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Between Typology and Psychology: The Role of the Identification Portrait in Updating Old Testament Representations

Introduction

As a genre, the identification portrait, or disguised portrait, has been treated with a mixture of incomprehension and amazement even in the most recent work on the history of Renaissance portraiture.[1] The reason may be that pictures of this type are today found only in the form of political cartoons. For example, in a paraphrase of Michelangelo the Austrian news weekly *profil* shows West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl as the God of Creation, breathing (political) life into the East German prime minister Lothar de Maizière as Adam, through a handful of Deutsche mark notes.

A recurrent figure in political cartoons is the "statesman" Moses, who may have the facial features of Nelson Mandela and carry tablets proclaiming the same commandment ten times over: "No Apartheid." The Moses theme, of course, comes particularly close to home for the Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, whose stone tablets on the occasion of his meeting with U.S. President George Bush displayed the command "Thou Shalt Not Talk to the PLO" [Fig. 1].[2]

The tradition of the identification portrait as a means of caricature goes back to the political leaflets of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, and reached its height in the nineteenth century. The Moses theme was adopted as early as 1873, when it was used to represent the chancellor of the German Reich, Otto von Bismarck, and his comrades-in-arms against the Catholic Church, Lasker and Falk, as Moses,[3] Aaron, and Hur in their struggle against the Amalekites [Fig. 2]:

> And it came to pass, when Moses held up his hand, that Israel prevailed: and when he let down his hand, Amalek prevailed. But Moses' hands were heavy; and they took a stone, and put it under him, and he sat thereon; and Aaron and Hur stayed up his hands, the one on the one side, and the other on the other side; and his hands were steady until the going down of the sun (Exodus XVII:11 – 12).

In 1848, the French king Louis-Philippe was derided as a "new Joshua" vainly attempting to stay the rise of the "sun of freedom." Later, Empress Eugénie, wife of Napoleon III, was said to luxuriate like "a new Susanna in the bath" on account of the extravagant life she led.[4]

However, such ironical identifications with biblical figures constitute only the fringe of this branch of portraiture, examples of which are to be found everywhere between the formal and functional poles of the disguised and the hidden portrait. The crypto-portrait is the older form, although it is by no means limited to

1) Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir as Moses, caricature by Auth, *The International Herald Tribune*, February 14, 1990.

medieval times; we understand by it the inclusion of a portrait in a religious or historical painting, such as the depiction of Count Philipp of Solms as St. Sebastian on a winged altarpiece of 1520 by Lucas Cranach the Elder.[5]

In the disguised portrait, on the other hand, the reverse is the case: a work which was conceived as a separate portrait assumes, through additional attributes and "disguises," the character of a devotional or historical picture. This can be seen, for instance, in the portraits, dating from 1639, of Grand Duke Ferdinando de' Medici II and his wife, Vittoria della Rovera, as Sts. George and Victoria. The works were commissioned by Cardinal Carlo de' Medici as a present for the emperor, and were based on an idea put forward by the grand duke's librarian:

In uno figurò Santa Vittoria, con una palma in mano, ritratto al vivo della serenissima granduchessa Vittoria di Toscana, cingendo la palma, tenuto della Santa, d'una striscia finita di carta, nella quale scrisse le parole del secondo de' Re c. 12 "Nomini meo adscribatur Victoria"; bellissimo pensiero della gioconda memoria di Francesco Rondinelli, nobile Fiorentino, bibliotecario del granduca. Nell'altro quadro era il ritratto pure, fatto al vivo, dello stesso granduca Ferdinando II, ... e rappresentava la figura di S. Giorgio.

The two paintings have since disappeared, although a sketch by Mario Balassi still exists, either for this portrait of the grand duchess or for a similar representation of her as St. Catherine.[6]
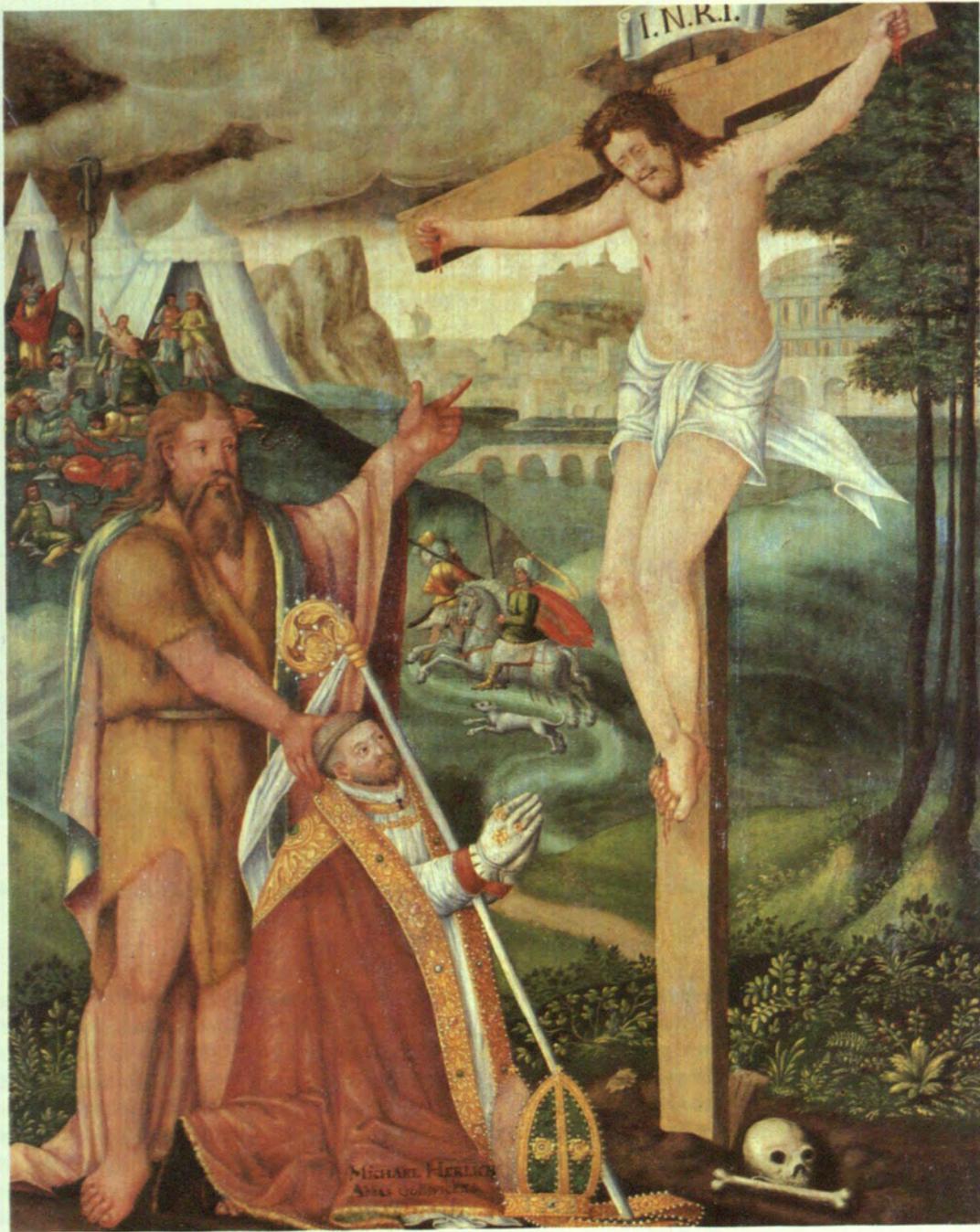
2) Otto von Bismarck, Lasker, and Falk, German or Austrian caricature, c. 1873. Photo: author.

The existence of numerous such identification pictures in the field of portraiture itself can be established from the end of the fifteenth century onwards, precisely at a time when portraiture was undergoing a distinct change, moving away from realistic depictions of the individual towards a more idealized image of man.[7]
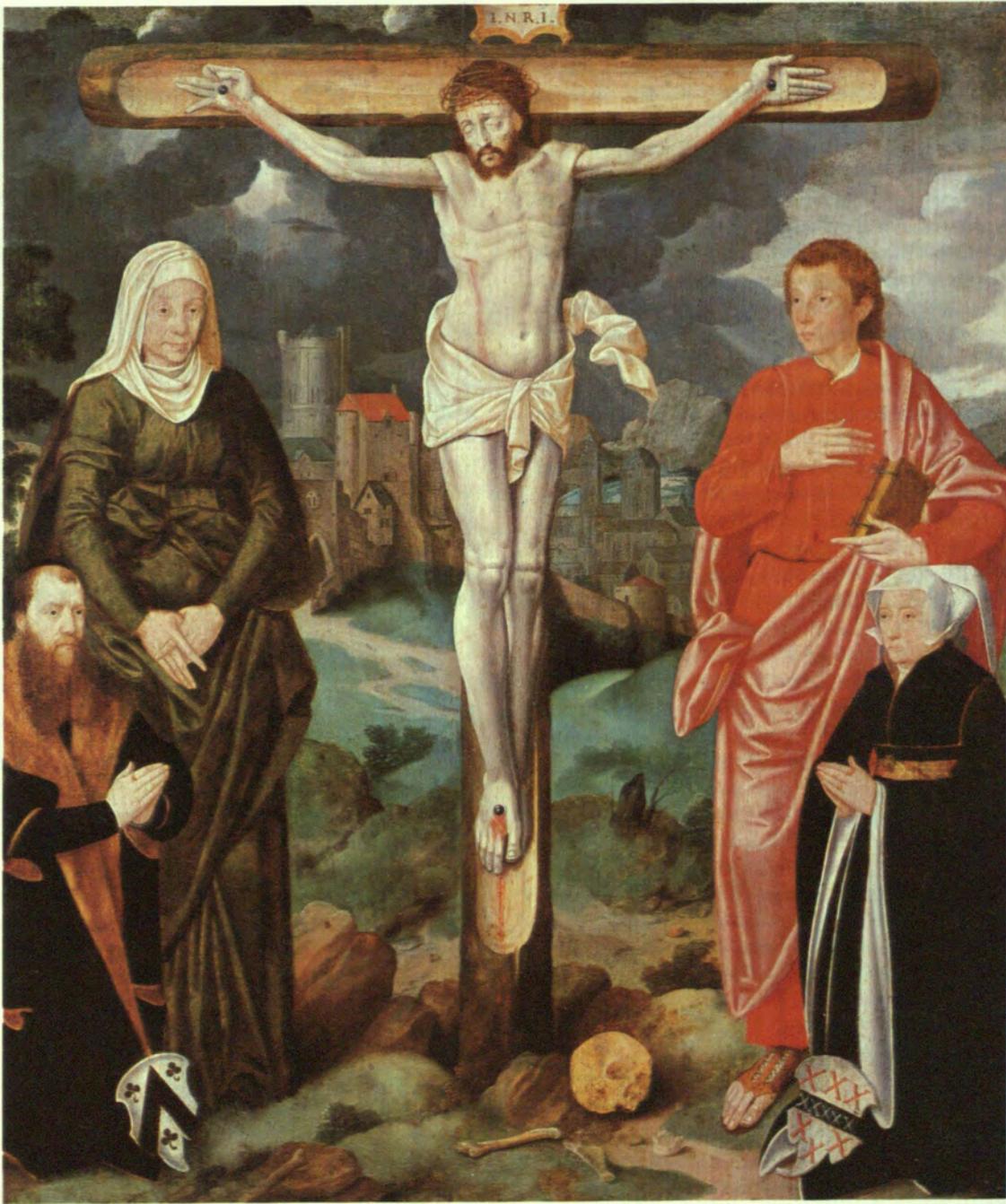
In both variations of the identification portrait the same result is achieved, namely the combination of two spheres of reality: that of the past, which is sacral or mythical, and that of the present, which is real and existent. The methodical basis for relating historical and contemporary persons or events is usually analogy, ideally involving a direct, profane typological relationship. Formally, this is most often illustrated by drawing a parallel, in other words by combining the historical and the contemporary figure.

A good example of the application of this method (which was first used in theology) to the field of portraiture is provided by a painting of the abbot of Göttweig in Lower Austria, Michael Herrlich, dating from around 1570 and painted under the influence of Luther's reforms. In the foreground one sees the prelate kneeling in front of the Cross, in the background the Temple of Jerusalem and the scene of the brazen serpent. In this way we find not only the traditional juxtaposition of the Cross and the brazen serpent but also a conscious combination of the two. The painting alludes to the difficult situation of the monastery, identifying the monks with the "chosen people" and the abbot with Moses [Fig. 3].[8]

The climax and conclusion of this typology is the subsequent fusion of type and antetype in the identification portrait. Clear

3) «Abbot Michael Herrlich of Göttweig», c. 1570, Stift Göttweig, Lower Austria. Photo: Stift.

4) Bartholomäus Bruyn the Younger, «Christ on the Cross with Donors Hermann von Weinsberg and Wife», 1557, Kölnisches Stadtmuseum. Photo: Rheinisches Bildarchiv, Cologne.

parallels are to be found in literature, particularly in the seventeenth century, and in many cases the spheres of past and present are even mentioned together in book titles. Thus, a sermon for a deceased field marshal of the French king bears the title *Christian Funeral Sermon on the Late Departure of the Pious King David from this World.... Concerning the Unpleasant and Highly Distressing Heath of His Honourable Worship, Ulissis von Salis*.[9] Sometimes the moral or political interpretation of the Bible, and a correspondence between literature and painting, are also indicated *expressis verbis*, for example in a polemical treatise on the French Wars of Religion entitled *Prophecy of Daniel, holy and admirable, interpreter of the reign and of the death of the leader of the heretics, who claims to be king of Navarre and seeks to obtain the crown of France*. From the standpoint of the Catholic party, the future King Henry IV, who in 1591 was still Protestant, was the reincarnation of the biblical villains Ishmael and Saul, and even of the Antichrist:

> Il est Ismael, il s'eflevera donc contre le Catholique Isaac & le persecutera. Et pour ce, ne nous sions jamais à luy, quelque promesse qu'il nous face.... Admirons donc la providence & justice de Dieu, en la reprobation des Roys perfides.... N'est-ce pas pour ses iniquietez que Saul est chassé du siege Royal? Dieu est-il descendu du Ciel pour le chasser de son Royaume? ... Voulons nous que Dieu descende du ciel pour degrader de toute principauté & seigneurie Henry de Bourbon? ... Saul a esté degradé de sa Principauté, pour avoir espargné les Amalechites, ennemis de Dieu & de son Eglise. Ainsi Henry de Bourbon, pour avoir supporté les heretiques & s'estre declaré leur protecteur, a esté degradé de la dignité Royalle & declaré indigne & inhabile de pouvoir jamais succeder à aucun Royaume au Principauté.... Le livre (Amy lecteur) au vray te represente et te faict veoir à l'oeuil, comme sur un Tableau, le figuré pourtraict de l'Ante-christ nouveau .... Tous les traits plus subtils de sa vie meschante y sont tirez du vif, d'un si docte pinceau, que si tu n'as les yeux fillez d'un noir bandeau, tu cognoisteras l'abus dont le monde il enchante.[10]

5) Georg Christoph Einmart the Younger, «Comparison of Emperor Leopold I with Solomon», etching, 1692, Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna. Photo: Bildarchiv der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek.

Functions

Three principal areas of application can be established within the identification portrait genre. A hidden portrait in the strict sense of the term is a portrait which serves to illustrate a relationship of friendship between the sitter and either the painter or patron, whereby the identification may well be made for no plausible reason and furnish only a very vague reference. This applies to Bronzino's altarpiece *Christ in Limbo* (Museo di Santa Croce, Florence), where the figure of King David can be seen as a self-portrait of the painter and the humanist Pier Francesco Giambullari is immortalized as Moses. This identification is a play on Bronzino's poetic talents and on the scholar's reverence for Moses. Two further friends of the artist, the painter Alessandro Allori and the humanist Gelli, may figure as Abraham and Isaac.[11] This form of the identification portrait assumes special significance in the work of Caravaggio, a factor which was recently examined in the film on the artist directed by Derek Jarman.[12]

As an example of another relationship between the model and the patron, which will likewise only be known to the initiated, we can take a depiction of St. Stephen with the features of the Duke of Buckingham. This painting, which is no longer extant, presented in an almost blasphemous way the "reverence" of King James I of England for his "idol" Buckingham, whom he defended before Parliament in a rather lascivious manner: "You may be quite sure that I love the Earl of Buckingham more than any other ... and it cannot be considered a mistake if Jesus Christ did the same.... Christ had his John and I have my George."[13]

This connection between religion and love seems to have gained particular significance in seventeenth-century England. Rubens painted Charles I as St. George rescuing Queen Henrietta Maria from the dragon,[14] and a generation later Charles II had several of his mistresses portrayed as Blessed Virgins.

Small-scale identification portraits probably also had a similar function, as in the case of the miniatures of the young Margravine Barbara of Baden-Durlach (1593–1627), who was portrayed with the attributes of her patron saint, or the representation of Countess Juliane von Leutrum as Salome in 1747 (Neues Schloss, Baden-Baden). A miniature copy of a painting of 1709 showing the comptroller of the Danish court, Frederik Walter, as John the Baptist (Frederiksborg Slot, Hillerod), probably alludes to the fact that Walter, as the travelling companion of King Frederik IV, prepared the way for his lord as John the Baptist had done for Christ.

