1546 Titian worked in Rome at the request of Pope Paul III (r. 1534–1549) and Spain’s Habsburg court at the request of Charles V (r. 1519–1556) in 1548 and 1550–1551.

The connection between the art of Italy and Spain is found in trade, governmental control and expansion. In sixteenth and seventeenth century Italy, Spain continued to dominate with hegemonic authority that affected the movement of gifts in the form of paintings. Spain possessed power in Naples, Sicily and Lombardy. This display of power interested artists such as “Titian and Tintoretto who were eager to work for Europe’s most powerful court.” During the Renaissance, Titian’s artistic commissions, specifically within the Habsburg dynasty, began with Holy Roman Emperor Charles V then transferred to his son King Philip II (r. 1556–1598).
Titian’s overall metamorphosis and evolution in painting style proved to exemplify a technical prowess and influence on European painting. In developing a new style, Titian explored the possibilities of different media in relation to the surface. Titian’s early training was in fresco painting and this style expanded to employing the incorporation of slow-drying and semi-translucent oil. Lodovico Dolce and Giorgio Vasari were two early biographers that knew Titian and would have first-hand accounts of Titian’s life experiences.

Both writers openly address the effect Titian’s former masters had on his manner of creation. These connections are vital in understanding his process and development as an artist. In the method of Bellini, Titian copied from life to create compositions. After studying works by Giorgione, Titian would abandon this way of painting in favor of Giorgione’s handling of subject and material. Adapting Giorgione’s style made distinguishing one artist’s work from the other increasingly complex. The closeness of execution is described by Titian’s biographer Carlo Ridolfi (1594–1658): “Titian transformed himself by means of Giorgione’s style.” This transformation of Titian manifests itself through the consideration of the aforementioned colorito versus disegno practice and his handling of paint on a surface.

Titian’s skill of handling colorito was unmatched. Dolce’s L’Arethino o dialogo della pittura (The Aretine or Dialogue on Painting) published in 1557, describes Titian’s expertise in the following manner, “Titian alone, in fact should be awarded the palm for perfect coloring. He has shown in his works no empty gracefulness, but a palette which is properly appropriate; no artificiality of ornamentation, but a masterly concreteness; no crudity, but the mellowness and softness of nature.” This connection to nature is shown through Titian’s depictions of diverse subjects surrounded by the natural world around them. Dolce goes on to describe Titian’s coloring as “so very soft, and so close to reality in its tones, that one can well and truly say that it
goes in step with nature.”64 This pictorial unification is present in scenes of religion, mythology, and portraiture. By creating that connection with nature Titian’s paintings presented a unique arrangement that allowed for more personalized interpretations from viewers. These viewers conceivably did have to possess a bit of literary and artistic awareness, but their interpretation relied more on their own “emotional and imaginative projection” rather than “fixed, external institutional references.”65 This means that works can function in more than one specific predetermined way. Moreover, the interpretation of works can be natural rather than building from previous scholarly understanding of a subject. An example of this approach includes Titian’s *The Gypsy Madonna* (1510–1511; Fig. 17). Titian was able to create softness with his handling of oils to meld nature (secular) and the religious (sacred). Titian’s apparent skill attracted patrons beyond Venice. Even with his numerous patrons, Titian had no compelling interest in leaving his city to create artworks. Ultimately, Titian’s apprehension and eventual refusal to leave Venice and permanently join imperial courts aided in the freedom and versatility afforded to the artist by staying on as court painter.66 As Titian progressed as an artist, he adjusted his style and topic of focus to reflect the taste of the patron.

Art historian Philip Sohm has taken note that the painterly style of sixteenth-century artists continued the tradition of fifteenth-century artists, by restraining visible strokes for the impression of mastery of the medium.67 The painterly style Titian used evolved through the physical act of using his fingers as brushes.68 In his treatise, *La Carta del Navegar pitoresco (The Map of Navigating through Painting*, 1660), Marco Boschini described Venetian style as being “founded on *spagazzoni*.”69 *Spagazzoni* are blots, blurs or dashes of ink.70 These bold stroke blots are created with brevity and in this quickness is skill of judgment; yet, it simultaneously is a work of disorder and haphazardness that is controlled by the artist. However, Vasari criticized
this as “an artistic failure because design was not exercised.” This loose brushwork, while chaotic to the eye, produces harmony when the viewer is able to look at the work from a distance. According to Philip Sohm:

[The] formation of beauty from chaos metaphorically addresses the divine act of creation with the artist imitating God. Boschini had this topos in mind when he mentioned the elderly Titian’s manipulation of pigment with his fingers, a [dexterous] act that recalls the modelling of Adam by God. Boschini transposed the artist’s experience of creation onto the viewer so the viewer, like the artist, experiences the thrilling metamorphosis of primordial disorder into meaningful form. The viewer who approaches the canvas and deciphers the markings becomes a participant in the creation of order.

Therefore, there is an associative religious element of creation, as a painter creates the world in which the viewer experiences. In this, artists and viewers are unified through the creation and visual evaluation of artwork. With that in mind, patrons in theory can take in the color and thick application of paint and recognize it as another pivotal element amongst the story or scene depicted. The mentioned “metamorphosis” elevates the importance of method and technique by providing alternate meanings.

Overall, Venice maintains its religious profundity through governmental and artistic pursuits. Venice’s location made it a center of activity and an artistic powerhouse. The transportation of art opened the lines of communication for artistic processes. Learning from other artists’ manner of creation, painters learned to adapt their subject matter. In adapting subject matter there was an amalgamation of the sacred and the secular. Although art and religion would continue to mutually serve one another, they would also become areas of contention.
CHAPTER III

THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION AND COUNTER-REFORMATION

The Protestant Reformation was a defining moment of spiritual and cultural disruption of the Catholic Church that affected areas well outside its point of origin. In 1510–1511 German Augustinian monk and lecturer Martin Luther (1483–1546) was sent on a mission by his Augustinian order to Rome. This visit to Rome was during the papacy of Pope Julius II (r. 1503–1513). Elected in 1503, Pope Julius was known as the “warrior pope” due to his powerful leadership and militaristic conquests. Pope Julius requested the demolition of the old basilica of Saint Peter’s in Rome built by the first Christian Roman Emperor Constantine the Great in the fourth century to make way for a new, more grandiose building. It was this project and the means in which the Church would fund the new building that negatively captured Luther’s attention. Julius pushed the selling of indulgences to fund the project. Approved by the papacy, indulgences represented the vehicle by which a person could expunge culpability for sinful actions before or after it has been committed. The selling of indulgences by the Church provided a way for people to absolve themselves of sin and essentially buy their way into heaven. After Julius’s death in 1513, his successor, Pope Leo X (r. 1513–1521) continued with the plans of rebuilding Saint Peter’s, by further aggressively promoting the sale of indulgences to complete the basilica. Luther’s concerns were amplified from seeing the Catholic Church’s practices of selling indulgences, first in Rome then spreading to Germany in 1517, by Dominican Johann Tetzel (c. 1465–1519). Tetzel peddled these indulgences on behalf of Albrecht (Albert) von Hohenzollern the archbishop of Mainz, Germany. Luther was not pleased, and this left him with an abysmal impression of Rome and exacerbated his rage that such actions were taking
place near his parish. The response was Luther’s posting of his *Ninety-Five Theses* on the door of the Wittenberg Cathedral on 31 October 1517, marking the beginning of the Protestant Reformation. In Thesis Eighty-Two of the *Ninety-Five Theses*, Luther says, “To wit: — Why does not the pope empty purgatory, for the sake of holy love and of the dire need of the souls that are there, if he redeems an infinite number of souls for the sake of miserable money with which to build a Church? The former reasons would be most just; the latter is most trivial.”

Specifically targeting the abuse of the papacy, Luther made mention of Pope Leo X of Rome and his proclamation that indulgences were a necessity to reconstruct Saint Peter’s Basilica. Luther held the position that Scripture holds superiority and not these other questionable actions or behaviors. Protestants believed in the authority of faith alone or *sola fide* over other methods of devotion or religious observance such as rituals, ceremonies, or art which he deemed to be distractions to true faith. In addition to *sola fide*, Catholics also valued Scripture in conjunction with *good works*, which included public acts or deeds with the motivation of religious exaltation and reassurance of salvation.

During the Liepzig Debate in the summer of 1519, the German theologian and Catholic reformer Johann Eck (1486–1543) referred to Luther as a heretic and further promoted church authority. This followed the debate held between Eck and Andreas Karlstadt (1486–1541), a Wittenberg colleague. Around this time, the *Theses* made its way to Albert von Hohenzollerns and from there was brought to the attention of Pope Leo X. Pope Leo did not offer an initial response dismissing the *Theses* as “an argument among monks.” After the document was translated and disseminated, Luther’s ideas were spread to a much wider audience, thus garnering a formal response from Leo in his papal bull of excommunication *Exsurge Domine* (1520). Upon reaching Luther on 10 December 1520 in an extravagant display of public
denouncement, Luther burned the papal bull, books of canon law and scholastic theology. In 1521, Luther was called by Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (r. 1519–1556) to recant his accused heretic speech and actions at the Diet of Worms. It was Luther’s refusal to recant here that led to his vilification and eventual excommunication. The thirty-page Edict of Worms was formally issued on 26 May 1521. The Edict condemned Luther, banned his writings, and also initiated the harsh treatment and targeting of his followers. After the Diet, Luther under the promise of safe travel from Charles V was hurried away to the Wartburg Castle by Frederick III (1463–1525), Elector of Saxony, where he continued writing and completed the German translation of The New Testament. Luther’s translation of The New Testament was published in 1522 and the Bible in its entirety in 1534. This was a display of Luther’s dedication to Scripture that predicated his entire mission during the Protestant Reformation.

Other pertinent individuals involved in the Protestant Reformation actively introduced radical ideas in response to the mounting religious conflict. Luther’s beliefs formed into Lutheranism and as Luther’s messages spread far beyond Germany, into areas of Switzerland, the Netherlands, France and England, variations in biblical interpretation and newfound religious ideas led to dangerous and violent responses. Drastic changes in the reception of religious imagery led to several violent outbreaks of iconoclasm, the destruction of images. Intense derivatives of Protestantism headed particularly by Andreas Karlstadt (1486–1541) and Gabriel Zwilling (1487–1558) of Germany, Huldrych Zwingli (1484–1531) of Switzerland and John Calvin (1510–1564) of France, used provocative language to incite purging churches of religious imagery. In opposition to his radicalized followers, Luther believed in the efficacy of religious images. He accepted religious art and believed in their educational function, but their utilization
was an intense point of conflict between Protestants and Catholics. His personal sense of
trepidation in this dealt with the improper notion that one may “gain salvation through endowing
art.”  

The supporters of iconoclasm created various theologies all aimed at attacking religious
images. The central point was God alone is due the praise, worship, and attention through his
Word, not this expanded attraction to various saints. These saints with their “fictitious origins”
were comparable to ancient gods of Greek and Roman legend. A prominent exemplar of this
was Saint Sebastian (Fig. 18). To briefly recapitulate the story of Saint Sebastian, he was a guard
of the Roman Emperor Diocletian, who was urged to renounce his faith in Christ. Sebastian’s
refusal resulted in being bound and shot full of arrows. Sebastian survived this only to be
clubbed to death and thrown into the sewer at the order of the same Emperor, following his
public proclamation to the faith of Christ at the steps of the Emperor’s palace. As a popular
plague saint, he is frequently depicted scantily wearing only a loincloth, penetrated through his
torso and legs with arrows, standing in contrapposto, and bound to a post or tree. For Protestants,
the visual similarities between saints and the gods and goddesses of the Greco-Roman past
reduces their effectiveness in the Catholic Church as they are secular beings. This notion that
these saints intercede “negated the mediating role of Christ.” The provocative depictions of
holy figures were yet another disagreeable aspect and further propelled iconoclastic behaviors. In
addition to this, Luther and others progressed from the idea that the papacy and their ills could be
reformed, to having it outright ended. As expected, the Church was not interested in making
such amendments to the papacy. To be clear, although there were points of papal influence that
both Luther and the radicals desired to change, Luther distanced himself from the radical
branches that sprang up during the Protestant Reformation.
The Counter-Reformation was the response to the Protestant Reformation. The sixteenth-century reformation caused a division of churches fueled by accusations of corruption and heresy. The Counter-Reformation included trials, assemblies, instituting inquisitions, exiling, and in extreme cases, executing populations of Protestants. The Roman Inquisition of 1542 was set in place to halt the expansion of Protestantism. Neapolitan nobleman Giovanni Pietro Carafa was at the forefront of this inquisition, which marked his career towards becoming Pope Paul IV (r. 1555–1559). His violent temper coupled with a loathsome attitude towards Protestants created a violent and authoritarian climate to maintain the Church by ridding the state of heretics. Other distinct actions towards the progression of the Counter-Reformation were the meetings of the Council of Trent. The first group of sessions of the Council of Trent was initiated by Pope Paul III in 1545–1547. The Council of Trent met intermittently for twenty-five sessions in three periods of 1545–1547, 1551–1552, and 1562–1563. The Council met to address doctrine and reform, which focused on Protestant teachings that conflicted with those of the Catholic Church.

On December 3–4 of 1563, the Council of Trent held their twenty-fifth session under the Supreme Pontiff, Pius IV (r. 1559–1565). The Council declared that the negatively associated views surrounding the veneration of saints through relics shall be condemned. There were standards to maintain in images and elements that should be avoided to uphold the sanctity of its representation. For the faithful, images should teach, serve as models of piety that they should aim to imitate, and lastly encourage the viewer to perform acts of spirituality such as devotion and meditation. This is indicated by the following explanation outlined by the Council in the decree on sacred images:

Moreover, let the bishops diligently teach that by means of the stories of the mysteries of our redemption portrayed in paintings and other representations the people are instructed
and confirmed in the articles of faith, which ought to be borne in mind and constantly reflected upon; also that great profit is derived from all holy images, not only because the people are thereby reminded of the benefits and gifts bestowed on them by Christ, but also because through the saints the miracles of God and salutary examples are set before the eyes of the faithful, so that they may give God thanks for those things, may fashion their own life and conduct in imitation of the saints and maybe moved to adore and love God and cultivate piety.  

