



Fig. 1: Anon., *Portrait of Leon Battista Alberti*, engraving, in Leonardo da Vinci, *Trattato della pittura*, ed. Raphaël Trichet Du Fresne, Paris: Jacques Langlois 1651.

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Looking at Pictures – the Views of Leon Battista Alberti

It is generally agreed that Leon Battista Alberti's treatises *De Pictura – Della Pittura* (Fig. 1) of 1435/36 provided painting with a new scientific basis and with improved methods for the representation of space. Painters were urged to reflect on the body's movements and expressive possibilities and on the harmony of colours.¹ It is not necessary to reiterate these facts here, nor to mention how important Alberti's thoughts were in the fields of composition and history painting, in training painters in geometry, optics and literature, and in emphasizing that they should be committed to the perfection of painting as an art. The historical importance of Alberti's treatise is undisputed, but there are disagreements as to how some of his concepts, including those on composition and history painting, should be interpreted.² This essay concentrates on the reception of paintings and on the viewer, in other words on problems that are central within the treatise but have tended to be dealt with peripherally in the literature on Alberti. In doing so, this text will provide an outline of Alberti's views of the processes involved in the formation of artists and spectators.

The articulate viewer

Alberti identified the effect that paintings have on viewers as the highest purpose of the painter's art. He enabled art-lovers to appreciate paintings as connoisseurs, to be emotionally involved in them; he also gave them a basis for talking about paintings expertly and intelligently. Indeed, Michael Baxandall argued that Alberti's treatises on painting provided the very basis for informed conversations on art. According to Baxandall, this is shown by Cristoforo Landino's foreword to the Dante commentary,³ a text which suggests that Alberti also promoted the emergence of the scholarly connoisseur and the understanding and reception of painting as art, making viewers articulate and rendering them capable of passing judgements. Above all, however, he made them able to appreciate art by removing any sense of stigma from the act of taking pleasure in pictures.

Alberti was well-placed to teach people how to look at paintings. He was not only a scholar trained in ecclesiastical law, mathematics and physics, he was also a writer. At the same time, he invited artists to teach him, and dabbled with painting in his leisure time; he was an *artis studiosus*, a student and connoisseur of art

(*De pictura*, 28, 63).⁴ His treatise on the art of painting was directed at artists, at scholars who knew Latin, and at people who loved and commissioned art. Indeed, Alberti wrote his treatise on painting both in Italian and in Latin, and although the problem on the priority of the Italian or the Latin version is unsolved, the fact remains that the treatise is written in two languages and thus addressed two non-identical groups of readers.⁵ There is no need to assume that Alberti gave priority to one group of addressees.⁶

It is probable that the Italian version of *Della Pittura* was directed in the first place at the artists to whom Alberti had turned as a *dilettante* and whom he was trying to help as a scholarly connoisseur – *artis studiosus, studioso dell'arte* – with his mathematical and literary education. The oldest handwritten copy of the Italian version, which is dated 17 July 1436, contains a remark by Alberti in the prologue that he had produced *De Pictura* in the Tuscan language in the name of Filippo Brunelleschi ('quale a tuo nome feci in lingua toscana').⁷ While the first clause might be translated with 'at your behest' or 'for you', the second part could mean 'written' or 'translated'. The Latin treatise *De Pictura*, on the other hand, was presumably addressed above all to scholars and art lovers, among whom Alberti would have counted himself.

It is not necessarily conclusive to divide the addressees according to their linguistic knowledge, as many fifteenth-century artists were at pains to understand Latin.⁸ Alberti criticizes painters and the contemporary state of painting sharply in both versions. But it is only in the Italian version that he uses the word *sciocchi* ('idiots') to attack those artists who resist instruction, wallow in their imagined talent and neglect to observe and think about nature. He insists that painters should study the fundamentals of art and nature ceaselessly, that they should practice manual dexterity, foster their natural abilities, scholarly discourse and social education. He was similarly critical of sculptors and architects.⁹

The criticisms made of artists, the detailed instructions on artistic procedures in both versions, and the prologue to *Della Pittura* addressed to Brunelleschi show that Alberti intended to reach artists through both the Italian and Latin versions. In 1971 Baxandall championed the view that *De Pictura* was addressing a scholarly audience, arguing that the Latin treatise could have been accepted in humanist academic circles, that the technical terms were directed at the circle of readers who were familiar with Latin, and that the treatise's historical context was that of the rhetoric practised around 1435.¹⁰ Perhaps the Latin version was intended to encourage scholars or students of Latin to try their hand at art; the second book of the treatise cites some examples from antiquity for this. But the texts on painting and architecture were also meant to enable patrons, artists and scholarly amateurs to discuss the arts with each other in an informed manner. The spectators whose perception Alberti proposed to refine belonged to a variety of groups.

The notion of both artists and scholarly connoisseurs as addressees is confirmed by the list of fifteenth-century readers. The scholars and writers include Bartolomeo Facio, Cristoforo Landino, Angelo Poliziano; among the artists are Antonio Averlino called Filarete, Piero della Francesca and perhaps Leonardo da Vinci. This list of names proves that the thoughts about painting provoked by Alberti were absorbed by scholars and by artists early on. In later periods, writers continued to discuss ideas about art in Alberti's spirit in their conversations just as much as artists did in their writings. Yet it is almost impossible to discern any direct effect that the treatise on painting had on artistic output.¹¹

Admiring the artist

At the beginning of the second book of *De Pictura* Alberti underlines the high rank and social recognition of the art of painting with examples from ancient literature. He invests portraits with an almost divine ability to recall individuals but also confronts them with viewers' responses. Significantly, the latter ultimately usher in admiration (*admiratio*) for the artist and by the pleasure or enjoyment (*voluptas*) derived from the works:

In fact it [painting] possesses an almost divine power within itself and does not only achieve something claimed for friendship – that it makes the absent person present; it also presents the dead to the living, even to those who live several centuries later, so that they are recognized by spectators with pleasure and deep admiration for the artist. (*De Pictura*, 25)¹²

In the same chapter, Alberti cites a statue of Alexander the Great to show the power of a sculpture, and he also mentions Quintilian's recommendation of promoting religion through painting and sculpture. However, Alberti consistently ignores the miraculous effect of pictures and their contemporary veneration, even though – then as now – the faithful in Italy are passionate in their cult of miraculous images.¹³ Only in the treatise on architecture does Alberti touch briefly on such effects of images by advising that a bedroom should be decorated with beautiful faces and landscapes with springs and brooks, the former for their good influence on conception, the latter for the beneficial cooling of fevers (*De Pictura*, 25).¹⁴ Indeed, although the treatise mentions the magical effects of paintings and sculptures as historical phenomena related by Cicero, Plutarch and Quintilian, there is no sign of an attempt to use miracle-working images or the magical effect they can have as a means of confirming or reinforcing contemporary assessments. Instead, Alberti is concerned to enhance the status of both artistic work and connoisseurship by opening all aspects of art to scrutiny and discussion. This includes the use of perspective, the depiction of bodies and space, and the composition of pictures with reference to action and to the portrayal of the figures' movements and emotions.

In the context of perspective construction, Alberti discusses the question of the height at which the centre point should be placed in the painting. He recommends placing this central vanishing point at the eye level of the upright figure, as the choice of any other position would lead to a discrepancy between the standpoint of the viewer and that of the painted figures. Evidently, Alberti assumes that the viewer is standing rather than kneeling. In his *Aesthetics*, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel proclaimed the end of the highest purpose of art by stating that although his contemporaries find representations of the Greek gods, God the Father, Christ and Mary excellent, they do not kneel before them any more. In fact, this change in the appreciation of images occurred four hundred years earlier when Alberti, demanding that paintings should derive their scale from an upright figure, had called for the fully erect, articulate viewer (Fig. 2).¹⁵ It is crucial that the perspective system proposed by Alberti does not only relate the painted image to the spectator by calling for a consistent point of view, but that it is devised for the standing viewer. Contrary to Hegel and his commentators who saw the end of cultic use of images as the end of art, Alberti shows that art is born precisely when an idolatrous admiration of images is abandoned by an educated viewer capable of judgment and enjoyment.