A more significant role within the genre was played by the donor portraits, since it seemed as if the contradiction between the two spheres of reality could here be effortlessly reconciled. While no sources exist for the more famous examples, such as Dürer's *Paumgärtner Altar* of 1504 (Alte Pinekothek, Munich), which depicts the donor's sons as Sts. Eustace and George, or some Upper Italian works from the sixteenth century,[15] we do have unequivocal evidence of an identification portrait in the central panel of a Cologne triptych of 1557 [Fig. 4]. This is provided by the donor himself, who records in his diary that, with the exception of Christ, all the biblical figures depicted in the altarpiece display the features of family members or friends:

Und ich hab auch in die angesichter allesamen leuth laissen conterfeiten uisgescheden Jhesu Christi angesicht und steit in Marienbildt feigin myner frauwen suster angesicht in Johannis under dem Creutz myner frauwen sons Johan. In Abraham steidt des kirchmeisters Peter Nuvenars angesicht und in Mose steit des kirchmeisters Heinrich van Krufftz angesicht. In den vier evangelisten sint contrafeit insamt Matheo M Johan Cortessum Offermann, in Marco myn broder gottschalk, in Luca myn broder Cherstgin, in Joanne her Johan Nuvenhaven pastor.[16]

As early as 1506, Lorenzo Lotto endowed the *Madonna of Asolo* with the facial features of Caterina Cornaro, Queen of Jerusalem, who was famous for her chastity. In 1653, a group portrait of donors was painted for the Court Chapel in Neuburg, portraying the Counts Palatine Wolfgang Wilhelm and Philipp Wilhelm, their wives, Anna Katharina Konstantia and Elisabeth Amalia, and the painter Paul Bock, as their respective patron saints.[17]

In genuine identification portraits, and especially in state portraits, the significance of the relationship between the type and antetype played a leading role, and it is probably in this area that the origins of the genre as such are to be sought. The oldest examples, originating at the early humanist courts of Rome, Prague, Milan, and Paris, were presumably executed not only with a knowledge of ancient identification portraits but also perhaps in conscious application of this form of apotheosis to the Christian sphere. Above all, the sanctity of emperorship and the divine right of Christian rulers could be clearly illustrated by means of an identification with the Holy Family. Presumably the oldest example of this kind is the representation in Karlštejn Castle in Bohemia of the wife of Emperor Charles IV with their son Wenceslas, the heir to the throne, as the Madonna and Child.

This ideology was again consciously adopted during the Counter-Reformation.[18] Examples include what is thought to be a portrait of Bianca Capello, the second wife of Grand Duke Cosimo I of Florence, as the Madonna,[19] and a picture from the end of the sixteenth century showing the Wittelsbach family at the Presentation in the Temple, with the future Duke Maximilian of Bavaria as the child Jesus.[20] Similar paintings from the same period come from the courts of the Habsburgs in Vienna,[21] Graz, and Madrid.[22]

In this sense, however, even the kings of Israel and the ancestors of Christ were interpreted not only as prefigurations of the Redeemer but also as the *padres figurativos* of the Catholic kings. This emerges from a dedication to Charles II of Spain in the Spanish edition of Nicolas Caussin's *La Cour Sainte*:

Son los Reyes de Juda desde David padres naturales de la Santissima Virgen (Reyna la mayor) y de su Hijo Iesus, fundador en la tierra del Reyno Catholico de dios, que Causina pinta. Y son Padres legales y figurativos de V. M. y de su Catolico Reyno, de qui en fueron simbolos sus Coronas. Es su Madre especialissime la Virgen Maria, que con especial patrocinio ha declarado à V. M. y à sus gloriosos antecessores por especiales hijos; porque ellos con especial y zeloso culto la han reconocido por unica Madre.[23]

However, apart from this tendency towards sacralisation, humanist portraits of princes were heavily influenced by the doctrine of virtue taken over from antiquity.[24] This was formulated

expressis verbis in sixteenth-century art theory. In 1587, Giovan Battista Armeni demanded that "non solamente si rappresenta l'imagine sua vera, ma si ritorna memoria ancora tutte le sue virtute" (one should not only represent a realistic image but also recall all the sitter's virtues); and Giovan Paolo Lomazzo in his 1584 treatise speaks of the visualization of a "concetto," the idea of the sitter.[25] By combining a prince's external appearance with a personified ideal image[26] in a chosen "role," the identification portrait provided a particularly vivid instrument for demonstrating a prince's conception of himself.[27] The notion of the *speculum principis* (mirror of princes) was fundamental. This would seem to suggest that, in its ideal form, the identification portrait should be interpreted as an illustration of the sitter's reflection of the *exemplum virtutis*.

In fact, it cannot have been a mere accident that the identification portrait reached its peak in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when the use of mirror imagery in literature was at its height. Literary works emphasized the principle of *imitatio* and analogical thinking, and were frequently written for didactic purposes, as is clear even from the title of *The Life of St. Charlemagne ... as a Mirror for All Emperors, Kings, and Potentates ...* (1658).[28]

Here lies one of the most important roots of the profane, or mythological, identification portrait. Classical, biblical, and historical "heroes" such as Hercules, Alexander the Great, Samson, or Solomon were all presented as being of equal rank in Giotto's *Uomini Famosi* cycle for Robert of Anjou.[29] In the sixteenth century, David, Solomon, Moses, and Joshua, among others, served as models for princes in the Habsburgs' festival decorations,[30] as well as in Machiavelli's writings and other Italian works.[31] A *speculum principis* for the education of the future King François I of France, *Le titre d'honneur ou Des quinze vertus que les princes doivent avoir*, refers to the examples of David, Moses, and Solomon.[32] Juan Perez de Moya, in his *Varia Historia de Sanctas i ilustres Mugeres en todo genere de virtudes* (Madrid, 1583), a *speculum virtutis* for female readers, names not only the Mother of God and various saints but also Susanna, Esther, Judith, and Deborah from the Old Testament.[33]

Solomon is mentioned as the perfect model for a ruler by Francisco Ramos in his work *Reynados de menor edad y de grandes Reyes. Apuntamientos de Historia ... para leccion de Rey Nuestro Senor* (Of Young Princes and Mature Kings. Notes on History ... for the Instruction of the King, Our Lord) (Madrid, 1672), which is addressed to the young King Charles II of Spain and contains "exemplos de virtudes, dotrina y noticias, que le puedan servir y instruir para el oficio de Rey" (examples of virtues, doctrine, and insights which could serve and instruct in the office of king). Like the biblical king, this Habsburg came to the throne at the age of twelve with the support of his mother.

As Warnke has indicated,[34] an essential characteristic of the identification portrait is the oscillation between a humble emula-

6) «King Louis XII of France as St. Louis», manuscript illumination, early 16th century, Bibl. Nat., Ms. lat. nouv. acq. 3027, Paris. From V. Leroquais, *Supplément aus livres d'heures manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*.

tion of virtue on the one hand and either a pretentious conception of rulership or flattery on the other. In the sixteenth century, the official entry of a prince into cities in France and the Netherlands was organized and financed by the citizenry but was also used by them to express their political demands.[35]

Works commissioned by the sitters themselves had, in addition to a moralising and didactic function, a devotional purpose when they were of an intimate nature, such as miniatures in books of hours, small house altars, devotional pictures for private rooms,

7) «King Louis XII of France as Gideon», manuscript illumination, early 16th century, Bibl. Nat., Ms. lat. nouv. acq. 3027, Paris. From Leroquais, *Supplément....*

and devotional miniatures on copper or parchment. The theological basis of devotional pictures during the Counter-Reformation was provided by such such as the *Introduction à la vie dévote* by St. Francis of Sales (1609), where, among others, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, David, Job, Tobias, Sarah, Rebekah, and Judith, the soldier-saints Sebastian und Mauritius, and the ruler-saints Constantine, Louis, Edward, und Helena are mentioned as models.[36]

Works which fulfilled a propaganda function for the ruler, such as church altars and frescoes, prints, and medallions, or identification portraits commissioned by courtiers, naturally had a stronger

panegyric character, as we also know from the poetry and theatrical performances of the time. For instance, in the late fifteenth century Duke Ercole I d'Este was compared to Moses:

> Non tacendo che se Moyse fu lodato, fra le altre excellente cose facte per lui, per haver instituto che in uno templo tuta la gente de soi dovesse convenirse a certi solemni tempi et lie insieme confabulare et mangiare.... Non mancho nui dovemo laudare vostra [i.e., Ercole's] Celsitudine, la quale, cum tanti et tanto ordinati spectaculi, congregi questo suo fidissimo et dolce populo.[37]

The Motives for Identification

The typological relationship in the identification portrait is based on the comparison which is drawn between the type and the antetype, or on a characteristic which they have in common, whereby there are four principal possibilities for this *tertium comparationis*: an analogy of events, or an analogy of the person in the form of a comparison of their virtue, status, or name.

The analogy of virtue is based on an actual, supposed, or desired correspondence of one or more virtues of the historical and the contemporary person. This could be independent of sex: Henry VIII was compared with Judith, and Queen Elisabeth I of England with Joshua and David. A good example of the typology of virtue is to be seen in an etching of 1692 honoring Emperor Leopold I, in which a parallel is drawn between the wisdom of King Solomon and that of the Habsburg sovereign (who is confronted by the electors or foreign envoys) in the motto "His wisdom is admired by his subjects and surprises foreigners" [Fig. 5].[38] The various virtues were respectively attributed to various "heroes," as is illustrated by a funeral sermon in 1717 for Abbot Benedikt Abelzhauser of Seitenstetten, Lower Austria, who was said to have combined all the virtues of his models:

> es ware in ihme die Andacht Abels, es scheinete in ihm ... der Glauben Abrahams, die Gedult Isaacs, die Klugheit Jacobs, die Keuschheit Josephs, die Liebe Moysis, Jeremias Grossmüthigkeit, Samsonis Stärke, Salomons Weisheit, Davidis Barmherzigkeit.[39]

In 1611, the virtues of Queen Margaret of Spain were equated on her catafalque with the belief of the widow of Sarepta, the hope of Sarah, the love of Tabithah, and the piety of the prophetess Anna and other biblical women. In 1696, under the motto "These famous women join in the praise of another famous woman," the catafalque of the Spanish Queen Maria Anna of Austria was decorated with pictures of Old Testament heroines. Rachel was a reference

8) G. J. van Opstal and Harrewijn, «Joseph, King of Hungary and the Romans, as the Egyptian Joseph», engraving, 1700. From de Sevin, *Pindus Charitatis*.

to the birth of the queen's two sons, Esther to her nobility of mind, Deborah to her justice, Judith to the successes of her reign, Anna to her religiosity, Sarah to her power, Rebekah to her magnanimity, and so on.[40]

The analogy of virtue is frequently combined with an analogy of status, as in the case of the Jesuit Nicolas Caussin, confessor to Louis XIII, in his above-mentioned work *La Cour Sainte* (1624). This collection of the biographies of model personages, arranged according to status, mentions David und Solomon among the monarchs, Judith und Esther among the princesses, Joshua and Judas Maccabeus among the military commanders, Joseph, Moses, Samuel, and Daniel among the politicians, and Elijah, Isaiah,

and Jeremiah among the priests.[41] In Erasmus of Rotterdam's *Vidua Christiana*, a *speculum virtutis* for widows, and Jacob Cats' *Houwelijk* (1625), the female models from antiquity and the Bible were likewise classified, but according to their status as virgins (for example, Jephthah's daughter, Susanna, and Judith), wives, and widows.[42] A characteristic example of the identification with varied "heroes" sharing the same status is found in a French manuscript from the beginning of the sixteenth century, in which King Louis XII appears not only as Gideon and St. Louis [Figs. 6, 7], but also as one of the Three Magi.[43] With nearly all the French kings from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, there is evidence of identification with the national patron St. Louis,[44] who is used to illustrate transpersonal conceptions of the state,[45] while the representation of a French king as Charlemagne implied a claim to emperorship.[46]

In the case of ecclesiastical commissions, there are portraits of popes in the role of their predecessors, such as Raphael's fresco of Julius II as Gregory IX (Stanza della Segnatura, Vatican).[47]

The "analogy of name" is based on the equation of the sitter with his or her patron saint[48]; here, too, the intention frequently is to illustrate the emulation or attainment of the qualities of the model. Literary evidence can be found in the funeral sermon for the Abbot Caspar Bernhart of Zwettl, Lower Austria, in 1695:

> In dem alten Testament wurden den Kindern öfters derlei Namen erteilet, welche teils prophetisch den künftigen Wandel des Kindes anzeigten, teils auch damit die Kinder selbst durch den Namen zum Werk und zur Tat des geschöpften Namens angetrieben mögen werden.... Von Anbeginn unterrichteten die Eltern ihre Kinder, ... indem sie ihnen solche Namen erteilten, wellche sie allzeit der Tugend, dero sie nachstreben sollten, erinnerten.... Nicht die Eltern, sondern die Göttliche Vorsehung [selbst] liess [hingegen] diesen als scheinbaren Tugend-Spiegel erkiesten [Prälaten] mit dem Namen Bernhard bezieren, um anzudeuten, dass ... er auch in seinen Tugenden, Wandel und Werken als ein lebhaftes Echo ... des hl. Bernardi sich werde befinden.[49]

This kind of conscious *imitatio* of the patron saint produced the portrait, dating from around 1630, of the Duchess Margherita de' Medici as St. Margaret by the Florentine court painter Sustermanns,[50] and the identification of Fra Bonaventura Recalchi with St. Bonaventura on an altarpiece of c. 1517 by Paolo Morandi.[51] Among the rare examples of identification portraits based on an analogy with a name from the Old Testament is an engraving of the future Emperor Joseph I, then king of Hungary and the Romans, in the role of the Egyptian Joseph [Fig. 8], in which even the biblical divine right of kings is related *expressis verbis* typologically to the ruling prince:

In several cases, an event of private or political nature provides the occasion for an identification portrait; nonetheless, the analogy of an event usually presumes a personal analogy between the sitter and the hero of the scene. Here, the correspondence between actual events and allegorical interpretations can be differentiated. The first is the case in comparisons between the coronation of Solomon by David and the coronation of Charles VIII of France in 1485, the succession of Philip II, the coronation of Christian IV of Denmark in 1585,[53] or that of Joseph as king, depicted in an etching of 1692 [Fig. 9].[54] After Joseph's death, leaflet verses related the Habsburg sovereign to the biblical Joseph, mourned by his father.[55]

A Spanish court chaplain was inspired to compare the virtues of the French Queen Marie-Thérèse of Austria and Rachel by the fact that they died at the same age:

O Rachel hermosa! O amantissima Obeja, por tu innocencia, y por tu abacibilidad! De quarenta y quatro annos y algunos meses muerta? ... Yo he de hazer que se suspendan tantos sollozos pintando en corto lienco tus virtudes, para que con el se enug en mostros ojos, que si ellas te aoràn puesto en el camino de Efrata, que es Bethelen, Patria donde se premia una vida santa, que llanto ha de durar, sospechando estàs camina de una eterna Gloria?[56]

Wedding portraits painted as representations of the Wedding at Cana achieved a certain popularity in the Netherlands in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[57] A painting of the banquet of Esther und Ahasuerus by Passignano may be a portrait of the guests at the wedding of Grand Duke Ferdinand I of Tuscany and Christine of Lorraine in Florence in 1589 [Fig. 10].[58]

More frequent, however, are identification portraits with a political allegory, such as the *Moses und Aaron* panel of 1537 by Felix Chrétien (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), in which the Bishop of Auxerre, François de Dinteville, and his brother Jean appear as the two biblical heroes who plead with Pharaoh to let the people of Israel go free. The unbending Pharaoh symbolizes the French king, who wanted to replace the bishop with his mistress's favorite. The picture illustrates God's protection of the "chosen" family of Dinteville and denounces the king's iniquitous behavior.

Themes from the Old Testament

Among representations based on the Old Testament, which are concentrated in the sixteenth und seventeenth centuries, three main focal points can be distinguished as far as the social context and also, in some cases, the geographical

9) Georg Christoph Einmart the Younger, «Comparison of the Coronation of Joseph, King of Hungary and the Romans, with the Anointment of Solomon», etching, 1692, Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna. Photo: Bildarchiv der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek.

"de benedictione Domini Terra Tua & de pomis caeli" quae figuraliter [!] de Patriarcha Josepho in Deuteronomico cap. 33 promissa leguntur, sed veré & genuine intelligenda veniunt de persona Majestatis Vestrae Apostolicae.[52]

10) Passignano, «Marriage of Esther and Ahasuerus» (Grand Duke Ferdinand I of Tuscany and Christine of Lorraine?),
1589 (?), Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. Photo: Museum.

origins are concerned. The first group is made up of family por-
traits of a private nature, and in the second are portraits illustrat-
ing the absolutist power of the ruler and the divine right of kings.
However, these two variants probably share the same roots, for
in both the Netherlands and Florence, veneration of Charles V,
Philip II, or Cosimo I as an Old Testament hero was combined in
the ceremonies of homage with a typological comparison of the
respective city with Jerusalem and its citizens with the "chosen
people."[59] The third group, a series of predominantly Italian por-

traits of artists in Old Testament roles, plays an intermediate or
special role.