The decree instructed against inappropriate representations in holy images, including figures painted with seductive charm, disorderly compositions and profane imagery. By honoring religious statues or paintings, the worshipper honors the saint themselves through the artworks. Images were necessary for various forms of Catholic devotion. Thus, disagreeing with the function of religious images puts the detractor at odds with the Church and Catholic tradition. To guide readers on how they can properly follow the decrees on sacred art, Italian cardinal and Archbishop of Bologna, Gabriele Paleotti (1522–1597) wrote Discorso alle imagine sacre e profane (Discourse on Sacred and Profane, 1582). Paleotti takes great care to explain his disdain for those that are against sacred images as the “malice of the demon.” Further mirroring similar sentiments of Luther he expresses the purpose of these images as instructional, allowing those that cannot read to understand grace and salvation through these visual narratives. Increased intensity in spiritual dedication during the Counter-Reformation resulted in changes in the understanding and acceptance of art and the creation of religious orders.

In the creation of religious orders, a number of Spanish Catholic Reformers served as influential models throughout the Counter-Reformation period. Spanish preacher and reformer Juan de Ávila (1499–1569) was known as a vital contributor to the revitalization of ideas centered on “works of charity and acts of faith in the early sixteenth century.” His reformist ideas and methods of devotion were deemed controversial as he suggested clerical reform from that of patrimonial appointments and advocating mental or internal prayer over vocal prayer.
Juan de Ávila wrote a treatise on the verse Psalm 44 titled *Audi, filia* (1556) in which he “offered a figurative interpretation of this passage, addressing issues such as the value of prayer, the role of faith and works in salvation, and the nature of sin.” Juan de Ávila attracted a number of followers and disciples through his influence on Spanish Catholicism namely Spanish nobleman Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556). One of the prominent orders amongst the Dominicans, Franciscans and Augustinians, was the Society of Jesus. Founded in 1534 by Ignatius, the Jesuits, as members of the Society were referred to, operated as preachers, confessors, missionaries and educators. Jesuits set out on missions to “recover space and souls” in an array of locations such as Germany, Sweden, Poland and the British Isles. Ignatius’s treatise of rules, meditations, and prayers, *Spiritual Exercises*, functioned as a guide towards grace and spiritual fulfillment by serving God. It was approved by Pope Paul III for print in 1548. In his section of rules in reference to the Church, Ignatius instructs the reader, “to praise all the precepts of the Church, holding ourselves ready at all times to find reasons for their defense, and never offending against them.” This included venerating saints, indulgences, and other behaviors that were in line with the Church’s way of thinking.

Another prominent Spanish figure similar to the aforementioned Ignatius was Teresa of Avila (1515–1582). Canonized at the same time as Ignatius on March 1622 by Pope Gregory XV (r. 1621–1623), Saint Teresa was a Carmelite nun who spiritually progressed towards mysticism through her numerous transcendental experiences, documented in her *Libro de la Vida* (*Book of Life*) written approximately in 1560–1565. In a similar manner to the *Spiritual Exercises*, Teresa’s *Vida* acted as both a narrative and text of instructions on ways to reach a mystical state. The text showcased Teresa’s gift of expressing “extrasensory supernatural” occurrences, which led to artistic inspiration during the Counter-Reformation. The inclusion of these Spanish
figures into the category of saints shows that the happenings of the Reformation were not specific to any one particular territory or province. As apparent through this history, the connection between spirituality and the visual arts were constantly in flux. The metaphorical battle between the two lies in the interpretation of purpose and necessity. In the radical interpretation, the use of images conflicts with Scripture and undermines the power of Christ. The other side of this argument is that art is educational and emblematic of religious superiority, influence, and guidance within the lives of believers.

This as it relates to the poesie creates an interpretation in which the works function in a religious manner by affecting the senses, serving as visual guides. As aforementioned, the Protestants interpreted that the Bible prohibits the use of images for devotion, to which the Catholic response explained that it is not the fault of the image but the worship of images that leads to abuse.119 Both those on the side of the Protestant and Counter-Reformation recognized the importance of imagery in religion as having “unconscious power over thought and behavior.”120 As will be further explained in Chapter six “Titian’s Poesie: Displays of Morality and Piety” these images can be viewed in their sensuousness as exemplars of piety. In a manner not unfamiliar to Titian, the conflation of “lasciviousness” and “seductive charm” can also be found in his religious works, such as the 1531–1535 Penitent Magdalen (Fig. 19).121
CHAPTER IV
CREATING A CHRISTIAN EMPIRE: THE HABSBURG DYNASTY

Spain’s history of religion was rather tumultuous. Christianity was first brought to the countries of the Iberian Peninsula during the rule of the Roman Empire. In the fifth century Spain saw a shift from Roman rule to that of invading groups. The Visigoths, a Germanic group of immigrants, brought about the fall of the Roman Empire and entered Spain at the end of the century settling in Old Castile. During the eighth century, Spain experienced a new influence into their religious culture. From 722–1492 Spain was under the religious domination of its Muslim inhabitants often referred to as the Moors. Several Christian states developed including Asturias, Castile, Léon, Aragon, Catalonia, Navarre, and Portugal that would eventually challenge the dominance of the Moors. The Christian kingdoms that remained engaged in the war referred to as the Reconquista (Reconquest). Muslim rule ended in January 1492 after their surrender at Granada in 1491. Furthermore, it was the marriage of Ferdinand II of Aragón (r. 1479–1516) to Isabella I of Castile (r. 1474–1504) that further solidified the Catholic religion within the Iberian Peninsula. The frustration of nearly eight centuries of Muslim domination combined with their own Catholic fervor, led the Catholic monarchs Ferdinand II of Aragón and Isabella I of Castile to establish the Spanish Inquisition in 1478, whose objective was to persecute all those who were considered heretics.

To keep together such expansive territory the monarchy employed methods that utilized the union of their new Habsburg ruler with original laws and customs specific to the conquered area. It is through the Habsburg’s impressive ability to rule as a familial unit that created a “mythologized history of expected greatness.” The connection between myth and reality relies
on interpretation and association. It creates the narrative in which origins and experiences are explained through their connections with gods, goddesses, or other supernatural entities.

The Habsburgs were interested in creating a genealogical tie to ancient Rome which was propagated through an association with Charles I more commonly referenced as Charlemagne. On 25 December 800, King of the Franks Charlemagne was crowned Holy Roman Emperor by Pope Leo III in Saint Peter’s Basilica, thus reviving the title of “Roman Emperor” in Western Europe after more than three centuries. This association is important as he was not only a powerful ruler but it was Charlemagne who implemented this idea of a “new Christian empire.” As emperor of the Holy Roman Empire he was established as “protector of Christendom.” Following this was the Hohenstaufen dynasty rule of more than 100 years and interregnum in which a ruler could not be decided. Eventually Rudolf von Habsburg was elected in 1273.

The Habsburg dynasty held the position at the helm of the Holy Roman Empire for nearly half a millennium. The origins of the Holy Roman Empire date back to the coronation of Charlemagne in Rome in 800 CE. All Holy Roman Emperors were Habsburgs from 1438 through 1740. Albeit, “emperor was not a hereditary office” princes of the Holy Roman Empire held a great deal of power to ensure continuation. This was able to take place because emperors could ensure their own dynastic succession by electing their sons. This dynasty positioned themselves as poised and powerful rulers, shaping their control through the merging of relational, political and ecclesiastical actions and groups.

The ascent of the Habsburg line of the Holy Roman Empire began with Pope Nicholas V’s (r. 1447–1455) coronation of Frederick III (r.1452–1493). His motto and acronym AEIOU “Austriei est imperare orbi universo” (It is Austria’s destiny to rule the world) proclaimed the
Habsburg objective of expansion and domination. Frederick III was then succeeded by his son Maximilian I (r. 1493–1519). Maximilian I married Mary Duchess of Burgundy in 1477, bringing the Burgundian Netherlands under the Habsburg line. Their union resulted in the birth of two children, Philip the Handsome (r. 1482–1506) and Margaret of Austria. Maximilian arranged the marriage of Philip to Joanna of Castile in 1496. This marriage was advantageous as Philip the Handsome married into the lineage of Spanish rulers in Castile and Aragón. Philip and Joanna produced six children, Eleonor, Charles V (r. 1519–1558), Isabel, Ferdinand I (r. 1558–1564), María and Catalina Mary of Hungary. Following the death of her older siblings, her brother Juan, Prince of Austrias (1497) and sister Isabel, Princess of Austrias (1498), Joanna inherited the crowns in Castile and Aragón. When Philip the Handsome died in 1506, Philip and Joanna’s son, Charles V, inherited the title of Duke of Burgundy at age 6 with Mary of Austria (his paternal aunt) serving as regent until he came of age in 1515. At Ferdinand II of Aragón’s death in 1516, Joanna’s son Charles V took possession of the throne of Spain as Charles I and at the death of his paternal grandfather Maximilian I in 1519, he assumed the title of Holy Roman Emperor.

CHARLES V

By 1519, Charles V wielded ruling power not only over the Burgundian lands, but also Spain and the Holy Roman Empire. Charles’s control of the Holy Roman Empire and as King of Spain expanded to areas of Naples and southern Italy, Sicily, Sardinia and West Indies settlements on the North African coast. The attention to expansion was further symbolized in the addition of the modified motto adopted by Charles V of *Plus Ultra*. Plus Ultra was the alteration of the *non plus ultra* “nothing further beyond” from Ancient Greece and by making
this alteration he further propelled this idea that territorial expansion can go beyond any expected limitations.150 It is through Charles’s passion and intensity to spread the authority of the Spanish crown which led to the phrase *el imperia en el que nunca se pone el sol* “the empire in which the sun never sets” referencing his control of different realms.151 With such an impressive dominion it required an exhaustive number of voyages to maintain an authoritative presence as well as appointing family members as regents and viceroys.152

Charles was a multinational king that viewed himself as leader of the Christian world and protector of Christianity.153 “He was assured, and came himself to think, that God had chosen him to be the supreme universal monarch. Charles believed that he was the second sword of the Christian Commonwealth, with the Vicar of Christ, the pope, the first.”154 With this Charles was firm in his Catholic devotion.

During the time of the Protestant Reformation, Luther was called to stand before the twenty-year-old, Holy Roman Emperor Charles V and the estates of the German Nation at the Diet of Worms in 1521.155 Charles presided over this Diet where they addressed the issue of heresy as Martin Luther was set to answer questions and retract several treatises in which incendiary comments on the papacy and the Catholic Church appear.156 Among Luther’s treatises, the *Ninety-Five Theses* was the best known. His treatises were considered to be the beginnings of Protestantism.157 In a brazen display Luther refused to retract his treatises and swiftly Charles ordered Luther’s removal.158 Charles worked throughout his rule to paint this image of his Catholic dedication. This “image” was skillfully executed by the Italian painter Titian through several commissions emphasizing the leader’s regality and moral qualities.

Titian’s position as artist specifically within the Habsburg dynasty began with the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V. Federico Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua (r. 1519–1530) introduced the
This meeting however did not set in motion any commission. Titian met again with Charles in 1530, the year that Charles was in Bologna for his official coronation by Pope Clement VII (r. 1523–1534). The Italian author and poet Pietro Aretino (1492–1556), who was Titian’s friend, professed in writing of Titian’s skill and worth to many courts and princes reaching that of Charles V. “He ordered that Titian be brought to him immediately, receiving him with signs of great honor, and he wanted Titian without delay to set his hand to painting his portrait.” A portrait that was considered to be “the beginning of a relationship” between patron and artist was Emperor Charles V with a Dog (1533; Fig. 21). Charles’s pleasure in Titian’s talents led to the Emperor granting the artist distinctions including Count of Palatine and Knight of the Golden Spur. In addition in an abbreviated document Carlo Ridolfi notes Charles as stating the following of Titian’s virtuosity and skill:

It has always been our custom, after we were raised through divine auspices to the eminence of this Imperial dignity, to honor with our benevolence, favor, and grace, before others, especially those of you who, possessing an uncommon faith and respect toward us and the Holy Roman Empire and endowed with inventive skill and exceptional abilities, are considered illustrious and outstanding in the liberal arts and in your craft. We have, therefore, noticed your extraordinary faith and respect toward us and the Holy Roman Empire, and that, in addition to the other remarkable abilities and talents of your genius, the exquisite science of painting and representing images faithful to life is an art in which you seem to be called the Apelles of this century.

This allegorical link to the renowned Greek painter Apelles did speak to Titian’s handling of subject matter and skillful execution as painter. Titian proved his abilities as a painter with versatility by sending portraits and religious works to the ruler, such as Equestrian Portrait of Charles V (1547; Fig. 22), Ecce Homo (1547; Fig. 23) and Portrait of Charles V (1548; Fig. 24). In addition to working with Charles V the artist produced works for his brother Ferdinand, sister...
Mary and ultimately, his son, Philip II of Spain. Philip would become Titian’s most prominent patron working for him for over twenty years.

PHILIP II

In Charles’s pursuit of European hegemonic expansion his son Philip II (r. 1556–1598) played a vital part as his heir and in his continued propagation of Spanish ideals. Philip II received the titles to the Spanish kingdoms from his father on January 1556. Philip did not gain his kingship as a result of the death of the ruler, which was the traditional means of succession. Rather, after reaching his limits both physically and mentally as ruler, Charles relinquished his imperial titles over the Netherland and Spain to his son Philip and the Holy Roman Empire to his brother Ferdinand I in 1556, two years before his death in 1558.

