

List of Figures

Figure 0.1: Sir Godfrey Kneller, workshop, *Portrait of Lady Mary Boyle and her Son Charles*, ca. 1720, oil on canvas, 91.5 × 68.6 cm, private collection, The Family of the Earls of Shannon © Lawrence Steigrad Fine Arts, New York / Bridgeman Images.

Figure 0.2: Jesus Herrera Martínez, *Altarpiece: The Fire and the Flame*, detail with Roman Charities, 2015, oil on canvas, 40 × 40 cm, Rome, Colección Honos Art © Photo: Jesus Herrera Martínez.

Figure 1.1: Barthel Beham, *Pero and Cimon*, 1525, print, 55 × 36 mm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB 4189 © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Figure 1.2: Venetian, *Pero and Cimon*, ca. 1520, Vienna, Dorotheum, April 8, 1922 © Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek.

Figure 1.3: Francesco Casella or Galeazzo Rivelli (della Barba), *Pietas*, 1513, ceiling fresco, Cremona, Sant'Abbondio © Photo: Jim Kan.

Figure 1.4: *Pietati*, early 16th c., bronze medal, London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. 269–1864 © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Figure 1.5: *Unnamed Roman Girl Feeds her Mother in Prison*, illumination, Giovanni Boccaccio, *De cleres et nobles femmes*, 1402, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale MS Fr. 12420, fol. 100 © Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Figure 1.6: Peter Paul Rubens, *Roman Charity*, 1630, oil on canvas, 155 × 190 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, object no. SK-A-345 © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Figure 1.7: *Daughter Breastfeeding her Mother*, early 16th c., bronze plaque, 11.3 × 9.6 cm, Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Bode-Museum, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, inv. no. 1418 © Photo: Jörg P. Anders, bpk, Berlin / Art Resource, NY ART510740.

- Figure 1.8: *Pietati*, early 16th c., bronze medal, diam. 10.5 cm, Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Bode-Museum, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, inv. no. 1226 © Photo: Jörg P. Anders, bpk, Berlin / Art Resource, NY ART510741.
- Figure 1.9: Hans Kels the Elder, *Daughter Breastfeeding her Mother*, 1537, detail, carved board game, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, KK 3419 © KHM- Museumsverband.
- Figure 1.10: Hans Sebald Beham, after Barthel Beham, *Three Women in a Bath House*, 1548, print, 83 × 58 mm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB 10.923 © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
- Figure 1.11: Hans Sebald Beham, after Barthel Beham, *Pero and Cimon*, 1544, print, 70 × 48 mm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB 10.786 © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
- Figure 1.12: Hans Sebald Beham, *Pero and Cimon*, 1525, print, diam. 5 cm, Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen, inv. no. 216–1909 © bkp, Berlin / Kuperstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen Photo: Dietmar Katz / Art Resource, NY ART515257.
- Figure 1.13: Hans Sebald Beham, *Pero and Cimon flanked by Tritons*, 1526–30, print, 38 × 100 mm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-10.783 © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
- Figure 1.14: Hans Sebald Beham, *Pero and Cimon*, 1544, print, 59 × 45 mm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB 10.784 © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
- Figure 1.15: Hans Sebald Beham, *Pero and Cimon*, 1540, drawing, pen and black ink, 39.7 × 24.1 cm, Washington, National Gallery, Woodner Collection, inv. no. 1998 © Courtesy National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.
- Figure 1.16: Hans Sebald Beham, *The Virgin with the Pear*, 1520, print, 110 × 74 mm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB 10.724 © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
- Figure 1.17: Hans Sebald Beham, after Barthel Beham, *Virgin with the Parrot*, 1549, print, 82 × 58 mm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P 1921.2138 © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
- Figure 1.18: Hans Sebald Beham, *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife*, 1526, print, diam. 52 mm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-10.718 © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
- Figure 1.19: Hans Sebald Beham, *Amnon's Incest*, ca. 1525, miniature print, Bremen, Kunsthalle Bremen – Der Kunstverein in Bremen, Department of Prints and Drawings © Photo Karen Blindow.
- Figure 1.20: Hans Sebald Beham, *The Night*, 1548, print, 110 × 78 mm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB 10.866 © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
- Figure 1.21: Hans Sebald Beham, *Lucretia*, 1519, print, 56 × 43 mm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB 10.789 © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