State Portraits

The state portrait category, whose propagandist nature is
evident from the large number of printed graphics falling within
it, fulfills two principal purposes. A state portrait was intended

to illustrate on the one hand the divinely ordained preeminence of a prince or military commander, and on the other his potential or actual virtue. In this way, conceptions of the divine right of kings stemming from the Middle Ages were combined with a political typology which received special impetus from the Reformation and which also, of course, provided the basis for the bourgeois Netherlandish variant of the identification portrait. Ever since the religiopolitical polemicism began, the Protestants had been equated with the "chosen people" and their rivals with the enemies of Israel, the Amalekites or the Egyptians.[60] As early as 1524, Martin Luther was represented on a political leaflet as Moses freeing his people from the rule of the papal Pharaoh, and in 1547 King Henry VIII of England was praised in the same way by Catherine Parr:

> But our Moyses, a moste godly, wise governor and kyng hath delivered us oute of captivitie and bondage of Pharao. I mene by this Moyses King Henry the eight, my most soverayne favourable lorde and husbande. One (If Moyses had figured any mor[re] then Christ) through the excellent grace of god, mete to be an other expressed veritie of Moses conquest over Pharao. And I mene by this Pharao the bishop of Rome, who hath bene and is a greater persecutor of all true christians, then ever was Pharao, of the children of Israel.[61]

In contrast to the numerous instances in literature of princes and popes being compared with Moses, pictorial identifications involving him are surprisingly few. (The above-mentioned *Moses and Aaron* panel featuring the Dintevilles is rather to be regarded as an an analogy of political events.) The same applies to the priest-king Melchizedek. He embodied even more than Moses the sacral component of kingship, to which reference is made in a work written for the coronation of the Spanish king Fernando VI in 1747. The righteous Prince of Peace in the Old Testament is presented as the model and "print" of the "Melchisedech espanol":

> Fue Melchisedech come Sacerdote un prototypon de Christo, el origen de deste Pan, la raiz de este Sacramento, y fue come Rey de Salèn un espejo de los Reyes, un exemplar para Principes, una estampa de los Grandes.... Pues dexenne à houra de tanta fiesta, ... que estamos dando, decir, que el Senor D. Fernando, come lucido rayo del Cielo, es un Melchisedech Espanol....[62]

This theme was treated, against the background of the French Wars of Religion of 1589–90, in a painting by Antoine Caron (Ehrmann Collection, Paris), in which it is presumably the Spanish-backed Catholic party's candidate for king, Cardinal Charles de Bourbon, and Field Marshal Alessandro Farnese who are represented as Melchizedek and Abraham respectively.

Appointment by God and victory gained with divine help over heathen enemies constitute the principal motifs taken from the stories of biblical heroes. Among the less well known is that of Gideon, who asked the Lord for a sign on a ram's fleece to confirm his having been elected. This motif was the basis for the choice of this hero as the leading figure of the Order of the Golden Fleece. Duke Philip of Burgundy was only symbolized as Gideon on the stage, but his son Charles the Bold appears together with the biblical hero on a posthumous idealized portrait.[63] An actual identification portrait of the French King Louis XII as Gideon is found in a manuscript dating from the beginning of the sixteenth century [Fig. 7].[64]

An importance inestimably greater than that attached to Gideon was reserved for the biblical heroes Joshua, Judas Maccabeus, and David, who enjoyed special status as representatives of the Old Testament among the "Nine Worthies."[65] Like David, Joshua, successor to Moses as leader of the people of Israel, was under the protection of the Lord from the time of his calling. A connection to this non-hereditary succession naturally lent itself to changes of dynasty, for example after the extinction of the Spanish Habsburg line in 1700. A funeral sermon of the time directly refers to the biblical story, comparing Charles II with Moses and the Bourbon heir, Philip V, with Joshua, in terms of their virtue and the events:

> Confirma se mas esta razon, si atendemos à las circumstancias de la Succession del esclarecido Principe Josuè en el govierno de Ysrael, que son las mismas que concurrieron en la Succession del Segúndo Josuè de la ley de gracia Nuestro Invicto Rey, Don Philippe V en el Govierno de la Monarchia Espanola.... Oye Dios la peticion de Moyses, y haze la provission de Successor en la Persona de Josuè: "Dixitque Dominus ad eum: tolle Iosuè filium Numvirum in quo est spiritus & pone manum tuam super eum." Porque ... solo Josuè es escogido de Dios para Successor de Moyses en el govierno ? Yo lo dirè. Porque Josuè era un Duque, un Capitan y Adalid, que sabia governar el Pueblo en todas sus acciones: assi politicas, como militares.... Era un Principe adornado de la virtúd, de la prudencia, de la piedad y mansedumbre de la fortaleza y de todas las demas virtudes y calidades, que constituyen un buen Principe, que esse significa el estar Josuè adornado del Espiritu de Dios. Estas son las circumstancias que concurrieron en la Succession del govierno del Pueblo de Israel en el primero Josue: y estas mismas son las que concurren en la Succession del govierno de la Monarquia Espanola en el Segundo Josue de la Ley de gracia Nuestro Rey y Senor Don Philippo V porque en el Segundo Josue de la Ley

CUM DUPLICANTUR LATERES
VENIT MOSES.

11) Georg Köhler, «King Gustav II Adolf of Sweden as Judas Maccabeus», engraving for a leaflet, c. 1633, Veste Collections, Coburg.
From W. Harms, *Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter....*

de gracia Philippo V admiramos con singularidad tam bien essas mismas virtudes, y el Moyes de la Ley de gracia Nro. Rey y Senor Don Carlos Segundo despues de haver consultado à Dios en la oracion, declara acertadissimamente que el legitimo Heredero de la Corona de Espana es el Senor Duque de Anjou.[66]

A visual application of this typology seems to have first occurred around 1570 in Florence, with the larger than life-size marble statue of Duke Cosimo I de' Medici as Joshua for the Cappella di San Luca of the Santissima Annunziata. "Presumably as Joshua had won the Promised Land, with the laws of Moses behind him and in the full assurance of divine support, Cosimo had consolidated the land of Tuscany."[67]

The comparison of a prince with Joshua was primarily employed to characterize the defense of the true faith, as can be seen in the identification of Emperor Leopold I on a medallion[68] commemorating the taking of Budapest in 1686.[69] In a further allegory, the sun and moon—stopped in their courses by God in order to help Joshua—are to be regarded as symbols of the enemy French and Turks,[70] a theme also often employed in contemporary panegyrics[71]:

Dominum enim memor fuit Tui, Augustissime Caesar & benedixit Tibi ... ne dispendium pateretur Christiana Religio, pro cujus conservatione simul ac plantatione tamquam alter JOSUE sudasti in Hungaria, quatenus praefata Religio novum jubar & radios postliminiò ostenderet Hungarico Populo

& Lunaticae Gentis nebulae Veritatis exorto Sole dissiparentur, necnon Muselmanica Jericho, quae hebraice luna dicitur, funditus everteretur.[72]

However, besides Joshua, one also referred to Judas Maccabeus in connection with the true faith. This applied just as much to Leopold's struggle against the Turks as to the battles of the Swedish King Gustav II Adolf against the Catholics. During the Thirty Years' War, Gustav Adolf was depicted as the new Judas Maccabeus in two leaflets [Fig. 11].[73] The French King Louis XIV was praised in a funeral sermon at Saint-Cyr as a still greater hero than his model from the Old Testament, regardless of his wholly unjustified and often unsuccessful campaigns:

> tout Israel pleura un des ses Capitaines, les échos de Juda retentirent de gemissements. Ce n'est pas un Machabée que nous perdons aujourd'hui, mais le plus vaillant de tous les Heros, le plus puissante de toutes les Monarchques, le plus religieux des Rois du Monde, le plus digne de l'immortalité.[74]

However, a crucial role for the identification portrait was played by David and Solomon, both of whom were among the most important models for Christian princes from the Middle Ages onwards. *David*, included as one of the "Nine Worthies" on account of his victory over Goliath, was likewise under the protection of God, who had called him to the office of sovereign. Furthermore, he was promised numerous descendants and the continuation of his dynasty.[75] This aspect was of particular interest to young princes. In 1518, François I of France was compared to David "par semblables vertuz et dons de grace."[76] And in the *Crónica de Carlos V*, Pedro Mexia records that the emperor had been called by God to rule in the same way as the shepherd of the Old Testament and that he also emulated David in piety and bravery:

> pero por ser secretos juyzios de Dios no fueron admitidos para el reyno, por este otro David que El tenía escogido para ello, aunque chiquillo y apartado y olvidado por ventura para esto, y ansí en todo a sido ymitador de David, en la religión y en la defensión de sus reinos y acrecentamiento dellos.[77]

Some decades later, the Psalms of David were interpreted as being a *speculum principis expressis verbis* in the title of a work dedicated to Balthasar Carlos, heir to the Spanish throne: "Commentaries and Notes on the 100 Psalms of David, or Five Books Concerning the Best Prince and the Best Princely Administration." The young prince is here called upon to rule "ex-

empla Davidis" or "Davidis imagine," whereby the biblical king is shown to be an example in the sense of classical authors like Seneca, Pliny, and Livy.[78]

The divine right of kings, and the hopes which were invested in a young prince, are illustrated in an identification portrait of fourteen-year-old Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm I of Prussia. In this painting of 1702 by Anton Schoonjans (Schloss Charlottenburg, Berlin), the prime concern was not to glorify a victory but to represent God's elected heir to the throne of a kingdom which had only been in existence for a year. The court painter therefore depicted the prince as David not after, but before his triumph over Goliath.

Although the triumphant martial role of David as the victor over Goliath provided inspiration for courtly propaganda time and again from the fifteenth century on, formal identification seems to have first occurred in the sixteenth century. A representation of David after Dosso Dossi from the second quarter of the century (Galleria Borghese, Rome), may be presumed to be a disguised portrait on account of the bearded face, which is in contradiction to the story; and King Henry II of France was portrayed on a piece of jewelry as David (Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen).

David's victory is frequently related to a concrete political and military threat. Thus in 1582, on the occasion of his entry into the Netherlands, tribute was paid to François, duc d'Anjou, *expressis verbis* as the new David, to whom rulership was to be transferred from the tyrant Philip II, the new Saul:

> Samuel remonstre à Saul sa desobeissance & en signe que le Royaume seroit arraché de sa maison & donné à un meilleur luy rompt une partie de son habillement: Significant que la Seigneurie de ces Pais est ostée au Roy d'Espaigne, pour ses sermens violez par tyrannies & concussions abominables.... Comme Dieu arracha à Saul la Couronne, la donnant à David; ainsi le ciel te donne ceste espée Ducale, en ta vaillante main, pour defendre les tiens du tyran inhumain, lequel pour sa fureuer, sa rage & tyrannie nous avons dechasse hors de nostre Patrie.[79]

The hope of the new people of Israel for a victory over Goliath, which was also given expression in a *tableau vivant* on this occasion, was only fulfilled later. Accordingly, Stadholder Frederick Hendry, Prince of Orange, was apotheosized as David in a painting by Jacob Gerritsz Cuyp in 1630 after the conquest of s'Hertogenbosch. "Thus it is announced that God is on the side of the small Dutch Republic in its struggle against the Great Power, in the same way as he supported David against the Philistine Goliath. The Stadholder does not represent the economic interests of the Republic, he represents God's interests."[80]

12) «Samuel Frisching as David», ornamental shield relief, c. 1713, Historisches Museum, Bern. Photo: Museum.

The obviously bourgeois context of these Netherlandish courtly panegyrics is also found in a further identification with David, this time of Samuel Frisching, the head of the Swiss council of war and victor of the battle of Villmergen in 1712. A shield of honor which was awarded to the 74–year-old Republican and Protestant general gave him the facial features of his predecessor David [Fig. 12]. Quotations from the Psalms ("Jehova Pastor meus") were used to interpret Frisching's triumph as having been ordained by God and the victor himself as divinely favored. Similarly, an engraving shows the young Joseph II of Austria as David in his struggle against the Prussian Goliath, Frederick II; printed in the form of a political leaflet, it anticipates nineteenth-century caricatures.[81]

However, David served not only as the model for young or warlike princes but also as the prototype of the pious and wise ruler. Evidence of his piety lay in his intention to construct a temple for the Ark of the Covenant as well as in his harp-playing

in praise of God, and his atonement for his misdemeanors made him an exemplary repentant sinner. There once existed a corresponding identification portrait of Emperor Sigismund as David in a monastery in Mainz, as we are informed by his court poet Eberhard Windecke. The wall painting has not survived, but it seems quite possible that Konrad Witz was depicting this emperor in the figure of King David on his Basel Altar of c. 1433, when the emperor was attending the council in the Swiss city.

An especially ingenious idea was the insertion of such identification portraits into illustrations of the Psalms, of which evidence is to be found in late-fifteenth-century miniatures of the Hungarian King Matthias Corvinus and the Milanese ruler Galeazzo Maria Sforza. Around 1492, this *imitatio David regis* also formed the main motif of the tomb of the Polish King Casimir by Veit Stoss. In the prone figure he was depicted as *rex et sacerdos*, and on a capital as the victor over Goliath.[82]

Identifications with David persisted without interruption from the late Middle Ages until early modern times. Around 1500, scholars at the French court attempted to show "that the French king is the New David, not only in the well-known sense of the *imitatio*, but even more so as what we today would call a reincarnation," and "that the *domus David* has become the house of the most Christian king of France."[83] Some decades later, Henry VIII of England had himself identified in pictorial form as the Old Testament king in his psalter (British Library, London). In one miniature he appears as David with a harp, in another reading, and in a third praying for God's protection from his enemies. The painter, Jean Mallard, transposed the traditional psalter iconography to the present, not only in the portrait of the king and his court fool, William Somers, but also in the depiction of contemporary interior decoration. Henry VIII is presented as a pious and wise ruler, with the king's actual activities as a musician and composer lending a special note to his identification with the psalmist. Since the manuscript was intended for private use, it may be presumed that it, too, was conceived as a sort of *speculum principis*. However, the text of *The Exposition and declaration of the Psalme, Deus ultionum Dominus* and the identification portrait on the frontispiece to the *Great Bible* of 1539 prove that the identification of the English king with David was also officially produced and had religiopolitical motives.[84]

Iconographically and functionally related to the English psalter illustration is an engraving of Duke August of Braunschweig-Lüneburg as David. Here, the *imitatio pietatis* of the biblical king was a primary motive for the identification, in accordance with its function as a frontispiece to Jacob Lütkemann's *Harpffe Von Zehen Seyten. Das ist: Gründliche Erklärung Zehen Psalmen Davids* (Harp of Ten Strings. That is: A Profound Interpretation of Ten Psalms of David).

Emperor Ferdinand II, who is described in contemporary sources as "un altro David" and as a reincarnation of the biblical king,[85] commissioned a portrait of himself for the castle in Bratislava (then the capital of the Kingdom of Hungary), in which he kneels in front of a crucifix together with David, and thus in imitation of his biblical model.[86] In 1705, Ferdinand's grandson Leopold I, who was at first destined for the clergy and was himself a composer, was depicted in a painting for his funeral as King David playing the harp and following the directions of the heavenly conductor [Fig. 13].[87] The ambivalence of such representations is confirmed by a funeral sermon for the Spanish King Philip IV, of whom it was said "que fue mas exemplar, que imitador de David" (that he was himself more of an example, than an imitator of David).[88]

The same ideological intention also characterizes the altar statues which are thought to show the Polish kings Sigismund III and Ladislas IV as David and Solomon, dating from around 1635 (Wawel Castle, Cracow) [Figs. 14, 15], while English examples from this period display an additional political topicality. In 1648, William Marshall made a small copper engraving of King Charles I as David with the harp (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford). It bears the motto "The Lord is my Shield" and a quotation from the Bible: "Touch not my Anointed, And do my Prophets no harme" (Psalm CV:15). However, the warning was in vain, for the king was executed the same year.

David's successor, King Solomon, became first and foremost the prototype of a peace-loving son succeeding a warlike father. It is in this sense that one of the funeral sermons for the late Louis XIV refers his successor to the biblical model:

> Vous montez, comme le jeune Salomon, sur un Trone soutenu de la Paix & de la Victoire, autout duquel s'elevent encore des jeunes Princes, destinez à en etre bien-tot de nouveaux appuis. Puissiez-vous, comme luy, joindre les vertus & les douceurs d'un Regne toujours pacifique, au Regne glorieux du nouveau David que nous pleurons.[89]

Solomon also served Christian rulers as a model in two other ways. On the one hand, his proverbial wisdom and justice could do credit to any prince, while on the other, he exemplified the furtherance of religion and piety as the builder of the temple of Jerusalem. As the Bible records, the Lord also thanked Solomon with honor and wealth, so that there was no other king like him on earth. In view of these attributes it is hardly surprising that Solomon was presented by humanist scholars such as Erasmus of Rotterdam as the model of the good ruler per se, and that in 1546 even Cardinal Alessandro Farnese had himself portrayed in his book of hours in the role of the wise prince.[90]

13) «Emperor Leopold I as David», engraving after an emblem on the emperor's catafalque in Graz, 1705. From G. Lesky, "Das Leben des heiligen Leopold in einem Emblembuch."