Similar to his father Philip was well traveled. This exposure to areas beyond that of the Spanish realm such as northern Italy, central Europe, the Rhineland of Germany, America, The Netherlands and England facilitated the accumulation of a breadth of knowledge on geography, politics, culture, art, and religion. It was a combination of this and values established by his dynastic predecessors that fashioned Philip’s monarchy and theocratic ideology. Philip ruled over an extensive empire that included the Iberian Peninsula, realms of Naples, Sicily, parts of Lombardy, and most of the new world. Leading a global empire inherently welcomes wars between factions vying for power and resources. With such a vast territory, Philip was involved in a series of wars some of which occurred simultaneously at sea and on land. Managing these wars required funding, and the impressive scale of which was comparable to that of the Roman Empire. “From his accession until 1559, and from 1589 just before his death in 1598, Philip fought the French; until 1576 he remained at war with the Ottoman empire; after 1572, except
for six months in 1577, his forces struggled to suppress his rebellious Dutch subjects and their allies.”  

Expressly this denotes the level in which Philip was enveloped in his duties as ruler.

Part of Philip’s history of victories and tragic losses follows his history of marriages suggesting the importance of connecting families and thus territories. In 1543, at age sixteen Philip was arranged to marry his cousin Princess Maria of Portugal (1527–1545). This marriage was expressed as the “joining of the East and West.” Maria died in 1545, just four days after giving birth to Philip’s son Don Carlos (1545–1568). Philip was a widower at the age of eighteen. During the summer of 1554 Philip II further increased his political reach by taking on the title of King of England after marrying Queen Mary of England (1516–1558). This marriage included stipulations noted in two documents, the dowry and the other of English succession in which the conditions of the marriage were made apparent. This marriage was advantageous for Philip in that he “was to receive the title of King of England and exercise sovereignty jointly with his wife.” With that however, Philip only held power as long as she was alive and at her death in 1558, their marriage ended childless so there was no authority to obtain or maintain the throne. In 1560 Philip married Elisabeth of Valois who was the eldest daughter of Henry II of France and Catherine de’ Medici. This marriage ratified the peace between the “longstanding conflict between the Valois and Habsburg in which Francis I and Charles V began and Henry II and Philip II continued…finally [setting] aside in 1559 so that both monarchs could more effectively [halt] the spread of Calvinism.” This marriage produced two daughters. In October 1568 Elisabeth would die shortly after giving birth to another girl, a four-month-old still-born. With little option Philip had his mentally unstable and disturbed son Don Carlos sworn in 22 February 1560 as the heir of the throne in Castile. This however did not include “affairs of state or any position of authority,” and ultimately this would be short lived
as Don Carlos died in July 1568. From here Philip is back in the undesirable position as ruler with no heir to such an immense throne. His last marriage to his niece Anna of Austria (1549–1580) in 1570 would end this worry. The two produced five children, the first three sons and single daughter died within a few years of being born leaving the fourth son, Philip III of Spain (r. 1598–1621) as the only surviving male. Anna of Austria died during childbirth with the sixth child.

Despite the extremely personal deaths that confronted Philip he still maintained his responsibility in kingship. He set Madrid as the center of the empire from which he would rule and was unbending in his dedication to the Catholic faith. “Philip was not the first ruler, nor the last, to believe that his own interests and those of religion were identical.” It is through this Philip saw the Catholic religion as his duty to uphold within the political sector as well as a personal endeavor that affected his overall decision making. This intermingling of religion with the power of the crown is not unfamiliar as it began with Philip’s great grandparents King Ferdinand II of Aragón and Queen Isabella I of Castile. Both Ferdinand and Isabella were both bestowed with the title Reyes Catolicos (Catholic Kings) in 1496 by Pope Alexander VI (r. 1492–1503). The importance of this title was that it defined these rulers as dedicated to Catholic Christianity, amplifying the relationship of religion and governance, which they used to reform papal supremacy. Queen Isabella also created this ideology in which Christianity should be universal with “Spain as the center.” The same measures of regulatory governance were exercised through Philip’s rule as he and his predecessors “eliminated the practical applications of papal supremacy.” “Philip II disposed of ecclesiastical benefices whose revenues amounted to vast sums of money, and was able to exercise a stranglehold on the personnel of the
church.” What this in turn did was protect against abuses of the papacy while simultaneously creating a similar area of concern of the crown.

Philip’s dedication to the Catholic faith was apparent not only in his policies but in other areas such as his collection of art, books, and relics. He amassed over 6,000 holy relics housed in his impressive complex referred to as El Escorial, so he could be seen as a collector of tangible, meaningful symbolic items. El Escorial was considered to be “the greatest project of Philip’s reign,” built under the architect Juan Bautista de Toledo. This was a space that served numerous purposes for Philip. It was a massive space containing some 4,000 rooms, 16 courtyards, and 100 miles of corridors. Considered as “the most important piece of architecture of the Spanish Renaissance” it was commissioned in commemoration of the Spanish victory in 10 August 1557 against Henry II of England during the Battle of Saint Quentin.

El Escorial also was dedicated to Saint Lawrence as the victory aligned with his feast day. This space primarily functioned as a monastery and basilica described as “an ongoing work of piety,” it also contained a school, private sections of leisure and residence, and was to serve as the final resting place for Charles V. With that said, this space was “not normally accessible for worship to the general public maintaining the status of private property.” In chronicling the history of El Escorial in Historia de la Orden de San Jerónimo (History of the Order of Saint Jerome, 1605), Friar José de Sigüenza explained King Philip II’s fervency with which he collected and maintained his relics. Philip’s collection began in the 1570s, which at the time included 10 bodies of saints and martyrs, 144 heads, and 306 miscellaneous arms and legs. Sigüenza reported that during Philip’s illness towards the end of his life, the King would request that relics that corresponded to “aching limbs be directly applied to his open wounds.” This was a process in which Philip
relieved his own pain by believing in and utilizing the miraculous properties of his relics. As evident through Philip II’s collection of relics and his documented uses of them, he believed that these items had power over his physical self. The healing properties of the relics of El Escorial, “were thought to contribute to the regeneration of the king’s body.”206 In understanding that relics can serve a purpose beyond its predetermined function, one can come to understand how a series of paintings may have a similar purpose within his collective nature of objects.

MYTHOLOGICAL ASSOCIATIONS

Persons of such stature employed artists to display their prominence and glory and the Habsburgs were no stranger to such longstanding traditions. The observation and collection of art was a closely regarded area of interest throughout the lineage of the Habsburg dynasty. Maximilian who was influenced by Italian Renaissance courts, initiated this longstanding patronage over the course of centuries.207 Artworks served a function outside of beautification of space. These works were symbolic demonstrations of status and power and were also a connection to virtues of figures depicted whether divine or profane.

The Habsburg dynasty harkened back to classical influence during several moments of their theological quests as leaders. As aforementioned, through strategic connections in marriages and hereditary predilection the Habsburg monarchy was able to establish a formidable safeguard to ensure control. “The Habsburg’s revival of the dream of universal sovereignty under the Roman emperor’s rule was similar to the ancients both in conception and premise. Seen as a mission, to which they had been elected by God, the claim to world dominion was based not on geopolitical strength, but on virtue, and above all on piety.”208 The Habsburgs did place importance on territorial expansion as that reiterates imposing power and control but beyond that
is their unwavering dedication to creating an intersection of ancient and pietistic lineage. Art historian Marie Tanner provides a royal genealogy which is linked to genealogical mythmaking to explain the Habsburg ancestral connections to Roman divinities, Christian saints, and other possible illustrious ancestral links.209 This link to the classical past provides an illustration of devotion to an elaborative lost history. The mythological history was initiated by Rudolf I (r. 1273–1291) who was the first of the Habsburg emperors and this dedication to posture their lineage with the Romans was further propagated by Maximilian I.210 He created such a rich ancestral connection that “by the end of his life, Maximilian would claim more than a hundred martyrs, popes, and saints as his direct kin.”211

Within the Habsburg dynasty there is a clear interest and value in having mythological and religious ties to express origin and hereditary connections. This idea of myth does not stop with creating a connection with Rome; it will have a direct relationship to how rulers viewed themselves through other mythological works as well. It is important to note how the dissemination of visual allegories presented itself throughout the rule of several leaders. Charles V and his son Philip II would continue this tradition of utilizing the skill of a great artist to further portray their supreme power and interests. In the sixteenth century, Italian sculptor Leone Leoni produced the sculpture *Charles V Dominating Fury* (1551–1555; Fig. 25) which further drives this point of mixing myth and kingship.212 This sculpture shows Charles as the Greco-Roman Trojan hero Aeneas defeating fury. The visual allegory in this is important as a display of a strong and authoritative ruler. It also is showing this protective overture by a more elevated entity as Aeneas “was always protected by Jupiter, the father of the gods.”213 In a similar fashion as Defender of the Faith this display as king echoes his theocratic duty.
CHAPTER V
TITIAN AND OVID: *UT PICTURA POESIS*

Titian could have selected from any number of subjects for inspiration worthy of presenting to the King of Spain and yet the artist chose poems. Titian’s *poesie* are moments selected by the artist from Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* bringing the written word to a visual spectrum. *Metamorphoses* is a grouping of over 250 Greek and Roman narrative poetic myths. Already in the fourth century BCE, the Greek philosopher Aristotle argued that poetry and painting share comparative functions. What this represents is an acknowledgement that albeit varied in execution, both are fundamentally the same in purpose. Roman poet Horace (65–8 BCE) is credited with the expression *ut pictura poesis*, “as is painting so is poetry.” He writes, “it is not enough for poetry to be beautiful; it must also be pleasing—such as to move the hearts and feelings of men in whatever direction it wishes.” Art historian Michael Baxandall offers a brief expansion to bridge this to painting, “In the same way, it is proper that painting should not only be embellished by a variety of colours but, far more that it should be, so to speak, enlivened by a certain [vigor].” This vigor is that both fields demand inventiveness and a vividness of imitation. This imitation is that of human nature.

The *paragone* or comparison between subjects of painting, poetry, and sculpture was a heavily discussed topic during the sixteenth century. According to Pietro Aretino, “writers are painters, that poetry is painting, history is painting, and that any kind of a composition by a man of culture is painting.” The association between the two art forms functioned in a way to acknowledge that the skill and learnedness between the two is equitable.
Myths – Ovid reminds us – are just poetic lies. While they can be used as *exempla* to make sense of real life, the problem with real life is that, however much we choose to mythologize it, it will always remain painfully real.”221 This shows that Ovid finds mythological writings to have utility in portraying a closeness to reality although derived from imaginative stories of gods, goddesses, and mortals. The myth itself generally is based in fantasy which are the “poetic lies” in which he speaks. This closeness can create uncanny connections to situations based more in reality. This is evident in his application of the myth of Ulysses to his very own exile to Tomis.222 Ovid in Book 1 of *Tristia* (5.59-5.73) writes:

Write poets of my evils, not Ulysses. More evils than Ulysses’ burden me…He had a chosen band of loyal comrades. In my exile my friends left me forlorn. He sought his country, happy and victorious; I’ve fled my country, vanquished, an exile. His body was [endured] to toil and sturdy, but I am frail and nurtured daintily…What’s more, those toils of his were mostly fiction; my troubles are no legendary tales. And finally—he reached the home he yearned for, long sought, and in the end, he found his fields. But I must lose my native land forever unless the injured god’s high anger yields.”223

Mythologizing real life events creates connections of power, religion, and explore tragedy of destiny through allegory. The contrasting element to this comparison between painting and poetry is based in efficacy as interpreted and believed by the viewer and personal biases as expressed by professionals in the field. This concept was not localized to Venice as Florentine painter Leonardo da Vinci writes,

**Though the poet is as free as the painter in the invention of his fictions they are not so satisfactory to men as paintings; for, though poetry is able to describe forms, actions and places in words, the painter deals with the actual similitude of the forms, in order to represent them. Now tell me which is the nearer to the actual man: the name of man or the image of the man.**224

Leonardo takes the stance that painting is more accurate in description. In his view in order to fully actualize a narrative one must paint not write it. Despite some of the partiality, painting is necessary as a companion to poetry as it helps to actualize the written word. *Metamorphoses* is
engaged in the act of storytelling. This interest in the narration as well as the narrative further exemplifies the mechanical and actionable process of poetry further linking it to painting.\textsuperscript{225} Beyond the *paragone* between poetry and painting “Ovid’s images of the human body mangled and human utterance debilitated may be read as reflections of the poet’s perception of the status of his own creations, and of his own physical fragility, as well as of the creations of the historical and political world which surround him.”\textsuperscript{226} Both poetry and painting involve storytelling that interweaves fiction and reality.

By identifying his works as *poesie* Titian was already engaging and further solidifying this comparison of art forms. Titian first originated the term *poesie* using it to describe the paintings he was creating for Philip in a letter to the King in 1553.\textsuperscript{227} The artist’s initial encounters with the subject matter of classical mythology were further developed under his work with subjects following poetic descriptions or *ekphrases*.\textsuperscript{228} Works completed for the Duke of Ferrara Alfonso I d’Este (r. 1505–1534) such as the *Worship of Venus* (1518–1519; Fig. 26), *Bacchanal of the Andrians* (1519–1520; Fig. 27), *Bacchus and Ariadne* (1520–1523; Fig. 28) were based on the poetic descriptions within Philostratus the Elder’s (ca. 187–191 CE) *Imagines*.\textsuperscript{229} “Titian thereby established a most obvious link between painting and poetry; one cannot escape the implication that he conceived of his compositions as poetry in paint. Moreover, the painter, like the poets, accepted a twofold challenge: to compete with another medium of expression and to rival the achievements of his antique predecessors.”\textsuperscript{230} Such a display was a method of elevating one’s own artistic practice, learnedness and skill in execution.

