Laura, Laurel, *Lauro*: Bronzino and Mannerist Depictions of Exemplary Women

Megan Osler

Out of the seventeen known portraits of women attributed to the mannerist painter Agnolo Bronzino (1503-1572), only one is set in profile. Bronzino's *Portrait of Laura Battiferri* (c. 1560) is striking to behold (fig. 1). The subject of the work, the female poet Laura Battiferri (1523-1589), was largely unknown until the 20th century when American art collector Charles Loeser cross-examined the portrait with other known references of Battiferri. Upon further research, Loeser discovered a friendship between Bronzino and Battiferri: the two exchanged sonnets



Figure 1. Agnolo Bronzino, *Portrait of Laura Battiferri*, c. 1650-1660, oil on panel, 87.5cm x 70cm, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence.

stylized in the style of the love poems of the highly influential early-humanist Petrarch.³

¹ Mannerism refers to the late-Renaissance artistic style characterized by graceful, elongated limbs, stylized bodies, artificiality, and intense and unusual colours among other features.

² Susan Camille Benton Shenouda, *The Portrait of Laura Battiferri: Construction of a Female Poet*, order no. 1401505, (George Washington University, 2000), 5.

³ Shenouda, Portrait of Laura Battiferri, 6.

Through his sonnets, Bronzino presents a textual portrait of Battiferri that matches his physical representation of her, claiming that she is his equivalent of the object of Petrarch's poetry, also named Laura.⁴

The painting mirrors his verbal association of Battiferri with Petrarch. The viewer's gaze is drawn down the centre of the painting to where Battiferri's elegant fingers hold open a volume of verse, clearly identified as two sonnets from Petrarch's Canzoniere. In Bronzino's picture, the two sonnets featured are far apart in printed and manuscript collections of his text and are both addressed to his beloved Laura. As scholar Graham Smith suggests, this leads the viewer to a natural characterization of Battiferri with Petrarch's beloved.⁵ Bronzino further complicates the layers of meaning within this piece by inviting the viewer to further draw analogies between Battiferri and Petrarch, as well as one of the most acclaimed of Tuscan poets — Dante. Thus, through several tools of identification, Bronzino attempts to depict Battiferri as both a woman of great intellect and as an exemplar to her gender by connecting her to both two famous Florentine poets, and to the beloved of Petrarch—the most virtuous and beautiful Laura. This subversion of traditional conventions of female portraiture emerges in an era of ascendancy of women into intellectual positions of note, as Susan Camille Benton Shenouda notes, which underlined the void of specific iconography with which to depict and praise them. Bronzino, therefore, attempts to demonstrate Battiferri's exceptionality by simultaneously holding her up as a paragon of female virtue and by identifying her with male figures to present her as someone who has transcended her gender through intellect.

Laura Battiferri was born in Urbino in 1523, "a city renowned for remarkable women." The daughter of Giovani'Antonio Battiferri of Urbino, a wealthy clerical officer, and Maddalena Coccapani, his concubine, Battiferri was legitimized as his child in 1543 and would eventually become his heir. Laura was therefore born to "culture, social position, and cosmopolitan wealth, all of which would launch her into the courtly life as a woman of letters and a political asset to her spouse," as described by the scholar Victoria Kirkham. In 1550, after the death of her first husband, Laura married the Florentine architect and sculptor

⁴ Shenouda, Portrait of Laura Battiferri, 6.

⁵ Graham Smith, "Bronzino's Portrait of Laura Battiferri," Notes in the History of Art 15, no. 4 (1996): 32.

⁶ Shenouda, Portrait of Laura Battiferri, 41.

⁷ Smith, Bronzino's Portrait of Laura Battiferri, 30.

⁸ Victoria Kirkham, "Creative Partners: The Marriage of Laura Battiferri and Bartolomeo Ammannati," Renaissance Quarterly 55, no.2 (2002): 502.

