

## **Manliness and the Visual Semiotics of Bodily Fluids in Early Modern Culture**

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Pissing putti, virtually always male, merrily populate the imagery of early modern visual culture, from illuminated manuscripts to tableware, frescoed walls to working fountains. Their very ubiquity and charm has perhaps inured us to the valence of masculine bravado conveyed by the imagery. In particular, the exuberant jet nearly always issues from a babe shown standing erect, and the discharge of fluid is accentuated by forcefulness and exhibitionism. Furthermore, in early modern European culture, the fluids emitted by the blatant male organ were often considered interchangeable, and visual as well as verbal jokes were made about urine, semen, water, and wine. In a medical system determined by attention to the physiology and variability of the humors alongside the fixed taxonomy of forms, the sexual economy was as much characterized by liquidity as it was obsessed with penile penetration. Pissing and standing might appear meaningless and uninteresting, but such overlooked acts, I argue, indicate that the somatics and semiotics of early modern masculinity consisted of more than sexual intromission or inhibiting anxiety, and that visual metaphors presented manliness in ways that were often humorous, usually public, and always assertive.

### **Erection**

*Homo erectus* is the name eventually given to a species of human ancestor after the discovery of “Java man” by a Dutch medical officer in 1891. His term was *Pithecanthropus erectus*, and the appellation *Homo erectus* was explored only in relation to an enlarged group of specimens by the natural biologist Ernst Mayr in 1944.<sup>1</sup> While the modern term referred to a newly vertical phase before the evolution of *Homo sapiens*, medical literature had long considered the upright stance of humankind to be one of its distinct characteristics. Writing in the mid- to late 1490s, the physician Alessandro

Benedetti, for instance, restated an established etymological and anatomical trope. The second chapter of his book on anatomy began with the assertion that the human body “was created for the sake of the soul and stands erect among other animals, as established by divine nature and reason so that it might look upward more comfortably.”<sup>2</sup>

When discussing the head in book 4 of the *Historia corporis humani*, Benedetti observed that the brain was situated “nearest to the sky” because “the intellect quite clearly holds the highest position as does the human reason, which God the Author and Founder of the world made as close as possible to Himself through His Son.”<sup>3</sup> The erect posture was related to masculinity, in that it was made by a paternal God, followed the form of that father and his incarnated Son, and was a matter of intellect. Since women were conventionally regarded as irrational, the closeness of the seat of reason to the heavens was due to men’s divine preeminence, a priority said to be demonstrated by Adam’s creation before Eve. In the words of the English anatomist Helkiah Crooke, “the Excellency of Man” was distinguished by the fact that he “was made upright and looking toward heaven.”<sup>4</sup> The very act of standing, then, could convey gendered meaning, and the upright posture of young pissing putti is all the more redolent because it represents boys exercising their newfound masculine aggression. On occasion, adult men too are represented in the act of urinating while standing erect, thereby signifying far more than incidental genre.

### **Urination and essential masculinity**

Masculinity was long characterized by a set of penile acts centered on the capacity to cast forth bodily fluids while standing. “Insistence on an upright position” during sex signified the maintenance of masculinity in ancient Greek culture, whether the penetrated partner was male or female, but in the course of the seventh and eight centuries the Christian posture for men during acceptable sex became prone.<sup>5</sup> The prone position was deemed less bestial, sodomitical, or sinfully pleasurable, and more conducive to reproduction. However, it did not completely replace the upright posture in all prescriptions and representations of quintessentially masculine action, whether in medical literature or visual artifacts. By the early modern period, pleasure was displaced onto images that might appear to be of nothing more than acts of solitary urination, yet these images conveyed multivalent, erotic meanings.

To be literally erect while pissing has long been a fundamental definition of somatic gender in the European tradition. When describing the contrariness of Egyptian culture, due to its climate and different kind of river, the Greek historian Herodotus in the fifth century B.C.E. not only noted that “the women buy and sell, the men abide at home and weave,” but also that “women make water standing, men sitting.”<sup>6</sup> Gender roles and biological sex functions were inverted in a land strange to the ancient Greek. However, this view was not universal. The Greek poet Hesiod had earlier noted certain restrictions about urinating openly, and advised that the most devout or scrupulous man “sits down or goes to the wall of an enclosed court.”<sup>7</sup> Pious cleanliness remained the standard for many men of the eastern Mediterranean, as was observed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by European travelers to Turkey, who saw men pissing while sitting down.<sup>8</sup> By that time, Herodotus’s opinion was common in western Europe, where women were the ones who squatted when urinating.