In the same frame of consideration is Giovanni Andrea Gilio’s *Dialogo secondo, nel quale si ragiona degli errori, e degli abusi de’ pittori circa l’istorie* (*Dialogue on the Errors and Abuses of Painters*). Gilio composed this treatise during the early 1560s addressing sacred
painting during the Counter-Reformation period. Titian would have been aware of this text. This treatise delineates the three types of painters, which is based on the two types of writers initially outlined by Greek polymath Aristotle in his treatise *Poetics* (350 BCE).231 Aristotle classified writers as historians or poets.232 According to Gilio, “…it should be understood that the painter is sometimes a pure historian (*puro istorico*), sometimes a pure poet (*puro poeta*), and sometimes a mixture of the two (*a le volte è misto*).”233 He identifies Giorgio Vasari’s frescoes in the hall of the Cancelleria (1546; Fig. 29) and Francesco Salviati’s frescoes in the Palazzo Farnese (1510–1563; Fig. 30), both in Rome, as exemplars of the mixture of both history and poetry. It is through the combination of both that Titian’s *poesie* can be interpreted as holding both poetic and historical relevance. In reference to the poetic painter (*pittore poetico*):

In truth, a beautiful, proportioned and well-understood figure attracts the eye so much, and pleases so much, that the viewers cannot tear themselves away. The more they look, the more it pleases them. This is also the effect of a beautiful poem, a beautiful comedy, or a beautiful history: the more one reads, the more one sees, the more one hears the greater the desire to read it, see it, and hear it. And in the same way that the poet must respect the rules of poetry, so must the painter respect those of painting.234
CHAPTER VI

TITIAN’S POESIE: DISPLAYS OF MORALITY AND PIETY

Titian’s poesie were painted interpretations of mythological poems written by the Roman poet Ovid. Philip did not select the myths or supply Titian with a schedule or order of sequence. The scenes Titian selected were Danaë (1551–1553; Fig. 1), Venus and Adonis (1553–1554; Fig. 2), Perseus and Andromeda (1554–1556; Fig. 3), Diana and Callisto (1556–1559; Fig. 4), Diana and Actaeon (1556–1559; Fig. 5), and lastly the Rape of Europa (1560–1562; Fig. 6). Although there is a seductive quality to the beautiful goddesses and mortals portrayed, they represent far more than that for their patron Philip II. These works have both a religious quality and biographical association that would have been attractive to Philip II, which explains his eager reception of these works. In 1545 Jorge da Bustamente’s popular Spanish translation El libro de Metamorphoseos y fabulas del excelente poeta y philosofo Ovidio (The Book of Metamorphoses and Fables of the Excellent Poet and Philosopher Ovid) provided the moralized interpretation “into an explication of Catholic doctrine.” This translation for Spanish speakers further established the profound distribution and interpretation of Ovid’s text. As the Catholic religion controlled many aspects of social and political life for citizens, the reconfiguration of the pagan storylines and ideologies were modes of acceptability.

Philip first met Titian in Milan in 1548 but the artist had been a painter for the Habsburgs for more than a generation. The artist created religious paintings, portraits, mythological and allegorical works for Philip. Their second meeting in Augsburg in 1550 was purportedly when Philip requested a cycle of mythological scenes from Titian. It is through the examination of similar myths portrayed in the set of tapestries presented to Philip’s father Charles V that Titian’s
paintings can be viewed and interpreted. Tapestries were signifiers of power and wealth as only prominent members of society such as princes and rulers had the financial ability to purchase such lavish works.239 “A myth is essentially a guide; it tells us what we must do in order to live more richly…There is never a single, orthodox version of a myth.”240 Rather than depicting quite literal scenes of Philip’s life, these scenes of myth represent the concept of moral, philosophical, and religious strength within works of guiding principles. In spreading myths, the stories are invariably altered based on a number of factors including accomplishments or crisis to fit the lifestyle of the viewer. Myths, therefore, form an adaptable history, and can provide other new interpretations.

The inspiration for the poesie as an allegory of governance can be found in the series of nine tapestries Los Honores (The Honors). Originally considered to be the History of Fortune or goddess Fortuna it was presented to Philip’s father Charles V at his imperial election in 1519.241 These tapestries were also used during the christening of Philip II in the Dominican Church of San Pablo of Valladolid in 1527.242 The collection of tapestries within this royal lineage have been linked further back to Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabella of Castile.243 The nine tapestries are Fortuna (Fortune; Fig. 7), Prudentia (Prudence; Fig. 8), Virtus (Virtue; Fig. 9), Fides (Faith; Fig. 10), Honor (Honor; Fig. 11), Fama (Fame; Fig. 12), Justitia (Justice; Fig. 13), Nobilitas (Nobility; Fig. 14), and Infamia (Infamy; Fig. 15). Titian could have been exposed to these works while at the imperial court in Augsburg. The Los Honores set was in the1544 inventory of Charles V’s tapestry collection and also was found in a 1598 inventory of Philip’s tapestry collection.244

Created in the workshop of Flemish artist Pieter Coecke van Aelst with the design attributed to court painter Bernard van Orley, this series of nine tapestries was interpreted as a
depiction that “constitutes an elaborate Mirror of Princes in which pagan, biblical and historical figures personify the virtues the emperor must possess to combat the vices and achieve that just rule on the earth which is the highest honor of kings.” It is with the consideration of this range of tapestries that a similar dynastic infusion of interrelated virtues can be applied to Philip II. The specific tapestry of La Fortuna in the series Los Honores features a number of notable similarities to myths chosen for the poesie. I will highlight all tapestries in the series Los Honores as well as the symbolism or specific traits that the works emphasize as I argue the works are intended to function together similarly to that of the poesie. Los Honores feature some 330 figures, which creates a busy spectacle. To make the connections succinct the descriptions will feature the titular figure and their connection as personifications of religion, values or morals. This introduction functions to show the personifications of ideals.

To clarify, Los Honores functions as a starting place for potential inspiration for the myths that Titian chose. Not every figure from all of the poesie are present in Los Honores except Danaë, Europa, Perseus and Andromeda which can be found in the very first tapestry La Fortuna. Both the poesie and Los Honores can be read as representations of kingship. This connection reinforces the usage of mythological images in a form to teach and to please the eye. The additional areas of consideration that convey meaning in the works come from reinterpretations of Ovide Moralisé and Titian’s handling of color or colorito. Titian’s execution as artist strengthens the allegories and ideals of the works by creating a visual balance between the myth and the meaning. The amalgamation of these factors creates a mirror to the king that grants guidance both spiritually and moralistically, elevating the scenes beyond that of overt sexualization. The sensuality of the images rather speaks to the sublime and sacred nature of the works. In addition, the Latin Vulgate which is the Bible that would have been propagated during
the sixteenth century, displays familiarity with stories of metamorphosis such as the
transfiguration of Christ in which he takes on a glorious and bright countenance (Matthew 17:2;
Mark 9:2; Luke 9:29) and another explaining the change from the terrestrial mortal body to the
celestial or spiritual one (Corinthians 15:40-50).

During the Late Period in which the aging Titian composed these *poesie*, his methods for
handling paint were adjusted to include a more expressive and varied display. Titian manipulated
his paints creating distinct textures by selecting different brushes, additives, and drying oils.247
Titian’s medley of bold strokes and colors created a sort of “chaos.”248 “The insistence upon
confusion and chaos is significant because the formation of beauty from chaos metamorphically
addresses the divine act of creation with the artist imitating God.”249 Titian carefully considered
elements of light and shadow as “light itself evoked direct association with the divine.”250 An
element of Venetian style that Titian transferred in his works for the Spanish King was the
importance of not only the figures but also the landscape. Coming from an understanding of the
importance of landscape within sacred imagery, Titian has implemented the ideal that,
“…landscape was the principal vehicle for accommodating the supernatural within the human
realm.”251 The looseness in which Titian handled the land and sea created visual distinction
between the two. Titian’s approach to the handling of color was to build his colors up from
glazes to areas of thickly applied paint or *impasto* on a light base of white gesso.252 This added to
the works by creating an internal glow or luminosity because of the light base that was applied.
As an artist from Venice, his surroundings created this “[sensitivity] to light and atmosphere and
color.”253 As art historian Marcia B. Hall establishes, “The tools that create sensuous appeal can
also be used to affect the viewers’ religious response.”254 Thus images that are considered
sensuous in nature can have an underlying moralistic or even religious function.
On the tapestry of *Fortuna* (Fig. 7), the personification of Fortune is pictured blindfolded at the very top riding a horse, with her right hand throwing roses, her left casting stones. This action is symbolic of unforeseen pleasantries or unfavorable gifts of Fortune. The inclusion of the crown, sword and scepter closest to the word Honor was indicative of honor being bestowed upon Charles V. The next tapestry is *Prudentia* (Fig. 8) who is personified in the center of the composition sitting on a throne holding a snake biting its tail. The snake biting its tail is a symbol of eternity and this tapestry represents making a new man through divine wisdom and virtue. This is followed by *Virtus* (Fig. 9). The central figure is a man wearing a red robe with a laurel wreath adorning his head. He is actively flogging a bound satyr. Here, Virtue represents a philosopher “the symbol of classical wisdom.” Continuing with *Fides* (Fig. 10), the personification of Faith sits on a throne holding the Mosaic Tables of the Law and a long lit candle in one hand with a model of a church in the other. She also wears a helmet that protects against the assault of heretics. *Honor* (Fig. 11) is the central tapestry. At the very top in the center of the composition is Honor, seated holding an orb and scepter. The figure of Honor symbolizes “the highest reward man could receive in his earthly life.” The next tapestry is *Fama* (Fig. 12). Fame is personified as a woman blowing two trumpets while seated upon a forward-facing elephant. A ruler’s type of fame is attained by both his good deeds as well as evil ones. Ultimately, through just choices one can avoid infamy which was a wholly dishonorable trait. In *Justitia* (Fig. 13), Justice is seated on a throne at the center holding scales and a sword. Justice “is directed at [Charles’s] public function.” It is through this virtue that the king makes decisions as to how he rewards the good and punishes the evil in his public capacity as ruler. *Nobilitas* (Fig. 14) departs from the centralized personification and instead features three depictions of Nobility: *Nobilitas Naturalis*, the form of nobility is based on one’s own character...
and merits; *Nobilitas Theologica*, the nobility of divine origin; and *Nobilitas Civilis*, the nobility that is bestowed by the community. This tapestry signifies the link between kingship and divinity. The last tapestry of this series is *Infamia* (Fig. 15). In this work there is a man seated at a desk and is labeled *AVTHOR* (author) above his head is the following quote as it relates to image and actions or behaviors:

> So, if you are given strength, may perpetual Honour, Fame and renowned Nobility shine brightly, and neither Fortuna tear you with her wheel, nor infamous depravity with her marks: act like an image which teaches by [honorable] order act so that reason commands the five senses, and prudently reflect on Death, Man, and God. How fierce, fragile and severe they are now crushing evil with the pressure of your heels, may you drive out all wickedness far away. Soon, the Virgin Astraea more brilliant than the Evening Star and Virtue amidst her other sisters will come with us to bestow honour on your heart to make you worthy of all kinds of praise and you will partake of your desire. Farewell.

This quote provides key elements in understanding not only *Los Honores*, but also the history of the function of images, and ultimately the *poesie*. The quote urges Charles V to “act like an image which teaches by honorable order…” Images throughout history are used for educational and religious purposes for both the elite and common man. What separates the two are who is allowed to commission, and house said works of art, thus gatekeeping who would be exposed to it. During the time of the Protestant and Counter-Reformations, the associative importance and power of images and its effect on persuading the viewer warranted regulation and even destruction. It is in this that we are reminded that the commission, creation and even viewing of images were not arbitrary. Even if it is suggested that the selection of certain figures or objects were at the bequest of the artist rather than the patron this does not negate the symbolism or definition of them. *Infamia* is the antithesis of *Fama* and *Honor*. The personification of infamy is seen above the center in the procession being bound to a post by Shame and flogged by Embarrassment. In this the king is intended to learn that sin of Infamy leads to dishonor and vilification. All of these tapestries work in unison to create a complete
descriptive moralistic story. On the same subject, Titian’s *poesie* viewed through a religious lens and in comparison, to the implied lessons of the tapestries for the pious ruler Charles V could provide insight into potential uses of Philip’s paintings beyond eroticism.

Titian’s *poesie* all feature female nudes as the prominent figures of the composition. Where this may be surmised as an element simply for the delectation of the male viewer, that notion severely limits the allegorical nature of the works and the intelligence of both artist and patron. As Puttfarken indicates, “opinions differ widely as to whether they are the Renaissance equivalent of pin-ups and pornographic [center]-folds, or highly esoteric and learned allegories.”

That sort of modern conceptual reading of the paintings does very little to explain what the artworks represent for the patron. Titian thought beyond this as the subjects of the *poesie* were not selected by Philip II. The *poesie* has received various interpretations ranging from allusions to prostitution, violent domination and other analyses. Myths are often understood in terms of morality. Titian had an understanding of the interests of the patron and interrelatedness with contemporary redefinitions of works of the time. These works of painted tragedies are representative of areas of interest that directly tie into various fields of education and theology which would have held dynastic and historical importance for the King.

Considering that these works are often deemed erotic for the display of flesh it is at times perplexing to note that each metamorphic poem has been recast into Christian allegories. Written in Old French, this newly delineated interpretation of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* was referred to as the *Ovide Moralisé* (*Moralized Ovid*). It was written during the late thirteenth to early fourteenth century. *Ovide Moralisé* functions in a way in which “metamorphosis is simply the process by which the outer form comes to reflect the inner form.” This new understanding of Ovid was not arbitrary. “It is important to note that this was not intended as a demonstration of
the skill and ingenuity of the interpreter, but as proof that the Christian meanings were an integral part of Ovid’s stories and that a deeper and virtuous meaning was hidden by Ovid’s superficial ornamentations.” It is through this associative religious meaning and also the family’s creation and propulsion of hereditary mythmaking that explains the eager acceptance of such works by the Catholic and prudent King Philip II. Furthermore, Titian has elevated these profane stories into sacred scenes of contemplation while reevaluating the moral significance for the ruler as they potentially reference the Los Honores for Charles V. The following are allegories as related to Ovid’s text that connects them to their new religious meanings.