By insisting on the high standing of painting in the second book, Alberti prepares us for the moral and intellectual demands on the perfect painter brought forward in the third. Painters can achieve their aims – fame, success and the sympathy of their fellow-citizens – by help of a literary and moral education and by mastering all aspects of painting (*De Pictura*, 53). The painter should strive to achieve these aims by producing perfect work. He should accept that his reward is the recognition of his achievement but should not aim for pecuniary gain (*De Pictura*, 51, 52). A painter should be a morally educated human being – a *vir bonus* – in the manner of Quintilian's perfect orator, and a man trained in the *artes liberales*.¹⁶ As an example of renouncing any material reward, Alberti follows Pliny in pointing to the Greek painter Zeuxis who gave his paintings away because – as a divine creator of living images – he had to despise material reward (*De Pictura*, 25).¹⁷ As the price is not fixed by the usual craft tariffs reflecting size, the amount of work, the number of figures and the cost of materials, Zeuxis cannot be classified as a craftsman.¹⁸ Alberti anticipates a feudal system of compensation such as was later brought to bear on court artists, involving the exchange of a gift from the artist against recognition and reward from the prince. Alberti links personal strength and ability (*virtus*) with fame (*gloria*); thus, the admittance of painters to the circle of scholars, the *civitas* and the court is at least hinted at.

In the prologue for Brunelleschi, Alberti begins with a pessimistic assessment of the state of the arts. Their condition, he suggests, reflects the debility of the ageing nature which – when she had been more vigorous – had produced great

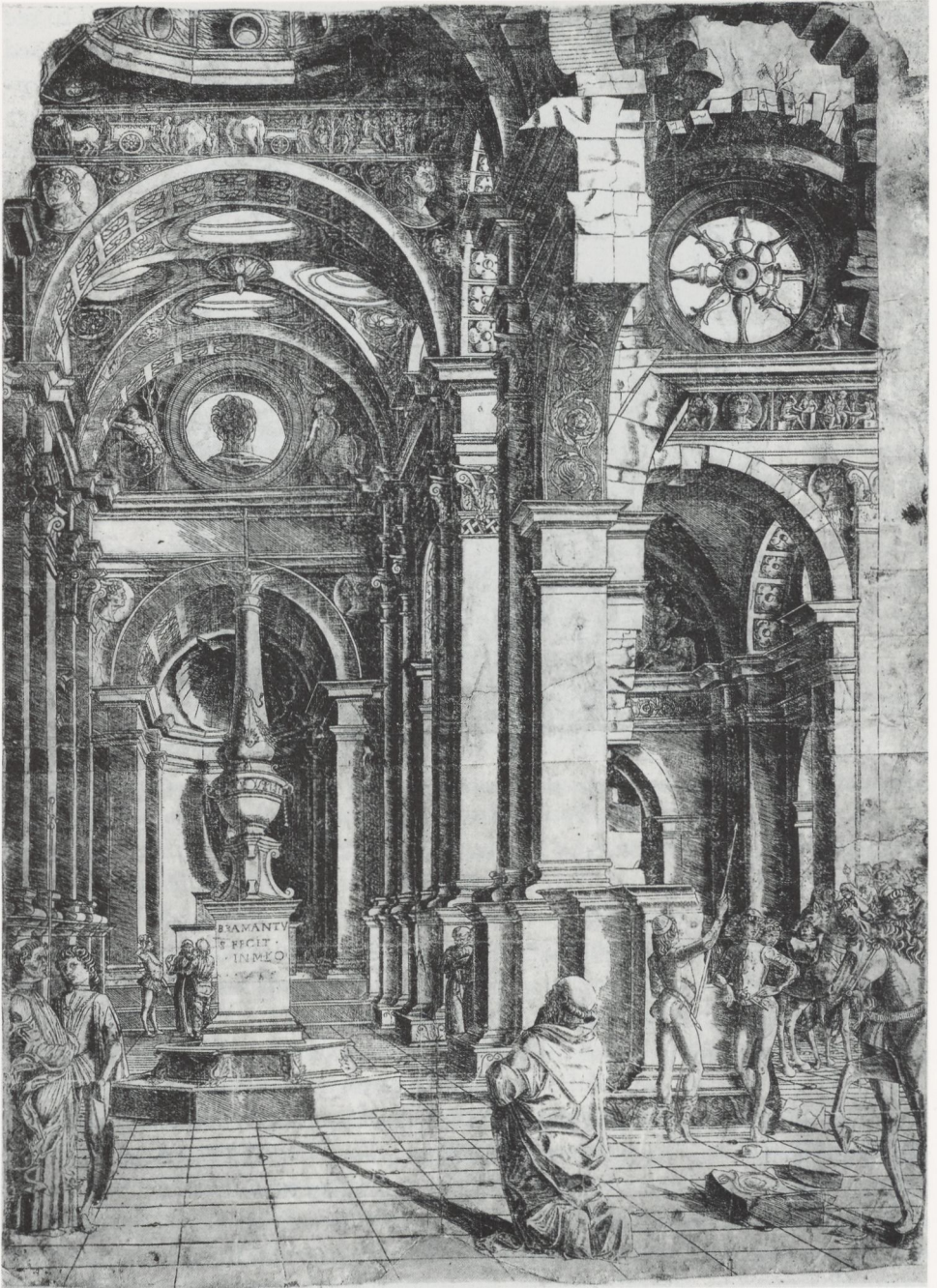


Fig. 2: Bernardo Prevedari, *Interior of a Decaying Temple*, 1481, engraving after Bramante, 70.5 × 51.3 cm. London, British Museum.

men during classical antiquity. Alberti is therefore all the more astonished to see the revival of the arts in Florence in the early Quattrocento, which he witnessed on his return from exile.¹⁹ He asserts that the creators of the revival of architecture, sculpture and painting – Brunelleschi, Donatello, Lorenzo Ghiberti, Luca della Robbia, and the late Masaccio – had achieved more than the famous artists of antiquity because they had done so ‘without teachers and without any sort of model’.²⁰ Alberti thus sets the earlier gifts of abundant nature against the recent accomplishments of dedication and hard work – *industria et diligentia* – through which the artistic virtue of creative ability – *ingegno* – is raised to personal strength and ability, to *virtù*.²¹ As an example of *ingegno* Alberti mentions Filippo Brunelleschi’s just completed cathedral dome in Florence built without scaffolding.²² The *virtù* which Alberti promotes in the third book of *Della Pittura* is found in the Florentine artists. Their work and their attitude show that outstanding achievements are attained when intellectual abilities and moral qualities like strength of will, infinite stamina and persistent effort are added to *ingegno*.²³

In the treatise on painting, then, Alberti transfers the art lover’s admiration from the works to the artists. Admiration, the actual first step towards lasting fame, is achieved by the artist when his work pleases and delights the viewer – in short, when it offers possibilities for intellectual participation (*De Pictura*, 40).²⁴

The viewer’s pleasure and delight

For Alberti, painting originates in pleasure and delight. Even nature takes pleasure in creating images like centaurs or kings’ faces on marble surfaces (*De Pictura*, 28–29).²⁵ Accordingly, Alberti suggests that painting and the plastic arts were invented when it was discovered that nature imitates her own works. Like Plotinus, he uses this observation to justify artists’ imitative work (*De Statua*, 1, *De Pictura*, 26).²⁶

Alberti identifies the inventor of painting with a prominent spectator, Narcissus, who found his reflection in a pool, fell in love with it – and ultimately became the victim of his illusion (*De Pictura*, 26; Fig. 3).²⁷ Remarkably, Alberti uses Narcissus’s embrace of his own reflection to define the aim of painting: ‘For what is painting if not an artful embrace of that surface of the pool?’ (*De Pictura*, 26).²⁸ Drawing analogies between Narcissus as a flower and the painter’s work as the bloom of the arts, between the joyous embrace and the art of painting, Alberti of course ignores Narcissus’s failure and tragic fate.