The disruptive nature of a world out of joint was evident in the satire of the Roman author Juvenal. One of the many proofs of female inferiority offered in his diatribe against women was that they could not piss standing up. A woman’s efforts in the martial arts might seem admirable, but one had to “laugh, when she lays her weapons aside and squats on the potty.”<sup>9</sup> The comic picture of her crouched over a chamber pot dissipated all her former athletic glory. Boccaccio’s misogynist voice in the *Corbaccio* often followed Juvenal’s lead, and in this case women virtually could not urinate at all:

Among their other vanities, when they wish to exalt themselves far above men, they say that all good things are of the feminine gender. . . . If it weren’t indecent, to this you would want to reply, “It’s quite true they’re all feminine, but they don’t piss!”<sup>10</sup>

Masculinity truly obviated and trumped any claim of inferiority by the ridiculing, obscene evidence that women “don’t piss,” that is, they cannot do it properly, in the manly way, because they do not stand up. Any focus today on penile erection as the ultimate sign of masculinity, influenced by popularized psychoanalysis, neglects the cultural tradition of the entire male body phallicized by an erect stance.

Without resorting to caricature, Rembrandt encapsulated the perceived essential difference between the two sexes in small etchings he signed and dated in 1631 (see figs. 1–2).<sup>11</sup> An aging wayfarer, laden with bags at his back and hip, has briefly halted his journey in order to urinate, the casual

Figure 1.

Rembrandt, *A Man Urinating* (1631).  
Etching. British Museum, London. Courtesy  
of the Trustees of the British Museum.



placement of one hand behind his back indicating the ease with which he performs the unself-conscious act of masculinity. The pendant shows a shoeless peasant squatting in order to urinate and defecate, her heavy skirt bunched up and cushioning her as she leans against a tree to support some of her weight during the crouch. Her bearing is more convoluted and arranged, his more incidental. The tree grounds the woman in a particular, more secluded locale whereas the man stands on generic grass in an undifferentiated, open space. The woman looks about her with a wary gaze, indicating that her act is a more private act of shame than the man's casual, public one. In each case, the viewer is offered explicit views of the genitals of lower class people engaged in pissing out of doors.

In Pietro Aretino's terms, everyone pisses just the same as peasants do, or putting it another way, one's mode of pissing was a taxonomic category: "He who pisses like the others is like the others."<sup>12</sup> In Rembrandt's etchings also, the performance of urination in a certain way signified membership of a somatic group. The same is true in Jacopo Zucchi's *Age of Gold* (ca. 1575) painted for the Villa Medici in Rome, in which the numerous male-female couples include two infants pissing into a stream, the girl awkwardly placing one leg in the water while lifting the other knee in order to enable an uninterrupted, straight flow of urine.<sup>13</sup> The nearby boy instead stands and easily projects his urine further into the water, forming a parabolic arc of piss



Figure 2.  
*Rembrandt, A Woman Urinating*  
(1631). Etching. British Museum,  
London. Courtesy of the Trustees of  
the British Museum.

that bends over and above the seated girl. It is no accident that a dog urinates in the foreground of various versions of Titian's *Adoration of the Magi* (ca. 1557–60, 1566), for it thereby signals the crucially masculine aspect of the Christian Savior.<sup>14</sup> The anxiety of the Magus insistently peering at the newborn's genitals is not readily allayed for viewers, because the child is turned away. Instead, the dog cocks its hind leg rather than squats, informing viewers that the truly earthly incarnation has taken male form.<sup>15</sup>

Because the upper classes relieved themselves outside the realm of visual representation, instead either charmingly idyllic babes or marginal people and dogs in generic rural spaces perform quintessential acts of their sex, captured in unremitting detail. Medical reasons in part lie behind the preference for infantile pissing. Unlike obstacles created by the stones and enlarged prostates that beset numerous aging men, including Michelangelo, Montaigne, and Pepys, the boy child's evacuation is effortless, pain free, overt, and exuberantly healthy.<sup>16</sup> Rembrandt's man not only urinates while standing but his emission notably hits the ground with more force. The woman's crouch is accentuated by the light-catching area of her skirt on the right, which extends the horizontal impulse also established by the continual line engraved above the signature. The very shape of the two plates, which are of much the same height but differ in width, conveys the fundamental notion that masculinity is about vertical form, femininity about lower,

squat, inwardly turned morphology. Each print exists in several copies, suggesting that many artists and collectors found the contrast quite striking and amusing.