Bartolommeo Ammanati. From all accounts, this was a happy marriage, both parties showing public encouragement of the other's career. They had no children, meaning Battiferri was "freed from the duties of child-rearing," and "was able to pursue her career as a writer to a far greater extent than most women," with the support of her artist husband. After their marriage, Battiferri and Ammanati became influential figures in the literary and artistic world of mid-sixteenth century Florence. Laura befriended many of the prominent writers of the period, including Annibale Caro and Benedetto Varchi. Varchi would become her critic and mentor, "correcting her verse and advising her on the contents and title of *Il Primo libro delle opera toscane*," her first work, a collection of writings that she published in 1560. Her second publication was a translation of Pentitential Psalms, *I sette salmi pentinentiali del santissimo profeta Davit*, in 1564. From this time onwards she would not publish her own work but was still deeply engaged with the intellectual community at the time, providing poems for other male humanist's anthologies. ¹¹ It was during this time that Battiferri would have made the acquaintance of Bronzino, the two beginning an exchange of Petrarchan sonnets.

Although we do not know who commissioned the work, Bronzino painted Battiferri sometime between 1550 and 1560. The portrait is a side-profile, drawing analogies with ancient coins of classical emperors. Her silhouette fills the entire frame with only a muted grey background, ensuring that she is the only visual focus. The viewer is instantly struck by her cool and elegant demeanor. The smooth brushwork, cool tones, and Battiferri's turned gaze makes her appear remote and inaccessible. While Bronzino depicts her in dark colours—fitting for an intellectual of her time — the rich velvet of her dress, and the thin delicacy of her veil suggests constrained elegance and wealth. As well as the luxurious fabrics of her dress, Bronzino offsets her sombre appearance with five delicate gold accessories, two pins holding her veil; a small button at the collar of her chemise; a long-knotted gold chain necklace; and a gold ring with a "rectangular black gem set between two fleurs-de-lys." Her marital status is shown by her hair drawn back from her face, pinned back by a headdress with a veil. While these decorative features begin to convey specific details of Battiferri — that she is a wealthy, married, intellectual — a series of factors of the composition make the volume of Petrarch the focal point of the work, expressing more about the sitter than her appearance. Dark muted

⁹ Shenouda, The Portrait of Laura Battiferri, 11.

¹⁰ Smith, Bronzino's Portrait of Laura Battiferri, 30.

¹¹ Shenouda, Portrait of Laura Battiferri, 12.

¹² Carol Plazzotta, "Bronzino's Laura," The Burlington Magazine 140, no. 1141 (1998): 251.

tones, soft illumination on her face and center of her chest, and the centrality of the light draws the eyes in a straight line from her face down to the book she is holding. Moreover, Bronzino ensures that the viewer's gaze is drawn directly to the volume of Petrarch by placing the book at the axis of Battiferri's stiff posture and her arm, which she holds perpendicularly to her torso. Her thin, elegant fingers further draw direct attention to the verse of Petrarch she is highlighting with two fingers, dimpling the paper, almost emphatically demanding the viewer's gaze lands here. The book is foregrounded in the liminal space between subject and observer, acting as the intermediary between the two parties. While her eyes do not contact the viewer, Battiferri's gaze comes to us through the verses of Petrarch, leading the viewer to directly associate the text with her. Thus, Bronzino's compositional choice to depict Battiferri with little adornment or background further emphasizes the text of Petrarch, subverting conventions of traditional female portraiture but forcing the viewer to naturally associate Laura with the verses she holds.