- Figure 1.22: Hans Sebald Beham, *Dido*, 1520, print, 130 × 97 mm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB 10.791 © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
- Figure 1.23: Barthel Beham, *Judith*, 1523, print, 58 × 39 mm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB 4178 © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
- Figure 1.24: Hans Sebald Beham, *Judith and her Maid*, 1520–30, print, 108 × 68 mm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB 10.715 © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
- Figure 1.25: Barthel Beham, *Judith*, 1525, print, 54 × 37 mm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB 4179 © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
- Figure 1.26: Master with the Griffin's Head, *Pero and Cimon*, 1546, oil on wood, Würzburg, Julius-Maximilians-Universität, Martin von Wagner Museum © Martin von Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg.
- Figure 1.27: Lucas Cranach the Elder, *Judith with the Head of Holofernes*, 1530, beech panel, 75 × 56 cm, Berlin, Jagdschloss Grünewald © Photo: Jörg P. Anders, Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg.
- Figure 1.28: Master with the Griffin's Head, *Samson and Dalila*, 1539, Paris, art market, 1939.
- Figure 1.29: Georg Pencz, *Judith with the Head of Holofernes*, 1531, oil on wood, 86 × 72 cm, München, Bayerische Schlösserverwaltung © Bayer&Mitko – ARTOTHEK.
- Figure 1.30: Titian, *Salome*, 1515, oil on canvas, 90 × 72 cm, Rome, Galleria Doria Pamphili © Alinari / Art Resource, NY ART92169.
- Figure 1.31: Georg Pencz, *Pero and Cimon*, 1538, oil on canvas, 76 × 53.5 cm, Warsaw, Museum Narodowe © Photo: Wilczynski Krzysztof / Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie.
- Figure 1.32: Erhard Schwetzer, *Pero and Cimon*, 1538, Nürnberg, Germanisches Museum.
- Figure 1.33: Georg Pencz, *Pero and Cimon*, 1546, Stockholm, J. A. Berg Collection, Stockholm University, inv. no. 89 © Courtesy J. A. Berg Collection, Stockholm University.
- Figure 1.34: Georg Pencz, after, *Pero and Cimon*, early 17th c., München, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, inv. no. 7071.
- Figure 1.35: Bernardino Luini, after, *Pero and Cimon*, 19th c., tempera on canvas, Florence, Museo Stibbert © Raffaello Bencini / Alinari Archives, Florence.
- Figure 1.36: Bernardino Luini, *Madonna Lactans*, before 1532, oil on panel, 74 × 56 cm, Warsaw, Museum Narodowe © Wilczynski Krzysztof / Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie.
- Figure 1.37: *Venus Nursing Adonis*, 1499, woodcut, Francesco Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (1999), p. 369.
- Figure 1.38: *Polymast Fountain / The Three Graces Spouting Water from Their Breasts*, 1499, woodcut, Francesco Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (1999), p. 81.