Moralizations were ways to place the myths in context allegorically and spiritually in this case.

DANAË

Danaë (1551–1553; Fig. 1) is the second version of this subject modeled after the one presented to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1520–1589), where a maidservant replaces the cupid (Fig. 31). As related to Charles V’s tapestries, the figure of Danaë is found on the tapestry La Fortuna in the lower left-hand side seated in a wooden boat holding her infant son Perseus. The narrative as displayed by Titian shows the active process of Danaë being chosen by a god, in this case by Jupiter. Additionally, the way in which Titian has handled his coloring expresses an active restlessness that adds to the tension of this scene. Danaë’s conception of her son Perseus was mentioned quite briefly in Book IV of Ovid’s Metamorphoses as “…Perseus was son of [Jupiter], whom Danaë had conceived of a golden shower.” An expansion of the myth is found in the Genealogy of the Pagan Gods by the Italian writer Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–1375):

Acrisius…received an oracular response that said he would die at the hands of him who was born from his daughter. To avoid this preordained death, he isolated his daughter in a certain tower and ordered her to be guarded so that no man could come near her. But it happened that Jupiter, having heard of the fame of her beauty, desired her and, not seeing
any way to reach her, turned himself into a drop of gold and allowed himself to fall from the roof into her lap, thus making her pregnant.280

In Titian’s depiction Danaë rests on a bed of crumpled sheets with pillows propping her up. She is enveloped in this canopy of deep red curtains that flow down the bed, while her legs are turned towards the golden shower whilst her torso faces the viewer. The nursemaid is darker in complexion which is further exaggerated by the shadow of Jupiter’s cloud. She is on the right of the composition with her apron outstretched collecting falling gold. Even enclosed in a tower, Danaë’s position has not prohibited Titian’s incorporation of the far-reaching landscape. Notably also Ovid has made no mention of the maidservant, but Titian has thought to include her. All the working elements of the image can help construct the moral. The two women in the same composition are meant to be visually opposites. Titian has painted Danaë as soft, smooth, and bright in the radiance of her nude body which sharply contrasts with the clothed nursemaid who is haggard and darker in complexion. Both women have expressions of jubilation but for different reasons. Danaë has been chosen by Jupiter the supreme ruler of gods and mortals.281 The nursemaid is distracted by greed, unaware of all of the other actions happening around her.

The tapestry La Fortuna represents this uncertainty in the occurrences in one’s life equitable to the story of Danaë. The figure of Fortuna on the tapestry as described previously grants niceties or misfortunes indiscriminately. She is a display of the potential unfairness and injustice in life.282 Considering the motif of the tapestry with that of Danaë, both share the themes of unforeseen pleasantries or unfavorable gifts. The sensuality of the image of Danaë as a scene of rape also further creates a symbol of power for the King, with Danaë in a subjugated role. In reference to Fortune in the treatise The Prince (1513) by Florentine philosopher Niccolò Machiavelli, he says:
…fortune being changeful and mankind steadfast in their ways, so long as the two are in agreement men are successful, but unsuccessful when they fall out. For my part I consider that it is better to be adventurous than cautious, because fortune is a woman, and if you wish to keep her under it is necessary to beat and ill-use her; and it is seen that she allows herself to be mastered by the adventurous rather than by those who go to work more coldly. She is, therefore, always, woman-like, a lover of young men, because they are less cautious, more violent, and with more audacity command her.283

In both scenarios with the treatment of Danaë and Fortuna the adventurous young man must establish his dominance in a forceful way in order to achieve success. This is further revealed in Titian’s handling of the colorito and figures. Titian’s painterly method in Danaë created a visual dichotomy of warmness and coolness. The explosion of the clouds breaking apart show a steady stream of golden rain into Danaë’s lap while the coins for the nursemaid are light and sporadic. The dark shadows in which the maid is cloaked under make prominent her omission from divine favor.284 Her skin on Titian’s painted surface is rough and textured with the paint applied in a technique of applying paint thickly or impasto. This method “contributes to the shimmer of the surface, as do his variations of texture in the pigment from thin glaze and scumble to thick impasto.”285 Titian’s technique of painting with this work exemplifies the sacred meaning of the work by creating a divine glow with his handling of the surface. The clouds completed with an expressive brevity, explores the quickness and ease in which Jupiter was able to access Danaë. In reference to this work art historian Marcia B. Hall has deduced, “It is as if the painter, dissatisfied with the closed perfection and self-containment of the classical picture, or even his own highly successful style as represented by Bacchus and Ariadne (Fig. 28) is seeking to introduce a sense of adventure, of openness, into the experiencing of his painting.”286 In Hall’s comparison of Danaë to another work by Titian Bacchus and Ariadne which is based on texts of Roman Poets Catullus (84–54 BCE) and Ovid, Titian was more calculated in his manipulation of colorito. For this work the use of bright and saturated colors
showcase the “irrepressible joy of the scene.” It is through the juxtaposition of such examples as *Bacchus and Ariadne* with *Danaë* that the viewer will see the difference the execution makes in telling the story, creating suppleness of flesh and variety of action. The same adventurous action Hall is describing denotes the behavior in which Machiavelli describes as necessary to master or overcome fortune, reiterated through strokes of thick impasto and the rough, textured scumbling appearing through the weave of the canvas.

The sense of faith that is suggested here is that the pious ruler maintain a grounding of devotion in spite of distractions as exemplified by this painting of golden coins. Danaë who is of an increased moral standing through her behavior of not being visibly swayed by the abundance of money falling the opposite of which is true of the nursemaid who represents avarice. “The gathering and hoarding of gold became the associated visual for this sin (Fig. 32).” In a broader context, avarice can also be understood as the excessive desire for things such as power and prestige. The severity of the sin of hoarding money leading to damnation can be found in the passage of (Luke 16:19-31), in which man must choose between his love of God or money.

The potential religious functions point to Danaë’s connection with the Virgin Mary in which both were impregnated by a god “in a bodiless form,” the allusion of which references the virginal conception. This is combined with the unforeseen pleasantry of the descent of the Holy Spirit and the unfavorable gifts of the golden rain under the guise of copulation. As outlined by the religious interpretation of the story:

This girl can figure the glorious Virgin who was guarded in the box of faith. There she was made pregnant by [Jupiter]—that is the Holy Spirit; and when a Golden rain—that is the son of God—descended into the bosom of her virginal womb she conceived Perseus that is Christ, God and man. Psalm 71:6. He shall come down like rain upon the fleece; and as showers falling gently upon the earth.
The two figures are visually separated by light and darkness or moral and immoral behavior. The separation is reminiscent of judgment scenes in which the division of the saved and damned is delineated by the presence of a god (Fig. 33). In this scene it would be Jupiter as the central figure in the clouds, and at his right the morally favored and spiritually exalted Danaë with bright skin free of any blemish and to his left the darker, greedy and inattentive nursemaid. It is through this premise that Titian’s Danaë reiterates the sanctification of Danaë and the sinfulness of the nursemaid’s avarice for the King to examine. Danaë was painted in a way not unfamiliar to Titian considering paintings such as Penitent Magdalene (Fig. 19) and Assumption of the Virgin (Fig. 34) by including the upward glance, bright glimmer of the eyes, with her lips partly agape that alludes to not only her glory, but also the holy interaction and acceptance of her fate.

VENUS AND ADONIS

In the written description in Metamorphoses, Book X begins with the warning from Venus, “These beasts, and with them all other savage things which turn not their backs in flight, but offer their breasts to battle, do you, for my sake, dear boy, avoid, lest your manly courage be the ruin of us both. Thus, the goddess warned and through the air, drawn by her swans, she took her way; but the boy’s manly courage would not brook advice.” The painting completed by Titian does show this acknowledgment between the two: ignorance of forewarning and failure to heed advice. The myth continues in Ovid’s words, “…the fierce boar with his curved snout rooted out the spear wet with blood, and pursued [Adonis], now full of fear and running for his life; deep in the groin he sank his long tusks, and stretched the dying boy upon the yellow
sand.” This concludes with his death upon the yellow sand in which Venus changed that of his spilled blood and nectar into the short-lived flower Anemone.

In Titian’s portrayal of *Venus and Adonis* (1553–1554; Fig. 2), Venus is latched with both arms wound tightly onto Adonis in an attempt to persuade him to not go on his hunting trip, specifically warning Adonis of the hazards of pursuing dangerous game. Cupid representing love off guard is fast asleep under a tree with his bow and quivers hanging from a tree. Adonis is holding a hunting spear with three hunting dogs being led by a leash. The top right of the painting shows Venus as the morning star atop a cloud in a chariot emerging from the golden sky. The beam of sunlight strikes the fateful spot in which Adonis will perish. Titian has taken liberties with his depiction of the scene by creating a story in which Adonis is seen breaking away from Venus, which contradicts the description in Ovid’s myth where Venus is the one who departs from him after delivering her warning. This work shows Titian’s handling of the bright colors, which belies the devastating loss that will befall Adonis. Titian’s decision to display the supple flesh of both figures were for the purposes of visually creating contrast between the brightness, softness and fragility of flesh to the strength and heaviness of the darker surrounding elements of textured rolling hills and trees.

Adonis’s behavior is impatient as he pulls away with his dogs still intent upon going on his hunt. The moral here is a warning against arrogance and vanity that leads to a feeling of self-reliance as a ruler. Adonis pulling away from Venus is a display of not honoring your duty as ruler by not actively seeking counsel. This work is an avoidance of vainglory as the handsome and skilled hunter did not listen and perished due to his own folly and hubris of skill. As displayed through this story by not seeking and efficiently following counsel it very well can lead to destruction or demise. Titian has painted Adonis with his head turned facing Venus, but
in this motion, he is also distracted with transfixed blankness of expression away from the future scene of his death.

The Christian frame of reference for this text as outlined in the *Moralized Ovid* reads:

A man should not wage war against or insult ferocious lions and boars—that is the powerful men and tyrants of the world—but rather against deer and rabbits—that is the fearful and poor. Those who rise against the powerful men of the world are sometimes killed and oppressed by them. They are said to be transformed into flowers because like a flower they fall and sink down. The result is that they become the cause of weeping and sighing for others. Psalm 79:14: “The boar out of the wood has laid it waste.”

This is alluding to the fierceness of men and can be read as encouraging the ruler to consider battle carefully. If it is advisable to avoid then do so.

PERSEUS AND ANDROMEDA

In *Perseus and Andromeda* (1554–1556; Fig. 3), Andromeda daughter of King Cepheus and Queen Cassiopeia served as a lure for the monster as her mother offended sea nymphs claiming that she was more beautiful in comparison. Unknowingly, she subjected her daughter to such severe punishment. The painting follows Book IV of *Metamorphoses* “…when suddenly the youth, springing up from the earth, mounted high into the clouds. When the monster saw the hero’s shadow on the surface of the sea, he savagely attacked the shadow…Perseus, plunging headlong…through the empty air, [attacking] the roaring monster from above.” Titian has shown Perseus wearing winged helmet and shoes flying through the air at a strong diagonal to combat the sea monster that threatens to kill Andromeda, who has been chained to the underside of a cliff.

Italian writer Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–1375) morally interprets the story, specifically looking to that of Perseus as an exemplar of, how the “prudent conquer vice and accede virtue…by spurning earthly delights the pious mind ascends to the heavens.” As described in
Ovid’s writing and displayed in the painting, Perseus has but briefly looked beyond the fleshy temptation of the fair maiden to his heroic duty to vanquish the monstrous creature, “Smitten by the sight of her exquisite beauty, he almost forgot to move his wings in the air.” Perseus continues, “…I shall try to add to these great gifts the gift of service, too, if only the gods will favor me.”

Andromeda’s soft nude flesh follows the natural curve of the cliff in which she is bound. Titian’s employment of a dark backdrop makes more prominent Andromeda’s bright unarmored body further illuminating her vulnerability. Titian’s modulation of his brush strokes created a stark parallel between that of the surrounding elements and figures. The jaggedness of sea, monstrous creature, the rocky landscape and the fluctuation of the dark rolling cloud mass in the sky express the violence of the scene. Comparing this work to what is found in the Los Honores tapestries, at the bottom left Perseus is standing behind Andromeda holding a sickle-like object in his right hand. Her fortunate rescue explains the inclusion on the tapestry Fortuna (Fig. 7).

The work also has its religious interpretation through the Moralized Ovid as follows:

At last from the air in which he flew—that is from the height of paradise—he saw the noble girl Andromeda—that is the human soul which was heir of the heavenly kingdom—who was condemned to be given over to a sea monster—that is the devil—and be devoured because of the sin of her mother who wanted to compare herself to goddesses for, at the devil’s urging, she desired divinity.

Another religious connection within this work points to a prominent figure of Christianity in Venice. The figure of Perseus flying through the air is comparable to the depiction of Saint Mark in Miracle of the Slave (1548; Fig. 35) by Venetian painter Jacopo Robusti (commonly referred to as Tintoretto; ca. 1518–1594). The similarity between the two highlights heroism and willingness of self-sacrifice. Perseus is described by Venetian author Lodovico Dolce as “the valorous man who chooses prudence and [is] accompanied by wisdom [that] overcomes all
difficulties.” This moralizing description further creates an image that encourages prudence, wisdom, and valor for the King. This was a necessary image to remind the ruler to strive for a noble and heroic image. Judging by writings of the time specifically that of Bartolomé De Las Casas titled Brevísima Relación de la Destrucció de las Indias (Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies, 1542) which was dedicated to Philip II, the Spanish Empire was hyper violent and morally corrupt. Viewing Perseus and Andromeda morally and religiously can make the King aware of the more desirable traits of kingship to replace those of wickedness or corruption.