This painting is unique among Bronzino's surviving portraits for depicting the sitter in profile. The profile also had a distinguished pedigree, "going back to antique ruler portraits on coins and medals and to donor portraits on religious commissions, both relating to social prestige." Throughout the Renaissance, ruling families and social elites enjoyed using the profile as a method of harkening back to their Classical influences, portraying themselves as "embodiments of a social ideal going back to antiquity." Traditionally, profile portraits of women functioned differently than their male counterparts As described by Shenouda, the importance of women in the fifteenth-century society was their relationship to family and lineage, the expression of their individuality was therefore irrelevant. She argues that "women were portrayed in a manner conforming to the ways in which men believed they should be seen: virtuous, static, idealized and silent." By the 1470s the popularity of the female profile portrait diminished as artists more frequently chose to portray their sitters in more naturalistic frontal and three-quarter views as cultural conceptions of women began to shift and painters wanted to create images of women that seemed to interact with the viewer.

Although the profile was popular in Florentine portraits of women in the quattrocento, it must have appeared "conspicuously archaic when Bronzino painted Battiferri," as argued by

¹³ Shenouda, *Portrait of Laura Battiferri*, 21.

¹⁴ Shenouda, Portrait of Laura Battiferri, 21.

¹⁵ Shenouda, *Portrait of Laura Battiferri*, 22.

¹⁶ Shenouda, Portrait of Laura Battiferri, 22.

Osler / Bronzino

Smith.¹⁷ Women profile painting was conventional in the earlier century as an object of the male gaze, painted for male artists for their male patrons, as Smith suggests, "the profile portrait allowed the suitor to explore his lover's face ardently, while simultaneously attesting to the woman's chastity and female virtue."¹⁸ This understanding of the chaste admiration of the beloved through the profile would fit with Bronzino's Neoplatonic expression of love for Laura. Bronzino's affection for Battiferri mimicked Dante and Petrarch's love for their beloved's, that unconsummated, earthly, love acts as the first step toward the ascent to a spiritual, divine realm. In this way, the married Battiferri could act as his muse for the output of his poetry and his painting, inspiring his creative protentional. Thus, Bronzino's choice to depict Battiferri in profile, while outdated in his own era, could be to express his love while maintaining her chastity and virtue, as suggested by Cristina Varisco.¹⁹

In Bronzino's *Portrait of Lucrezia Panciatichi* (1540) (fig.2), we can observe a more traditional example of his female portraiture. Panciatchi is presented in the three-quarter position, with her gaze squarely on the observer. Panciatichi fits within the Renaissance conception of ideal female beauty described at length by humanist writers and neo-Petrarchan poets. As suggested by Shenouda, the literary standard of female beauty formed by these writers favoured "specific features, such as flaxen hair, alabaster skin, rosy cheeks, shining eyes, arched eyebrows and ruby lips," all features which Bronzino privileges in this portrait. ²⁰ Bronzino also emphasizes Lucrezia's social privilege by paying careful attention to her dress and decoration, painting the puffed sleeves and embroidered neckline of her dress with striking verisimilitude. In opposition, Battiferri's image "is not in any way representative of the literary

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¹⁷ Smith, Bronzino's Portrait of Laura Battiferri, 32.

¹⁸ Smith, Bronzino's Portrait of Laura Battiferri, 32.

¹⁹ Cristina Varisco, "Laura Battiferra: An Open Book," Carte Italian 2, no.5 (2009): 21.

²⁰ Shenouda, Portrait of Laura Battiferra, 23.

Pangaea / 2022

standard of beauty. The proportions of her face are not ideal: she lacks blond tresses, intense colouring and sensuous appeal." ²¹ He departs from his established oeuvre of female representation in his portrait of Laura, as Plazzotta describes "both in its muted palette and in the sobriety and modesty of the sitter's dress," as well as in the muted grey background, bare of decoration or furnishings. ²² In the lack of conspicuous wealth that Bronzino usually uses,



Figure 2. Agnolo Bronzino, *Portrait of Lucrezia Paciatichi*, 1545, oil on panel, 102cm x 85cm, Uffizi, Florence.

he, therefore, subverts the convention of his traditional female portraiture in order to portray what he perceives as Battiferri's *exemplarity* and intellect.