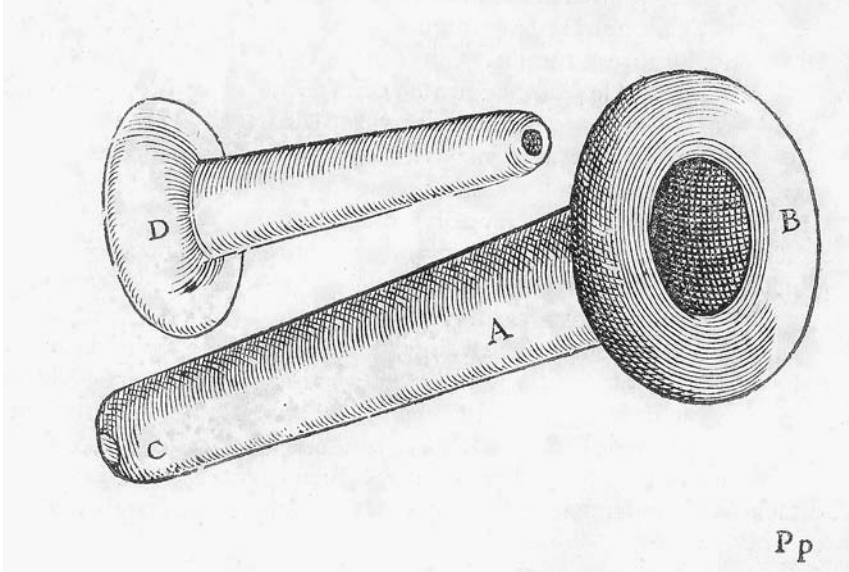
Medical literature notes, with great interest, exceptions to masculine urination. In many parts of the world today, surgery is often performed on male infants with hypospadias, a non-life-threatening condition in which the urethra opens at a place other than the tip of the glans, usually on the undersurface of the penis. Although the surgery can give rise to problems in later life, it is undertaken “in part because it is considered [by the medical establishment] very important that a boy be able to urinate standing up.”<sup>17</sup> Such a condition was noted in Antonio Benivieni’s case histories of pathological anatomy published in 1507. The Florentine physician recorded Paolo Bonini’s son, born with the penile glans blocked so that he urinated from “a channel opened a little below.”<sup>18</sup>

Surgical procedures and prostheses were devised to overcome congenital variations or damage caused by war, violence, or disease. Musical castrati, eunuchs, and men castrated in order to remove syphilitic, ulcerated, or severely damaged organs are instances of genital surgery performed during the early modern period, all undergone by male bodies.<sup>19</sup> As a consequence of damage to male genitals, medical treatises frequently discussed how to mask emasculation and advised the use of drugs or instruments to enable urination. A brass tube (“un cannellino di ottone”) enabled urination in the case of a man with a damaged penis in one of Lasca’s stories.<sup>20</sup> In the 1550s and 1560s, the French royal surgeon Ambroise Paré proudly made use of technological advances in the making and illustration of surgical instruments in order to disseminate designs for an expanded range of devices that aided his craft. A pipe was inserted into the urinary passage after a circumcised glans was restored, for example, or a variety of silver pipes drained the excision after a man’s bladder stone had been removed.<sup>21</sup>

Paré’s experience on the battlefield as well as his profession’s struggle with the ravages of syphilis encouraged him to devote a tract to prostheses, published in the first edition of his complete works in 1575. The devices included a straight, substitute penis, illustrated from two angles (see fig. 3).<sup>22</sup> The medical concern was about urination, not penetration or reproduction. In the words of the seventeenth-century English translation,

those that have their yards cut off close to their bellies, are greatly troubled in making of urine, so that they are constrained to sit downe like women [s’accroupir comme les femmes], for their ease.

*Figure dudit instrument ou Canule pour ceux qui ont perdu la verge,  
qu'on peut nommer Vretere.*



*Figure 3.*

*Penile prosthesis. Ambroise Paré,  
Les oeuvres de m. Ambroise  
Paré (Paris, 1575), 721. Courtesy*

*of the Alfred Taubman Medical  
Library, University of Michigan,  
Ann Arbor.*

I have devised this pipe or conduit, having an hole through it as big as ones finger, which may be made of wood.