- Figure 1.39: *Egyptian Page with Image of Multi-Breasted Diana of Ephesus*, 1530–38, illumination, *Mass of Saint John the Baptist*, Colonna Missal, Manchester, University of Manchester, John Rylands University Library of Manchester, MS 32, fol. 79r © Copyright of the University of Manchester.
- Figure 1.40: Giulio Romano, *Birth of Memnon*, 1524, wall painting, Mantua, Palazzo Tè, Appartamento del Giardino Segreto © Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library.
- Figure 1.41: Cima da Conegliano, *Saint Mark Healing Ananias*, 1497–99, detail, oil on wood, 172 × 135 cm, Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie, inv. no. 15 © Photo: Jörg P. Anders, Gemäldegalerie / Art Resource, ART368335.
- Figure 1.42: Bernardino Pinturicchio and workshop, *Mermaid Nursing her Offspring*, 1490, coffered ceiling, detail, Rome, Palazzo dei Penitenzieri (Palazzo of Domenico della Rovere), Sala dei Semidei © Scala / Art Resource, ART360968.
- Figure 1.43: Giulio Romano and workshop, *A Mermaid Goddess Nursing her Young*, before 1534, oil on panel, 94.3 × 99.5 cm, London, The Royal Collection at Hampton Court, image no. 402918 © The Royal Collection at Hampton Court.
- Figure 1.44: Giulio Romano, *Pero and Cimon or Breastfeeding Artemis*, before 1534, design, pen and brown ink, 18.5 × 20.5 cm, Chantilly, Chateau de Chantilly, Musée Condé © Photo: Michel Urtado, RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY ART511647.
- Figure 1.45: Giulio Romano, *Wedding Banquet of Amor and Psyche*, 1524–34, detail of breastfeeding satyr, wall painting, Mantua, Palazzo Tè, Camera di Psiche © Photo: Erich Lessing / Art Resource, NY ART24471.
- Figure 1.46: Giulio Romano, *Bacchus and Ariane*, before 1546, cartoon, pen and brown ink, 42.7 × 67.3 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts graphiques, inv. no. 3488, recto © Photo: Thierry Le Mage, RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY ART510332.
- Figure 1.47: Primaticcio, *Pero and Cimon*, 1544, drawing, red pencil, 25.5 × 15 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts graphiques, inv. no. RF 563 © Photo: Madeleine Coursaget, RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY ART510333.
- Figure 1.48: Perino del Vaga, *Pero and Cimon*, 1528–39, wall painting, Genua, Palazzo Doria Pamphili © Villa del Principe, Sezione Didattica.
- Figure 1.49: Rosso Fiorentino, *Pero and Cimon*, after 1530, stucco relief, Chateau de Fontainebleau, Galerie François I © Photo: Peter Willi, RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY ART173655.
- Figure 1.50: Georges Reverdy (Gasparo Reverdino), *Pero and Cimon*, 1542, print, 141 × 320 mm, London, British Museum, 1926,1026.2 © Trustees of the British Museum.

- Figure 2.1: Caravaggio, *The Seven Works of Mercy*, 1606, oil on canvas, 390 × 260 cm, Naples, Pio Monte della Misericordia © Pio Monte della Misericordia.
- Figure 2.2: Caravaggio, *The Crucifixion of Saint Peter*, 1600–01, detail, oil on canvas, 230 × 175 cm, Rome, Santa Maria del Popolo, Cerasi Chapel © Alinari / Art Resource, NY ART125169.
- Figure 2.3: Battistello Caracciolo, *The Liberation of Saint Peter*, 1615, oil on canvas, 310 × 207 cm, Naples, Pio Monte della Misericordia © Scala / Art Resource, NY ART105451.
- Figure 2.4: Sébastien Nivelle, *Filial Piety*, 1572, woodcut, Paris.
- Figure 2.5: Étienne Delaune, *The Daughter Breastfeeds her Mother*, before 1583, ink on paper, 3.5 × 4.3 cm, Vienna, Albertina, inv. no. 11166 © Albertina, Vienna.
- Figure 2.6: *Pero and Cimon*, 1540–50, carved boxwood bowl, 17.1 × 20 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.643) © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Art Resource, NY ART513528.
- Figure 2.7: Lambert Lombard, *The Daughter Breastfeeds her Mother*, before 1566, drawing, brown pen, 12.9 × 20.3 cm, Vienna, Albertina, inv. no. 35472 © Albertina, Vienna.
- Figure 2.8: Jost Amman, *Pero and Cimon*, 1599, woodcut, 99 × 97 mm, *Kunstbüchlein*, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek.
- Figure 2.9: Hans Bernaert Vierleger, *Pero and Cimon*, 1601, dish, tin glaze, lead glaze, h 14 × d 44 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, BK-NM-12730 © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
- Figure 2.10: Theodor de Bry, *The Seven Works of Mercy*, 1588, cup design, diam. 120 mm, London, British Museum, 1870,0625.35 © Trustees of the British Museum.
- Figure 2.11: Roman Master, *Pero and Cimon*, late 16th c., 103 × 103 cm, Rome, Galleria Borghese © Photo: Jutta Sperling.
- Figure 2.12: Bolognese Master, *Pero and Cimon*, late 16th c., 26 × 20 cm, Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Palazzo Barberini © Photo: Jutta Sperling.
- Figure 2.13: Caravaggio, *The Denial of Saint Peter*, 1610, oil on canvas, 94 × 125.4 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art © The Metropolitan Museum of New York / Art Resource, NY ART358093.
- Figure 2.14: Bartolomeo Manfredi, *The Denial of Saint Peter*, 1615–16, oil on canvas, 166 × 232 cm, Braunschweig, Herzog-Anton-Ulrich Museum, no. 495.
- Figure 2.15: Dirck van Baburen, *The Denial of Saint Peter*, 1620–24, oil on canvas, 87 × 105 cm, Kraków, National Museum © From the Collections of the National Museum in Kraków.

