



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

'Beauty adorns virtue'

Dijk, S.J. van

Citation

Dijk, S. J. van. (2015, June 18). '*Beauty adorns virtue*'. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/33552>

Version: Corrected Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/33552>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/33552> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Dijk, Sara Jacomien van

Title: 'Beauty adorns virtue' . Dress in portraits of women by Leonardo da Vinci

Issue Date: 2015-06-18

‘Beauty adorns virtue’
Dress in Portraits of Women by Leonardo da Vinci

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van
de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,
op gezag van Rector Magnificus prof.mr. C.J.J.M. Stolker,
volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties
te verdedigen op donderdag 18 juni 2015
klokke 13.45 uur
door

Sara Jacomien van Dijk

geboren te Amersfoort
in 1981

Promotiecommissie:

Prof. dr. C. Willemijn Fock (eerste promotor)

Prof. dr. Gert Jan van der Sman (tweede promotor)

Prof. dr. Philipp Zitzlsperger (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin / Hochschule Fresenius,
University of Applied Sciences, Berlijn)

Prof. dr. Michael W. Kwakkelstein (Universiteit Utrecht / Nederlands Interuniversitair
Kunsthistorisch Instituut, Florence)

Dr. Marika Keblusek (Universiteit Leiden)

Contents

Acknowledgements	iii
Introduction.....	1
1. Leonardo's life and his interest in dress	2
2. Historiography of Italian Renaissance dress.....	5
3. Approaching dress in fifteenth-century portraiture	7
4. Aim and structure of the thesis	10
1. Dress in Florentine profile portraits of women c. 1440-1475	13
1. Survey of extant portraits of women before c. 1475.....	14
2.1. Florentine fashion.....	19
2.2. Florentine fabrics	23
3.1. Dress and marriage in Florentine <i>ricordanze</i>	26
3.2. Dressing up before and beyond marriage.....	29
4. Workshop practice.....	33
5. Family honour and virtuous display.....	35
2. Dress in the portrait of Ginevra de' Benci	39
1. The sitter and the patron	40
2.1. Recognizing austerity.....	43
2.2. Ginevra's dress	48
3.1. Flemish origins	52
3.2. Sculpting fashion.....	54
4.1. Ginevra's portrait and the <i>paragone</i>	56
4.2. The poetics of plain dress.....	60
5. Dress in Florentine portraiture after <i>Ginevra de' Benci</i>	65
3. Dress in the Milanese portraits.....	69
1.1. Leonardo's patron Ludovico Sforza	70
1.2. Critical reception.....	71
2.1. Sforza splendour	73
2.2. Dressing the duchess.....	75
2.3. Milanese fashion.....	80
3. The portrayal of splendour.....	86
4.1. Dress and decoration in <i>The Lady with an Ermine</i>	89
4.2. Spanish fashion	92
4.3. Conveying coiffures.....	94
5.1. Folds and wrinkles	97
5.2. Dating the dress in the <i>Belle Ferronnière</i>	103
6.1. Leonardo and personal adornment.....	104
6.2. Dress and decorum.....	106
4. Dressing and portraying Isabella d'Este	109
1. The commission.....	110
2.1. 'The source and origin of all the pretty fashions in Italy'	112
2.2. Jewellery and honour.....	118
3.1. Isabella's 'living likeness'	121
3.2. The function of court portraiture.....	125

4.	Dress in portraits	129
5.	'Leonardo the painter who is our friend'	134
5.	Dress in <i>Mona Lisa</i>.....	139
1.	The portrait of Lisa Gherardini.....	140
2.1.	Mother in mourning dress.....	143
2.2.	Fashionably virtuous Florentine wife	146
2.3.	New mother in maternity dress.....	148
3.1.	A reconstruction of the painting process of <i>Mona Lisa</i> 's dress.....	151
3.2.	Pictorial sources for dress in <i>Mona Lisa</i>	158
3.3.	Flowing tresses	160
4.1.	Timeless beauty	162
4.2.	Idealized dress	167
6.	Conclusion.....	169
1.	Fashion.....	169
2.	Art theory and workshop practice	170
3.	Patrons.....	171
4.	Further research	172
Appendix 1: Leonardo's writings on dress and drapery		173
Appendix 2: Expenses on dress in Leonardo's notebooks.....		181
Appendix 3: Florentine inventories and trousseaux.....		183
A.	Inventory of the Wardrobe of Lucrezia Tornabuoni, 1456.....	183
B.	Counter-trousseau and trousseau of Bartolomea Dietisalvi, 1459.....	183
C.	Counter-trousseau and trousseau of Nannina de' Medici, 1466	185
D.	Trousseau of Chaterina Strozzi, 1504.....	187
Appendix 4: Milanese trousseaux.....		189
A.	Trousseau of Chiara Sforza, 14 March 1489.....	189
B.	Trousseau of Cecila Gallerani, 27 July 1492.....	192
C.	Trousseau of Bianca Maria Sforza, 28 November 1493.....	194
Appendix 5: Poetry		201
A.	Petrarch - <i>Canzoniere</i> no. 77	201
B.	Petrarch - <i>Canzoniere</i> no. 78.....	201
C.	Petrarch - <i>Canzoniere</i> no. 263.....	201
D.	Bernardo Bellincioni - Sonnet on Leonardo's portrait of Cecilia Gallerani	202
E.	Il Pistoia - Belle donne a Milan.....	202
F.	Tito Vespasiano Strozzi - Ad Cosmum pictorem	203
Appendix 6: Genealogies.....		205
A.	Medici family	205
B.	Sforza family.....	206
C.	Este family	206
Figures.....		207
Glossary		261
Bibliography.....		265
Summary in Dutch		289
Curriculum vitae.....		293

Acknowledgements

Writing this thesis has been a very enjoyable adventure, not in the least because of the support of many people whom I would like to thank here. First of all, I thank my supervisors C. Willemijn Fock and Gert Jan van der Sman for their professional guidance and support. The Leiden University Centre for the Arts in Society (LUCAS) was an inspiring place to conduct research. I am grateful to Kitty Zijlmans, Frans-Willem Korsten, Korrie Korevaart, Lia ten Brink and Viola Stoop for all the help I received from the institute and for the organization of PhD seminars, where I received valuable comments on my work.