Bronzino forgoes convention in order to portray Battiferri as a learned woman. The early sixteenth-century in Italy was reasonably favourable to the pursuits of female literary figures. Between 1538 and the end of the century, roughly two hundred books were written by women or at least included selections by them.²³ Women were able to write and publish poetry but only poetry "in the context of carefully constructed personae, and through the support of powerful contacts."²⁴ The Neoplatonic and humanist resurgence movement in this era helped facilitate the emergence of the female author during this period. The popularity of

²¹ Shenouda, Portrait of Laura Battiferra, 23.

²² Plazzotta, Bronzino's Laura, 251.

²³ Shenouda, *Portrait of Laura Battiferri*, 13.

²⁴ Shenouda, *Portrait of Laura Battiferri*, 18.

Petrarchan verse and Neoplatonic thought which provided a mode of writer that could be adopted and subverted by women. Tuscan scholars such as Dante and Petrarch helped legitimize the relationship between men and women, demonstrating how earthly and nonphysical love could as the first step toward the ascent to a spiritual, divine realm. Neoplatonic love poetry was considered a part of the private sphere and was therefore appropriate for women. This form of exchange is demonstrated by relationship between Bronzino and Battiferri, whose communications model themselves off of the sonnets Petrarch wrote for his muse Laura. Furthermore, Neoplatonic dialogues between men and women such as Baldassare Castiglione's The Book of the Courtier (1528), sought to redefine the role of women conventionally held in Aristotelian thought. Book three of Castiglione's dialogue promotes an educational program for women in preparation for positions other than those of a nun or traditional wife. While his proposed education for women is judiciously structured and highly selective, Castiglione nonetheless advocates that "many faculties of the mind are as necessary to woman as to man."25 He suggests that all women ought to "have a knowledge of letters, music, painting, and know how to dance and make merry."26 Texts such as Castiglione's were influential in shaping the understanding of the role of women in sixteenth-century Italian society, contributing to the access of women such as Battiferri to positions of intellectual prestige.

In an attempt to present Battiferri as a sixteenth century learned woman, Bronzino characterizes her with Petrarch's Laura in his poetry and painting. Both Sonnet 64 and 420 — the two verses featured in Battiferri's portrait — are love poems that Petrarch has addressed to his Laura. The centrality of the text in the portrait, naturally invites the viewer to draw analogies between Battiferri and Petrarch's Laura, demonstrating that she is the sixteenth-century counterpart. As Smith argues, the profile could be an attempt to mimic the 'disdain,' described by the poet in the first stanza of sonnet 64. Here, he describes how no amount of contempt from Laura will diminish his love for her:

If you could by any angry gestures—by
Casting your eyes down
Or bending your head or by being more

²⁵ Baldassare Castiglione, The Book of the Courtier, trans. Leonard Eckstein Opdyke (New York: H. Liveright,

^{1929), 173.}

²⁶ Castiglione, The Book of the Courtier.

Swift to flee than any
Other, frowning at my virtuous and
Worthy prayers²⁷

As Smith argues, painting Battiferri in profile acts as the visual equivalent of the downcast eyes, turned head, and disdainful demeanor, described by Petrarch.²⁸ Through this sonnet, Bronzino is trying to appeal directly to physical depictions of the fourteenth-century Laura—in temperament and bearing. He similarly makes this analogy in his poetry dedicated to Battiferri, describing her as the "new Laura," who is superior to Petrarch's Laura and describing how she functions as a conduit or muse for his creative output.²⁹

Fair Laura, if for this new Laura, Who is above the one previously so praised, I had the same style and inspiration, able to recreate the poetic ways of old³⁰

He notes that the inspiration from the 'new' Laura, allows him to recreate the poetry of antiquity, which he then uses to compliment her in sonnet.