Enjoyment (*voluptas*) also comes from learning how to paint and then practising the art, and this applies to laymen as well as experts. In his autobiography of 1438, Alberti refers several times to his interest in the work of the artists and craftsmen whose workshops he had visited in order to find out about the secrets of their art and to watch them at work.²⁹ He relished working as an amateur



Fig. 3: Anon., *Narcissus*, engraving, in *Les images ou tableaux de platte peinture des deux Philostrates*, ed. Blaise de Vigenère, Paris: Mathieu Guillemot 1629, p. 191.

painter (*De Pictura*, 28).³⁰ He mentions his ‘miracles of the painter’s art’ or ‘painting demonstrations’ in both the treatises on painting (*Della Pittura*, II, 19; *De Pictura*, 19) and in his autobiography, referring to a viewing device used to produce amazing effects with views of landscape, the sea and stellar constellations as well as representations of the dawn. Evidently, these demonstrations stood in the line of Brunelleschi’s perspective presentations.³¹

Alberti uninhibitedly uses *delectatio* and *voluptas* to describe viewers’ reactions to paintings. By contrast, Petrarch in the first book of *De remediis utriusque fortunae* (written between 1354 and 1366) had appealed to reason – *ratio* – to fight against incorrigible and unruly joy – *gaudium*.³² The personified joy, *gaudium* admits to unbridled lust for painted panels and sculpted portraits, while *ratio* reproaches it with *inanis delecto* and *vanitas*, empty pleasure and vanity.³³ In the second dialogue, *ratio* approves of pleasure taken in sacred images, but not in profane ones, as these are a token of stupidity, serve avarice and are repugnant to

true religion. Accordingly, the passage concludes with a quotation from the First Letter of John: *custodite vos a simulacris* ('keep yourself from idols').³⁴

Alberti sets aside the conflict between *gaudium* and Stoic-Christian *ratio* and feels quite free to use the term *voluptas* in relation to pictures and those who look at them, ignoring its overwhelmingly sexual connotations. He only remarks once that *voluptas* inclines to immoderation and that artists therefore have to keep to rules and also should not show indecent parts of the body (*De Pictura*, 40).³⁵ Alberti's lack of inhibition is remarkable, given the outrage provoked by Lorenzo Valla's essay *De voluptate* in 1431.

In this text, Valla first gives much room to the Epicurean views on *voluptas*, then briefly contrasts it with the Stoic standpoint before allowing Christianity to carry the day in the dispute between *voluptas* and *honestas*.³⁶ Notwithstanding this conclusion, Valla enjoys the most vivid descriptions in his analysis of *voluptas*. As pleasure is conveyed by the senses, above all by the sense of sight, it is accessible to all men, an opinion also adopted by Alberti. For Valla, works of both nature and art, above all the beauty of men and women, evoke visual pleasure:

Not only are women adorned with a beautiful face, but also with hair, which Homer so praised in Helen, with breasts, with thighs and with all the rest of their bodies; they are so slender, so dazzlingly white, so full of vigour and so well proportioned. This is also how we see it in numerous images of goddesses and women who not only appear bare-headed but also with partially naked arms or breasts or legs, so that some part of their beauty appears in the body of each one.

This enthusiasm leads to the audacious wish that beautiful women should be allowed to walk through the town half-naked or naked in summer.³⁷ Of course the demure Alberti does not repeat this frivolity but he enthusiastically describes representations of moving figures whose clothes are pressed to their bodies by the wind, making them seem to be naked (*De Pictura*, 45).³⁸

Alberti concedes a more significant rôle to pleasure (*delectatio*) and enjoyment (*voluptas*) than he does to instruction or spiritual response (*De Pictura*, 40).³⁹ Pleasure is related to the sense of sight – pleasure taken in seeing – as triggered by charm, beauty and grace (*venustas*, *pulchritudo* and *gratia*). These stimuli can come from bodies whose limbs are disposed harmoniously, from the movements of arms and legs or from the abundance and variety of things and colours, colour changes and contrasts, and the way they are matched to create harmony, grace and loveliness, thus triggering enjoyment (*De Pictura*, 36, 40, 46, 48).⁴⁰ Abundance, the representation of men and women of all ages, children, animals, buildings and landscapes, similarly causes the viewer to linger and to enjoy (*De Pictura*, 40).⁴¹

When Marsilio Ficino wrote his essay *De voluptate* in 1457, he drew a distinction between the low *terrena voluptas* which was to be sublimated, and the high

laetitia coelestis, which was to be striven for.⁴² Pico della Mirandola had a portrait medal struck in about 1485 with a representation of the Three Graces on the back and inscribed with *Pulchritudo, Amor, Voluptas*, not as an object of sensual desire but as a Neoplatonic symbol.⁴³ The Venetian cardinal Pietro Barbo (Pope Paul II from 1464 to 1471), a famous connoisseur, had the magnificent Querini diptych – a late antique ivory work – framed in gold, with an inscription on the back stating how much he admired this work of art and how he delighted in his love for it. The front shows two loving couples with Cupid: Hippolytus with Phaedra and Diana with Endymion.⁴⁴ In 1471, his successor on the papal throne, Sixtus IV, returned the ancient bronzes from the Lateran to the people of Rome. This gift confirms an official reinstatement of idols as excellent works of art by ancient sculptors, and as *exempla virtutis*.⁴⁵ The enjoyment of works of art, above all of ancient statues, was further sanctioned in about 1500. At that time, the motto *honesta voluptas* was borrowed by Cardinal Deacon Giuliano Cesarini from Seneca and Tacitus. While its use would have been impossible for Valla and Ficino, it now came to adorn the pavilion which Cesarini had built for his collection of antiquities (including a crouching and a draped Venus) and which was dedicated to study and honourable enjoyment – *honesta voluptas*.⁴⁶

Emotional involvement

In the treatise on painting, Alberti approaches *historia* from two directions. Starting with manual activities, he moves on to invention. The component parts of painting – delineation, composition and the incidence of light – all serve to prepare the great *opus*, the painting created by the actions of the artist's hand. Emerging from natural ability, invention needs manual actions in order to be realized in an *opus*. To understand Alberti's *historia*, a distinction has to be drawn between the concept of the work – which is defined by the great and all-embracing *opus* – and *ars*, which consists of the component parts of painting and emerges from the activities of the artist. In the Latin version Alberti stresses that *historia* is the *ultimum et absolutum pictoris opus* – the ultimate and perfect work of the painter (*De Pictura*, 35).⁴⁷ Of large size, it presents a coherent scene involving human figures moving physically and moved emotionally in their appropriate setting. Combining composition and invention, the effects achieved by the *historia* are threefold: the spectators are instructed by the subject, moved by the emotion and pleased by the beauty. In other words, Alberti's definition of the *historia* includes considerations on the skill of the artist (the combined action of his hand and *ingenium*), it identifies the product as the *opus*, it describes its effect on the viewer and thus defines the relation between the art, the work, and the artist. For a clear definition of *historia*, then, the usually isolated considerations on production, qualities and effect have to be set in relation to each other.⁴⁸

In the second book, Alberti moves from figure composition to a more extended analysis of *historia*, treated from the point of view of its effect on the viewer. In *De Pictura*, 40, he lists the conditions under which *historia* creates pleasure and attracts admiration. These come into play when a particular work is capable of captivating both scholarly and unscholarly spectators for a long period, thus conveying enjoyment (*voluptas*) and emotion. Alberti here evokes classical rhetoric: Cicero requires the perfect orator to prove (*probare*), to entertain (*delectare*) and to persuade (*flectere*), and accordingly to master the appropriate styles (*genera dicendi*).⁴⁹ Baxandall also refers to the *Catholicon* of Johannes Balbus (John of Genoa), dating from the late thirteenth century, which was still respected in the Quattrocento. In his article on the 'Imago', Balbus names the familiar three reasons for having pictures in churches: their beneficial effect on instruction, their impression on memory and their effects on feelings of piety, more easily evoked through the eye than the ear.⁵⁰ Alberti redefined the effects according to classical rhetoric, replacing the aim to fix something in the memory by sensual enjoyment (*voluptas*). The difference is crucial as it determines a new relation between the image and the viewer who is now aware of aesthetic and artistic qualities.