My appointment as a teacher at Leiden University in 2011 was a great encouragement to finish this thesis, for which I thank Marjan Groot. I also thank my Leiden colleagues Nelke Bartelings, Marion Boers, Elizabeth den Hartog, Marika Keblusek, Gerhard Jan Nauta, Timo de Rijk, Juliette Roding, Tineke de Ruiter, Louk Tilanus and Helen Westgeest for their continuing interest in my research. Edward Grasman's enthusiasm and support, first as a teacher and later as a colleague and a friend, gave me the confidence to start and continue writing this thesis. I also thank my students who often were the first audience for many an idea presented in this thesis. Their enthusiasm was an important source of inspiration.

Financial support of the GWO Fund (part of Stichting Vrienden van het Kunsthistorisch Instituut in Florence) and LUCAS, gratefully acknowledged here, permitted me to stay at the Dutch University Institute for Art History (NIKI) in Florence several times, where I benefited greatly from the comments by Michael Kwakkelstein. The NIKI is a wonderful place for scholarly exchange and I vividly recall the many stimulating conversations I had there with Francesca Alberti, Joanne Allen, Klazina Botke, Mireille Cornelis, Julia Dijkstra, Myrthe Huijts, Elsje van Kessel, Irene Mariani, Scott Nethersole, Tania De Nile, Marije Osnabrugge, Laura Overpelt, Willem te Slaa, Surya Stemerding, Joan Teepe, Bouk Wierda, Roselien van Wijngaarden and Joyce Zelen. Also thanks to Tjarda Vermeijden and Antonella Di Gaetano.

The opportunity to present my ideas at the Humboldt University in Berlin in Philipp Zitzlsperger's colloquium for PhD students was a great experience. I thank all participants for their invaluable questions and comments, and Maria Merseburger in particular.

It has been a particular pleasure to study many artworks in detail in various museums and discuss my research with their curators. At the Musée du Louvre, Vincent Delieuvin has been most helpful. In the National Gallery in London Caroline Campbell was very welcoming, as was Andreas Schumacher in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich. In the Gemäldegalerie Berlin I received most kind assistance from Bernd Lindemann and Stephan Kemperdick. I thank Giorgio Marini at the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi for his kind cooperation in showing me all drawings that were relevant to my research. David Alan Brown kindly received me in the National Gallery of Art, Washington. I thank Luke Syson for a vivid and stimulating conversation in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.

Other people I would like to thank here are: Paul van den Akker, Martijn van Beek, Duncan Bull, Julia Burke, Lynn Catterson, Karolien de Clippel, Rembrandt Duits, Albert Elen, Flavio Gianassi, Irene Groeneweg, Jan de Jong, Martin Kemp, Bram de Klerck, Arjan de Koomen, Ilaria Masi, Fred Meijer, Lukas Nonner, Emily Pegues, Henry Pettifer, Christoph Pieper, Michiel Plomp, David Pollack, Giorgio Riello, Gregory Rubinstein, Ineke Sluiter, Paola Squellati-Brizio, Jeroen Stumpel, Cécile Tainturier, Henk van Veen, Adriaan Waiboer, Elizabeth

Walmsley, Arthur K. Wheelock Jr and Margreet Wolters. Further thanks go to the staff of the Leiden University Library, the Rijksmuseum Research Library, the Royal Library in the Hague, the print room of the British Museum, the Lipperheidesche Kostümbibliothek in Berlin and the Kunsthistorisches Institut, the Biblioteca Nazionale and the Archivio di Stato, all in Florence. It was a pleasure to work with Debra Molnar, who skillfully edited my English.

It would not have been possible to write this thesis without the support of friends and family. It was a delight to study in Leiden with Verena Bakhuizen, Natascha Jonker, Nathalie Goodett, Bernadette Kramer and Henriëtte Wijmenga. The wide variety of art historical subjects we discussed during our time as students were formative for me as an art historian. Barbara Borkent-Raven, friend since high school, never failed in providing moral support. Thanks also to Madeleine Pfundt and Jolein van Kregten.

It has been wonderful to see the enthusiasm for my work of both my grandmothers, oma Riemens and oma van Schaik. I thank Hans van Dijk and Yuedan Li for making their house my second home, where large parts of this thesis were written, and for many Chinese advises which have turned out wonderfully. The love and support I receive from my brother Plamen and his partner Debbie mean a lot to me – thank you both. *Grazie mille* to my parents, who have been there for me every step of the way with their unconditional love, trust, interest and encouragement.

Finally, my love and thanks to Eddy Schavemaker. I am immensely grateful for his support and his willingness to read, re-read and comment the entire manuscript. I dedicate this thesis to you, Eddy.