DIANA AND CALLISTO

Titian’s painting captures the moment when Diana’s nymphs are disrobing Callisto, exposing her pregnancy to the group. In Diana and Callisto (1556–1559; Fig. 4) there is this theme of exposing hidden truths. Ovid’s telling of the narrative in Book II tells of Jupiter transforming himself into Diana with the intention of gaining the trust of Callisto. Once any potential defenses were down, he took advantage of Callisto, impregnating her. Diana took notice of Callisto’s mistake and demanded the nymphs to expose her indiscretion. Diana then banishes Callisto to roam the forest. Enraged, Hera the wife of Jupiter transformed Callisto into a bear as punishment for her husband’s misdeeds. In an effort to save Callisto, Jupiter cast her and her son into the night sky as constellations Ursa Major and Ursa Minor. Callisto’s transformation into a celestial being creates the associations with a body that exists within the heavens.

In the painting, Diana’s pointing is indicative of “trials or acts of judgment.” Justice is a royal virtue and it was the complex role in which Philip was expected to execute. This role can be read on the decorative cartouche held by two winged angels on his father’s Justice tapestry “Justis remuneror, protego bonos, castigo nocentes,” which translates “I reward the just, I
protect the good, I chastise those who do evil.”

This is a similar behavior displayed in Callisto’s public humiliation at the hand of Diana despite the deceitful interaction that caused the transgression. Diana’s anger with Callisto was based on deceit that was brought about by Jupiter. Titian’s bold, striking colors work in stark contrast to the soft, smooth and sensuous flesh of Diana and her nymphs. His usage of the colors yellow earth (yellow-brown) intermixed with verdigris (bluish-green) that creates the foliage and land make more pronounced the smooth pale brightness of the bare flesh. Encouraged in this work is the importance of maintaining alliances whilst avoiding judgment and poor decision making based in anger.

This theme is evocative of the Old Testament transgressions of the Elders that accused Susanna of adultery. Her story did not end as perilously as with Callisto, but the rush to judgment was all the same and seeking protection from those that should know your behavior. The biblical description that follows the story of Susanna (Daniel 13:31-35) and also describes that which can be seen in Titian’s depiction reads, “Now Susanna was exceeding delicate, and beautiful to behold. But those wicked men commanded that her face should be uncovered, for she was covered that so at least they might be satisfied with her beauty…And she weeping, looked up to heaven, for her heart had confidence in the Lord.”

Titian’s awareness of desire from heavenly sources is made more apparent through the upward glances of a number of these titular figures in works such as Titian’s 1555–1556 version of Penitent Magdalene (Fig. 36). In this religious connection is the reading from the Moralized Ovid:

So Jupiter—that is the blessed son of God—from the beginning of the world greatly loved the beautiful girl Callisto—that is the human soul—and to gain her for himself and wed her through faith and charity he took on the clothing and appearance of a woman—that is human flesh and shape; for “He was made in the likeness of man and in habit found as a man,” as is said in [Philippians] 2:7. Thus he redeemed this girl from the grove beset with evils—that is from hell—and joined her to himself. And at last he is returned to heaven he had come from, saying the words of Matthew 12:44: “I will return to my house from where I came.”
This moralization has the son of God coming to Callisto through acts of faith and charity in efforts to save her from evil so that she may join him in heaven. For a pious ruler even in times of distress it is imperative to maintain faith ultimately having the goal of redemption and ascension of his soul.

DIANA AND ACTAEON

The story of *Diana and Actaeon* (1556–1559; Fig. 5) plays out through two works, this painting and *Death of Actaeon* (1559–1575; Fig. 38). In Book III of *Metamorphoses*, whilst out hunting Actaeon “[came] wandering through the woods with unsure footsteps, and enters Diana’s grove; for so fate would have it.”

Diana who is indicated by her attribute, the crescent moon, bathes with her nymphs and maidservant in what they believe to be a secluded grotto. Diana, enraged that a mortal has seen her nude, dashes water on Actaeon beginning his transformation into a stag, cursing him to “go and speak, if you can.” With each step he takes all of Actaeon’s features change except his mind, as he desperately tries to speak the words to his blood thirsty pack of hounds, “I am Actaeon! Recognize your master!” but this is to no avail. Actaeon is ripped and mangled by the very dogs he has led through the woods many times before. Art historian Marcia B. Hall describes Diana as “heroically active, masculine even in her vehemence.” What is being referenced here is her powerful duality with Actaeon as both are hunters, but it also shows Diana as completely capable of defending herself. It is this strength, that is juxtaposed against the weakness of man. “By the Renaissance period the allegorical stag hunt was well established as a metaphor of mankind, which on its journey through life, is pursued by its own moral weakness.” Titian has positioned all of the nude figures against
textured and silky items of the grotto to emphasize their exposure, both through their bare flesh and the unveiling of the secluded area behind the red draped curtain.

Titian took liberties once again by conflating the story of Actaeon’s transgression of accidental voyeurism in the grotto by creating separation between the two figures and alluding to his transformation by the inclusion of a stag’s skull and skinned furs within close proximity of Diana.314 Staying on this display of the stag’s skull a little longer, it is reminiscent of Philip’s collection of bones, skulls, and other relics of his collection at El Escorial. This skull in the painting is carefully positioned on a pedestal directly facing the viewer, not haphazardly sprawled on the ground. This positioning creates prominence as a shrine, as something Diana can gaze upon. This reinforces the importance of sight and the senses in devotion. Moreover, a detail of the background (Fig. 37) between Diana and a nymph hiding behind a pillar, shows Diana chasing after a stag which is a precursor for another painting by Titian The Death of Actaeon. The Death of Actaeon shows Diana in full pursuit with lowly Actaeon now half transformed into a stag being dragged to the ground by hunting dogs. Although this painting was not completed thus never delivered to Philip II, it is worth mentioning as it was intended as a pendant to the Rape of Europa as indicated in 19 June 1559 letter to Philip.315 The inclusion of a work with symbolism to stags or harts is important in religious writing and imagery. The allusion to the stag stems from (Psalm 41:1-2) “Unto the end, understanding for the sons of Core. As the hart panteth after the fountains of water; so my soul panteth after thee, O God.” The stag is thirsting and actively seeking water in this allegorical way it is the soul seeking a spring or source of salvation. “The passages were read during the rite of baptism,” this is relevant as a parallel of how Actaeon was transformed by Diana.316 Ovid describes Diana’s action, “…she had [taken] up, the water, and flung it into the young man’s face. And as she poured the avenging drops upon
his hair…on the head which she had sprinkled she had caused to grow the horns of the long-lived stag…” 317 This sort of interaction with water is reminiscent of baptismal aspersion (Fig. 39).

Diana also shares iconographic similarities with the Virgin Mary. The symbol of the crescent moon is prevalent in images of both figures. Diana’s crescent moon attribute can be seen in the center of her headdress. This same attribute can be seen at the feet of the Virgin Mary in several portraits depicting her separately and holding the Christ Child (Fig. 40). This is based on the description of the Woman of the Apocalypse in the Book of Revelation (Chapter 12: 1), “And a great sign appeared in heaven: A woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and on her head a crown of twelve stars.” Theologians had long associated this woman with the Virgin, and the woman’s attributes transferred to images of the Virgin typically signified Mary’s Immaculate Conception. In both cases the inclusion of the crescent moon symbolizes chastity. Continuing the religious interpretation of Diana and Actaeon, The Moralized Ovid reads:

When he saw her nude, that is bright and not obscured by sins and tenderly joined himself to her he was changed because of her into a stag, that is into a man. She changed him because in his Incarnation she furnished the material when in the words of John 1:14, “the word was made flesh and dwelt among us.” But when he had been changed he was not known by his dogs…nor by his companions…The goddess of the forest—that is Fortune who rules the forest of this world sometimes changes them into stags that is into poor beggars and their companions and dogs, that is their own friends and servants who at first followed them, [now] scorn to know them. 318

A king of Philip’s stature was an active leader of many nations. This painting coupled with the Moralized Ovid can be a simple reminder to make appropriate choices for the protection of yourself as leader and your followers. It also warns to not allow change to affect your relationship with your companions. Actaeon became unrecognizable and his followers, the hounds in this case, turned on him. Titian’s handling of the oil medium is “emphatic” expressing the “dark anger of Diana.” 319 Diana’s response was vicious but interpreted in her purview as
protective and necessary for herself and those around her that she has relegated a responsibility to protect.

RAPE OF EUROPA

The final work of Titian’s *poesie* was the *Rape of Europa* (1560–1562; Fig. 6). The figure of Europa can be found on the left of the *La Fortuna* tapestry of *Los Honores* (Fig. 7) seated on the back of a red bull. The story of the myth begins with a request from Jupiter for his son Mercury to drive the king’s cattle from the mountain to a specific spot on the seashore. Jupiter did not alert Mercury of his plans, but the purpose of this was to be able to disguise himself as a bull amongst the herd “in the spot where [Europa] was accustomed to play in company with her Tyrian maidens.”320 Described as being, “beautiful to behold” and having “color as white as untrodden snow,” the bull captivated the young maiden.321 The depiction follows the end of Book II in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* capturing the plight of the Phoenician princess Europa. It reads,

…when her fear has little by little been allayed, he yields his breast for her maiden hands to pat and his horns to entwine with garlands of fresh flowers. The princess even dares to sit upon his back, little knowing upon whom she rests. The god little by little edges away from the dry land and sets his borrowed hoofs in the shallow water; then he goes further out and soon is in full flight with his prize on the open. She trembles with fear and looks back at the receding shore, holding fast a horn with one hand and resting the other on the creature’s back. And her fluttering garments stream behind her in the wind.322

Titian’s painting shows Europa abruptly pulled in a strong diagonal nearly out of the frame while on the back of the bull at the right of the composition. Europa is holding a red cloth in her right hand and the bull’s horn in her left. Titian has painted Europa in a sheer dress that is twisted as she turns exposing one breast while falling modestly between her legs. She looks up to her right in desperation at two *putti* holding bows and arrows that are flying in an attempt to
make contact with her. One of the putti is giving chase on the back of a dolphin in a similarly twisted position as Europa. Back at the mountainous shore Europa’s companions are visibly distressed, helplessly calling out to her. The maidens are described as being “thinly painted as to be almost transparent.” This not only implies an atmospheric distance between the figures in the background and the foreground, but it also emphasizes Titian’s desire to not detract from natural elements of the work. Maintaining this focus on continuity, the landscape appears just as essential as the figures where the color harmonies between them effortlessly meld into one another. “Coloristically [Europa] is fused with her setting.” With Titian’s fusion of the figural elements of the scene, her wet off-white dress, crumpled and twisted, matches the rippling hide of the bull. The fusion increases the frantic state of the figure coupled with the “careful unfinish of [Titian’s] brushstroke.” This spontaneity in areas of the painting such as the thrashing of the waters, handling of mountainous landmass that loses itself in the formation of the sky which echoes the quick and unexpected taking of the figure. Her sensuality is made more pronounced in the hinting of her impending violation through the exposure of her breast and her navel visible beneath the transparency of her white garment. Europa has been painted in a way in which she looks upwards towards the winged putti not the shore, which is not mentioned in the poem. The shadow crossing her face was a sign of tragedy, similarly this motif was used in his works Danaë (1551–1553; Fig. 1) and Diana and Callisto (1556–1559; Fig. 4).

The taking of Europa shows her “transient life [being] relinquished in favor of the eternal.” Titian’s handling of the figures is symbolic of this impermanence, as the figures on the shore where Europa once was are thinly transparent suggesting transience. Compared to the transparent figures on the shore, Europa is painted with a more “tactile rendering,” expressing a sense of permeance. Europa rides a white bull that is bestowed a crown of flowers which is an
attribute of honor. The moral implication of this work is to hold steadfast in your faith. Even in the face of uncertainty, as aforementioned Europa is gazing upward. Titian’s inclusion of the putti creates an intermediary that was not mentioned in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*. This is an indication that she was looking heaven bound for aid, which ties into the moralized version of this story:

This girl signifies the soul, the spiritual daughter of God the king. Jupiter the supreme god signifies the Son of God who changed himself into a beautiful bull—that is corporeal, mortal man by assuming human flesh and coming personally to the world—in order to have this virgin—that is the rational soul—he loved. This bull was beautiful, without stain and wrinkle. He was white because of chastity and mild because of kindness to others. He ate grass because of austerity of penance. The girl—that is the soul—should touch him because of charity, mount him as a firm foundation because of faith, and grasp him without moving out of perseverance. Thus, she will be carried by him because of the austerity of her penance and will enjoy his comfort.

It is through this moralized reading that explains the potential visual representation of Jesus claiming a soul. It alludes to the spiritual transformation that is required to ascend following (John 3:5) “Jesus answered: Amen, amen, I say to thee, unless a man be born again of water and the Holy Ghost, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.” This reiterates to the King that to enjoy the comforts of salvation one must lean on faith; that is use faith as the foundation for acceptance of his soul through repentance, confession, or action.

**USING THE POESIE FOR CONTEMPLATION**

Collectively each single poesia creates a space in which namely Philip is forced to contemplate and “read” the scene much like he would with the tapestries or other scenes that may incorporate a mythological figure or a nude woman. Noticeably the figures in the paintings do not directly interact with the viewer. Through this, Titian has created attractive subjects that the patron can contemplate instead the action and symbolic meaning.
The painter’s personal vision of the particular women he is painting is so strong that he makes no allowance for the spectator. The spectator can witness their relationship—but he can do no more: he is forced to recognize himself as the outsider he is. He cannot deceive himself into believing that she is naked for him. He cannot turn her into a nude. The way the painter has painted her includes her will and her intentions in the very structure of the image, in the very expression of her body and her face. This interpretation creates a relationship and a sense of value between painter and the subject that has been depicted. It showcases the deliberate consideration of the artist to what the goddesses and mortals represent. This takes less into consideration the nudity of the female for the sake of eroticism, granting more of an ability to expressly hold power. This power is in becoming the vessel in which stories of nobility and morality can be applied which also holds value for the artist and patron.