Predictably, Alberti paid far less attention to instruction than to enjoyment or emotional involvement, although he expressly mentions scholarly and unscholarly spectators. In *De Pictura*, 42, the central chapter on reception, Alberti demands that all parts of the painting should harmonize in order to ensure the viewer's understanding of the story (*De Pictura*, 42).⁵¹ The greatest effect is achieved by a great *opus* encompassing every aspect of the art, namely invention, delineation, composition, relief, colour harmony, abundance and variety, as well as a decorous expression of emotion in accordance with the movements of the body.⁵²

Involvement is mainly a matter for the emotions. Alberti not only discusses the depiction of emotions at length, he also tells the artist how he can increase emotional involvement beyond the viewer's natural accommodation by using additional means of expression. For these considerations, Alberti follows descriptions of the excellence of orators' body language:⁵³ Cicero and Quintilian agree that, during *actio* (delivery) the orator's physical expression is more important than the words for conveying emotions, because gestures and facial expression are immediately comprehensible.⁵⁴ Alberti appeals to man's natural urge to sympathize with the emotions shown, an appeal supported by reference to Horace's *Ars poetica* which also furnishes the examples of melancholy, mourning, anger and happiness (*De Pictura*, 41).⁵⁵

Having considered these precedents, Alberti formulates the general rule that the painted figures must clearly display their own emotions if the viewers' souls are to be moved (*De Pictura*, 41). This is the context for the terse principle for

portraying expression in painting and for the subsequent theories: 'But these movements of the soul are recognized by the movements of the body.' ('Sed hi motus animi ex motibus corporis cognoscuntur.') The consequence of this is that the painter not only has to familiarize himself with the movements of the body, but also with expressing emotion physically. Alberti once more refers him to the study of nature for this purpose, not only in order to avoid mistakes but in order to learn how to co-ordinate all the parts of the body so that they harmonize in representing a particular expression (*De Pictura*, 42).

The other conditions which Alberti lists for the *historia* primarily reflect the view that, in order to express physical and emotional movement, the painted figures must not only be directed towards the event in the picture but that they should also address the viewer. Alberti suggests that the painter, in tackling this difficult problem, should concentrate on representing things that make the viewer think or invent (*De Pictura*, 42). This advice is followed by the demand that all bodily movements should be co-ordinated with each other and with the object represented. In other words, the *historia* should feature an internal reference system which enables a clear understanding of the event and at the same time ensures the involvement of the spectator.⁵⁶

Alberti further required painting to represent all the movements of the body, namely forwards, backwards, to the left, to the right, up, down and in a circle, supporting this requirement once again by a passage from Quintilian's explanation of the orator's gestures.⁵⁷ Wolfgang Kemp pointed to the significance of this list of the seven kinds of spatial movement in *De Pictura*, 43:⁵⁸ Alberti is not interested in *varietas* (diversity) here but in opening up the space in all directions from here to there, from front to back in order to exhaust all possible movements. He considers this exploration of space by moving bodies as a source of formal possibilities which in turn serve as vessels for the *invenzione* that supplements the content and, if necessary, clarifies the narrative by help of movement.

Alberti also suggests that, in order to achieve an effect on the viewers' emotions, one figure in the picture should direct the reactions of the viewers through gesture and expression. Baxandall showed that this figure corresponds to the *festaiuolo* in religious drama, a member of the chorus who remains on stage throughout the spectacle, mediating between the action and the audience.⁵⁹ Indeed, the significance of this figure for devotional and narrative painting had been discussed by Alfred Neumeyer as early as 1964.⁶⁰ More significant, however, is the recasting of this mediating figure in the second half of the Quattrocento, when it frequently appears in the guise of a self-portrait of artists such as Mantegna, Giovanni Bellini, Ghirlandaio, Signorelli and Raphael, thus making contact with the viewers and attracting their admiration (Pl. IV).⁶¹

The viewer's imagination

Alberti expressly required painters to paint things that stimulated the viewer's mental activity:

For this reason the utmost care must be taken to seek out everything from nature, always directly imitating, and especially to paint things that leave more for the mind to reflect on – beyond that which is apparent to the eye. (*De Pictura*, 42)⁶²

This remark on the spectator's involvement, which is made only in passing, not only contains the nucleus of the demand for the 'fertile moment' made by Charles Le Brun, Shaftesbury and Lessing in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it asserts the viewer's entitlement to reflect (*excogitare*) just as actively as the artist.⁶³ As an ancient model, Alberti cites Pliny's passage on a painting representing the sacrifice of Iphigenia by Timanthes of Cythnos. Timanthes realized that, in attempting to convey the overwhelming grief of Menelaos (the father of Iphigenia), the limits of his art would be overstretched. He therefore veiled Menelaos's head so as 'to leave something for every viewer to imagine on the father's pain – beyond that which he was able to perceive with his eye.' (*De Pictura*, 42)⁶⁴

Alberti's demand for such participation by the viewer is unusual, even though Pliny and Philostratos provide precedents.⁶⁵ It goes well beyond the enjoyment of art and emotional involvement. *Excogitare* – the activity of invention – is an important, if not the central, activity of an artist. Alberti makes the successful composition of a *historia* depend mainly on the faculty of *invenzione* (*De Pictura*, 52, 53) which is credited with the power to please even if not realized in a painting. One example he gives is Lucian's description of the picture of *Calumnia* by Apelles which Alberti knew from the translation by Guarino.⁶⁶ Indeed, according to Cicero, invention is a mental activity which furnishes true or probable arguments for the convincing rendering of a case.⁶⁷ Lorenzo Valla draws on this in *De linguae latinae elegantia*, 5,2 using *inventio* and *excogitatio* interchangeably. In a letter to Lionello d'Este of 1447, Guarino described the muse Clio as the inventor (*inventrix*) of history, and used the verb *excogitare* for Melpomene devising song and Urania discovering the laws of the sky.⁶⁸

Alberti's remarks on invention are extraordinarily terse.⁶⁹ He introduces invention in his third book only in terms of examples after calling for a scholarly painter who not only understands painting methods but is sufficiently educated to enjoy the society of poets and rhetoricians. Alberti justifies this requirement by pointing to *ornamenta* (ornaments) which may be used both in literature and in painting, and by emphasizing the assistance of poets and rhetoricians who know how to compose an event – *compositio historiae* – and how to create inventions that convey fame on all (*De Pictura*, 53–54).⁷⁰ Phidias is cited as an example

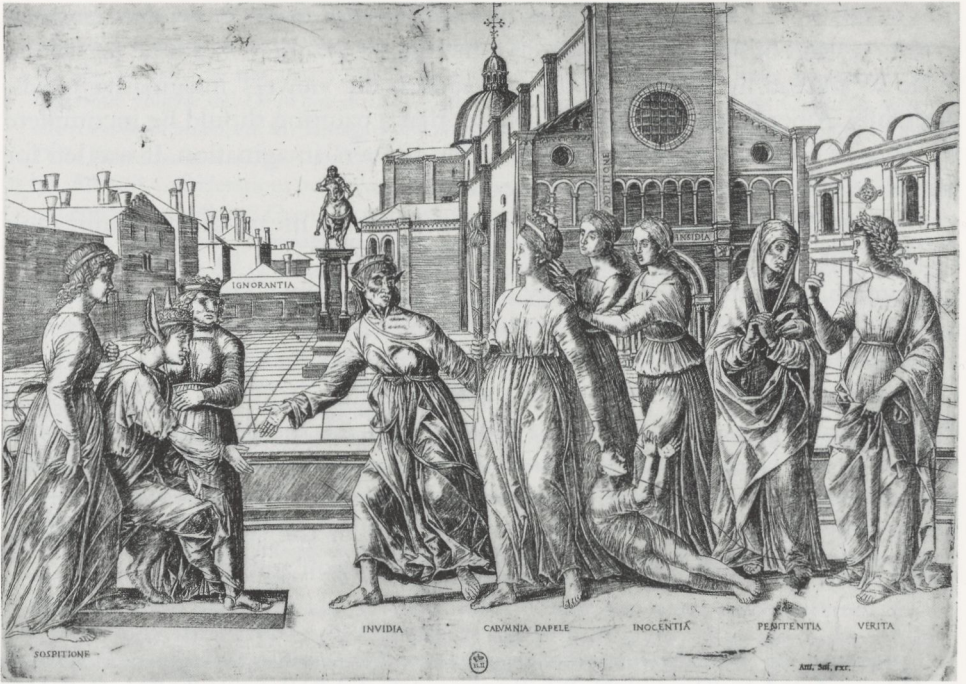


Fig. 4: Girolamo Mocetto, *The Calumny of Apelles*, c. 1500–1506, engraving, 12 × 17 cm. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cabinet des estampes.