The illustration of what the translation calls “an artificiall Yard” is then explained, ending with the implication that now the patient could piss in a properly manly way, emitting far from his standing body (“and carry it from the patient, as he standeth upright”). The translator focuses on the male pose; Paré’s French repeats the earlier comparison with women, noting that the man could now urinate without having to squat (“pourra uriner debout sans s’accroupir”).

Cross-dressing women, who had to mimic erect urination in order to pass successfully as male, sometimes used medical instruments or similar devices to do so. In the early eighteenth century, the Irish female soldier Christian Davies received from a cross-dressed captain a “Urinary Instrument”

described as “a Silver Tube painted over, and fastened about her with leather Straps,” similar to dildoes, which were also related to medical devices.<sup>23</sup> A Dutchwoman serving as a sailor was celebrated in a popular song because “she pissed through a horn pipe / Just as a young man might.”<sup>24</sup> Manly pissing involved the upright stance, and the ability to project the urine some distance. In Paré’s terms, it was important that a man using a penile prosthesis was able to emit far from his body (“laquelle passera au travers”).<sup>25</sup>

The inability to project urine signaled that things were amiss. Not long after marrying in September 1717, a German wife noticed something different about her husband: “Other men can piss quite a ways, but you always piss on your shoes.”<sup>26</sup> Even young wives knew the pattern of normative urination. Apparently, the husband’s mode of sexual intercourse aroused no doubts; it was the pissing technique that was troubling. A year later, the wife, Catharina Mühlhahn, discovered that her partner was a woman, equipped with a black “leather sausage . . . kept between his [*sic*] legs,” or what subsequent court records describe as “a penis of stuffed leather with two stuffed testicles made from pig’s bladder attached to it and . . . [tied] to her pubes with a leather strap.” The female husband, Catharina Lincken, had proven adept at the sewing and fashioning of various tools, at first using a thin instrument and later changing to a thicker one when the wife was more used to intercourse. Furthermore, the German court had in evidence a “leather-covered horn through which she urinated and [which she had] kept fastened against her nude body.” When drunk and challenged by the mother-in-law, Lincken had urinated on the woman and a companion in order to demonstrate masculinity. As a codefendant in an ensuing sodomy trial, the wife continued to insist that she was fooled by the husband, who “had been able to make this thing stiff or limp.” Another German woman had earlier successfully disguised her gender and sex for several years, according to the testimony of female partners, performing such masculine acts as aggressive seduction, sexual intercourse while standing upright, erection, urination, ejaculation, and, possibly, penetration.

Katherina Hetzeldorfer told the court investigators of Speyer in 1477 that she made “an instrument with a red piece of leather, at the front filled with cotton, and a wooden stick stuck into it, and made a hole through the wooden stick, put a string through, and tied it round.”<sup>27</sup> Presumably, manipulation of the string brought about the semblance of erection, of the sort that Lincken also achieved. One of Hetzeldorfer’s sex partners, the married woman Else Muter, offered the court many reasons for her apparent deception, describing numerous masculine qualities she witnessed, begin-



ning with assertive persistence and “manly will” exercised through sex on top. The genital member was handled and found to be “a huge thing, as big as half an arm. She thought it was like a horn and pointed in front and wide behind.” Probably in response to a specific question, Else then reported that Hetzeldorfer “urinates through this thing.” Perhaps answering another query, she insisted that the “semen is so much that it is beyond measure, that one could grab it with a full hand.” The three physical attributes that, Else hoped, would explain her belief in masculine presence were sheer size and then two emissions, one of urine, the other of semen.

Else may well have been convinced she was having sex with a man. For contraceptive purposes, sex often involved external friction of various kinds rather than penetration, or was interrupted before ejaculation. And, for a variety of reasons ranging from moral to practical, sex was frequently conducted between people who remained more or less fully clothed.<sup>28</sup> Like many others, Else’s sexual knowledge and hence her assessment of a partner was primarily a matter of tactile experience rather than visual inspection. Doubtless exaggerating in order to convince the court that she thought her sex partner was male and thence she did not deserve exile or execution, Else felt impressive thickness and compared the output of semen to a large handful. Her seemingly direct visual evidence of genital condition consisted solely of seeing Hetzeldorfer urinate.