Battiferri uses similar analogies herself in her own poetry, self-consciously characterizing herself as Petrarch's Laura and as the mythical Daphne — whom Petrarch often references in his work. In her poetry, she adopts the persona of Daphne, referring to herself as the nymph in order to enfold herself in a "flattering literary family, a descendant of Petrarch's elusive mistress and, before her, the nymph beloved of Apollo, god of poetry," as Kirkham argues. One of the central images in Petrarch's Rime, borrowed from Ovid's Metamorphoses, is the transformation of Daphne into a laurel tree in an attempt to avoid the advances of the enamoured Apollo. Plazzotta describes how Petrarch repeatedly evokes this archetypal myth by means of a wide range of referents, playing with the similar etymology of the words Laura and the Italian lauro. Battiferri's own text, Primo Libro is littered with these

²⁷ Petrarch, *Petrarch's Lyric Poems: The* "Rime sparse" and Other Lyrics, trans. and ed. Robert M. Durling (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), 142.

²⁸ Smith, Bronzino's Portrait of Laura Battiferri, 33.

²⁹ Agnolo Bronzino, *Sonetti de Angiolo Allori Petto II Bronzino Ed Altre Rime Inedite*, ed., Domenico Moreni, trans. Camilla Bozzoli (Firenza: Nella Stamperia Magheri, 1823), 106.

³⁰ Bronzino, Sonetti de Angiolo Allori Petto II Bronzino Ed Altre Rime Inedite, 106.

³¹ Kirkham, Creative Partners: The Marriage of Laura Battiferri and Bartolomeo Ammannati, 15.

³² Plazzotta, Bronzino's Laura, 256.

Osler / Bronzino

same allusions. Thus, on the most basic of level, the text stands as an attribute for the sitter, making a punning reference to her name. Sonnet 64 describes Daphne and laurel tree explicitly, describing how Petrarch's love for Laura is tangled in his breast in the same way that Apollo became tangled in the laurel branches of his beloved.

If you could ever thus or by any other stratagem escape from my
Breast where Love engrafts many
Branches from that first laurel,
I would say that would be a just reason
For your disdain³³

Because the image of Daphne permeates the first Petrarchan sonnet, Laura is identified as the subject of the poem, and by extension, the sitter of the painting.

Battiferri picks up the analogy of the laurel in a sonnet she composes in response to Bronzino's portrait. She asks that the Greek god, Apollo, bestow upon her the laurel wreath that is given to only the most acclaimed poets, saying "Apollo, you who know that one these shores/ Your fresh new laurel leaves will cast their shade,/ Descend to me at times in my sweet sojourn." The play on Laura and *laure* is further perpetuated in the portrait insofar as Battiferri is not presented wearing "the poet's crowning laurel wreath, but rather a veiled headdress of a Florentine matriarch." While Laura expresses her desire to be recognized as an accomplished poet — i.e. receive the laurel wreath — she is presented in the manner expected of her role in Florentine society. As Varisco suggests, in the same way that Bronzino was able to portray such a lofty image of Battiferri through his, so too Laura wants to "achieve a noble level of excellence with her poetic production," that would match that of the Tuscan masters. Laura's own desire to be recognized as a poet suggests that not only does she characterize herself with Daphne and the fourteenth-century Laura, but also with Petrarch himself.

³³ Petrarch, Petrarch's Lyric Poems, 142.

³⁴ Laura Anna Stortoni and Mary Prentice Lillie, eds. Women Poets of the Italian Renaissance: Courtly Ladies and Courtesans (New York: Italica Press, 1997), 161.

³⁵ Shenouda, Portrait of Laura Battiferri, 38.

³⁶ Varisco, Laura Battiferri: An Open Book, 29.