in this context, for when reading Homer he learnt how Jupiter's majesty could be represented best.⁷¹ Alberti's advice relates to a contemporary practice that was already well established. In 1424 the humanist Leonardo Bruni suggested twenty scenes – *historie* – for the third portal of the Baptistery in Florence, selected for their splendour and significance from stories in the Old Testament as diverse as those of Abraham, David and Solomon. He also insisted that the artist who was going to design the *historie* should prepare himself in such a way as to be able to represent the figures and their actions well; Bruni suggested himself as a suitable advisor here.⁷²

However, by extolling Apelles' *Calumnia* (Fig. 4), Alberti questions the scholar's advice, for this example is not just supposed to show how a written or spoken text could be surpassed in grace and charm by a painting; Alberti's reference to this picture is also meant to demonstrate that the artist was quite capable of an effective *invenzione* – which even came to serve as a basis for Lucian's description. Alberti mentions Apelles' invention in order to offset the reputation and fame of the painter from that of the literary figure. In other words, the passage is about the *paragone* of image and text, painting and poetry.⁷³ However, Alberti is suggesting something completely different when he discusses viewers' participa-

tion in relation to *excogitare*. He does not ask the viewers to contribute anything to the creation of the painting, nor does he suggest that they might be permitted to do so; instead he wants a painting to address the viewers' imaginative needs. Naturally, Alberti does not go on to claim that a painting should be incomplete and that its completion should be left to the viewers' imagination. It was left for later theorists to arrive at this logical conclusion.

Nevertheless, it is clear that Alberti considers art as a means of communication focused on the spectator. The rise of the artist is tied to a cultivation of spectatorship – a process which only takes place over time. The artist has to keep in mind that the highest art form, the *historia*, must be capable of captivating viewers of all kinds for extended periods of time. As such, Alberti establishes a fundamental connection between the activity of the artist and the response of the spectator, between making and looking. Indeed, the demand that viewers should be involved through an appeal to their imagination and knowledge has provided fertile ground for art literature right down to the twentieth century. Ultimately, it has led to the analysis of the rôle of the spectator and thus to methods of investigation today referred to as reception aesthetics.⁷⁴

- 1 L. B. Alberti, *De Statua, De Pictura, Elementa Picturae – Das Standbild, die Malkunst, Elemente der Malerei*, ed. and tr. (German) O. Bätschmann and C. Schäublin with K. Patz, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 2000; also cf. L. B. Alberti, *Della Pittura – Die Malkunst*, ed. and tr. (German) O. Bätschmann and S. Gianfreda, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 2002. The treatise on painting was disseminated in manuscripts, in the first printed Latin version of 1540, in the first German translation of 1547 and in the Italian translations of 1547 and 1568; reprints and translations followed in the 17th and 18th centuries and Alberti's arguments and views are deployed extensively and largely anonymously in art literature, underlining the treatise's general acceptance in art interpretation. On the printed editions see Alberti, *De Statua, De Pictura, Elementa Picturae* (as above), pp. 394–419; for a brief history on the reception of Alberti's texts on painting and the statue see *ibid.*, pp. 101–12.
- 2 K. Patz, 'Zum Begriff der "Historia" in L. B. Albertis "De Pictura"', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, II, 1986, pp. 269–87; F. Zöllner, 'Leon Battista Albertis "De Pictura"', *Georges-Bloch-Jahrbuch des Kunstgeschichtlichen Seminars der Universität Zürich*, IV, 1997, pp. 23–39; H. Locher, 'Leon Battista Albertis Erfindung des "Gemäldes" aus dem Geist der Antike: der Traktat "De Pictura"', in *Theorie der Praxis. Leon Battista Alberti als Humanist und Theoretiker der bildenden Künste*, ed. K. W. Forster and H. Locher, Berlin: Akademie Verlag 1999, pp. 75–107; A. Grafton, 'Historia and Istoria – Alberti's Terminology in Context', *I Tatti Studies*, VIII, 1999, pp. 37–68; T. Puttfarcken, *The Discovery of Pictorial Composition. Theories of Visual Order in Painting 1400–1800*, New Haven: Yale University Press 2000; O. Bätschmann, 'Albertis historia', in *Ars et scriptura. Festschrift für Rudolf Preimesberger zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. H. Baader, U. Müller Hofstede, K. Patz and N. Suthor, Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag 2001, pp. 107–24.
- 3 M. Baxandall, 'Alberti and Cristoforo Landino: The Practical Criticism of Painting', in *Convegno internazionale indetto nel V centenario di Leon Battista Alberti* (Rome, Mantua, Florence 1972, *Quaderni. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, 209), Rome 1974, pp. 143–54; also cf. M. Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy. A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style*, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1972, pp. 109–53.

- 4 Alberti, *De Statua, De Pictura, Elementa Picturae* (as in n. 1), pp. 244–5, 312–3.
- 5 Alberti, *De Statua, De Pictura, Elementa Picturae* (as in n. 1), pp. 26–31. On the discussion concerning the priority of the two versions, cf. most recently L. Bertolini, ‘Sulla precedenza della redazione volgare del *De pictura* di Leon Battista Alberti’, in *Studi per Umberto Carpi. Un saluto da allievi e colleghi pisani*, ed. M. Santagata and A. Stussi, Pisa: Edizioni ETS 2000, pp. 181–210; Alberti, *Della Pittura* (as in n. 1), pp. 5–6, 174–5.
- 6 Cf. Alberti’s considerations on Latin and Tuscan in his preface to the third book of *Della Famiglia*, in Leon Battista Alberti, *Opere volgari*, ed. C. Grayson, 3 vols, Bari: Laterza 1960–1973, I, pp. 153–6; also cf. L. B. Alberti, *Grammatichetta e altri scritti sul volgare*, ed. G. Patola, Rome: Salerno Editrice 1996, pp. xxxiii–xxxiv; G. Gorni, ‘Storia del Certame Coronario’, *Rinascimento*, XII, 1972, pp. 135–81; R. Cardini, *La critica del Landino*, Florence: Sansoni 1973, pp. 113–232; more generally N. Maraschio, ‘Aspetti del bilinguismo albertiano nel *De Pictura*’, *Rinascimento*, XII, 1972, pp. 183–228; P. Griener, ‘Trois moments de la pensée vernaculaire: Alberti, Filarete, Vasari’, *Rue Descartes. Collège international de philosophie*, XIV, 1995, pp. 93–116.
- 7 Alberti, *Della Pittura* (as in n. 1), pp. 62–3.
- 8 On 15th-century artists’ knowledge of Latin cf. F. Ames-Lewis, *The Intellectual Life of the Early Renaissance Artist*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000, pp. 20–6.
- 9 In *De Statua* of 1434/35, Alberti deplored the lack of a reliable measuring method for sculpture: cf. Alberti, *De Statua, De Pictura, Elementa Picturae* (as in n. 1), pp. 144–7, 36–59 (introduction). In *De Re Aedificatoria* of 1452, Alberti denounced the *ignorantia* of the common practice of architecture: cf. L. B. Alberti, *L’architettura – De Re Aedificatoria*, ed. and tr. G. Orlandi, intr. P. Portoghesi, 2 vols, Milan: Il Polifilo 1966, II, pp. 444–51 (VI, 2); also A. Chastel, ‘Die künstlerische Erfahrung bei Alberti’, in ‘Leon Battista Alberti. Bericht über die vom Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte in München veranstaltete wissenschaftliche Arbeitstagung, 1960’, *Kunstchronik*, XIII, 1960, pp. 368–73.
- 10 M. Baxandall, *Giotto and the Orators. Humanistic Observers of Painting in Italy and the Discovery of Pictorial Composition, 1350–1450*, London: Oxford University Press 1971, pp. 121–9 (129): ‘*De pictura*, then, appears a handbook in the active appreciation of painting for an unusual kind of informed humanist amateur.’ – Also cf. N. Maraschio, ‘Leon Battista Alberti, *De pictura*. Bilinguismo e priorità’, *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Lettere, storia e filosofia*, I, 1972, pp. 265–73; L. B. Alberti, *De la peinture. De Pictura (1435)*, ed. and tr. (French) J. L. Schefer and S. Deswarte-Rosa, Paris: Macula, Dédale 1992, pp. 23–62; Ames-Lewis (as in n. 8), p. 18. – Richard Krautheimer was positive that *De Re Aedificatoria* had been written for patrons with a humanist training; in his view, it was Lionello d’Este who had given the incentive for the treatise: cf. R. Krautheimer, ‘Alberti and Vitruvius’, in *Studies in Western Art. Acts of the Twentieth International Congress of the History of Art* (New York 1961), 4 vols, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press 1963, II, pp. 42–52 (49–52).
- 11 On the reception, cf. Alberti, *De Statua, De Pictura, Elementa Picturae* (as in n. 1), pp. 101–12.
- 12 Cf. Alberti, *De Statua, De Pictura, Elementa Picturae* (as in n. 1), pp. 234–5: ‘Nam habet ea [sc. pictura] quidem in se vim admodum divinam non modo ut quod de amicitia dicunt, absentes pictura praesentes esse faciat, verum etiam defunctos longa post saecula viventibus exhibeat, ut summa cum artificis admiratione ac visentium voluptate cognoscantur.’ (English translation adapted from L. B. Alberti, *On Painting*, tr. C. Grayson, ed. M. Kemp, London: Penguin 1991, p. 60.)
- 13 Cf. the example of a madonna which miraculously turned to life in Arezzo in 1446, discussed by Grafton (as in n. 2), esp. pp. 37–9.
- 14 Alberti, *L’architettura* (as in n. 9), II, pp. 802–10 (IX. 9).
- 15 G. F. W. Hegel, *Ästhetik*, ed. F. Bassenge, 2 vols, Frankfurt/M.: Europäische Verlagsanstalt n.d., I, p. 110.
- 16 M. F. Quintilianus, *Institutionis oratoriae libri XII – Ausbildung des Redners. Zwölf Bücher (Texte zur Forschung, vols 2–3)*, ed. and tr. (German) H. Rahn, 2 vols, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 1972–1975, II, pp. 684–703 (x11.1.1–45); also cf. *Prooemium*, I, pp. 6–9 (9–10).
- 17 Cf. Alberti, *De Statua, De Pictura, Elementa Picturae* (as in n. 1), pp. 236–7.