It was presumably to illustrate the intended *imitatio* in a similar manner, as well as for propaganda purposes, that King Sigismund I of Poland was portrayed as Solomon in 1530. The idea seems to have been directly inspired by Erasmus, who in a letter to Sigismund dated 1528 praised the biblical king as the ideal prince and attributed all his qualities and virtues to the Polish ruler. Bartolomeo Berecci's marble relief for the royal burial chapel forms part of a complex program, but its special significance

14) Jerzy Zimmerman (?), «King Sigismund III of Poland as David (?)», wooden sculpture, c. 1635 (?), Wawel Castle, Cracow. Photo: Museum.

15) Jerzy Zimmerman (?), «King Ladislas IV of Poland as Solomon (?)», wooden sculpture, c. 1635 (?), Wawel Castle, Cracow. Photo: Museum.

16) Wenzel Hollar after Hans Holbein the Younger (c. 1534), «King Henry VIII of England as Solomon», copper engraving, 1642, Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna. Photo: Bildarchiv der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek.

derives from its function as a donor portrait and the analogy between the chapel and the Temple of Solomon.[91] Furthermore, it forms the logical continuation of the identification of Sigismund's parents with David and Bathsheba on the above-mentioned tomb of King Casimir.

Yet even the construction of churches "a imitazione del gran re Salomone," which Vasari mentions along with other services performed by Grand Duke Cosimo I de' Medici,[92] could be interpreted allegorically. The portraits identifying the English King Henry VIII with Solomon, which are likewise embedded in a rich literary-iconographical context, are to be understood in this sense. In the example by Holbein [Fig. 16],[93] emphasis is placed on the correspondence of the virtues of the type and the antetype in the legend "Thy wisdom and prosperity exceedeth the fame which I heard." Above the throne one can see the speech of the Queen of Sheba as it appears in the Bible: "Blessed be the LORD thy God, which delighted in thee, to set thee on the throne of Israel: because the LORD loved Israel for ever, therfore made he thee king, to do judgement and justice" (1 Kings X:9). As Jane Roberts has pointed out, the Queen of Sheba is depicted in this picture in her traditional role as a personification of the Church. In receiving her fealty the king was also receiving the fealty— and, tacitly, the sanction—of the Church of England. In addition, the Bible verses imply that the king is responsible to God alone.[94] The style furnishes evidence for dating it to around 1534, the year in which the king appointed himself head of the Church of England.

At about the same time, this theme was made the subject of a stained-glass window in King's College Chapel at Cambridge, in which the figure of Solomon is proved to be an identification portrait of Henry VIII by the presence of a putto bearing the royal monogram "HR."[95]

Formally closer than in the family chapels of the Jagiellons and the Tudors is the analogy with the Temple of Solomon to be found in Philip II's monastic residence, El Escorial. Even upon his accession to the throne, Philip was received in the Netherlands (!) with the inscription "Vos Felipe! soys el Prudente Salomón, que por mandato de vuestro justo padre gobernaréys los reynos que os pertenecen..." (Philip! Be the wise Solomon, and rule the kingdoms that belong to thee by the mandate of thy just father). The biblical father-son analogy is also to be found in the funeral sermons for the Spanish king.[96] In the Netherlands, the idea was transposed pictorially in 1559 in a painting commissioned by the Order of the Golden Fleece (St. Bavon Cathedral, Ghent). Here Philip is depicted, like Henry VIII, in the center of a symmetrical composition, seated on the lion's throne, with the Queen of Sheba symbolizing the homage of the country. The comparison of the Spanish king with the Old Testament model is ideologically based on the notion, expressed in 1597 by López

Madera in his work *Excelencias de la Monarquía y Reyno de España*, that the sovereignty of the Habsburgs was built on wisdom and justice. It reached its climax in the construction of El Escorial as the new Temple of Solomon.[97] For this reason Philip II was described in a funeral sermon as being equal to Solomon not only in wisdom and justice but also in *magnificentia* and as a pious builder:

A David sucedio Salomón, y a Carlos, Felipe II Salomón.... Fuele parecido. Lo primero en sabiduria...; lo segundo en la Justicia...; lo tercero en la paz, que es fruto de la justicia...; lo quarto en magnificencia.... Lo quinto fue excelente Salomon, que lo escogio Dios, para que le edificasse casa, aquel templo ... de San Lorenzo el Real, y casa celeberrima, que en orden es el octavo milagro del mundo, y el primero en dignidad edificado en tantos anos, con tan magnificas expensas.[98]

In 1634, Philip's grandson Philip IV was portrayed as Solomon in an engraving by C. Galle and M. van den Enden with the motto "wise rulership knows no decline" (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid). When the Spanish king, who also bore the title of King of Jerusalem, had a throne with 12 gilded lions constructed in the royal residence in Madrid in 1651, this ideology was no longer presented solely allegorically but also, as it were, "in reality."[99] Under these circumstances it was only logical that this theme was to be carried on into the eighteenth century by the Spanish Bourbons.[100]

The continuation of the typology was made that much easier by the fact that it enjoyed a long tradition among the Bourbons in France. The evidence goes back as far as the thirteenth century, and it is recorded in a tract on the ordo for the coronation of Charles V in 1372 that the unction served for the transmission of the four cardinal virtues as possessed by King Solomon.[101] Logically enough, Charles VIII of France celebrated his unction in Rouen in 1485 with a play based on the Old Testament: Bathsheba appears with her retinue before David and asks him to crown her son Solomon, "a blond youth who represents our ruler and natural lord." As a result of this theatrical typology, the young king was subsequently also represented in the role of Solomon on a tapestry in the cathedral of Sens. The mother-son analogy is found again in the case of Louise of Savoy and her son François I, who was also praised as the lover of *Francia* in the verses of the Bible. While the programs for the young king's official entries were also intended to reflect his virtue, constitutional motives are involved in the comparison found in a manuscript of 1532 of the French king with Solomon and his kingdom with Israel,[102] and in Guillaume Bude's work *De l'institution du prince* (1547).[103]

17) Louis Sirinx, «King Louis XIV of France as Solomon», copper engraving, 1645, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Photo: Bibl. Nat.

The identification portraits from the seventeenth century are characterized, like the literary examples, by their function as straightforward propaganda, and they are very often engravings. Thus, even as a youth Louis XIV appears as Solomon in an engraving of 1645 by Louis Sirinx [Fig. 17]. Remarkably enough, the French king is not shown in a dominating pose here, because the engraving was not actually a court commission. In contrast, a later identification portrait of 1659 places the king at the center of the composition. This engraving is an early testimony of the war of symbols between Louis and the Habsburgs,[104] who are scornfully depicted as the French king's petitioners (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris).

In the same period, the pretensions of Louis XIV are expressed in the literary endeavor of a Franciscan who described himself as a "simple Interprète de la Parole de Dieu." Under the title Divine Prophecies taken from Psalm LXXI of David and

applied to the person of the King, where one may notice God's admirable Direction of his Majesty in the most notable Deeds of his Life, he interprets the Bible in a straightforward political fashion. Among other things, he writes in the dedication to the king that some authors relate this psalm to Christ and others to Solomon, yet with regard to power on earth, Louis XIV far surpasses the Old Testament ruler:

> mais pour la Puissance temporelle, il Vous la donne, Sire, incomparablement plus grande qu'à Salomon, comme la verité le fait connoistre, si l'on compare vostre monarchie avec la sienne.[105]

A comparison with Solomon is also made in the funeral sermons for Louis XIV, together with the remark that "la Reine du Nord vint comme une autre Reine de Saba, écouter sa sagesse" (the queen of the north [Christine of Sweden] came like another Queen of Sheba to hear his wisdom). Another sermon interprets the Queen of Sheba symbolically and refers to the quotation from the Bible encountered above in the engraving of Henry VIII [Fig. 16]:

> nous pouvons vous adresser au lit de vòtre mort les paroles qu'une Reine de l'Orient adressa autrefois à Salomon, glorieux & triomphant sur son Trône: Nous avions entendu publier de vous de grandes merveilles, MAIS VOS VERTUS SURPASSENT VOTRE RENOMMÉE. Vicisti famam virtutibus tuis.[106]

The Habsburgs, subjected to disparagement in the 1659 engraving of Louis, were nevertheless able to point to a long tradition of Old Testament iconography not only in the Spanish line of descent but also on the Imperial throne; representations of David and Solomon constitute a central motif as early as the tenth century, on the Imperial crown. However, the first genuine identification portrait is found at a much later date, namely in 1653, when Ferdinand IV, on the occasion of his coronation in Augsburg as king of the Romans, was glorified in a Bamberg thesis engraving by Melchior Küsel as a wise heir to the throne and, above all, as one who had been ordained by God (Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna).

In the same year, his father, Emperor Ferdinand III, was apotheosized as Solomon in both text and illustration for the holding of the Imperial Diet in Regensburg. An arch of honor was constructed for the emperor's entry into the city, and in a description of it reference is made first of all to a representation of Solomon as the symbol of wisdom and to the similarly great wisdom of the emperor. In a painting of the triumphal arch, the analogy is illustrated still more clearly by an identification por-

trait which characterizes Solomon/Ferdinand III as the prince of virtue per se:

> Das auff der Seiten steht, das ist des Keysers Thron
> auff den der Keyser sitzt als König Salomon
> mit Löwen umb und umb. Vier schöne Tugend-Frauen
> sind neben diesem Thron in ihrer Zier zuschauen:
> Die Stärke, Mässigkeit, Gerechtigkeit, Vernunft
> als rechtes Oberhaupt der andern Tugend-Zunfft.[107]

Previously, Elector Maximilian I of Bavaria had been praised as the new Solomon in a thesis engraving of 1641 by Wolfgang Kilian and Matthäus Gundelach. Peaceful and warlike landscapes allegorizing concord and envy are visible behind the canopy covering the throne, the lions of which symbolize Maximilian's twelve predecessors in office, and the text emphasizes the ruler's achievements in war and peace with the motto "IN VTROQVE LEO."[108]

In 1649, for the baptism of Henry of Brandenburg, the court painter Mathias Czwiczek painted a family portrait in which Henry's father, the Great Elector, is shown as Solomon. He only appears in the background, however, while his own mother, Elisabeth Charlotte of the Palatinate, dominates the scene in the role of the Queen of Sheba presenting her treasures [Fig. 18].[109]

In Spain, Queen Maria Anna of Austria, regent for her son Charles II, who had not yet come of age, in 1666 was similarly exalted as the "Potens Arabiae Regina" before the throne of Solomon.[110] This theme had been adopted as early as the fifteenth century in Florence to illustrate male wisdom and female splendor.[111] Expressing the latter is undoubtedly the object of a group portrait from the early seventeenth century showing a Duchess of Mantua and her ladies-in-waiting as the Queen of Sheba with her retinue before King Solomon (who is not represented as an identification portrait).[112] Functionally, however, like the already mentioned Czwiczek painting on the same theme, it constitutes a transition from the official portraits of sovereigns to the group of familial identification portraits.

Marriage and Family Portraits

Within the group of familial portraits there is a predominance of Netherlandish works, commissioned mainly by bourgeois Protestant patrons, since in this milieu a corresponding typology had been preserved.[113]

> Lines dividing history and scripture dissolved as the meaning of Dutch independence and power was attributed to the providential selection of a new people to be as a light unto the nations. In this Netherlandish addendum to the Old

18) Mathias Czwiczek, «Elisabeth Charlotte of the Palatinate and Elector Frederick William of Brandenburg as the Queen of Sheba and King Solomon», 1649, Schloss Charlottenburg, Berlin. From *Der Grosse Kurfürst*.

Testament, the United Provinces featured as the New Zion, Philip II as a king of Assyria, and William the Silent as a godly captain of Judah. The boy, whom we might call Jacob Isaaksoon, Jacob the son of Isaac, was to understand that he was a child of Israel, one of the *nederkinderen*, dwelling under the protection of the Almighty for so long as he heeded His commandments. The nation to which he belonged had been delivered from bondage and raised up to prosperity and might through the power of the covenant with the Lord. Were it to stray from the paths of righteousness it could expect to be humbled as Israel and Judah had been humbled before it. As the boy grew to manhood, his conduct should exemplify acceptance of this covenant, and, accordingly, blessings would be showered upon him. To a great extent this scriptual exhortation was the common idiom of all Calvinist and Puritan cultures of the early seventeenth century. Abrahams, Isaacs, and Jacobs could be found in Rouen, Dundee, Norwich, and Basel, as well as Leiden and Zierikzee.[114]

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19) Maarten de Vos, «The Family and Friends of Peeter Panhuys as the Children of Israel», c. 1575, Mauritshuis, The Hague. From A. Zweite, *Marten de Vos*.

Among the earliest and, at the same time, most expressive identification portraits resulting from this national typology is the group portrait of the family and friends of the patrician Peeter Panhuys in the form of the children of Israel receiving the Ten Commandments from Moses and offering gifts for the Temple. The painting was executed by Maarten de Vos sometime around 1575 and bears as its motto a quotation from the Bible:

And afterward all the children of Israel came nigh: and he gave them in commandment all that the Lord had spoken with him in mount Sinai.... And Moses spake unto the congregation of the children of Israel, saying, This is the thing which the Lord commanded, saying, take ye from among you an offering unto the Lord: whosoever is of a willing heart, let him bring it, an offering of the Lord; gold, and silver, and brass, ... And all the congregation of the children of Israel departed from the presence of Moses. And they came, every one whose heart stirred him up, and everyone whom his spirit made willing, and they brought the Lord's offering to the work of the tabernacle of the congregation, and for all his service, and for the holy garments" (Exodus XXXIV:32, XXXV:4–5, 20–21) [Fig. 19].[115]

Similarly evident is the theme of a painting of 1628 by Nicolaes Moeyaert showing God presenting the land of Canaan to Abraham and his descendants. Several of the characters display signs of being portraits [Fig. 20].[116] The respective verse from the Bible runs:

And Abram passed through the land unto the place of Sichem, unto the plain of Moreh. And the Canaanite was then in the land. And the Lord appeared unto Abram, and said, Unto thy seed will I give this land: and there builded he an altar unto the Lord who appeared unto him (Genesis XII:6–7).

20) Nicolaes Moeyaert, «God Appearing to Abraham in Sichem», 1628, Rijksmuseum, Utrecht. From *Meesterlijk Vee*.

A similar scene is shown in an identification portrait by Thomas de Kayser from the middle of the seventeenth century: Moses is being shown the Promised Land by an angel, whereby not only the patriarch and his family but also the angel are portraits.[117]

What was at first political and national typology was soon also understood in social and individual terms, and the analogy of events related to family events. Moreover, the Netherlandish family portrait was influenced by the reformational ethic already upon its inception in the sixteenth century, and the patricians who commissioned the portraits were probably just as familiar with the political typology as with the aristocratic customs of portraiture.[118] It even seems conceivable that it was only the adoption of such a moralistic disguise to demonstrate exemplary behavior according to the Calvinist ethic, that legitimized these representative portraits. According to Bauer,

the Dutch portrait also incorporated courtly elements, yet employed the sitter's mythological or biblical "clothing" as a parable of virtues. This is the reason for the frequent tension between the historical person, the *fatto* taken from higher spheres, and the meticulous accuracy of portrayal—which in Holland did not idealize its sitters, even if it did beautify them. The person does indeed display symbols of his virtue but there is no further ascension into more general Olympic heights in the parable, only the comparison to a model.[119]

Nevertheless, when the mayor of the town of Dordrecht, Jan van Drencwaert, was painted in 1572 by Jan Woutersz van Kuik as King Solomon in the act of passing judgment, this roused great ill feeling among the clergy[120]—probably because it was seen as arrogant,[121] or perhaps even as a sort of lese majesty.[122]

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However, by the late sixteenth century the more "modest" theme of the reconciliation of Jacob and Esau did not cause any excitement at all when it was used by Pieter Pietersz for a portrait of a family and their relatives (private collection, England). This subject, which was entirely suited to the Calvinist ethos, also attracted Jakob Willemz Delff the Elder[123] as a theme for a family portrait (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna), and around 1645, Gerrit Williamz Horst painted a family as Jacob and his tribe before the encounter with Esau (Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Kassel).

Two representations of the discovery of the child Moses, one by Abraham van Dyck (formerly in a private collection, The Hague) and the other by Jan de Bray,[124] dating from the second half of the seventeenth century, may allude to adoptions.