A certain moral value was ascribed to the study of the classics. They supplied the higher strata of the ruling class with a system of references for the forms of their own idealized behavior. As well as poetry, logic and philosophy, the classics offered a system of etiquette. They offered examples of how the heightened moments of life—to be found in heroic action, the dignified exercise of power, passion, courageous death, the noble pursuit of pleasure—should be lived, or, at least, should be seen to be lived…The idealized appearances he found in the painting were an aid, a support, to his own view of himself. In those appearances he found the guise of his own nobility.

The Habsburgs through commissions such as these continue a tradition of utilizing myth in order to perpetuate areas of religious and moral strength throughout their lineage. Titian, using his knowledge of his patrons understood their conflation of gods with their own image of kingship. This idea that the paintings can be viewed similarly to the Los Honores tapestries and to the religious texts Ovide moralisé (Moralized Ovid) is completely appropriate. The poesie function as reflections of vices and virtues, “as long as the young prince practices the cardinal virtues, he can receive Fame, Nobility and Honor.”
CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

Mythology should not be limited to simply being a display of the power and grandeur of gods and goddesses and the vengeful acts that have befallen mortals. Additionally, the inclusion of nude goddesses and mortals does not make a scene solely erotic. Though the paintings are not explicitly delineated for such readings they can be effectively presented as such and scenes of myth can function in a way to explain origins and can be reflective of a ruler and his lineage. The theocratic ideology of the family was prevalent in both areas of government and artistic patronage. By utilizing mythology, one is able to create a more robust and layered history, whether the subject matter was selected by the patron or not. With the Habsburgs there was a great deal of care utilized in creating a definitive display of governance that included exemplars of figures that related in a trifecta of interconnectedness. This trifecta connected mythology, biblical allusions, and history.

There are concepts of emotive and erotic semblances between the sensual and spiritual. This indicates that because an image is deemed erotic this does not prohibit it from having sacred qualities. In this, pleasure is derived from God granting the believer spiritual ecstasy. The mortals and goddesses in which the poesie are centered are powerful, vengeful, but yet portrayed in a way that exudes grace and elegance. Titian exercised inventiveness in his creation of his poesie for Philip II. His extraordinary late style of painting by using thick applications of paint to create texture in dress and landscape, effectively contrasts with the glazed, smooth fleshiness of the figures, thus forming six dynamic works that challenges the function of the paintings.
In order for the viewer to find the relatedness between the *poesie* and Philip, they must understand the great lengths in which the Habsburg dynasty valued the inclusion of myths in their own personal narratives. Theocratic governance was a key element in the powerful rule of the Habsburg dynasty. Philip’s own devotion to his Catholic faith was apparent throughout his rule and manifested in the construction of El Escorial. It was through his collection of objects that he deemed effective over his physical self in which we may glean how the king delineates a new or unexpected function to objects, namely these paintings.

The duality of the potential reading of the *poesie* paintings is present in the familial usage of mythmaking within the Habsburg Dynasty. Further continuing this point of connection with commissioned works and the life of the patron Charles V’s “tapestries marked the imperial rule, and their magnificence was a reflection of his power and position. This is clearly indicated by the fact that after his abdication in 1555 most of his tapestries went to his son Philip II and no longer played a part in his life.” Commissioned works function in a greater capacity than to beautify a space or to serve as a magnum opus that promotes the artist’s technical skill. This idea that the function can be further replicated from ruler to ruler by transference by featuring similar motifs and figures is intriguing.

Titian was considerate of his patrons needs and desires and understood how to best reflect that in his commissioned works. The artist used his skillful handling of soft flesh to create a sense of realism to the figures that support the message of the works. The nudity and transparency of dress of the women does not have to emphasize eroticism or sensuality. Even with that said, the incorporation of sensual elements in imagery that also can be viewed as religious does not devalue the imagery. Ultimately, with stories of rape and other violent behaviors the disheveling of clothes should not be viewed as a means to sexualize the women,
but rather necessary to address the cruelty of their plight. It is through this battle of improper actions through the tales of these mythological figures that display moralistic themes for the King. Considering the profound spread of moralized translations of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, it is a rather curious aspect that the paintings are deemed by some scholars as incapable of possessing such a religious and allegorical function. Art historian Tom Nichols argued, “noticing technical, formal and thematic overlaps does not entail a reading of the *poesie* as Christian allegories, intended for the edification of the young Philip in the manner of an *Ovide moralisé*…” This thesis argued that it is through that very connection that provides the duality of the imagery, to quote art historian, Simona Cohen:

…it is essential to recognize that even towards the end of the Cinquecento (sixteenth century) the Ovidian fables were still perceived as veiled moral allegories… commentators of the *Metamorphoses* shared the same assumptions— that the fables are exempla of virtues and vices and are veils for moral truths. This was consistently emphasized by authors from [Pierre] Bersuire (1290–1362) in the mid fourteenth century till [Giovanni Andrea] dell’Anguillara (1517–1570) more than 200 years later…such moral sermons should not be excluded as a possible source of inspiration for Titian’s interpretations of the same themes. When Titian called his mythological paintings *poesie*, he was defining their nature in traditional terms. Poetry was traditionally defined as ethics, and ethics was classified as a branch of philosophy.

The authors mentioned above celebrated reinterpreting meanings. The methods of inspiration for such works broaden the meanings of the paintings. In broadening the meaning, it does not soften or even negate the sensual aspects of these paintings. Combining the erotic with the moralistic and pious is not a new concept for Titian. Considering Philip’s dedication to the Catholic religion and that he did not explicitly communicate to Titian what to paint for this series of works, it is appropriate to deduce that Titian took a number of personal affects into account when creating these paintings. Titian’s style of painting was inspired by his environment in Venice, a city surrounded by water, which instilled Titian with a “sensitivity to light, atmosphere, and color.” This sensitivity was used to help evoke emotions in the viewer. The
importance of evoking emotions creates the connection with the senses which directly appeals to a religious response. Titian’s *poesie* are displays of the intelligence of both patron and artist. Titian understood his client and his own Venetian art style which helped further strengthen the sensuality of the works by exploring the telling of the story through the execution of the work. These works are powerful as they vie for the King’s attention as exemplars of contemplation and admiration.
ENDNOTES


4 Puttfarken, *Titian & Tragic Painting*, 142.

5 Puttfarken, *Titian & Tragic Painting*, 139.


8 Tanner, *The Last Descendant of Aeneas*, 223.


12 Ferraro, *Venice*, 53.

13 Ferraro, *Venice*, 112.


32 Jill Dunkerton et al., *Dürer to Veronese: Sixteenth-Century Painting in the National Gallery* (New Haven, CT: Yale University, 1999), 243.

33 Dunkerton et al., *Dürer to Veronese*, 243.


Hale, *Titian*, 5.


Roskill, *Dolce’s “Aretino,”* 186.


Roskill, *Dolce’s “Aretino,”* 187.


Falomir Faus, “Italian Renaissance Painting,” 2.


Roskill, *Dolce’s “Aretino,”* 185.

Roskill, *Dolce’s “Aretino,”* 85.


Marco Boschini, *La Carta del navegar pitoresco dialogo* (Venice: Per li Baba, 1660), 54.


Reston, *Luther's Fortress*, 9; Constantine the Great created an environment in which his eventual conversion to Christianity affected his policy creation, rule and overall lifestyle. He elevated Christianity as the superior religion in Roman society. See Charles Odahl, *Constantine and the Christian Empire* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 136; Odahl explains Constantine’s reign and various actions in support of Christian expansion. Similar to that idea of Philip II being Defender of the Faith, Constantine carried a “feeling that he was a recipient of divine benevolence from the Christian Deity, and the fear that he could lose divine favor by failing to protect the Catholic Church would be essential elements of religious thinking and imperial policies.”


Mullett, *Martin Luther*, 106; and Muraoka, “Il fine della pittura,” 2.

Muraoka, “Il fine della pittura,” 2.

Muraoka, “Il fine della pittura,” 2.

Mullett, *Martin Luther*, 126-27.

Mullett, *Martin Luther*, 126.


Mullett, *Martin Luther*, 168.

Mullett, *Martin Luther*, 168.

92 Dunkerton et al., *Dürer to Veronese*, 26.

93 Dunkerton et al., *Dürer to Veronese*, 27.


106 *Canons and Decrees*, 216.

107 *Canons and Decrees*, 216-217.


111 Rawlings, *Church*, 153.


121 *Canons and Decrees*, 216.


124 O’Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain*, 37. See also Peter Heather, *The Goths* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 1996), 1, where he explains, “The Roman Empire in western Europe…had run Britain, France, Spain, Italy, together with parts of Hungary, Switzerland, Belgium and Germany as a single state for 400 years.”


137 Rady, *The Habsburg Empire*, 2.


Rady, *The Habsburg Empire*, 29. Charles V was then crowned in Bologna in 1530 by Pope Clement VII.


Reston, *Luther’s Fortress*, 31-35.


Reston, *Luther’s Fortress*, 36.


Ridolfi, *The Life of Titian*, 82.

Ridolfi, *The Life of Titian*, 82.

Ridolfi, *The Life of Titian*, 82.

Hope, “Titian as a Court Painter,” 9.

Ridolfi, The Life of Titian, 96.

Hope, “Titian as a Court Painter,” 10.


Rady, The Habsburg Empire, 31.

See Hugh Thomas, World Without End: Spain, Philip II, and the First Global Empire (New York: Random House, 2015), 17. Philip spent fourteen months in England, fifteen months in Germany, two years and four months in Portugal, five years in the Netherlands and long periods in Italy and France.


Tanner, Sublime Truth and the Senses, 92.


Parker, Imprudent King, 62.

Tanner, Sublime Truth and the Senses, 15.

Tanner, The Last Descendant of Aeneas, 139.

Parker, Imprudent King, 30.

Parker, Imprudent King, 156.

Kamen, Spain, 1469-1714, 108.


Kathleen Wellman, Queens and Mistresses of Renaissance France (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 213. The peace settlement of Cateau-Cambrésis was the treaty that created peace between three dynasties which were the Habsburgs of Spain, the Valois of France, and the Tudors of England. See John Watkins, “Marriage à la Mode, 1559: Elisabeth de Valois, Elizabeth I, and the Changing Practice of Dynastic Marriage,” in Carole Levin and Robert Bucholz eds., Queens and Power in Medieval and Early Modern England (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 76.

Williams, Philip II, 51.

Williams, Philip II, 51.
186 Kamen, *Spain, 1469-1714*, 110.
196 Williams, *Philip II*, 56.
198 Tanner, *The Last Descendant of Aeneas*, 162.
200 Tanner, *The Last Descendant of Aeneas*, 162.
204 Rady, *The Habsburg Empire*, 37.
205 Lazure, “Possessing the Sacred,” 59.
206 Lazure, “Possessing the Sacred,” 59.
210 Tanner, *The Last Descendant of Aeneas*, 98.
211 Tanner, *The Last Descendant of Aeneas*, 103.


218 Baxandall, *Giotto and The Orators*, 104.

219 Aristotelian writing emphasizes painting having a similarity to poetry through its imitation of human nature as it ought to be not necessarily how they are. See also Lee, “Ut Pictura Poesis,” 203.


221 Volk, *Ovid*, 52.

222 Volk, *Ovid*, 52.


225 Volk, *Ovid*, 57.


238 Tanner, “The *Poesie* for Philip II,” 2. Tanner also establishes here that the correspondence between the two started after their meeting in Augsburg.


244 Buchanan, *Habsburg Tapestries*, 113.


246 Buchanan, *Habsburg Tapestries*, 111.


252 Dunkerton et al., “Titian’s Painting Technique,” 8.


258 Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art*, 295.

259 Buchanan, *Habsburg Tapestries*, 118.

261 Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art*, 122.


268 Buchanan, *Habsburg Tapestries*, 121.


273 Puttfarken, *Titian & Tragic Painting*, 139.


277 Puttfarken, *Titian & Tragic Painting*, 140.

278 After 2013 conservation efforts by the Museo Nacional del Prado for *Danaë* of the Wellington Collection, research indicates that this is in fact the painting by Titian’s hand and that Philip II bought this work directly from the artist. Previous scholarship has indicated that the version in the Museo Nacional del Prado was the work purchased by Philip, but this is not so. For additional information see “Danaë and the Shower of Gold,” Museo Nacional del Prado, updated March 6, 2020, https://www.museodelprado.es/en/the-collection/art-work/danae-receiving-the-golden-rain/0da1e69e-4d1d-4f25-b41a-bac3c0eb6a3c?searchMeta=danae; and Harold E. Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian: Complete Edition: III The Mythological and Historical Paintings* (London: Phaidon, 1975), 132. According to Wethey, there is a common “erroneous history that has been accepted as fact,” stating Ottavio Farnese as patron rather than Cardinal Alessandro Farnese of the *Capodimonte Danaë* (1544–1546).


281 Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art*, 188.


Hall, *Color and Meaning*, 228.

Hall, *Color and Meaning*, 229.

Hall, *Color and Meaning*, 223.


Nash, *Veiled Images*, 27.


Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, vol. 1, bk. 4, 229.


Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, vol. 1, bk. 4, 229.

Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, vol. 1, bk. 4, 229.


Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, vol. 1, bk. 3, 137.


Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, vol. 1, bk. 3, 139.


Tanner, “The *Poesie* for Philip II,” 61.

Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian*, 137. Wethey considers the potential reasons for omission as the *Death of Actaeon*, “does not form a suitable companion piece in theme or in composition to the gay and spirited *Rape of Europa*” in the same vein the subject is rather “gruesome.” Dunkerton et al., “Titian’s Painting Technique,” 110. “The lack of definition in the figure of Actaeon is one of the reasons put forward for the argument that titian left *The Death of Actaeon* unfinished. Another is the apparent absence of the strong local colour still present in those paintings from Titian’s last years…”


Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, vol. 1, bk. 3, 137-139.


Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, vol. 1, bk. 2, 121.

Hall, *Color and Meaning*, 205.

Hall, *Color and Meaning*, 206.


Rosand, “Titian’s Light as Form and Symbol,” 59.


Hall, *Color and Meaning*, 205.


See Tanner, Sublime Truth and the Senses, 74. “Apollonian imagery figured in the monuments created during Philip’s life and at Philip’s death, and in that of his heirs.” Philip aligned himself with Apollo, so this would not be a far-fetched notion that he could glean applicable moral, righteous and virtuous behaviors from mythological works of art.

Delmarcel, Los Honores, 18.

A prominent example of this was Augustus who claimed lineage to Venus in his sculpture Prima Porta made apparent by the inclusion of cupid riding a dolphin at his feet and also the cuirass that he wears combining historical and mythological elements. See Karl Galinsky, Augustus: Introduction to the Life of an Emperor (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 76.

Buchanan, Habsburg Tapestries, 69.

See Anne J. Cruz, “Chapter 1,” in Jason McCloskey and Ignacio López Alemany, eds., Signs of Power in Habsburg Spain and the New World (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2013), 22. The author quotes Art historian Charles Hope, it is “not appropriate to argue […] that Philip’s poesie were meant to be understood as elaborate allegories, with a profound philosophical nor even religious content.”

Nichols, Titian, 144.

Cohen, Animals as Disguised Symbols in Renaissance Art, 154.

Hall, The Sacred Image in The Age of Art, 145.
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APPENDIX A

TIMELINE

This timeline incorporates significant dates and events as it relates to this thesis.

8 CE   Ovid, *Metamorphoses* is originally published

421 CE  Venice was founded

1310  Council of Ten is created, which is a governing body composed of ten patricians, in combination with the doge and his six councilors

1417–1431  Papacy of Pope Martin V

1424–1493  Reign of Frederick III, Archduke of Austria

1454  Peace of Lodi among Venice, Milan and Florence helps create a stable balance of power for four decades

1478  Spanish Inquisition established

1479–1498  Reign of Charles VIII, King of France

1492  The Nasrid Emirate of Granada is overcome by the Catholic Monarchs, marking the end of the Spanish *Reconquista*. Alhambra Decree is issued expelling Jews from Castile and Aragón. Christopher Columbus reaches the New World, establishing Spanish colonization in the Americas.

1493  Numerous of sacred images of the Madonna defaced in Florence

1493–1519  Reign of Maximilian I, Archduke of Austria and Holy Roman Emperor

1494–1559  Italian Wars was a series of wars vying for control of Italy

1509–1516  War with the League of Cambrai. The League of Cambrai was the alliance of Pope Julius II, the Holy Roman emperor Maximilian I, Louis XII of France, and Ferdinand II of Aragon, set to attack the Republic of Venice and divide its possessions among the allies. Venice loses terraferma empire then recovers it.

1513–1521  Papacy of Pope Leo X
1516–1556 Reign of Charles V, King of Spain reign

1517 Martin Luther posts *Ninety-Five Theses* on the door of the Wittenburg church starting the Protestant Reformation

1520–1525 Pieter van Aelst, *Fortune Tapestry*
   Pieter van Aelst, *Prudence Tapestry*
   Pieter van Aelst, *Virtue Tapestry*
   Pieter van Aelst, *Faith Tapestry*
   Pieter van Aelst, *Honor Tapestry*
   Pieter van Aelst, *Fame Tapestry*
   Pieter van Aelst, *Justice Tapestry*
   Pieter van Aelst, *Nobility Tapestry*
   Pieter van Aelst, *Infamy Tapestry*

1521 (January) Luther is excommunicated by Pope Leo X
   (April) Diet of Worms called to action by Charles V against Martin Luther

1522–1523 Papacy of Pope Adrian VI

1523–1534 Papacy of Pope Clement VII

1529 Tiziano Vecellio, *Federico II Gonzaga, First Duke of Mantua*

1534–1549 Papacy of Pope Paul III

1534 Founding of the Jesuit Order by Ignatius of Loyola

1542 Roman Inquisition re-established by Pope Paul III

1545 First session of the Council of Trent – (three sessions: 1545–47, 1551–52, 1562–63)

1548 Saint Ignatius of Loyola, *Spiritual Exercises* is published
   Tiziano Vecellio, *Emperor Charles V at Mühlberg*
   Tiziano Vecellio, *Portrait of Charles V*
1550–1555  Papacy of Pope Julius III

1551  Tiziano Vecellio, *Philip II in Armor*

1551–1553  Tiziano Vecellio, *Danaë*

1554  Tiziano Vecellio, *Venus and Adonis*

1554–1556  Tiziano Vecellio, *Perseus and Andromeda*

1555  Peace of Augsburg- treaty between Charles V and the Schmalkaldic League. This made the legal division of Christianity permanent within the Holy Roman Empire, allowing rulers to choose either Lutheranism or Roman Catholicism for their state.

1555–1559  Papacy of Pope Paul IV

1556  Charles V abdicates the throne to Philip II

1556–1559  Tiziano Vecellio, *Diana and Actaeon*

1556–1598  Reign of Philip II King of Spain

1557  Lodovico Dolce, *L’Aretino o dialogo della pittura* is published

1559  Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis ends the Italian Wars and marks the beginning of Habsburg dominance in Italy

1559–1565  Papacy of Pope Pius IV

1559–1575  Tiziano Vecellio, *The Death of Actaeon*

1560–1562  Tiziano Vecellio, *Rape of Europa*

1563  (11 November) XXIV session of the Council of Trent on sacred imagery

(4 December) Final session of the Council of Trent

1563–1584  El Escorial is built

1564–1584  Carlo Borromeo appointed Archbishop of Milan

1564  Decrees of the Council of Trent published
1566–1572  Papacy of Pope Pius V

1566  Iconoclastic riots in the North, known as the Great Iconoclasm *Beeldenstorm* where Calvinist Protestant as part of this Protestant Reformation destroyed Catholic art

1572–1611  Reign of Rudolf II King of Hungry and Bohemia

1598  With the Death of Philip II of Spain; his son Philip III is crowned king

1598–1621  *Pax Hispanica* (Spanish Peace). Following the death of Philip II this was a period of peace through Spain’s European territories

1609  Muslim expulsion from Spain

1700  Habsburg dynasty ends in Spain with the death of Charles II
APPENDIX B

IMAGES

Fig. 1. Tiziano Vecellio, *Danaë*, 1551–1553. Oil on canvas, 192.5 x 114.6 cm. The Wellington Collection, London.
Fig. 2. Tiziano Vecellio, *Venus and Adonis*, 1553–1554. Oil on canvas, 186 x 207 cm. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.
Fig. 3. Tiziano Vecellio, *Perseus and Andromeda*, 1554–1556. Oil on canvas, 175 x 189.5 cm. Wallace Collection, London.
Fig. 4. Tiziano Vecellio, *Diana and Callisto*, 1556–1559. Oil on canvas, 187 x 204.5 cm. National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh.
Fig. 5. Tiziano Vecellio, *Diana and Actaeon*, 1556–1559. Oil on canvas, 185 x 202 cm. National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh.
Fig. 6. Tiziano Vecellio, *Rape of Europa*, 1560–1562. Oil on canvas, 178 x 205 cm. Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston.
Fig. 7. Workshop of Pieter van Aelst, *Fortune Tapestry of Los Honores*, 1520–1525. Gold, silver, silk and wool, 496 x 860 cm. Palacio Real de la Granja de San Ildefonso, Segovia.

Fig. 8. Workshop of Pieter van Aelst, *Prudence Tapestry of Los Honores*, 1520–1525. Gold, silver, silk and wool, 500 x 813 cm. Palacio Real de la Granja de San Ildefonso, Segovia.
Fig. 9. Workshop of Pieter van Aelst, *Virtue Tapestry of Los Honores*, 1520–1525. Gold, silver, silk and wool, 500 x 814 cm. Palacio Real de la Granja de San Ildefonso, Segovia.

Fig. 10. Workshop of Pieter van Aelst, *Faith Tapestry of Los Honores*, 1520–1525. Gold, silver, silk and wool, 494 x 1025 cm. Palacio Real de la Granja de San Ildefonso, Segovia.
Fig. 11. Workshop of Pieter van Aelst, *Honor Tapestry of Los Honores*, 1520–1525. Gold, silver, silk and wool, 497 x 1016 cm. Palacio Real de la Granja de San Ildefonso, Segovia.

Fig. 12. Workshop of Pieter van Aelst, *Fame Tapestry of Los Honores*, 1520–1525. Gold, silver, silk and wool, 500 x 1035 cm. Palacio Real de la Granja de San Ildefonso, Segovia.
Fig. 13. Workshop of Pieter van Aelst, *Justice Tapestry of Los Honores*, 1520–1525. Gold, silver, silk and wool, 496 x 822 cm. Palacio Real de la Granja de San Ildefonso, Segovia.

Fig. 14. Workshop of Pieter van Aelst, *Nobility Tapestry of Los Honores*, 1520–1525. Gold, silver, silk and wool, 499 x 856 cm. Palacio Real de la Granja de San Ildefonso, Segovia.
Fig. 15. Workshop of Pieter van Aelst, *Infamy Tapestry of Los Honores*, 1520-1525. Gold, silver, silk and wool, 496 x 860 cm. Palacio Real de la Granja de San Ildefonso, Segovia.
Fig. 16. Giovanni Battista Cima da Conegliano, *The Incredulity of Saint Thomas*, 1502–1504. Oil on synthetic panel transferred from poplar, 294 x 199.4 cm. The National Gallery, London.
Fig. 17. Tiziano Vecellio, *The Gypsy Madonna*, 1510–1511. Oil on panel, 65.8 x 83.8 cm. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.
Fig. 18. Tiziano Vecellio, *Saint Mark with other Saints*, 1510. Oil on canvas, 218 x 149 cm. Chiesa di Santa Maria della Salute, Venice.
Fig. 19. Tiziano Vecellio, *Penitent Magdalene*, 1531–1535. Oil on canvas, 85.8 x 69.5 cm. Palatine Gallery, Florence.
Fig. 20. Tiziano Vecellio, *Federico Gonzaga, Ist Duke of Mantua*, 1529. Oil on panel, 125 x 99 cm. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.
Fig. 21. Tiziano Vecellio, *Emperor Charles V with a Dog*, 1533. Oil on canvas, 194 x 112.7 cm. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.
Fig. 22 Tiziano Vecellio, *Equestrian Portrait of Charles V*, 1547. Oil on canvas, 335 x 283 cm. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.
Fig. 23. Tiziano Vecellio, *Ecce Homo*, 1547. Oil on slate, 69 x 56 cm. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.
Fig. 24. Tiziano Vecellio, *Portrait of Charles V*, 1548. Oil on canvas, 203.5 x 122 cm. Alte Pinakothek, Munich.
Fig. 25. Leone Leoni, *Charles V Dominating Fury*, 1551–1555. Bronze, 251 x 143 x 130 cm. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.
Fig. 27. Tiziano Vecellio, *Bacchanal of the Andrians*, 1519–1520. Oil on canvas, 175 x 193 cm. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.
Fig. 28. Tiziano Vecellio, *Bacchus and Ariadne*, 1520–1523. Oil on canvas, 176.5 x 191 cm. The National Gallery, London.
Fig. 29. Giorgio Vasari, *Paul III as Patron of Architecture*, 1546. Fresco. Sala dei Cento Giorni, Palazzo della Cancelleria, Rome.
Fig. 30. Francesco Salviati, *Pope Eugene IV gives the stick of command to Ranuccio the Elder, Apotheosis of Ranuccio Farnese, Battle against the Pisans, Minerva*, 1510–1563. Fresco. Palazzo Farnese, Rome.
Fig. 31. Tiziano Vecellio, *Capodimonte Danaë*, 1544–1546. Oil on canvas, 120 x 172 cm. Museo di Capodimonte, Naples.
Fig. 32. Jacob Matham, *Gierigheid (Avaritia)*, 1585-1589. Engraving, 216 x 144 mm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
Fig. 33. Joos van Cleve, *The Last Judgment*, 1525–1530, Oil on wood, 123.8 x 86.4 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
Fig. 34. Tiziano Vecellio, *Assumption of the Virgin (Assunta)* (Detail), 1516–1518. Oil on canvas, 690 cm × 360 cm. Basilica di Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice.
Fig. 35. Jacopo Tintoretto, *The Miracle of Saint Mark*, 1548. Oil on canvas, 415 x 541 cm. Gallerie dell’Accademia, Venice.
Fig. 36. Tiziano Vecellio, *Penitent Magdalene*, 1555–1556. Oil on canvas, 108.3 x 94.3 cm. The J. Paul Getty Museum.
Fig. 37. Tiziano Vecellio, *Diana and Actaeon* (Detail), 1556–1559. Oil on canvas, 185 x 202 cm. National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh.
Fig. 38. Tiziano Vecellio, *The Death of Actaeon*, 1559–1575. Oil on canvas, 178.8 x 197. 8 cm. The National Gallery, London.
Fig. 39. Gerard David, *The Baptism of Christ* (Detail), 1502–1508. Oil on panel, 129.7 x 96.6 cm. Musea Brugge, Bruges.
Fig. 40. Telman de Wesel, *The Virgin and Child on the Crescent Moon*, 1510. Engraving, 115 x 73 mm. Warburg Institute, London.
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