- 18 Pliny points out, however, that Zeuxis had amassed great wealth earlier and that he also put his paintings on display; cf. G. Plinius Secundus, *Naturalis historiae lib. XXXV – Naturkunde, Buch XXXV: Farben, Malerei, Plastik*, ed. and tr. (German) R. König and G. Winkler, Munich: Heimeran and Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 1978, xxxvi.62, pp. 54–7. On the tariffs cf. Baxandall, *Painting and Experience* (as in n. 3), pp. 8–14.
- 19 On the banishment of the Alberti from Florence between 1401 and 1428 cf. [L. Passerini], *Gli Alberti di Firenze. Genealogia, storia e documenti*, 2 vols, Florence: Alla Galileiana, 1869, II, pp. 225–386; G. Mancini, *Vita di L.B. Alberti*, 2nd ed., Florence: G. Carnesecchi 1911, pp. 1–16; S. Foster Baxendale, 'Exile in Practice: The Alberti Family In and Out of Florence 1401–1428', *Renaissance Quarterly*, XLIV, 1991, pp. 720–56.
- 20 Alberti, *Della Pittura* (as in n. 1), pp. 62–3: '[...] senza precettori, senza esemplo alcuno [...]'].
- 21 Baxandall (as in n. 10), pp. 122–4; M. Kemp, 'From "Mimesis" to "Fantasia": the Quattrocento Vocabulary of Creation, Inspiration and Genius in the Visual Arts', *Viator*, VIII, 1977, pp. 347–98; idem, 'Virtuous Artists and Virtuous Art. Alberti and Leonardo on Decorum in Life and Art', in *Decorum in Renaissance Narrative Art*, ed. F. Ames-Lewis and A. Bednarek, London: University of London, Department of History of Art, Birkbeck College 1992, pp. 15–23; C. Smith, *Architecture in the Culture of Early Humanism. Ethics, Aesthetics, and Eloquence 1400–1700*, New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press 1992.
- 22 H. Saalman, *Filippo Brunelleschi. The Cupola of Santa Maria del Fiore*, London: Zwemmer 1980; also cf. V. Hoffmann, 'Filippo Brunelleschi. Kuppelbau und Perspektive', *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura*, XV–XX, 1990–1992, pp. 317–26.
- 23 Baxandall (as in n. 10), pp. 122–4; Kemp, *Virtuous Artists* (as in n. 21); Smith (as in n. 21).
- 24 Cf. Alberti, *De Statua, De Pictura, Elementa Picturae* (as in n. 1), pp. 264–5; cf. W. Erhart, s.v. 'Admiratio', in *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik*, ed. G. Ueding, in progress, Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1992, I, cols 109–18.
- 25 Cf. Alberti, *De Statua, De Pictura, Elementa Picturae* (as in n. 1), pp. 242–7.
- 26 Ibid., pp. 142–3, pp. 236–9 and also the introduction pp. 31–6. – Plotin, *Schriften*, tr. (German) R. Harder, 6 vols, Hamburg: Meiner 1956–1971, IIIa, pp. 36–7 (*Enneaden*, v. 8.1).
- 27 Cf. Alberti, *De Statua, De Pictura, Elementa Picturae* (as in n. 1), pp. 236–7. The idea that Narcissus discovered painting stems from Alberti; neither Ovid nor Philostratos call Narcissus the "inventor of painting", cf. P. Ovidius Naso, *Metamorphosen*, ed. and tr. (German) E. Rösch, Munich: Heimeran 1952, pp. 104–13 (III, 339–510); F. Philostratos, *Eikones – Die Bilder*, ed. O. Schönberger, Munich: Heimeran 1968, pp. 144–9 (I, 23). Louise Vinge does not record any contemporary opinion which Alberti might have used as a source: L. Vinge, *The Narcissus Theme in Western Europe Literature up to the Early 19th Century*, Lund: Gleerups 1967. However, Philostratos' 'painting source' and Ovid's comparison between Narcissus and sculptures of marble might have stood at the origin of Alberti's idea. For the extensive literature on Alberti and Narcissus, see most recently U. Pfisterer, 'Künstlerliebe. Der Narcissus-Mythos bei Leon Battista Alberti und die Aristoteles-Lektüre der Frührenaissance', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, LXIV, 2001, pp. 305–30.
- 28 Cf. Alberti, *De Statua, De Pictura, Elementa Picturae* (as in n. 1), pp. 236–7: 'Quid est enim aliud pingere quam arte superficiem illam fontis amplecti?' (English translation adapted from L. B. Alberti, *On Painting* [as in n. 12], p. 61.) – An embrace of an image, mistaken for a real body, may also be found in: Homer, *Odyssee*, tr. (German) A. Weiher, intr. A. Heubeck, Munich: Heimeran 1955, pp. 298–9 (xi.207); Homer, *Ilias*, tr. (German) H. Rupé, 2nd ed., Munich: Heimeran 1961, pp. 774–5 (xxiii.100); Vergil, *Aeneis*, ed. and tr. (German) J. Götte, 6th ed., Munich and Zurich: Artemis 1983, pp. 260–1 (vi.700); Dante, *Commedia*, ed. A. M. Chiavacci Leonardi, Milan: Arnoldo Mondadori 1994, II (*Purgatorio*), p. 634 (xxi.136); also, in relation to the shadow: H. Belting, *Bild-Anthropologie. Entwürfe für eine Bildwissenschaft*, Munich: Wilhelm Fink 2001, p. 195.
- 29 R. Fubini and A. Menci Gallorini, 'L'autobiografia di L. B. Alberti. Studio e edizione', *Rinascimen-to*, XII, 1972, p. 72, lines 14–17: 'A fabris, ab architectis, a naviculariis, ab ipsis sutoribus et sartori-