- Figure 2.16: Caravaggio, *The Calling of Saint Matthew*, 1599–1600, oil on canvas, 322 × 340 cm, Rome, San Luigi dei Francesi, Contarelli Chapel © Scala / Art Resource, NY ART85771.
- Figure 2.17: Caravaggio, *The Madonna of Loreto*, 1604–06, oil on canvas, 260 × 150 cm, Rome, Sant'Agostino, Cavaletti Chapel © Scala / Art Resource, NY ART300447.
- Figure 2.18: Stefano Maderno, *Saint Cecilia*, 1600, marble sculpture, Rome, Trastevere, Church of Santa Cecilia © Photo: Jim Kan.
- Figure 2.19: Guido Reni, *Assumed Portrait of Beatrice Cenci*, first half of the 17th c., canvas, 75 × 50 cm, Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Palazzo Barberini, inv. no. 1944 © Scala / Ministero per i Beni e le Attività culturali / Art Resource, NY ART372737.
- Figure 2.20: Giovanni Lanfranco, *Saint Agatha Healed by Saint Peter*, 1614, oil on canvas, 100 × 132.5 cm, Parma, Galleria Nazionale di Parma, inv. no. 65 © Mondadori Portfolio / Electa / Art Resource, NY ART434821.
- Figure 2.21: Follower of Simon Vouet, *Saint Agatha Healed by Saint Peter*, 17th c., 30 × 42 cm, sold at Millon & Associés in Paris, June 26, 2013 © courtesy Millon.
- Figure 2.22: Follower of Guido Reni, *Saint Agatha Visited by Saint Peter in Prison*, 17th c., Geneva, Musée d'art et d'histoire, inv. no. 1881–84 © Photo: Jutta Sperling.
- Figure 2.23: Vincenzo Camuccini, *Anti-Roman Charity*, 1797, drawing, Turin, Collezione Eredi di Damiano Pernati.
- Figure 2.24: Bartolomeo Manfredi, *Roman Charity*, 1610–14, Private Collection.
- Figure 2.25: Bartolomeo Manfredi, *Roman Charity*, 1615–17, oil on canvas, 130 × 97 cm, Florence, Uffizi, inv. no. 1890/10038 © Segreteria Gabinetto Fotografico del Polo Museale Regionale della Toscana.
- Figure 2.26: Abraham Bloemaert, *Roman Charity*, 1610, Sotheby's Sale AM1051, Lot 08 (May 7, 2008, Amsterdam) © Photograph Courtesy of Sotheby's, Inc.
- Figure 2.27: Peter Paul Rubens, *Roman Charity*, 1610–12, oil on canvas, 140.5 × 180.3 cm, Saint Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, Photograph © The State Hermitage Museum, Photo by Yuri Molodkovets.
- Figure 2.28: Peter Paul Rubens, *The Drunken Silenus*, 1616–17, oak panel, 212 × 214.5 cm, München, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek, inv. no. 319 © Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek, München.
- Figure 2.29: Peter Paul Rubens, *Roman Charity*, 1625, London, Art Market, 1954.
- Figure 2.30: Dirck van Baburen, *Roman Charity*, 1623, York, City of York Art Gallery © Image courtesy of York Museums Trust: <http://yorkmuseumstrust.org.uk>, Public Domain.