Furthermore, married couples and families of the Old Testament were presented time and again as ideal examples in literature and emblemata. For instance, in a *speculum virtutis* of 1686 for newly married couples it is expressly stated that the bride should seek to emulate Sarah's spirit, the virtue of Ruth, and the humility of Abigail.[125] The numerous portraits of married couples, with or without children, portrayed in Old Testament roles exhibit the same ambivalence between arrogance and the pursuit of virtue as the courtly examples. In doing so, identification portraits provide what is probably the most impressive illustration of the desire, expressed in numerous portraits of married couples, to be depicted "with social masks that would express ideas and values shared within a larger social order."[126]

Moses and his wife, Zipporah (seen bidding farewell to Moses' father-in-law, Jethro [Exodus IV:18–20], in a painting by Jan Victors), Moses and the daughters of Jethro (painted by Pieter Verelst, 1643, art market, London), Tobias and Sarah (by Adriaen van Nieulandt, 1653, private collection, Edinburgh), and David and Abigail (by Aelbert Cuyp, Kunstmuseum, Basel) seem to occur as pairs only once each.[127] The couples Isaac and Rebekah, and Jacob and Rachel,[128] however, enjoyed special popularity. In the role of Isaac and Rebekah, who are also represented on a wedding medallion of 1652 as an "obvious exemplum of ideal matrimony,"[129] Jan Victors was presumably portraying the de Wittes.[130] Sources identify a picture from the mid-seventeenth century by Ferdinand Bol as a portrait of Anna van Erckel and Erasmus Scharlacken [Fig. 21].[131]

Conjugal ties are also illustrated in two paintings of Jacob and Rachel. One is by Dirck Santvoort and includes portraits of other family members as well (formerly in a private collection, Berlin), and the other is by Theodor van Thulden (?) (Palais des Beaux-Arts, Valenciennes). Victors's paintings from the 1640s,[132] and works by Gerbrand van den Eeckhout dating from 1652 (private collection) and 1667 (Szépművézeti Múzeum, Budapest),[133] can likewise be classified as a treatment of the theme of Israelite predeces-

sors. They show a family of shepherds camped beside a well and indicate the pastoral genre that was also very popular in Holland at this time.[134] Victors's 1670 portrait of a family in Oriental costume seems to allude, with its huge bunches of grapes, to the exploration of the land of Canaan (Numbers XIII).[135]

When Jacob van Hasselt painted in 1636 the wedding feast of Jochum Berntsen van Haecken and Grietje van Hasselt, he dressed all the guests in Oriental costume, yet to this very day it has not been possible to explain whether the theme is that of Esther und Ahasuerus, the marriage of Samson, or some other biblical event.[136]

We have the same problems of interpretation with a family portrait of 1663 (?) by the Dutch-trained German painter Simon Peter Tilmann (Kunsthalle, Bremen). The picture shows the family of Magnus Gröning, a patrician in Bremen, in Oriental dress.[137]

The Dutch predeliction for sumptuous Oriental costumes is also featured in two family portraits on the theme of Hannah bringing Samuel to Eli (1 Samuel I:25–28), one painted by Lambert Doomer (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Orléans) and the other by van den Eeckhout (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford) in the 1660s. In the latter work, the identification with Hannah may well have been prompted by a long period of infertility only overcome after urgent prayer to God. This is indicated by at least one contemporary source, albeit from the courtly sphere. Louis XIV was compared to Samuel in the title of a panegyric of 1645 in honor of the French Dauphin: *Louis, gift of God to Louis and Anna—Samuel, gift of God to Elkanah and Hannah*. In this work by a Spanish author, not only the divinely ordained birth of the son and heir after a long period of infertility but also the virtues of the biblical Hannah and the French Anna are regarded as analogous:

El Sagrado Texto (o Poderoso Principe) nos dize, que Elcana tubo por su Esposa à ANA, glorioso Triumpho de la que dió à Francia otro segundo Samuel, Governador y Principe del Pueblo de Dios. Pasá à mayor Trono el mayor Monarcha del Orbe y dexó à V.M. por Madre, la mayor Reyna del universo D. ANA DE AUSTRIA REYNA DE FRANCIA Y DE NAVARRA.... Derete V.M. lo que Samuel à ANA, veinte y quatre anos de esperanza, que mucho le costaze tan caro un primogenito divino DADO DE DIOS por merced particular suya. Vino V.M. al mundo como Samuel à lagrimas, aymos y Sacrificios, cuya tolerancia, valor y paciencia, en sola la virtud de tan gran Senora se pudieran hallar y lograrse.... Fue tan milagroso el nacimiento de V.M. que el sagrado Testo nos discubre en cada verso mayores maravillas con que califar nuestra Doctrina, por que si ANA madre de Samuel, frequentava el Templo de Dios, la Chatolica y Christianissima Magestad de ANA DE AUSTRIA, es tan continua en los Templos como en la Oracion, digalo, V.M. pues vino al Mundo, à dar testimonio de su virtud

21) Ferdinand Bol, «Erasmus Scharlacken and Anna van Erckel as Isaac and Rebekah», c. 1646–48, Dordrecht Museum. From E. de Jong, *Portretten van echt en trouw*.

22) Dirck Metius, «The Gathering of the Manna [The Van Loon Family]», 1648, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. From R. E. O. Ekkart, "Bartholomeus Beenbergh en Dirck Metius."

y fe.... O SENOR, quantos Heli tubo vuestra Madre. A segurese V.M. que fueron muchos, y pocos los que à guardavan à Samuel, por que veinte y tres anos de esperanca desaconan los ynteriores sentidos, y à un los esteriores deseos.[138]

The painting by Doomer, on the other hand, stresses another aspect of the biblical story than Hannah's infertility. It depicts a mother of six, Alida Essingh, wife of François Wijnants, and is thought to be an allegory of the loss of one of their sons, who is thus returned to God.[139]

While van den Eeckhout more or less succeeded in resolving the contradiction between compositional unity and the group portrait, in many other cases painters were not so successful. This applies to Dirck Metius' picture of the family Van Loon gathering manna [Fig. 22].[140] Jan van Noordt in his late work *Hagar in the Desert* combined in an interesting way the portrait of an unknown lady and her child with the dynamics of the Bible story [Fig. 23].[141] Victors achieved a rather satisfactory solution in his painting of the Levites in Gibeah.[142] Like the two works on the same theme by van den Eeckhout in Berlin, Victors's painting also contains portraits. Regardless of the horrific course of the story

23) Jan van Noordt, «Hagar in the Desert», private collection, Milwaukee. From W. Sumowski, *Gemälde der Rembrandt-Schüler*, IV.

(Judges XIX-XXI), the conjugal fidelity of the Levites and the hospitality of the workers in the field are touched upon in moralizing fashion in all three paintings.[143] The subject of social obligation also occurs in the story of the prophet Elisha, who refused the gifts of the military commander Naaman after the latter had been healed of leprosy (2 Kings V). Similarly, the 1637 work based on this theme by Pieter de Grebber (Teylers Museum, Haarlem) was commissioned as a group portrait of the directors of the leper house in Haarlem.[144]

Two eighteenth-century identification portraits, though not from Netherlandish bourgeois circles, in all probability stem from a Protestant milieu: While an ivory sculpture of *Adam and Eve* by Leonhard Kern was formerly wrongly regarded as an identification portrait of the Great Elector, Frederick William of Brandenburg and his wife, Louise Henriette of Orange,[145] a painting from the 1770s of a Hungarian, presumably aristocratic couple, unmistakably portrays them as Adam and Eve (Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, Budapest) [Fig. 24].

If we look for a philosophical background here, we can regard the picture as a transcription of the decision made by the first couple, freely and independently of the will of God, in

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24) Johann Michael Millitz (?), Hungarian (?) married couple as Adam und Eve, 1770s, Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, Budapest. From E. Buzasi, *Régi Magyar Arcképek*.

25) Lorenzo Lippi, «The Sale of the Birthright», c. 1642–44, private collection, Florence. From *Il Seicento fiorentino*.

accordance with the mentality of the Enlightenment.... Since, however, the scene also breathes the spirit of a somewhat happy-go-lucky liberty and frivolity, the work is not so far removed from that century's world of mythological and pastoral genres, which were designed in such a consciously spicy manner and enjoyed such great popularity.[146]

At approximately the same time, Benjamin West painted his portrait of Mary, the wife of Henry Thombson of Kirby Hall, as Rachel at the well, a picture already displaying signs of neoclassicism.[147]

Besides the numerous works of Netherlandish and Protestant provenance there exists a smaller group of hidden portraits for

bourgeois patrons in Italy. Above all in Florence, it seems that in the seventeenth century the tradition of the identification portrait, which went back to the fourteenth century,[148] enjoyed a certain popularity not only at the court of the Medici but also among the patricians.[149] Thus in *The Sale of the Birthright* of c. 1642–44 by Lorenzo Lippi, Gabriele Zuti, who commissioned the painting, is portrayed in the figure of Esau,[150] while Isaac perhaps bears the features of his younger brother [Fig. 25].

Lippi was commissioned by Agnolo Galli in 1656 to paint a family portrait, including the deceased children, as *The Triumph of David*; however, the composition was not very successful [Fig. 26].[151] Baldinucci, who writes about it, provides no reason for this identification.

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26) Lorenzo Lippi, «The Triumph of David», 1656, private collection, Florence. From *Il Seicento fiorentino*.

Private Portraits and Self-Portraits

The apparently unmotivated "disguise" in Lippi's *Triumph of David* leads to the third group of Old Testament identification portraits, whose interpretation is more difficult. This applies primarily to portraits of unknown personages, but also, in many cases, to portraits of artists and their friends. Functionally, this group most-ly involves private portraits, yet there are iconographical connections to the courtly portraits. For here are such virtuous heroes as David, Moses, Judith, and Susanna. First and foremost this indicates — apart from possible analogies of names or "model studies," such as *Rembrandt's Mother as the Prophetess Hannah* (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna)[152] — a moralising intention in the sense of the analogy of virtue. It may well be that this concerns

27) Anthony van Dyck, «Unknown Youth as the Young Tobias», c. 1625, Palazzo Durazzo-Pallavicini, Mantua. From E. Larsen, *L'Opera completa di van Dyck* (Milan, 1980).

28) «Pordenone as David», engraving after a lost self-portrait. From C. Furlan, Il Pordenone.

the Netherlandish examples in particular, for example the mid-seventeenth-century *David* portraits by Jan van Oost in St. Petersburg, Warsaw, and Copenhagen,[153] or Eglon Hendrik van der Neer's *Judith* of c. 1680.[154] In the latter, the figure of Holofernes disappearing in the background creates the effect of a subsequent addition. An argument in favour of the analogy of virtue — as in the *Sophonisba* portraits by the same artist — is above all the gesture of chastity and humility, even if a certain contrast is provided by the magnificence of the garments. The victory over Goliath or Holofernes would be understood allegorically as the triumph of a Christian over Evil, which made it possible for the burghers to identify with the "courtly" heroes. However, due to a lack of knowledge about the sitters, these examples cannot be

definitely classified as belonging to the bourgeois or courtly milieu. This is also true of Sir Anthony van Dyck's *Isaac* (Národní Galerie, Prague), formerly regarded as a self-portrait,[155] while his *Unknown Youth as the Young Tobias* (Palazzo Durazzo-Pallavicini, Mantua) [Fig. 27], probably originated as a commission for an aristocratic patron.

On the other hand, Tintoretto's *Portrait of a Young Man as David*, dating from the mid-sixteenth century (The National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo) probably derives from the Venetian patrician milieu, as does the model of the poetically idealised *David* from Giorgione's workshop (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna).[156]

In Florence there might also have been specifically local reasons for the identification of Lorenzo Antonio Galli [Fig. 26] and

29) Gian Lorenzo Bernini, «David», marble sculpture, detail, 1623–24, Galleria Borghese, Rome. Photo: Kunsthistorisches Institut der Universität Wien.

other patricians—for example, those painted by Francesco Furini c. 1630[157]—with David, the patron and symbol of municipal liberties and the humanist ideal of man.[158] According to Baldinucci, Felice Ficherelli's model for the biblical hero was "un bellissimo giovane, chiamato Camillo Marini, cittadino fiorentino, che poi in Napoli fece gran fortuna" (a most beautiful young man, called Camillo Marini, a citizen of Florence, who later made his fortune in Naples), although the frequent use of Marini as a model perhaps argues against conscious identification.[159]

Another interpretation of biblical stories of the divine right of kings, or triumph and defeat, appears possible in some portraits of artists, although the idea of the virtue of the true artist may very well also be implied, as in Ferdinand Bol's presumed self-portrait

as the Egyptian Joseph of c. 1635/40 (Gemäldegalerie, Dresden).[160] Analogous to Dürer's self-portraits in the pose of Christ,[161] Giorgione's Self-Portrait as David has been interpreted in the context of both his conception of himself as an artist and his artistic rivalry with the "giant" Giovanni Bellini.[162] His facial expression, which is in no way triumphant, tends to argue for a somewhat different interpretation: "David becomes a portrayed metaphor of Giorgione's existence in a way that later Michelangelo seems to have expressed and intensified when he formulated the verse: 'Like David with the sling am I, my body arched,' a twist that can be rightly cited as an interpretation of Giorgione."[163] The fact that Giorgione's David presents the appearance of being neither happy nor proud, but rather melancholy and skeptical—a "poetic transfiguration" which recurs in an Orpheus picture by the same artist—leads Raupp to the view that Giorgione sought above all to represent the "divinely inspired poet" and not the youthful hero.[164] The tradition of Giorgione's identification with David, which goes back to Vasari, was indeed opposed in favor of an identification with Goliath,[165] although the earlier hypothesis nevertheless seems to be supported by an analogous example, that of a Ritratto del Pordenone in vesta di David, which has only come down to us in the form of an engraving [Fig. 28]. Influenced by Giorgione, the work was formerly attributed to the Venetian master himself.[166]

In his bon mot, Michelangelo had above all the sculptural effects in mind, which is why the comparison also suggested itself for Bernini's David (Galleria Borghese, Rome) [Fig. 29]:

The metaphorical language of "bravery in the face of the colossus" may have been lent an additional sculptural note through the "stone" of David. Just as the youthful hero of the Bible conquers the colossus Goliath "with a stone," the virtus of the brave sculptor masters the unformed colossus "in the stone." Unlike Michelangelo, however, Bernini rendered the identification with David visible in the facial features, and one can surmise that here, in a complicated metaphor which includes the historical "giant" Michelangelo, the young, successful modern sculptor is personalising his rivalry with the older sculptor, the greatest since antiquity, in his statue's function and role.[167]

In painting, examples of identification with David which can perhaps be interpreted in a similar way include the presumed self-portraits of Bernini's contemporaries working in Rome, Nicolas Poussin (Galleria Spada, Rome) and Simon Vouet (Palazzo Bianco, Genoa).[168] In this context may also be mentioned Niccolò Renieri's David, which is stylistically close to Vouet (A. Busiri Vici Collection, Rome). It has been supposed that the figure of the hero is a self-portrait and that of Goliath a portrait of Caravaggio.[169]

30) Federico Zuccaro, «Michelangelo as Moses», drawing, Louvre, Paris. From E. Steinmann, *Porträtdarstellungen des Michelangelo*.

On the other hand, in the eighteenth century Franz Ludwig Herrmann's self-portrait as David seems to constitute an isolated case. Wearing a casual plumed hat, the court painter of the prince bishop in Constance certainly presents himself from his most self-conscious side, which is why this portrait has been thought to be an allegory of the "victory of the artist over the contemporary Philistines."[170]

Apart from the youthful triumphator who drives away Saul's depressions with his music, and with a sling the enemies who outnumber him, David also seems to have provided an identification figure for artists as the old and wise prophet. One is reminded of the above-mentioned self-portrait of Bronzino as David which is combined with portraits of his friends as Moses, Abraham, and Isaac. Their contemporary, Baccio Bandinelli, immortalised himself as a prophet on the balustrade of the choir of the cathedral in Florence.[171] At this time, even Michelangelo's *Moses* was understood not only as a symbol of the pope but also as that of the artist himself. In a drawing by Federico Zuccaro this was expressed by giving the statue of the biblical figure the sculptor's facial features, implying that both were interpreters by the grace of God [Fig. 30].[172]

It nonetheless seems that instead of—or in addition to—a moralising or artistic-philosophical intention, the subconscious or erotic motives which can be suggested for the following identification portraits are also perhaps applicable to some of the foregoing examples. For all three themes encountered here—David and Goliath, Judith and Holofernes, John the Baptist and Salome—readily lend themselves to such an interpretation. On the one hand, the relationship between these pairs was first considered from an erotic point of view not in the nineteenth century but even earlier; on the other, decapitation is psychologically regarded as a symbol for castration (anxiety) and identification with the victim as a desire for (self-) punishment.[173] The latter was even proposed for the identification portrait by Giorgione already mentioned. As a result of his probably illegitimate birth, the artist is supposed to have felt himself a social outsider and a melancholy "David," and to have portrayed his father as Goliath. "The representation would thereby become a form of revenge, an execution of his own father 'in effigy' for begetting or abandoning his own, possibly unwanted son."[174]

Due to the historical situation, or perhaps to the existence of better sources, similar interpretations based on depth psychology are more convincing when it comes to Caravaggio. The role which murder and manslaughter play not only in the artist's work but also in his life cannot be overlooked: "In acting out a crime against a father figure and then asking for forgiveness, Caravaggio repeats the pattern of a castration complex. Thus Caravaggio explicitly identifies himself as the victim of beheading in paintings after the act of murder in 1606."[175]

In Caravaggio's case, a homoerotic dimension can probably also be assigned to the David theme.[176] However, grounds for this seem to be already provided in the Bible, which not only describes David's "comely person" (1 Samuel XVI:18), but also states that Jonathan's love for him was "passing the love of women" (2 Samuel I:26):

... and Jonathan loved him as his own soul.... Then Jonathan and David made a covenant, because he loved him as his own soul. And Jonathan stripped himself of the robe that was upon him, and gave it to David, and his garments, even to his sword, and to his bow, and to his girdle. And David went out whithersoever Saul sent him, and behaved himself wisely: and Saul set him over the men of war... (1 Samuel XVIII:1–5).