- bus sciscitabatur, si quidnam forte rarum sua in arte et reconditum quasi peculiare servarent; eadem illico suis civibus volentibus communicabat.' Also cf. p. 77, lines 7–10.
- 30 Cf. Alberti, *De Statua, De Pictura, Elementa Picturae* (as in n. 1), pp. 244–5; A. Parronchi, 'L. B. Alberti as Painter', *The Burlington Magazine*, LIV, 1962, pp. 280–7; C. Landino, *Scritti critici e teorici*, ed. R. Cardini, 2 vols, Rome: Bulzoni 1974, I, p. 117, lines 29–31; G. Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architetti*, ed. G. Milanesi, 9 vols, Florence: Sansoni 1906, II, pp. 546–7. – On the amateur, cf. K. Badt, 'Drei plastische Arbeiten von Leone Battista Alberti', *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, VII, 1958, pp. 78–87; Parronchi (as above); U. Middeldorf, 'On the Dilettante Sculptor', *Apollo*, CVII, 1978, pp. 310–22.
- 31 Cf. Alberti, *De Statua, De Pictura, Elementa Picturae* (as in n. 1), pp. 228–9. Fubini and Menci Gallorini (as in n. 29), p. 73, lines 6–27. – A. di Tuccio Manetti, *The Life of Brunelleschi*, ed. H. Saalman, tr. (English) C. Enggass, University Park, PA and London: The Pennsylvania State University Press 1970, pp. 42–7; Filarete, *Trattato di architettura*, ed. A. M. Finoli and L. Grassi, 2 vols, Milan: Il Polifilo 1972, II, p. 657; cf. F. Büttner, 'Rationalisierung der Mimesis. Anfänge der konstruierten Perspektive bei Brunelleschi und Alberti', in *Mimesis und Simulation*, ed. A. Kablitz and G. Neumann, Freiburg i. Br.: Rombach 1998, pp. 55–87.
- 32 Baxandall (as in n. 10), pp. 140–3 (for the text of *De tabulis pictis. dial. XL* and *De statu. dial. XLI* after the Basle edition of 1581); also cf. pp. 53–66.
- 33 F. Petrarca, *Von der Artzney bayder Glück / des guoten vnd widerwertigen. Unnd wess sich ain yeder inn Glück vnd vnglück halten sol. Auss dem Lateinischen in das Teütsch gezogen [...]*, Augsburg: Heynrich Steyner 1532, repr. Hamburg: F. Wittig 1984, book I, fols Llr–LIIlr, ch. 60: 'Von gemalten Tafeln'; ch. 61: 'Von Geschnytzten Pyldtnussen'.
- 34 Petrarca (as in n. 33); I John 5. 21: 'Filioli, custodite vos a simulacris. Amen.' Vgl. *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Clementinam, nova editio (Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos)*, Madrid: Editorial Católica 1982, p. 1178.
- 35 Cf. Alberti, *De Statua, De Pictura, Elementa Picturae* (as in n. 1), pp. 266–9. For the many parallels between the rhetorical concept of *delectatio* and Alberti's definition of *voluptas* cf. Patz (as in n. 2), pp. 278–82; Zöllner (as in n. 2), pp. 25–32.
- 36 W. Liebenwein, 'Honesta Voluptas. Zur Archäologie des Genießens', in *Hülle und Fülle. Festschrift für Tilmann Buddensieg*, ed. A. Beyer, V. Lampugnani and G. Schweikhart, Alfter: VDG 1993, pp. 337–57; Zöllner (as in n. 2), pp. 32–4 with further references.
- 37 L. Valla, *De voluptate, ac de vero bono*, in: *Opus omnia*, Basle: Heinrich Petri 1540, repr. ed. E. Garin, 2 vols, Turin: Bottega d'Erasmus 1962, I, pp. 896–999 (915): 'Nec uero facie bona tantum ornate sunt foemine, sed crinibus, quos tantopere Homerus in sua Helena laudat, sed pectore, sed semore, sed toto denique corpore, si procerae, si candida, si succi plene sunt, si proportio membrorum constet, ideoque plurima uideamus deorum ac foeminarum simulacra non solum capite nudato, sed etiam altero lacerto, altera papilla, altero crure, ut uniuscuiusque corporeae pulchritudinis pars aliqua apparet.' – Liebenwein (as in n. 36), pp. 343–4.
- 38 Cf. Alberti, *De Statua, De Pictura, Elementa Picturae* (as in n. 1), pp. 280–1.
- 39 Ibid., pp. 264–9 and introduction pp. 94–7. On enjoyment, cf. Liebenwein (as in n. 36); Zöllner (as in n. 2); D. Arasse, 'Alberti et le plaisir de la peinture: propositions de recherche', *Albertiana*, I, 1998, pp. 143–52.
- 40 Cf. Alberti, *De Statua, De Pictura, Elementa Picturae* (as in n. 1), pp. 258–61, 264–9, 280–5, 288–9.
- 41 Cf. Alberti, *De Statua, De Pictura, Elementa Picturae* (as in n. 1), pp. 264–9.
- 42 For Marsilio Ficino cf. E. Wind, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance*, London: Faber and Faber 1958, pp. 17–35; A. Chastel, *Marsile Ficini et l'art*, Geneva: Droz 1954, 2nd ed., 1975.
- 43 Wind (as in n. 42), pp. 36–52.
- 44 5th century, ivory, 24.5 x 14 cm. Brescia, Museo Cristiano.
- 45 T. Buddensieg, 'Die Statuenstiftung Sixtus' IV. im Jahre 1471. Von den heidnischen Götzenbildern am Lateran zu den Ruhmeszeichen des römischen Volkes auf dem Kapitol', *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, XX, 1983, pp. 33–73.

- 46 D. R. Coffin, *Gardens and Gardening in Papal Rome*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press 1991, pp. 18–19, 246–7, 268; for other examples of the concept of *voluptas* in the appreciation of antique sculpture, reliefs and inscriptions, cf. Liebenwein (as in n. 36).
- 47 Cf. Alberti, *De Statua, De Pictura, Elementa Picturae* (as in n. 1), pp. 256–7.
- 48 Cf. for example J. M. Greenstein, *Mantegna and Painting as Historical Narrative*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press 1992, p. 39: ‘Like Dante and many of his own contemporaries, Alberti used the word *historia* as a metonymic synonym for a pictorial work of art that depicted a narrative scene’. Cf. against this Patz (as in n. 2); Locher (as in n. 2), pp. 99–107; Grafton (as in n. 2); Alberti, *De Statua, De Pictura, Elementa Picturae* (as in n. 1); Bättschmann (as in n. 2).
- 49 M. T. Cicero, *Orator*, ed. B. Kytzler, 3rd ed., Munich and Zurich: Artemis 1988, pp. 56–7 (xxi.69); comparable to this: Quintilianus (as in n. 16), II, pp. 126–7 (viii.7). – Cf. Patz (as in n. 2), pp. 276–8; B. Vickers, *In Defence of Rhetoric*, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1988, pp. 251–3, 340–60; Zöllner (as in n. 2), pp. 25–9; B. Vickers, ‘Humanismus und Kunsttheorie in der Renaissance’, in *Theorie der Praxis* (as in n. 2), pp. 9–74.
- 50 Baxandall, *Painting and Experience* (as in n. 3), pp. 40–5; S. Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative. The Rise of the Dramatic Close-Up in Fifteenth-Century Devotional Painting*, 2nd ed., Doornspijk: Davaco 1984, pp. 11–22; H. Belting, *Das Bild und sein Publikum im Mittelalter. Form und Funktion früher Bildtafeln der Passion*, Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag 1981, pp. 91–2.
- 51 Cf. Alberti, *De Statua, De Pictura, Elementa Picturae* (as in n. 1), pp. 270–3: ‘[...] omnia ad agendam et docendam historiam congruant necesse est.’ Patz (as in n. 2), p. 277; Zöllner (as in n. 2), pp. 25–9.
- 52 The term *historia* does not refer to a history painting (‘Historienbild’), as Janitschek thought in 1877; rather, it is the great work, the masterpiece of the painter: Cf. Alberti, *De Statua, De Pictura, Elementa Picturae* (as in n. 1), pp. 87–94; Patz (as in n. 2); Locher (as in n. 2); Grafton (as in n. 2); Bättschmann (as in n. 2).
- 53 Patz (as in n. 2), pp. 282–5.
- 54 M. T. Cicero, *De oratore. Über den Redner*, ed. and tr. (German) H. Merklin, Stuttgart: Reclam 1976, pp. 582–3, 586–9 (iii.216, 223); Quintilianus (as in n. 16), II, pp. 634–5 (xi.3.67).
- 55 Horaz, *Sämtliche Werke*, Munich: Heimeran 1957, pp. 236–7 (*De arte poetica*, 99–113); also cf. the chapter on emotions in L. Valla, *De linguae latinae elegantia libri sex*, Lyon: S. Gryphius 1532, book 4, ch. 78 (Affectus, Affectio & Affectatio), pp. 304–5. – Patz (as in n. 2), p. 283.
- 56 Belting (as in n. 50), pp. 89–90.
- 57 Quintilianus (as in n. 16), II, pp. 646–9 (xi.3.105–106).
- 58 W. Kemp, *Die Räume der Maler. Zur Bilderzählung seit Giotto*, Munich: Beck 1996, pp. 88–99.
- 59 Baxandall, *Painting and Experience* (as in n. 3), pp. 71–81.
- 60 A. Neumeyer, *Der Blick aus dem Bilde*, Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag 1964, pp. 29–34, 39–40, 49.
- 61 Vgl. G. Schweikhart, ‘Das Selbstbildnis im 15. Jahrhundert’, in *Italienische Frührenaissance und nordeuropäisches Spätmittelalter. Kunst der frühen Neuzeit im europäischen Zusammenhang*, ed. J. Poeschke, Munich: Hirmer 1993, pp. 11–30; A. Roesler-Friedenthal, ‘Ein Porträt Andrea Mantegnas als alter Orpheus im Kontext seiner Selbstdarstellungen’, *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana*, XXXI, 1996, pp. 149–186. Also cf. J. Shearman, *Only connect... Art and the spectator in the Italian Renaissance*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press 1992, pp. 108–48.
- 62 Cf. Alberti, *De Statua, De Pictura, Elementa Picturae* (as in n. 1), pp. 270–1: ‘Idcirco diligentissime ex ipsa natura cuncta perscrutanda sunt, semperque promptiora imitanda, eaque potissimum pingenda sunt, quae plus animis quod excogitent relinquunt, quam quae oculis intueantur.’ (English translation adapted from L. B. Alberti, *On Painting* [as in n. 12], p. 77.)
- 63 Cf. on the beholder’s share in later times J. Kliemann, ‘Kunst als Bogenschiessen. Domenichinos “Jagd der Diana” in der Galleria Borghese’, *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana*, XXXI, 1996, pp. 273–312 (294–9).
- 64 Cf. Alberti, *De Statua, De Pictura, Elementa Picturae* (as in n. 1), pp. 272–3: ‘ut cuique plus relin-