- Figure 2.31: Dirck van Baburen, *Roman Charity*, 1622–24, London, private collection; Sotheby's Sale L03939, Lot 350 (Dec. 16, 1999) © Photograph Courtesy of Sotheby's, Inc.
- Figure 2.32: Jan Vermeer, *A Lady at the Virginals*, 1662–65, oil on canvas, 74 × 64.6 cm, London, Buckingham Palace © HIP / Art Resource, NY AR922084.
- Figure 2.33: Hans Jordaens III, *An Artist's Cabinet*, 1630, oil on oak wood, 86 × 120 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. no. 716 © Erich Lessing / Art Resource, NY ART25976.
- Figure 2.34: Gerrit van Honthorst, *Roman Charity*, before 1656, 150 × 188 cm, Münster, Landesmuseum, inv. no. 194 WKV © LWL-Museum für Kunst und Kultur (Westfälisches Landesmuseum), Münster/Dauerleihgabe des Westfälischen Kunstvereins.
- Figure 2.35: Paulus Moreelse, *Roman Charity*, 1633, oil on canvas, 147.5 × 162 cm, Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland, inv. no. 1024 © National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh.
- Figure 2.36: Christiaan van Couwenbergh, *Roman Charity*, 1639, oil on oak, 61 × 46.7 cm, Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle, inv. no. 1893 © Photo: Annette Fischer / Heike Kohler, Staatliche Kunsthalle / Art Resource, NY ART503030.
- Figure 2.37: Simon Vouet, *Roman Charity*, 1613–27, Ryazan, near Moscow, State Regional Art Museum.
- Figure 2.38: Claude Mellan, after Simon Vouet, *Roman Charity*, 1628, print, 167 × 111 mm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-69.926 © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
- Figure 2.39: Augustin Rummel, Jean-Pierre Huaud, Amy Huaud, *Roman Charity*, 17th c., watch face, enamel, gilded metal, diamond, diam. 4.2 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre – Documentation du Département des Objets d'Art, OA 8447 © Photo: Daniel Arnaudet, RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY ART510329.
- Figure 2.40: Jean-Pierre Huaud, Amy Huaud, *Roman Charity*, after Rubens, Hermitage version, before 1723, watch face, enamel paint, diam. 3.9 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre – Documentation du Département des Objets d'Art, OA 8443 © Photo: Stéphane Maréchal, RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY ART513184.
- Figure 2.41: Nicolas Regnier, *Roman Charity*, 1638, 139 × 171 cm, Modena, Galleria Estense, inv. no. 433 © Alinari / Art Resource, NY ART515500.
- Figure 2.42: Guido Reni, attr., *Roman Charity*, before 1642, 129 × 97 cm, Marseille, Musée des Beaux Arts, inv. no. BA 33 © Photo: Jutta Sperling.
- Figure 3.1: Angelika Kauffmann, *Roman Charity*, ca. 1765, drawing, Florence, Uffizi, inv. no. 12377 S © Segreteria Gabinetto Fotografico del Polo Museale Regionale della Toscana.