In the seventeenth century, the "affection indissoluble" of Jonathan and David was described by Caussin, among others, in the following vivid words: "les separations leur estoient autant de morts & leur entrevenue faisoit un paradis anticipé" (separations were for them like death and their meetings like an anticipation of paradise).[177]

It was probably not least due to the connection made already in the Bible between pederasty and success in battle that in the fifteenth century David could be related by the Neoplatonists to Plato's ideas of Eros. In any case, due to his unmistakably erotic aura and the relief of cupids on his helmet, Donatello's bronze David can be interpreted as a victor fighting under the protection of Eros and Platonic love. "The way in which the statue's effeminacy is openly and defiantly exhibited indicates that Donatello consciously desired to display David, and indirectly himself, as a homosexual."[178]

The "missing link" between the works of Donatello and Caravaggio is provided by one of Michelangelo's sculptures.[179] The latter's *Victory* in Florence was recently interpreted in a convincing way not only as a paraphrase of the David theme, but also as an excessive Neoplatonic double-portrait of the artist and his lover Tommaso Cavalieri: "The civic and spiritual virtues of David are projected on the youth, symbolized in the figure's idealized grace and power and in the attributes of sling-bag and oak-wreath. The vanquished warrior may be seen as the aged artist, the physical and spiritual inferior of its counterpart.... Yet inasmuch as the statue was motivated by Michelangelo's love for Cavalieri, the ideal of the youthful David is now associated with him."[180]

A similar interpretation, namely that of a "proiezione di una situazione personale di natura omoerotica,"[181] also seems to be secure for the self-portrait of Caravaggio as Goliath [Fig. 31]. For as early as 1650, Marinelli wrote that the artist "in quella testa volle ritrarre se stesso, e nel David ritrasse il suo Caravaggino"

31) Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio, «David and Goliath», c. 1609/10, reproduction, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Kassel. Photo: Kunsthistorisches Institut der Universität Wien.

(with this head he wanted to portray himself, and in David he was portraying his Caravaggino).[182] In David, the painter was thus portraying his pupil and temporary lover Cecco di Caravaggio.

Related at least in time and place to the paintings of Caravaggio is the possible self-portrait of Orazio Borgianni as Goliath (Galleria Borghese, Rome),[183] although his full-figure hero with a plumed hat corresponds to Guido Reni's type of David.

Similarly oscillating between irony, cynicism, and sometimes even hate, the identification portraits of Judith and Holofernes, as well as those of Salome and John the Baptist, are based on the so-called "cycles of female power," in which Salome and also Judith are vilified as "man-eating vamps."[184] Like those of David and Goliath, these representations go back to the early sixteenth

32) Circle of Alessandro Turchi (?), «Salome», private collection, Vienna. Photo: Dorotheum, Vienna.

33) Bonifacio de Pitati, «Salome», Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. Photo: Museum.

century and are apparently to be found with above-average frequency in the genre of the self-portrait. Still more conspicuous is the preference for this variant of the identification portrait among the artists and patrons of Venice. While it is highly questionable whether the Holofernes in Giorgione's painting of c. 1505 (Hermitage, St. Petersburg) is a self-portrait,[185] we are nevertheless informed of a half-figure portrait of Judith by this master from copies by Teniers and Catena.[186] Among the earliest examples are also Pordenone's *Judith* of 1515 (Galleria Borghese, Rome) and the *Salome* (Lucrezia Borgia?) of 1506 by Bartolomeo Veneto (Gemäldegalerie, Dresden), as well as that by Sebastiano del Piombo dating from 1510 (National Gallery, London). Titian's self-portrait as the beheaded John the Baptist in his *Salome* (Galleria Doria Pamphilj, Rome) can be clearly classified as erotic on account of the presence of a small Amor.[187] It may also have a parallel in the *Head of John the Baptist* in the Cleveland Museum

of Art, the features of which are probably those of Titian's friend, the poet Pietro Aretino, well known for his lascivious poetry. Shearman also presumes that the *Judith* in Vienna by Paolo Veronese, as well as the *Judith* in Florence by Palma Vecchio, include self-portraits of the painters as Holofernes,[188] although the rather indistinct faces of the beheaded men are an argument against this. However, in the latter work, the matronly figure of Judith at least testifies to the identification of an unknown lady with the heroine. In a *Judith* in the Galleria Spada in Rome and a *Salome* in a private collection [Fig. 32], there are paraphrases—if not actual copies—of Titian's portraits of Eleonora Gonzaga and Laura de Dianti.[189]

In accordance with the lascivious tendency of these representations, Salome und Judith are frequently characterized as courtesans by their low *décolletés* or transparent silk scarves, reminiscent of the portraits of genuine *cortigiane*. This occurs in

Salome by Moretto da Brescia, for centuries described as a portrait of Tullia d'Aragona; a possible Salome portrait by Palma il Giovane; an unambiguous portrait by Bonifacio de Pitati (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) [Fig. 33][190]; a later portrait of an unknown woman as Judith in a private collection[191]; and *Judith* by Niccolò Renieri in Venice.[192] As far as Renieri's painting is concerned, however, since the artist's daughter served as the model—as with Titian's *Salome* (Prado, Madrid)—it is not necessarily a case of conscious identification. This also applies to Titian's *Judith* in Detroit.[193]

But there are some later examples where the depiction of actual relationships can be proved. Both the sources and the portrait sketches inform us about the identification of Cristofano Allori, his beloved, and her mother as Holofernes, Judith, und her servant in the paintings in Florence und Liechtenstein [Fig. 34]:

Ritrasse egli al vivo nella faccia di lei l' effigie della Mazzafirra; ... dipinse se stesso in quel quadro per Oloferne; la faccia d'una vecchia, che si vide dietro alla persona della Juditta ... fusse tolta al vivo dalla madre della medesima Mazzafirra.[194]

It has recently been claimed that the formal model for this painting was a composition attributed to Andrea Commodi (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon),[195] in which likewise not only Judith but also Holofernes and the maidservant seem to be portraits. However, there is no doubt whatsoever about the portrait status of another Judith, no longer quite virginal, painted by Agostino Carracci at the end of the sixteenth century in Bologna (Matthiesen Gallery, New York). It may perhaps be a posthumous portrait of Olimpia Luni, with her husband, the professor of philosopher Melchiorre Zoppi, as Holofernes. The identification of the deceased with the triumphant heroine, and the mourning widower with the dead warrior, would in this case be an expression of the relationship of Judith and Holofernes allegorically reversed.

The self-identification with the victorious Judith in the work of Artemisia Gentileschi is less ironical and more existentially motivated, being the result of a rape which the artist had suffered.

In contrast to many of the masculine examples of the "included self" (in Leo Steinberg's phrase), which frequently center on figures of penitence, remorse, and guilt, the woman painter Artemisia finds in her female characters—not only, but especially, Judith—models of psychic liberation, "exempla" for an imagined action upon the world, not meditative retreat from it.... Through the central character of the Uffizi *Judith and Holofernes* Artemisia was able not simply to carry out psychic vengeance against her sexual

34) «Cristofano Allori, His Beloved, and Her Mother as Holofernes, Judith and Her Servant», c. 1615, Collections of the Prince of Liechtenstein, Schloss Vaduz. Photo: Collections.

oppressor, but also to justify rebellious, antisocial instincts—which she understandably may have held—through the celebration of the "legitimate" aggressive deeds of the famous biblical character, heroic avenger of the Jewish people.[196]

Foremost among the few examples of the genre north of the Alps are the paintings of Lucas Cranach the Elder, including a suggested self-portrait as Holofernes.[197] There is also a Salome portrait by Hans Krell (?) from 1520 (art market, Vienna), and another by a follower of Barthel Beham, also from the sixteenth century (art market, London). Then we have a portrait of Salome from the eighteenth century by the Swiss painter Karl Studer (Kunstmuseum, Solothurn).[198] And at the end of the nineteenth century, Oscar Wilde had himself photographed in the role of Herod's daughter.[199]

35) Ignaz Epper, «Self-Portrait as Holofernes», drawing, c. 1921, private collection. From C. Lepdor, "L'égomorphisme d'Ignaz Epper."

Finally, extraordinary aggressiveness as an expression of great inner tension characterizes a twentieth-century representation of the Judith theme. Around 1921 the Swiss painter Ignaz Epper depicted himself as a naked Holofernes, upon whom the Jewish heroine, also naked, had just carried out her bloody deed, whereby the expressiveness of the style matches the drama of the scene: "penchée au-dessus du corps du général assyrien qu'elle vient d'assassiner aprés l'avoir séduit, Judith contemple le sang qui jaillit de sa plaie, macabre écho d'une éjaculation fatale" [Fig. 35].[200]

The ambivalent image of Judith and the more widespread familiarity with portraits of artists' mistresses and courtesans[201] probably help to explain the fact that while there are numerous literary comparisons of princesses with the Old Testament heroine,[202] there are apparently no corresponding identification portraits to be found in the field of painting.

This article is based on the author's 1986 doctoral dissertation, *Das sakrale Identifikationsporträt. Ein höfischer Bildtypus vom 13. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, Manuskripte zur Kunstwissenschaft, XVIII, Worms, 1988. Therefore, references are only given for the examples, sources, and supplementary literature not already cited in the thesis.

[1] See L. Campbell, *Renaissance Portraits: European Portrait-Painting in the 14th, 15th and 16th Centuries*, New Haven-London, 1990, pp. 2 ff.

[2] See "Der göttliche Funke" by Eibl, *profil*, no. 19 (May 7, 1990); "Die zehn Gebote Nelson Mandelas" by Lurie, *Die Furche*, no. 25 (June 21, 1990); and "Shamir's Commandment and the Burning Bush" by Auth, *The International Herald Tribune* (February 2, 1990).

[3] Bismarck was still being equated with Moses even in 1909, in a design for a monument by Ernst Barlach; see C. Rathke, "Ernst Barlachs Entwürfe für das Bismarck-Nationaldenkmal auf der Elisenhöhe bei Bingerbrück-Bingen," *Jahrbuch des Schleswig-Holsteinischen Landesmuseums Schloss Gottorf* II (1988/89), p. 69.

[4] G. Kahn, *Europas Fürsten im Sittenspiegel der Karikatur*, Berlin, 1909, pp. 325, 240.

[5] See *Hl. Willibald 787–1987. Künder des Glaubens, Pilger, Mönch, Bischof*, exhib. cat., Eichstätt, 1987, no. f 1.1.2.

[6] See F. Baldinucci, *Notizie dei professori del disegno da Cimabue in qua*, Florence, 1846, IV, 590 f.; and *Il Seicento fiorentino. Arte a Firenze da Ferdinando I a Cosimo III. Disegne/ Incisione/ Scultura/ Arti minori*, exhib. cat., Florence, 1986, p. 307.

[7] See B. von Götz-Mohr, "Individuum und soziale Norm. Studien zum italienischen Frauenbildnis des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Europäische Hochschulschriften* XXVIII, no. 72 (1987), quotation from p. 13.

[8] See *900 Jahre Stift Göttweig 1083–1983. Ein Donaustift als Repräsentant benediktinischer Kultur*, ed. P. G. M. Lechner, exhib. cat., Göttweig, 1983, p. 491, no. 1,012.

[9] Jacob Gujanus, *Christliche Leich-Predigt von dem seligen Abschied des frommen Königs Davids aus dieser Welt.... Über den leidigen und hochbetrübten Todesfall des Hoch-wol-gebornen gestrengen Herren, Herren Ulissis von Salis*, Basel, 1674.

[10] *Prophetie de Daniel, saincte & admirable, interprete du regne & de la mort du Chef des heretiques qui se pretend Roy de Navarre & veut envahir la Couronne de France*, Toulouse, 1591, pp. 96, 4 f., epilogue.

[11] See R. W. Gaston, "Iconography and Portraiture in Bronzino's *Christ in Limbo*," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* XXVII (1983), pp. 41–72.

[12] See C. L. Frommel, "Caravaggio und seine Modelle," *Castrum Peregrini* XCVI (1971), pp. 21–56; and Jarman's film *Caravaggio* (1986).

[13] H. R. Williamson, *G. Villiers, First Duke of Buckingham* (London, 1940) p. 60.

[14] See E. Veevers, *Images of Love and Religion: Queen Henrietta Maria and Court Entertainments*, Cambridge, 1989, pp. 187–91.

[15] See A. Bonvicino, *Il Moretto*, exhib. cat., Brescia-Bologna, 1988, nos. 21, 54, 87; and S. Marinelii, *Veronese a Verona*, exhib. cat., Verona, 1988, cat. nos. 2, 17, 27, 54, 65.

[16] H.-J. Tümmers, "Bartholomäus Bruyn der Jüngere," *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* XXXII (1970), p. 118, fig. 82.

[17] See E. M. Dal Pozzolo, "Lorenzo Lotto 1506: la pala di Asolo," *Artibus et Historiae* XI, no. 21 (1990), pp. 89–110; and H. Feyerlein, "Ein Altarblatt mit Porträts Neuburger Fürsten von 1653 in der Hofkirche Neuburg," *Neuburger Kollektaneenblatt* CXXXIV (1981), pp. 75–94.

[18] For contemporary theoreticians like Giovan Paolo Lomazzo, "the dividing line between portraits of Kings and representations of Saints is virtually non-existent"; see J. F. Moffitt, "The Theoretical Basis of Velázquez's Court Portraiture," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* LIV (1990), p. 224.

[19] See *Kunstschätze der Medici. Gemälde und Plastiken aus den Uffizien, dem Palazzo Pitti und weiteren Florentiner Sammlungen*, exhib. cat., Berlin, 1987, pp. 102–03, no. 29.

[20] See M. Warnke, "Das Bild als Herrschaftsbestätigung," in *Funkkolleg Kunst. Studienbegleitbrief* VII, Weinheim-Basel, 1985, pp. 70 f., fig. 5. The *imitatio Christi* is nevertheless found in the case of Protestant rulers as well, including Charles I of England and Christian IV of Denmark; see *Christian IV and Europe*, exhib. cat., Copenhagen, 1988, pp. 63 ff.

[21] See *Prag um 1600. Kunst und Kultur am Hofe Kaiser Rudolfs II.*, exhib. cat., Vienna-Freren, 1988, I, no. 24.

[22] See J. M. Serrera, "Alonso Sánchez Coello y la Méchanica del Retrato de Corte," in *Alonso Sánchez Coello y la Méchanica del Retrato en la Corte de Felippe II*, exhib. cat., Madrid, 1990, pp. 38 ff. Preserved in the convent of the Descalzas Reales in Madrid was found, together with portraits of King Sebastian of Portugal and an infante as the child Jesus, a portrait ascribed to Hans of Aachen showing Queen Margaret and her sisters with the attributes of Sts. Margaret, Lucy, Catherine, and Agnes; see M. T. Ruiz Alcon, *Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales*, Madrid, 1987, p. 80. The link with their mother, Maria of Bavaria, provides evidence of a direct connection between the various families of Catholic patrons who commissioned identification portraits.

[23] Foreword by Lorenco de Ibarra in N. Caussin, *Reyno de Dios. Compendio y Medula de toda la Corte Santa*, Madrid, 1672.

[24] See S. Skalweit, "Das Herrscherbild des 17. Jahrhunderts," *Historische Zeitschrift* CLXXXIV (1957), pp. 65–80.

[25] See L. Freedman, "The Concept of Portraiture in Art Theory of the Cinquecento," *Zeitschrift für Aesthetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft* XXXII (1987) pp. 63–82.

[26] In this period, allegorical representations of the virtues are often found on the backs of so-called "private portraits"; see A. Dülberg, *Privatporträts. Geschichte und Ikonographie einer Gattung im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, Berlin, 1990, p. 133.

[27] Even into the nineteenth century the aim was "to imagine in portrait form what is exemplary. Portrayed figures appear as *exempla virtutis*, as historical heroes who continue to be efficacious as great examples"; see G. Boehm, *Bildnis und Individuum. Über den Ursprung der Porträtmalerei in der italienischen Renaissance*, Munich, 1985, p. 40.

[28] *Das Leben des heiligen Caroli Magni ... als ein Spiegel aller Kaysern, Königen und Potentaten ...*, Cologne, 1658, cited in A. Frese, *Barocke Titelgraphik am Beispiel der Verlagsstadt Köln (1570–1700)*, Dissertationen zur Kunstgeschichte, XXXI, Cologne-Vienna, 1989, pp. 115 ff.