Pangaea / 2022

Attempting to demonstrate Laura's poetic ambition, Bronzino characterizes her with both Petrarch *and* his beloved. In this way, Laura both functions as the subject and the object of the Petrarchan lyric. The tome of poetry she holds identifies her not only as Laura but also as a student and follower of Petrarch. This is supported by other portraits of Bronzino's in which he uses specific texts to demonstrate the education of certain individuals. As Graham Smith argues, Battiferri's portrait is similar to Bronzino's Portrait of Ugolino Martelli (1536-1537, fig. 3), which he had painted two decades earlier. Here, Martelli is portrayed with volumes of



Figure 3. Agnolo Bronzino, 1536 or 1537, *Portrait of Ugolino Martelli*, oil on poplar panel, 102cm x 85cm, Gemaldegalerie, Berlin.

Homer, Virgil, and Bembo. As Smith argues, "these volumes were intended to define Martelli as a young Humanist of exceptional promise, and a student of the Tuscan language of Petrarch."³⁷ As both Martelli and Battiferri point to an open text, Smith argues that this could identify Laura as a student and an inheritor of the tradition of Tuscan literature.

 $^{\rm 37}$ Smith, Bronzino's Portrait of Laura Battiferri, 32.

Osler / Bronzino

Furthermore, Smith argues that the profile of Battiferri specifically recalls another Florentine figure, bringing to mind the most familiar of all Tuscan profiles—Dante.³⁸ Bronzino himself painted a post-humous portrait of the poet for Barolommeo Bettini.³⁹ Although this portrait no longer survives, there does exist a drawing by Bronzino that is likely related to this commission (fig. 4). In reverse, the sketch of Dante looks like it could have



Figure 4. Agnolo Bronzino, 1532, *Portrait of Dante*, black chalk, accidental traces of red chalk, 29.1 x 21.8 cm, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich.

served as a preparatory sketch for the Battiferri portrait, depicting the same aquiline nose and prominent chin. In this way, Smith suggests, Bronzino could have chosen the profile in order to emphasize Battiferri's Dantesque features and consequentially to depict her as a female equivalent to Dante as well as Petrarch. This is further suggested by Bronzino's to Battiferri, where he argues that not only does Battiferri supersede Laura and Beatrice, but also their lovers, the poets Petrarch and Dante. He states, "you, through your own valor, vanquish/ Laura and Beatrice, and you are above them in/ Worth, and perhaps their lovers in style and song." Bronzino asserts that not only is Battiferri's virtue higher than that of Laura and Beatrice, but her poetry, referring to 'style,' and 'song,' is better than that of Dante and

³⁸ Smith, Bronzino's Portrait of Laura Battiferri, 32.

³⁹ Smith, Bronzino's Portrait of Laura Battiferri, 32.

⁴⁰ Deborah Parker, Bronzino: Renaissance Painter as Poet (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000)

Petrarch. By associating her with both Dante and Petrarch, Bronzino is representing her as a descendent or heir to the literary traditions of Florence and a talented poet.

By characterizing Battiferri as Laura — the paragon of female virtue and beauty — as well as Dante and Petrarch, Bronzino is attempting to demonstrate her as an exemplar of her gender. Because no conventional artistic iconography existed for learned or political women existed in this period, artists such as Bronzino struggled to depict women without simply ascribing to them the same symbols of power used for portrayals of men. One such method male scholars and artists used to reckon with this dilemma was to simply measure women exclusively against other women, putting together volumes of "modern muses," and "women worthies," as described by Virginia Cox.⁴¹ Bronzino emulates this pattern by characterizing Battiferri with Petrarch's Laura, but also subverts the trend by identifying her with two acclaimed Florentine poets. In this facet, Bronzino is demonstrating how certain worthy women could have qualities such as intellect, but only if their image was masculinized so that they were exceptions, overcoming their inferior feminine nature. Therefore, Bronzino portrays her as an exemplar to her gender, both as she is made analogous to Laura, who acted as an ideal of female virtue in the humanist tradition, but also as she overcomes her gender as she is masculinized and connected to Petrarch and Dante.

⁴¹ Virginia Cox, Women's Writing in Italy, 1400-1650, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 119.

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