- Figure 3.2: Jean-Michel Moreau the Younger, *The Illness of Las Casas*, 1777, print, Jean-François Marmontel, *Les Incas* (1777), Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France © Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Figure 3.3: Nicolas Poussin, *The Gathering of the Manna*, 1639, oil on canvas, 149 × 200 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. 7275 © Photo: Mathieu Rabeau, RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY ART490849.
- Figure 3.4: Nicolas Poussin, *The Plague at Ashdod*, 1630, oil on canvas, 148 × 198 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. 7276 © Photo: Mathieu Rabeau, RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY ART490862.
- Figure 3.5: Tintoretto, *The Birth of Saint John the Baptist*, 1563, oil on canvas, 270.5 × 204.2 cm, Venice, San Zaccaria © Soprintendenza Speciale per il Patrimonio Storico Artistico et Etnoantropologico e per il polo museale della Città di Venezia e dei comuni della gronda lagunare. Permission: Patriarcato di Venezia.
- Figure 3.6: Nicolas Poussin, *Moses Striking Water from the Rocks*, 1649, oil on canvas, 122.5 × 191 cm, Saint Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, inv. no. GE-1177, Photograph © The State Hermitage Museum, Photo by Leonard Kheifets.
- Figure 3.7: Nicolas Poussin, “The Death of Germanicus,” 1627, canvas, 148 × 198 cm, Minneapolis, Minneapolis Institute of the Arts © Photo: Erich Lessing / Art Resource, NY ART173099.
- Figure 3.8: Marcantonio Raimondi, *Il Morbetto*, after Raphael, 1515–16, print, 198 × 252 mm, New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery © Yale University Art Gallery.
- Figure 3.9: Mattia Preti, *The Plague*, 1656–57, sketch, oil on canvas, 127 × 75 cm, Naples, Galleria Nazionale di Capodimonte © Scala / Art Resource, NY ART61572.
- Figure 3.10: Gaetano Zumbo, *The Plague*, ca. 1691, wax relief, Florence, Museo della Specola © Photo: Nicolo Orsi Battaglini / Art Resource, NY ART356505.
- Figure 3.11: Charles Le Brun, *Charity*, 1642–48, oil on canvas, Caen, Musée des Beaux Arts, inv. no. 84.8.1 © Photo: Martine Seyve, Musée des Beaux Arts de Caen.
- Figure 3.12: Guercino, *The Daughter Who Breastfeeds her Mother*, before 1661, drawing, London, Collection of Her Majesty the Queen at Windsor Castle, Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 902573 / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015.
- Figure 3.13: Niccolò Tornoli, *Roman Charity*, before 1651, Rome, Galleria Spada © Polo Museale del Lazio, Archivio Fotografico.
- Figure 3.14: Jean-Baptiste Greuze, *Septimius Severus and Caracalla*, 1769, oil on canvas, 124 × 160 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. 5031 © Photo: R. G. Ojeda, P. Neri, RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource ART148155.

- Figure 3.15: Jean-Baptiste Greuze, *Roman Charity*, 1767, oil on canvas, 65.4 × 81.4 cm, Los Angeles, Getty Museum, inv. no. 99.PA.24 © Courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program.
- Figure 3.16: Peter Paul Rubens, *Minerva Protects Pax from Mars*, 1629–30, oil on canvas, 203.5 × 298 cm, London, National Gallery, inv. no. 46 © National Gallery, London / Art Resource, NY ART377014.
- Figure 3.17: Louis-Jean-François Lagrenée the Elder, *Roman Charity*, 1765, oil on canvas, 62 × 73 cm, Toulouse, Musée des Augustines © Photo: Daniel Martin, Toulouse, Musée des Augustins.
- Figure 3.18: Giuseppe Baldighi, *Roman Charity*, 1757, oil on canvas, 166 × 132 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. 8712 © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY ART510334.
- Figure 3.19: Jean-Baptiste Deshayes, *Roman Charity*, 1752, oil on canvas, oval, h 117 cm, w 94 cm, Rouen, Musée des Beaux Arts, inv. no. 1818.1.3 © Réunion des Musées Métropolitains Rouen Normandie.
- Figure 3.20: Noël-Nicolas Coypel, *Roman Charity*, 1735, oil on oak, 29.1 × 23 cm, Bremen, Kunsthalle Bremen – Der Kunstverein in Bremen, inv. no. 265-1904/9 © Photo Lars Lohrisch.
- Figure 3.21: Jacques-Philippe Le Bas, *Roman Charity*, after Coypel, ca. 1735, print, 35.9 × 26.5 cm, London, British Museum, inv. no. 1876,0708.2421 © Trustees of the British Museum.
- Figure 3.22: Jean Jacques Bachelier, *Roman Charity*, 1765, oil on canvas, 131 × 98 cm, Paris, École nationale supérieure des Beaux Arts © Beaux-Arts de Paris, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY ART508849.
- Figure 3.23: Adolf Ulrich Wertmüller, *Portrait of Jean Jacques Bachelier with Roman Charity*, 1784, oil on canvas, 120 × 96 cm, Stockholm, Nationalmuseum © Photo: Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.
- Figure 3.24: Jean-Baptiste Greuze, *Roman Charity*, 1767, design, pen and black ink, 37.8 × 41 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts graphiques, inv. no. 26983, Recto © Photo: Michèle Bellot, RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY ART161968.
- Figure 3.25: Jean-Baptiste Greuze, *Loth and His Daughters*, 1760–69, oil on canvas, 74 × 80 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. R.F. 1983–74 © Photo: Erich Lessing / Art Resource, NY ART150768.
- Figure 3.26: Jean-Baptiste Greuze, *The Paralytic*, also called *Filial Piety*, 1763, oil on canvas, 115 × 146 cm, Saint Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, inv. no. GE-1168, Photograph © The State Hermitage Museum, Photo by Vladimir Terebenin.
- Figure 3.27: Jacques-Louis David, school of, *Roman Charity*, late 18th c., Portland, Maine, Barridoff Galleries, August 5, 2005 © Barridoff Galleries.