[29] See M. M. Donato, "Gli eroi romani tra storia ed 'exemplum'. I primi cicli umanistici di Uomini Famosi," in *Memoria dell'antico nell'arte italiana*, ed. S. Settis, Turin, 1985, II, 111.

[30] See J. Jacquot, "Panorama des fêtes et cérémonies du règne. Évolution des thèmes et des styles," in *idem*, ed., *Fêtes et cérémonies au temps de Charles Quint. Les fêtes de la Renaissance*, II, Paris, 1960, pp. 413–91, esp. 445 f. and 453; and R. Strong, *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals 1450–1650*, Tiptree, 1986, p. 79.

[31] See J. Cox-Rearick, "Bronzino's *Crossing of the Red Sea* and Moses *Appointing Joshua*: Prolegomena to the Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo," *The Art Bulletin* LXIX (1987), pp. 57 f.

[32] See A.-M. Lecoq, *François Iᵉʳ Imaginaire. Symbolique & Politique à l'aube de la Renaissance française*, Paris, 1987, p. 71.

[33] A good idea of the role biblical and secular histories played as *specula virtutis* can be obtained from the description of a magnificent secretaire in a letter to Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol in 1587; see D. von Schönherr, "Urkunden und Regesten aus dem k.k. Statthalterei-Archiv

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in Innsbruck," *Jahrbuch d. Kunsthist. Sammlungen d. Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* XIV (1893), pp. CCXII f.

[34] "Das Bild als Herrschaftsbestätigung," p. 76.

[35] See H. Kindermann, *Das Theaterpublikum der Renaissance*, I, Salzburg, 1984, pp. 62 ff.; and M. Huiskamp, "Openbare lessen in geschiedenis en moraal. Het Oude Testament in stadhuizen en andere openbare gebouwen," in C. Tümpel et al., *Het Oude Testament in de Schilderkunst van de Gouden Eeuw*, exhib. cat., Zwolle, 1991, pp. 134 ff.

[36] See É. Labrousse, R. Sauzet, "La lente mise en place de la réforme tridentine (1598–1661)," in *Histoire de la France religieuse*, ed. J. Le Goff, R. Rémond, Paris, 1988, II, 355.

[37] Prisciano, cited in J. Manca, "Renaissance Theater and Hebraic Ritual in Ercole de' Roberti's *Gathering of Manna*," *Artibus et Historiae* IX, no. 17 (1988), p. 144.

[38] *Emperor Leopold I and Solomon* by Georg Christoph Einmart the Younger (Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna): "Ejus sapientiam suspiciunt domestici, exteri depraedicant."

[39] P. Willibald Styrensus O.P., *Schuldige und wohlverdiente Lob-Rede ... Dess ... Herrn Benedicti, dess Löbl. Stfft und Closters Seitenstetten ... Prälaten*, Steyr, 1717, p. 20.

[40] S. N. Orso, "Praising the Queen: The Decorations at the Royal Exequies for Isabelle of Bourbon," *The Art Bulletin* LXXII (1990), p. 63.

[41] N. Caussin, *La Cour Sainte II. Contenant les vies et les eloges des personnes illustres de la Cour, tant du vieil que du nouveau Testament divisez en cinq ordres*, Paris, 1645; see also Veevers, *Images of Love and Religion*, pp. 76 ff.

[42] See I. M. Veldman, "Lessons for Ladies: A Selection of Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Dutch Prints," *Simiolus* XVI (1986), pp. 121 ff.

[43] See V. Leroquais, *Supplément aux livres d'heures manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1943, pp. 3, 5, pls. XXII ff.

[44] Examples are even to be found in Switzerland; see G. Carlen, "Der König von Frankreich als Stifter und Schenker. Französische Präsenz im schweizerischen Barock," *Unsere Kunstdenkmäler* XXXIX (1988), pp. 316–17, fig. 10.

[45] See M. Tyvaert, "L'image du Roi: légitimité et moralité royales dans les Histoires de France au XVIIe siècle," *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine* XXI (1974), pp. 521–47.

[46] See, e.g., Raphael's fresco in the Vatican; R. W. Scheller, "Imperiales Königtum in Kunst und Staatsdenken der französischen Frührenaissance," *Kritische Berichte* VI, no. 6 (1978), pp. 16 ff., fig. 7.

[47] See L. Partridge, R. Starn, *A Renaissance Likeness: Art and Culture in Raphael's 'Julius II'* (Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, 1986) p. 10, fig. 6; and V. Martinelli, "I ritratti papali di Raffaelo," in *Studi su Raffaelo*, ed. M. S. Hamoud, M. L. Strocchi, conference dossier, 1984, Urbino, 1987, pp. 518 ff., fig. 271.

[48] See M. Mitterauer, "Namensgebung," *Beiträge zur historischen Sozialkunde* XVIII (1988), pp. 36–70.

[49] J. E. von Jamaigne, *Lebhaffter Echo, und Unsterblicher Amaranth: Das ist Ehren-Leich-Predig ... Caspari...*, Vienna, 1695.

[50] See *Il Seicento fiorentino. Arte a Firenze da Ferdinando I a Cosimo III. Pittura*, exhib. cat., Florence, 1986, no. 1.165. A copy of the large-scale representation of this theme is to be found in Madrid; see M. T. Ruiz Alcon, *Real Monasterio de la Encarnación*, Madrid, 1987, p. 32 (described as Maria Maddalena de Austria).

[51] See S. Marinelli, *Museum von Castelvecchio Verona*, Venice, 1983, pp. 74–75.

[52] P. Franciscus Desiderius de Sevin, *Pindus Charitatis*, Basel, 1700, fol. 11.

[53] See Strong, *Art and Power*, pp. 10, 88; and *Christian IV and Europe*, no. 1581 (festival sermon).

[54] Thesis etching with the motto "Regiam Romanorum, et primò haeriditariam Hungariae Coronam in filium transfert" by Georg Christoph Einmart the Younger (1692) (Albertina, Vienna).

[55] See *Groteskes Barock*, Stift Altenburg, exhib. cat., Vienna, 1975, no. 453.

[56] Pedro Rodriguez De Monforte, *Sermon funebre en las Honras ... de ... Maria Teresa de Austria ...*, Madrid, 1683, p. 5.

[57] See E. de Jongh, *Portretten van echt en trouw. Huwelijk en gezin in de Nederlandse kunst van de Zeventiende eeuw*, exhib. cat., Zwolle-Haarlem, 1986, pp. 308–10, no. 77.

[58] See *Il primato del disegno. Firenze e la Toscana dei Medici nell'Europa del Cinquecento*, exhib. cat., Florence, 1980, p. 155, no. 341.

[59] See Strong, *Art and Power*, p. 10; and Cox-Rearick, "Bronzino's *Crossing of the Red Sea.*"

[60] See a political leaflet of 1541 and Lucas Cranach's frontispiece of 1538, in *Kunst der Reformationszeit*, exhib. cat., Berlin, 1983, nos. F 12, F 13.

[61] J. N. King, *Tudor Royal Iconography. Literature and Art in the Age of Religious Crisis*, Princeton, 1989, p. 75.

[62] Salvador Becerra Lopez de Ossvna y Zarate, *Felices Auspicios del Melchisedech espanol, y coronado Rayo del Cielo, el Sr. D. Fernando VI...*, Durango, 1747, pp. 5, 7.

[63] See F. Klauner, G. Heinz, *Vom Himmel durch die Welt zur Hölle. Inhalt und Sinn von Gemälden*, Salzburg-Vienna, 1987, p. 232.

[64] See Leroquais, *Supplément aux livres d'heures....*

[65] See R. Starn, "Reinventing Heroes in Renaissance Italy," in *Art and History: Images and Their Meaning*, ed. R. I. Rotberg, T. K. Rabb, Cambridge, 1986, pp. 74 f.; and H. Schröder, *Der Topos der 'Nine Worthies' in Literatur und Bildender Kunst*, Göttingen, 1971.

[66] Sermon by Rodrigo Garcia Flores de Valdes, in A. de Mora, *El Sol Eclypsado antes de llegar al Zenit. Descripcion de las Honras celebradas en la Ciudad de México à la muerte del Rey D. Carlos*, II, Mexico, 1701, fol. 109 ff.

[67] D. Summers, "The Sculptural Program of the Cappella di San Luca in the Santissima Annunziata," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* XIV (1970), pp. 67–90.

[68] See *La numismatique au siècle des Lumières 1683–1794*, exhib. cat., Charleroi, 1987, p. 283, no. 389.

[69] On the ideological background to the Old Testament themes in Imperial propaganda against the Turks, see M. C. Mandlmayr, K. G. Vocelka, "Christliche Triumphfreude über herrliche Victorien und stattliche Kriegsprogressen. Die Eroberung Ofens 1686. Fallstudie über Zahl, Verbreitung und Inhalte propagandistischer Medien in der frühen Neuzeit," *Südostforschungen* XLIV (1985), pp. 124 ff.

[70] See F. B. Polleross, "Sonnenkönig und österreichische Sonne. Kunst und Wissenschaft als Fortsetzung des Krieges mit anderen Mitteln," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* XL (1987), pp. 255–56.

[71] A somewhat more realistic variation of this identification is provided by Wagner von Wagenfels in his *Ehren Ruff Teutschlands*: On the day of the attack on Ofen, the emperor prayed so long in the Church of the Carmelites "als ein anderer Moyses mit gefalteten Händen, für Ihro Durchlaucht auss Lothring alss einem streitenden Josua" until victory was attained; see L. Pühringer-Zwanowetz, *Matthias Steinl*, Vienna-Munich, 1966, p. 49.

[72] De Sevin, *Pindus Charitatis*, fol. 8.

[73] See W. Harms, *Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, Munich, 1980, II, 386–87.

[74] Abbot Lafargue, *Oraison funèbre de ... Louis XIV surnommé Le Grand*, Paris, 1715, p. 2.

[75] See E. A. Gosselin, *The King's Progress to Jerusalem: Some Interpretations of David During the Reformation Period and Their Patristic and Medieval Background*, Malibu, 1976; and A. Boczkowska, "The King of Poland as David—The Idea of 'Regnum Davidicum' in the Contents of the Tomb of Casimir Jagellon by Wit Stwosz," *Polish Art Studies* VI (1985), pp. 71–87.

[76] See Lecoq, *François Ier Imaginaire*, p. 279.

[77] F. Checa Cremades, "(Plus) Ultra Omnis Solisque Vias. La imagen de Carlos V en el reinando de Felipe II," *Cuadernos de Arte e Iconografia* I, no. 1 (Madrid, 1988), pp. 71–72.

[78] J. Antonio Velázquez, *In Psalm. Centesimum Davidis Commentarii & Adnotationes, sive De optime Principe & optimo Principis Administro Libri V*, Madrid, 1636, dedication.

[79] *La ioyeuse & magnifique Entrée de Monseigneur Francoys, fils de France ... en sa tres-renommée ville d'Anvers*, Antwerp, 1582, n. p.

[80] Warnke, *Das Bild als Herrschaftsbestätigung*, fig. 6; see also Tümpel, *Het Oude Testament*, pp. 244–45, no. 27.

[81] See F. Bächtiger, *Informationsblatt der Bernischen Historischen Museums zum "Ehrenschild"* (inv. no. 49193); Warnke, p. 72, fig. 7; and I. Barta, *Studien zum Familienporträt des 18. Jahrhunderts in Österreich: Von der "Domus Austria" zur "Familia Augusta." Zur politischen Funktion und zum Wandel des Familienbegriffs in den Ahnen- und Familiendarstellungen der Habsburger*, diss., University of Hamburg, 1986, p. 96.

[82] See Boczkowska, "The King of Poland as David," *passim*.

[83] R. W. Scheller, "Imperial Themes in Art and Literature of the Early French Renaissance: The Period of Charles VIII," *Simiolus* XII (1981/82), pp. 58 f.; see also *idem*, "Ensigns of Authority: French Royal Symbolism in the Age of Louis XII," *Simiolus* XIII (1983), p. 119.

[84] See King, *Tudor Royal Iconography*, pp. 76–80; and *Henry VIII. A European Court in England*, exhib. cat., Greenwich, 1991, p. 162, no. XI.31, with illustration.

[85] See P. Gradauer, "Bischof, Landesfürst und Prälatenstand in Österreich ob und unter der Enns bis zur Errichtung des Erzbistums Wien. Eine rechtsgeschichtliche Untersuchung," unpublished habil. diss., Graz, 1971, pp. 314–15, 319.

[86] See M. Herrgott, *Pinacoteca Principum Austriae ... Monumenta Aug. Domus Austriacae III*, St. Blasien, 1773, pp. 345 f., pl. CIII.

[87] See G. Lesky, "Das Leben des heiligen Leopold in einem Emblembuch," *Jahrbuch des Stiftes Klosterneuburg*, N.F., X (1976) 177, fig. 9.

[88] P. Juan Garcia Marin, *Oracion funebre al las honras del Rey Nuestro Senor Phelipe Quarto el Grande*, Pamplona, 1665, p. 25.

[89] E. Mongin, *Oraison funèbre de Louis le Grand ... 1715 dans la Chapelle du Louvre ...*, Paris, 1716, p. 38.

[90] See W. Smith, *Das Stundenbuch des Kardinals Alessandro Farnese mit den Miniaturen von Giulio Clovio im Besitz der Pierpont Morgan Library New York*, Munich, 1976, p. 26, fol. 39.

[91] See M. Morka, "The Political Meaning of the Sigismund Chapel," *Polish Art Studies* X (1989), pp. 21–33, fig. 5.

[92] See Z. Ważbinski, *L'Accademia medicea del disegno a Firenze nel Cinquecento. Idea e istituzione*, Florence, 1987, p. 152.

[93] The drawing was engraved by Wenzel Hollar in 1642; see H. Karner, "Die Königin von Saba: Von der Braut Christi zur Femme fatale. Zur Ikonographie einer Frau in der abendländischen Kunst," *Jemen. Im Land der Königin von Saba*, exhib. cat., Vienna, 1990, no. S 13.

[94] See J. Roberts, *Holbein. Zeichnungen vom Hofe Heinrichs VIII.*, exhib. cat., Hamburg-Basel, 1988, pp. 82–85; and King, *Tudor Royal Iconography*, pp. 81 ff., fig. 18.

[95] See *ibidem,*, pp. 85 ff., fig. 20.

[96] See Checa Cremades, "(Plus) Ultra...," p. 72.

[97] See *idem*, "Felipe II en El Escorial: la representación del poder real," *Arte, poder y cultura: Felipe II y El Escorial*, Madrid, 1987, pp. 21 ff.; and C. von der Osten-Sacken, *San Lorenzo el Real de El Escorial*, Studien zur Baugeschichte und Ikonologie, Studia Iconologia, I, Mittenwald-Munich, 1979, pp. 207 ff.

[98] Fray Alonso de Cabreras, *Sermón que predicó el ... predicador de su Magestad, a las honras de nuestro senor el serenissimo y Catolico Rey Filipo Segundo ... que hizo la Villa de Madrid en santo Domingo el Real...*, Madrid, 1598, pp. 16 ff.

[99] Four of the lions were taken to the eighteenth-century throne room during the reconstruction of the Palacio Real, and the others are today in the Prado; see F. Fernandez-Miranda, *Königspalast Madrid*, Barcelona, 1987, p. 38.

[100] Thus Philip V was extolled as the new David and his son Ferdinand VI as the new Solomon; see M. Moran Turina, *La imagen del rey Felipe V y el arte*, Madrid, 1990, pp. 56 f., nn. 46 f.

[101] For the Salomonian ideology of the French kingdom under Charles V, see D. Byrne, "Rex imago Dei: Charles V of France and the *Livres des propriétés des choses*," *Journal of Medieval History* VII (1981), pp. 97 ff.

[102] See Lecoq, *Francois Ier Imaginaire*, pp. 297, 364, 443.

[103] See M. M. McGowan, *Ideal Forms in the Age of Ronsard*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, 1985, p. 14.

[104] See Polleross, *Sonnenkönig*.

[105] *Propheties Divines tirées du Psalme LXXI de David et appliquées a la personne du Roy, où on peut remarquer l'admirable Conduite de Dieu sur sa Majesté, avec les plus notables Actions de sa Vie*, Paris, 1660.

[106] Lafargue, *Oraison funèbre*, p. 12; and Mongin, *Oraison funèbre*, p. 10.

[107] Christian-Adolph Balduin, *Poetische Entdeckung der Ehren-Pforte, welche ... Ferdinand dem Dritten ... nach geschlossenen allgemeinen Teutschen Frieden zu den in Regenspurg angestellten ersten Reichstag ihrer Keys. Einzug gehalten ... auffgerichtet worden*, Regenburg, 1653. I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Hubert Winkler for this reference.

[108] A. Michels, *Philosophie und Herrscherlob als Bild. Anfänge und Entwicklung des süddeutschen Thesenblattes im Werk des Augsburger Kupferstechers Wolfgang Kilian (1581–1663)*, Münster, 1987, pp. 334 ff., no. 28.

[109] See *Der Grosse Kurfürst: Sammler—Bauherr—Mäzen*, exhib. cat., Potsdam, 1988, no. 1.18.