- queret quod de illius dolore animo meditaretur, quam quod posset visu discernere.' (English translation adapted from L. B. Alberti, *On Painting* [as in n. 12], p. 78.)
- 65 Pliny (as in n. 18), pp. 60–1 (73); F. Philostratos, *Das Leben des Apollonius von Tyana*, ed. and tr. (German) V. Mumprecht, Munich and Zurich: Artemis 1983, pp. 176–183 (11.22).
- 66 For Guarino's text cf. Baxandall (as in n. 10), pp. 90–1, 154; on the comparison between Alberti and Guarino: J. A. W. Heffernan, 'Alberti on Apelles: Word and Image in *De Pictura*', *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, II, 1996, pp. 345–59; one of Alberti's texts, "Picture" in *Intercenali inedita*, has so far not been taken into consideration: L. B. Alberti, *Intercenali inedita*, ed. E. Garin, Florence: Sansoni 1965, pp. 129–32. On the *Calummia* cf. J.–M. Massing, *Du texte à l'image. La Calomnie d'Apelle et son iconographie*, Strasbourg: Presses Universitaires 1990, pp. 77–81; D. Cast, *The Calumny of Apelles. A Study in the Humanist Tradition*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press 1981; R. Förster, 'Die Verläumdung des Apelles in der Renaissance', *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, VIII, 1887, pp. 29–56, 89–113, and XV, 1894, pp. 27–40; G. Lötstam, 'Die Verleumdung des Apelles von Sandro Botticelli', in *Kunstgeschichtliche Studien zur Florentiner Renaissance I* [...], ed. L. O. Larsson and G. Pochat, Stockholm [n.n.] 1980, pp. 374–93.
- 67 M. T. Cicero, *De Inventione – Über die Auffindung des Stoffes. De Optimo Genere Oratorum – Über die beste Gattung von Rednern*, ed. T. Nüsslein, Düsseldorf and Zurich: Artemis & Winkler 1998, pp. 24–5 (*De Inventione*, lib. I.7): 'Inventio est excogitatio rerum verarum aut veri similibus, quae causam probabilem reddant'.
- 68 Valla (as in n. 55), pp. 333–4 (V.2): Excogito, Reperio, Invenio, Offendo, Nactus sum; Baxandall (as in n. 10), pp. 89–90, 158–60; for other examples cf. Kemp, 'Mimesis' (as in n. 21), pp. 348–61.
- 69 Cf. Kemp, 'Mimesis' (as in n. 21), pp. 348–61; Patz (as in n. 2), pp. 273–4; J. M. Greenstein, 'Alberti on Historia: A Renaissance View of the Structure of Significance in Narrative Painting', *Viator*, XXI, 1990, pp. 273–99 (295–7); C. Dempsey, *The Portrayal of Love. Botticelli's Primavera and Humanist Culture at the Time of Lorenzo the Magnificent*, Princeton, NJ: University Press 1992, pp. 29–30.
- 70 Cf. Alberti, *De Statua, De Pictura, Elementa Picturae* (as in n. 1), pp. 292–7.
- 71 On Phidias as painter cf. F. Junius, *De Pictura Veterum libri tres* [...], Rotterdam: Typis Regneri Leers 1694, Catalogus, pp. 151–62 (Phidias), with reference to Gregory of Nazianz; cf. F. Junius, *The Literature of Classical Art*, ed. K. Aldrich, P. Fehl and R. Fehl, 2 vols, Berkeley, Los Angeles and Oxford: The University of California Press 1991, II, pp. 293–305. – J. von Sandrart, *L'Accademia Todeasca della Architettura, Scultura et Pittura, oder Teutsche Academie der Edlen Bau-, Bild- und Malhlererey-Künste*, 2 vols, Nuremberg and Frankfurt/M.: Christian Froberger 1675–9, I, part 2, book 1, pp. 15–16, mentions Phidias as painter and sculptor.
- 72 On Leonardo Bruni's highly conclusive letter of 1424 with the programme of the third set of doors for the Florentine Baptistery, cf. R. Krautheimer in collaboration with T. Krautheimer-Hess, *Lorenzo Ghiberti*, rev. edition, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press 1982, pp. 169–71, 372–3, Doc. 52.
- 73 D. Rosand, 'Ekphrasis and the Renaissance of Painting. Observations on Alberti's Third Book', in *Florilegium Columbianum. Essays in Honor of Paul Oskar Kristeller*, ed. K. L. Selig and R. Sommerville, New York: Italica Press 1987, pp. 159–60; cf. L. da Vinci, *Das Buch von der Malerei*, ed. H. Ludwig, 3 vols, Vienna: W. Braumüller 1882, I, § 19, pp. 32–3; *The Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci*, ed. J. P. Richter, 2 vols, 2nd ed. London, New York and Toronto: Oxford University Press 1939, I, § 23, p. 58; L. da Vinci, *Libro di Pittura. Codice Urbinate lat. 1270 nella Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, ed. C. Pedretti, 2 vols, Florence: Giunti 1995 [recte 1996], I, § 19, p. 143. – Cf. Ames-Lewis (as in n. 8), pp. 141–76.
- 74 Kliemann (as in n. 63), pp. 294–9; W. Kemp, *Der Anteil des Betrachters. Rezeptionsästhetische Studien zur Malerei des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Munich: Mäander Verlag 1983; *Der Betrachter ist im Bild. Kunstwissenschaft und Rezeptionsästhetik*, ed. W. Kemp, rev. ed. Berlin: Reimer Verlag 1992; Shearman (as in n. 61).

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