Figure 4.1: *Pero and Cimon*, Pompeii, Casa IX, 2,5, before 79 CE, wall painting, Naples, National Archaeological Museum © Scala / Art Resource, NY ART174093.

Figure 4.2: *Pero and Cimon*, 1st c. CE, sigillata shard, Southern Gaul, Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Bode-Museum.

Figure 4.3: Illumination of a Manuscript by Solinus, 13th c., Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, cod. C 246, fol. 10r © De Agostini Editori.

Figure 4.4: *Mother and Daughter*, early 15th c., illumination, Boccaccio, *De cleres et nobles femmes*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Fr. 598, fol. 99 © Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Figure 4.5: *Mother and Daughter*, 15th or 16th c., illumination, Boccaccio, *De cleres et nobles femmes*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Fr. 599, fol. 57v © Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Figure 4.6: *Mother and Daughter*, 1473, woodcut, Boccaccio, *Von den berühmten Frawen*, transl. by Heinrich Steinhöwel (Ulm: Johann Zainer, 1473).

Figure 5.1: *Childbirth Dish*, 1546, tin-glazed earthenware from Urbino, diam. 41.5 cm, London, Victoria and Albert Museum, C 2223–1910 © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Figure 5.2: Jusepe de Ribera, *The Bearded Woman*, 1631, oil on canvas, 126 × 194.9 cm, Sevilla, Fundación Casa Ducal de Medinaceli © Fundación Casa Ducal de Medinaceli.

Figure 5.3: Paolo Veronese, *Mars and Venus United by Love*, ca. 1570, oil on canvas, 205.7 × 161 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 10.189 © The Metropolitan Museum of Art / Art Resource, NY ART336698.

Figure 5.4: Domenico Ghirlandaio, *The Birth of Saint John the Baptist*, 1488, detail, wall painting, Florence, Santa Maria Novella, Tornabuoni Chapel © Scala / Art Resource, NY ART6191.

Figure 5.5: Benedetto Caliari, *The Birth of the Virgin Mary*, ca. 1550–80, detail, Venice, Palazzo Loredan © Alinari Archives, Florence.

Figure 6.1 *Juno Nursing Hercules as a Grown Man*, 5th–4th c. BCE, drawing of an Etruscan mirror, Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale © Photo: Jutta Sperling.

Figure 6.2: *Empress Flavia Maxima Fausta Nursing her Son*, 316 CE, double solidus, gold coin, reverse, diam. 25 mm, Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Münzkabinet, inv. no. 1873/393 © Bode Museum / Art Resource ART509450.

Figure 6.3: *Madonna Lactans* or *Tombstone of a Young Woman*, 4th–5th century CE, Egyptian, limestone, 55 × 34 cm, Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Bode Museum, inv. no. 4726 © Photo: Antje Vogt, Bode Museum / Art Resource, NY ART507072.