[110] See J. de Basilico, *Las felicidades de Espana y del mundo cristiano*, Madrid, 1666, dedication.

[111] See D. Owen Hughes, "Representing the Family: Portraits and Purposes in Early Modern Italy," in Rotberg, Rabb, *Art and History*, p. 20.

[112] I am familiar with the painting only from a slide at the Department of Art History, University of Vienna.

[113] See Tümpel, *Het Oude Testament, passim*. Attention was first drawn to this group of Netherlandish portraits by A. Pigler, "Gruppenbildnisse mit historisch verkleideten Figuren und ein Hauptwerk des Johannes van Noordt," *Acta Historiae Artium* II (1955), pp. 169–87; see also R. Wishnevsky, "Studien zum *portrait historié* in den Niederlanden," diss., University of Munich, 1967.

[114] S. Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age*, Berkeley, 1988, p. 94.

[115] ALS MOYSI DEN TWEEDEMAAL DIE TAFELEN DES WEETS VAN DEN HEERE OP DEN BERCH SYNAI ONTFANGEN/ HADDE IS NEDERGHECOMEN EN HEEFT GHEEL ISRAEL VERGAEDERT/ ENDE HEEFT HAER DIE GHEBODEN DES HEEREN VOER GHEHOUDEN OPDAT

SY/ MAKEN SOUDEN ALLEN SIERATEN/ DES TABERNAKELS DIE HEERE BEVOLEN HADDE MOYSI TE DOENE. See A. Zweite, *Marten de Vos*, Berlin, 1980, p. 205.

[116] See *Christian IV*, no. 1061; *Meesterlijk Vee. Nederlandse veeschilders 1600–1900*, exhib. cat., Zwolle-The Hague, no. 9; and Tümpel, *Het Oude Testament*, p. 211, no. 3.

[117] See G. Schwartz, *The Dutch World of Painting*, exhib. cat., Vancouver, 1986, no. 20.

[118] See H. Möbius, *Studien zum holländischen Porträt im 17. Jahrhundert*, unpublished habil. diss., East Berlin, 1988, pp. 49 ff., 115.

[119] H. Bauer, *Holländische Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Heyne Stilkunde, XX, Munich, 1979, pp. 55 f.; and W. W. Robinson, "Family Portraits of the Golden Age," *Apollo* CX (1979) p. 496.

[120] See Wishnevsky, "Studien zum *portrait historié*," pp. 24 f.

[121] As in the case of an identification of Juan de Austria with Hercules; see Polleross, *Das sakrale Identifikationsporträt*, p. 18.

[122] The identification with Solomon was usual for the Spanish king in the Netherlands at that time; see above in text.

[123] See Klauner, Heinz, *Vom Himmel durch die Welt zur Hölle*, p. 197, fig. 118.

[124] See *Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam. Old Paintings 1400–1900. Illustrations*, cat., Rotterdam, 1972, p. 81.

[125] See Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches*, p. 427.

[126] D. R. Smith, *Masks of Wedlock: Seventeenth-Century Dutch Marriage Portraiture*, Ann Arbor, Mich., 1982, p. 165.

[127] See A. Czobor, *Rembrandt und sein Kreis in ungarischen Sammlungen*, Budapest, 1969, no. 32; and G. M. C. Pastoor, "Bibelse Historiestukken in Particulier Bezit," in Tümpel, *Het Oude Testament*, pp. 128–31.

[128] The comparison with Rachel is also found repeatedly in catafalques and funeral sermons for female members of the Habsburg family; see M. Brix, *Die Trauerdekorationen für die Habsburger in den Erblanden. Studien zur ephemeren Architektur des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts*, unpublished diss., University of Kiel, 1971, nos. 34, 37–38, 71–72.

[129] Smith, *Masks of Wedlock*, p. 64.

[130] See W. Sumowski, *Gemälde der Rembrandt-Schüler*, IV, Landau in der Pfalz, 1983, p. 2605, no. 1755.

[131] See de Jongh, *Portretten*, pp. 305–07; and Pastoor, "Bibelse Historiestukken," p. 128.

[132] See Sumowski, *Gemälde*, IV, no. 1732.

[133] See Czobor, *Rembrandt*, no. 26.

[134] See A. McNeil Kettering, *The Dutch Arcadia: Pastoral Art and Its Audience in the Golden Age*, Montclair, N.J., 1983.

[135] See Sumowski, *Gemälde*, IV, p. 2609, no. 1779.

[136] See Pigler, *Gruppenbildnisse*, pp. 174 f.

[137] See C. Höper, *Katalog der Gemälde des 14. bis 18. Jahrhunderts in der Kunsthalle Bremen*, Bremen, 1990, p. 292, with illustration.

[138] A. Henriquez Gomez, *Luis dado de Dios a Luis y Ana — Samuel dado de Dios a Elcana y Ana*, Paris, 1645, pp. 17 ff.

[139] See Pastoor, "Bibelse Historiestukken," p. 129–30.

[140] See R. E. O. Ekkart, "Bartholomeus Beenbergh en Dirck Metius," *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* XXXI (1983), pp. 248–54, figs. 2–3. My thanks are due to Dr. Rose Wishnevsky for this reference.

[141] Sumowski, *Gemälde der Rembrandt-Schüler*, V, Landau in der Pfalz, 1983, p. 3061.

[142] Idem, *Gemälde* IV, no. 1734.

[143] V. Manuth, "The Levite and His Concubine at the House of the Field Laborer in Gibeah: The Iconography of An Old Testament Theme in Dutch Painting of Rembrandt's Circle," *Mercury* VI (1987), pp. 11–24.

[144] See B. Haak, *Regenten en Regentessen overlieden en Chirurgijns. Amsterdamse groepportretten van 1600 tot 1835*, Amsterdam, 1972, p. 14, fig. 15; and Tümpel, *Het Oude Testament*, p. 250, no. 31.

[145] See E. Grünenwald, *Catalogue*, in *Leonhard Kern (1588–1662). Meisterwerke der Bildhauerei für die Kunstkammern Europas*, ed. H. Siebenmorgen, cat., Hallisch-Fränkisches Museum, Schwäbisch Hall, Sigmaringen, 1988, II, 186–89.

[146] E. Buzasi, *Régi Magyar Arcképek/ Alte ungarische Bildnisse*, exhib. cat., Tata-Szombathely, 1988, no. 31.

[147] See R. Simon, *The Portrait in Britain and America, with a Biographical Dictionary of Portrait Painters 1680–1914*, Oxford, 1987, p. 241, fig. 203.

[148] See E. Castelnuovo, *Das künstlerische Porträt in der Gesellschaft. Das Bildnis und seine Geschichte in Italien von 1300 bis heute*, Kleine kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek, XI, Berlin, 1988, pp. 26 ff.

[149] As in the Netherlands, profane identifications are also found in the Florentine bourgeois society of the time, e.g., Paris und Hylas; see E. Wiemann, *Italienische Malerei. Staatsgalerie Stuttgart*, Stuttgart, 1989, pp. 41–42, figs. 31, 33.

[150] See *Il Seicento fiorentino*, no. 1.179.

[151] See *ibidem*, no. 1.184.

[152] See K. Demus, *Holländische Meister des 15., 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, Führer durch das Kunsthistorische Museum, Vienna, 1972, XVII, 76–77, fig. 45.

[153] The example in the Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen, inv. no. 220, is regarded as being by J. A. Backer, while the setting in Warsaw is attributed to Pieter de Grebber; see *National Museum in Warsaw: Catalogue of Paintings, Foreign Schools*, Warsaw, 1969, I, 160.

[154] See P. Hecht, *De Hollandse fijn Schilders. Van Gerard Dou tot Adriaen van der Werff*, exhib. cat., Amsterdam, 1989, pp. 142–43, no. 28.

[155] See *Chefs-d'oeuvre de Prague 1450–1750. Trois siècles de Peinture Flamande et Hollandaise*, exhib. cat., Bruges, 1974, pp. 56–57, no. 28.

[156] See J. Anderson, "The Giorgionesque Portrait: From Likeness to Allegory," in *Giorgione, Atti del Convegno internationale 1978*, Castelfranco, 1979, pp. 153 ff. *The Page* (Knoedler & Co., New York) probably served as the model.

[157] *Il Seicento fiorentino*, no. 1.132.

[158] See V. Herzner, "David Florentinus I. Zum Marmordavid Donatellos im Bargello," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* XX (1978), pp. 85–115.

[159] See *Il Seicento fiorentino*, no. 1.212; and Baldinucci, *Notizie...*, IV, 566–67.

[160] See the chapter "Künstler als moralische Instanz," in H.-J. Raupp, *Untersuchungen zu Künstlerbildnis und Künstlerdarstellung in den Niederlanden im 17. Jahrhundert*, Hildesheim-Zurich-New York, 1984, pp. 242 ff.; and G. Eckardt, *Selbstbildnisse niederländischer Maler des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1971, p. 170, fig. 22.

[161] See K. H. Jürgens, "Neue Forschungen zu dem Münchner Selbstbildnis des Jahres 1500 von Albrecht Dürer," *Kunsthistorisches Jahrbuch der Universität Graz* XXI (1985), pp. 143 ff.; D. de Chapeaurouge, "Der Christ als Christus. Darstellungen der Angleichung an Gott in der Kunst des Mittelalters," *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* XLVIII/XLIX (1987/88), p. 93; and P. Junod, "Das (Selbst)Porträt des Künstlers als Christus," in *Das Selbstporträt im Zeitalter der Photographie. Maler und Photographen im Dialog mit sich selbst*, ed. E. Billeter, Bern, 1985, pp. 59 ff.

[162] See J. Müller-Hofstede, "Untersuchungen über Giorgiones Selbstbildnis in Braunschweig," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* VIII (1957), pp. 13–34.

[163] Boehm, *Bildnis und Individuum*, p. 240; see also C. Hornig, *Giorgiones Spätwerk*, Munich, 1987, pp. 213–14.

[164] H.-J. Raupp, "Selbstbildnisse und Künstlerporträts—ihre Funktion und Bedeutung," in *Selbstbildnisse und Künstlerporträts*, exhib. cat., Braunschweig, 1980, pp. 18–19, 38–42, no. 1.

[165] See J. Shearman, "Cristofano Allori's *Judith*," *The Burlington Magazine* CXXI (1979), p. 9.

[166] See C. Furlan, *Il Pordenone*, Milan, 1988, p. 324.

[167] R. Preimesberger, "Eine grimassierende Selbstdarstellung Berninis," in *World Art. Themes of Unity in Diversity*, ed. I. Lavin, Acts of the XXVIth International Congress of the History of Art, II, University Park-London, 1989, p. 418, fig. 3, 4.

[168] See J. Thuillier, *L'opera completa di Poussin*, Classici dell'Arte, Milan, 1974, p. 84; and P. Bonafoux, *Les peintres et l'autoportrait*, Geneva, 1984, p. 56.

[169] See S. Bottari, "Aggiunte al Manfredi, al Renieri e allo Stomer," *Arte Antica e Moderna* XXIX (1965), p. 58, fig. 24a.

[170] *Barock am Bodensee/ Malerei*, exhib. cat., Bregenz, 1963, no. 49.

[171] See K. Weil Garris-Brandt, "The Self-Created Bandinelli," in Lavin, *World Art*, p. 498, figs. 8 ff.

[172] See E. Steinmann, *Porträtdarstellungen des Michelangelo*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1913, pl. 41. For the idea of Moses as a divinely inspired interpreter, see R. Bremer, "Freud and Michelangelo's *Moses*," *American Imago* XXXIII (1976), pp. 60–75.

[173] See L. Schneider, "Donatello and Caravaggio: The Iconography of Decapitation," *American Imago* XXXIII (1976), pp. 76–91.

[174] See Hornig, *Giorgiones Spätwerk*.

[175] C. N. Lewis, "Caravaggio's Imagery of Death and Allusion," *American Imago* XLIII (1986), pp. 261–72, quotation from p. 263; and S. Holsten, *Das Bild des Künstlers*, exhib. cat., Hamburg, 1978, p. 80.

[176] For three probably homoerotically motivated sixteenth-century identification portraits of St. Sebastian, see Polleross, *Das sakrale Identifikationsporträt*, pp. 290–91.

[177] Caussin, *La Cour Sainte*, p. 3.

[178] L. Schneider, "Donatello's Bronze *David*," *The Art Quarterly* LV (1973), pp. 213–16; see also F. Ames-Lewis, "Art History or *Stilkritik*? Donatello's Bronze *David* Reconsidered," *Art History* II (1979), pp. 139–55.

[179] See E. Cooper, *The Sexual Perspective: Homosexuality and Art in the Last 100 Years in the West*, London-New York, 1986, pp. 4 ff.

[180] E. Balas, "Michelangelo's *Victory*: Its Role and Significance," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* CXXXI (1989), pp. 67–80, quotation from p. 77.

[181] *Caravaggio e il suo tempo*, Naples, exhib. cat., Milan-New York, 1985, p. 338; and Schneider, "Donatello and Caravaggio," pp. 83 ff.

[182] See A. W. G. Posèq, "Caravaggio's Self-Portrait as the Beheaded Goliath," *Konsthistorisk tidskrift* LIX (1990), pp. 169–82; R. Preimesberger, "David der Liebling," lecture at the German Congress of Art Historians, Aachen, 1990; and Frommel, "Caravaggio," pp. 52–53.

[183] See F. Birr, J. Diez, *Autoportraits*, Paris, 1981, p. 91.

[184] K. Merkel, *Salome. Ikonographie im Wandel*, Europäische Hochschulschriften XXVIII/106, Frankfurt/ Main, 1990; M. Friedman, "The Metamorphoses of Judith," *Jewish Art* XII-XIII (1986/87), pp. 225–46; and J. Białostocki, "Judith: Story, Image and Symbol. Giorgione's Painting in the Evolution of the Theme," *The Message of Images. Studies in the History of Art*, Vienna, 1988, pp. 113–31.

[185] See T. Pignatti, "La *Giuditta* diversa di Giorgione," in *Giorgione. Atti* (see n. 153, above), pp. 270 f., figs. 197 f.

[186] See Anderson, "The Giorgionesque Portrait."

[187] See E. Panofsky, *Problems in Titian. Mostly Iconographic*, The Wrightsman Lectures, II, New York, 1969, pp. 43 ff.

[188] See Shearman, "Allori's *Judith*," p. 9.

[189] See Merkel, *Salome*, p. 184, fig. 209; and *Alte Meister*, Dorotheum, exhib. cat., Vienna, 1990, no. 257.

[190] See L. Lawner, *Le Cortigiane. Ritratti del Rinasciemento*, Milan, 1988, pp. 171 f.; and Merkel, *Salome*, pp. 178 ff.

[191] Auction, Dorotheum, Vienna, December, 1988.

[192] See *Il Gioco dell'Amore. Le Cortigiane di Venezia dal Trecento al Settecento*, exhib. cat., Venice, 1990, no. 13.

[193] See *Titian Prince of Painters*, exhib. cat., Venice, 1990, no. 69.

[194] Baldinucci, *Notizie...*, III, 726 f.; see also *Triumph und Tod des Helden. Europäische Historienmalerei von Rubens bis Manet*, ed. E. Mai, A. Repp-Eckert, exhib. cat., Zurich, 1988, no. 163; *Il Seicento fiorentino*, no. 1.72; and Shearman, "Allori's *Judith*," pp. 3 ff.

[195] See G. Papi, "Per Andrea Commodi," *Paragone* XL (1989), no. 469, p. 52, fig. 30.

[196] M. D. Garrard, *Artemisia Gentileschi: The Image of the Female Hero in Italian Baroque Art*, Princeton, 1988, p. 279.

[197] See Bonafoux, *Les peintres et l'autoportrait*, p. 56. H. Börsch-Suppan, "Cranachs *Judith* in der Sammlung des Jagdschlosses Grünewald," in D. Koeplin, T. Falk, *Lukas Cranach*, Basel-Stuttgart, 1974, I, 418, indicates the correspondence of Holofernes with a portrait of Cranach in a private collection.

[198] See Merkel, *Salome*, p. 185, fig. 212; and *Alte Meister*, Dorotheum, auction cat., 7–8 November 1991, Vienna, 1991, no. 103.

[199] *Die Geschichte des § 175. Strafrecht gegen Homosexuelle*, Berlin, 1990, p. 56, with illustration.

[200] C. Lepdor, "L'égomorphisme d'Ignaz Epper," *Künstlerbilder. Unsere Kunstdenkmäler* XLI (1990), p. 360, fig. 5.

[201] Copper engravings show that portraits of French mistresses as Mary Magdalene were generally well known and regarded ironically; see Polleross, *Das sakrale Identifikationsporträt*, p. 218, fig. 75.

[202] In 1554, Queen Mary I was described as the "newe Judith"; see King, *Tudor Royal Iconography*, p. 219. The opera *Giuditta* was perfomed in honor of Habsburg empress Eleonore II in 1668, and one hundred years later Anton J. Dvořák paid homage in Latin to the "unconquerable Judith Maria Theresia"; see A. Angyal, *Die slawische Barockwelt*, Leipzig, 1961, p. 36.