- Figure 6.4: Tintoretto, *The Circumcision of Christ*, 1550–55, Venice, Santa Maria dei Carmini © Cameraphoto Arte, Venice / Art Resource, NY ART43336.
- Figure 6.5: Giorgione, *Tempest*, 1508, detail, oil on canvas, 83 × 73 cm, Venice, Galleria dell'Accademia © Cameraphoto Arte, Venice / Art Resource, NY ART140448.
- Figure 6.6: Lucas Cranach the Elder, *Charity*, 1534, oil and tempera on beech wood, 52 × 36 cm, Schaffhausen, Museum zum Allerheiligen, Sturzenegger Stiftung, inv. no. A 1781 © Museum zum Allerheiligen, Sturzenegger Stiftung.
- Figure 6.7: Giovanni Pisano, *Charity* or *Ecclesia*, 1310, detail, marble sculpture, pulpit, Pisa, Cathedral © Nimatallah / Art Resource, NY ART106046.
- Figure 6.8: Ambrogio Lorenzetti, *Madonna Lactans*, ca. 1335, tempera on wood, 90 × 48 cm, Siena, Palazzo Arcivescovile, Museo Diocesano.
- Figure 6.9: Quirizio di Giovanni da Murano, *Christ about to Nurse a Poor Clare from his Wound*, 1460–80, tempera and oil on panel, 87 × 114 cm, Venice, Galleria dell'Accademia © Alinari / Art Resource, NY ART81475.
- Figure 6.10: Jacopo della Quercia, *Charity*, 1409–19, original replaced by Tito Sarrocchi in 1868, Siena, Fonte Gaia © Jastrow, Wikimedia Commons.
- Figure 6.11: Giulio Romano or Raphael, *Charity*, 1520–24, wall painting, Rome, Vatican Palace, Sala di Costantino © Wikimedia Commons.
- Figure 6.12: Leonardo da Vinci, follower, *Madonna Lactans*, ca. 1490, tempera on canvas, 42 × 33 cm, St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, inv. no. GE-249, Photograph © The State Hermitage Museum, Photo by Vladimir Terebenin.
- Figure 6.13: Domenico di Bartolo, *The Assignment and Payment of Wet-Nurses and the Marriage of Foundlings*, 1443, detail, wall painting, Siena, Ospedale di Santa Maria della Scala, Sala del Pellegrinaio © Scala / White Images / Art Resource, NY ART490051.
- Figure 6.14: Domenico di Bartolo, *The Distribution of Alms*, 1443, detail, wall painting, Siena, Ospedale di Santa Maria della Scala, Sala del Pellegrinaio © DeA Picture Library / Art Resource, NY ART377523.
- Figure 6.15: Marcello Fogolino, *Charity*, 1516–25, predella, Venice, Ca' d'Oro © Cameraphoto Arte, Venice / Art Resource, NY ART511436.
- Figure 6.16: Marcello Fogolino, *Pietas*, 1516–25, predella, Venice, Ca' d'Oro © Cameraphoto Arte, Venice / Art Resource, NY ART511433.
- Figure 6.17: Titian, *Moses Divides the Water*, 1515–17, detail, woodcut in twelve blocks, 118 × 215 cm, Venice, Private Collection © The Trustees of the British Museum / Art Resource, NY ART515508.
- Figure 6.18: Giovanni Antonio Coróna, *The Preaching of Saint Anthony*, 1509, detail, wall painting, Padua, Basilica di Saint Anthony, Scuola del Santo © Photo: Ghigo G. Roli / Art Resource, NY ART507278.
- Figure 6.19: Tintoretto, *Last Supper*, 1547, oil on canvas, 157 × 443 cm, Venice, San Marcuola © Cameraphoto Arte, Venice / Art Resource, NY ART107221.

Figure 6.20: Tintoretto, *The Presentation of the Virgin*, 1552, detail, oil on canvas, 429 × 480 cm, Venice, Madonna dell'Orto © Cameraphoto Arte, Venice / Art Resource, NY ART84967.

Figure 6.21: *Woman Nurses Two Old Men from her Breasts*, ca. 1150, illumination, Engelberg, Convent Library, codex 48, fol. 103v © Stiftsbibliothek Engelberg.

Figure 6.22: *The Six Ages of Man*, 13th c., detail, illumination, Toledo, Cathedral, *Moralized Bible*, vol. 3, fol. 21v © Archivo de la Catedral de Toledo.

Figure 6.23: *Philosophy, Sitting on a Throne, Nursing Boethius and another Philosopher from her Breasts*, 1491, illumination, Boethius, *De consolatione philosophiae*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Néerlandais 1, fol. 12v © Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Figure 6.24: Giovanni Pisano, *Grammar*, 1302–11, marble sculpture, Pisa, Cathedral © Alinari / Art Resource, NY ART515689.

Figure 6.25: Giulio Bonasone, after Giulio Romano, *Jupiter Suckled by the Goat Amalthea*, after 1531, print, 26.6 × 42.2 cm, London, British Museum, H, 6.3, image no. AN444983001 © Trustees of the British Museum.