Cross-dressed women such as Davies, Hetzeldorfer, and Lincken tried to urinate in a masculine manner. To manufacture pissing tubes (and dildoes), women relied on their own ingenuity but sometimes deployed medical technology. Like devices discussed by Paré, the “Urinary Instrument” used by Davies was “a Silver Tube” that was “painted over”; and Lincken pissed through a “leather-covered horn.” Each instrument was disguised to look more fleshlike, as were prostheses. Surgical devices like pipes or quills used on female or male patients and illustrated in a range of medical literature, some in the vernacular, provided women with ideas and artifacts. Women, even if illiterate, could inspect instruments on display in the shops of barber-surgeons and cutlers, or comprehend illustrations in surgical manuals, most in the vernacular, such as those issued by Paré, Croke, and Johann Schultes.<sup>29</sup> By various means, some women imitated the somatic act of manly urination, a deed that, according to satirists and surgeons, anatomists and artists, endowed gendered and social status. To the extent that women were thought to produce a kind of seed or “semen” also, as some medical opinion held, then the distinctive mark of male urination in an upright stance was all the more an important, exclusive sign of masculinity.

## Urine, semen, water, wine, and wit

Understanding the importance of the masculinized mode of urination casts a different light on certain representations of ejaculation, for the two emissions could overlap in imagery, wordplay, and poetry. Almost as significant as the release of semen was the emission of any kind of fluid from the male organ, as long as it was represented as assertive, confident, and forceful. Sexual acts and pleasures were largely understood in relation to what could be called a semen-otic system of fluids, and urine was a significant fluid cast forth from the penis. Even when, in his earlier anatomical ruminations of the 1480s and 1490s, Leonardo da Vinci imagined the penis with two tubes, he understood that semen from the testes and urine from the bladder traveled down the same pathway. The second tube was thought to bring the activating, thicker semen carrying animal spirit or soul from the spinal marrow, a Hippocratic belief also espoused in the canonical work of Avicenna but discarded in Leonardo's later anatomical studies.<sup>30</sup>

In Latin, verbs for urinating, piddling, or pissing like *meiere* and *mingere* were “often used of ejaculation.”<sup>31</sup> The conflation extended into various vernaculars, including Italian. Marsilio Ficino, famous fifteenth-century philosopher and son of a physician, reportedly made a misogynist quip that relied on the collapse of the two acts: “one should use women like chamber pots, which are hidden and put away after a man has pissed in them.”<sup>32</sup> The Italian verb used was *pisciare* “to piss,” although it referred to the act of insemination. The simile was overt in an anonymous Roman pasquinade of the sixteenth century (ca. 1525?) that celebrated male sexual enjoyment in terms of an effusion of fluid. Advising a young man to forget the worries of sin and act before he grew any older, the Italian satirist urges

don't be afraid  
To find out where Sodom and Gomorrah are located.  
Don't enter into projects where the sperm should run  
And then try to hold it back—  
Because ejaculation is just like pissing.  
Wherever you're heading, let it flow and fly!<sup>33</sup>

The flow of sperm is a metaphor for manly courage (“don't be afraid”), but it is also likened to the simple, nonsinful bodily function of urination (“è simile al pisciare”). In typical pasquinade fashion, sexual acts are considered ordinary, public events in the most outrageous way possible, here encom-

passing sodomy. Both ejaculation and pissing are presented as bold, assertive acts that cast fluid far from the male body.

The imbrication of urination and ejaculation is central to jokes made in the obscene poetry of named men too. On the surface, Giovan Francesco Bino's *capitolo* "In lode del bicchiere al Rè della virtù" is an encomium to the ordinary drinking glass, addressed to the "King of virtue," mock-ruler of a male social group or "academy" that met in Rome around 1535–39 for celebrations during carnival season.<sup>34</sup> Along the way, the verse mocks pretensions and makes the occasional snide or bawdy allusion, ending with advice about living cheerfully: "Without further pomp, or worldly vanity / quench your thirst with a beautiful glass [Spenga la sete sua con un bel vetro]." As is typical in the playful literature penned for amusement during carnival season while drinking and dining, Bino's last line has multiple meanings, for "sete" meant not only thirst but also greed, appetite, and silks.<sup>35</sup>

The *capitolo* was Bino's "tribute" delivered to the "king," Giuseppe Cincio, a Flemish physician serving the Hapsburg Lady Margaret of Austria. Cincio's medical expertise was not forgotten in the poem. It opened by referring to glass vessels that conveyed a patient's urine to the physician for diagnosis. The tall, open-mouthed flask or "vaso urinaceo," in the words of the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (1499), was carried to the physician within a basket, but the shape and function were well known.<sup>36</sup> In calling the urinal or pissing-pot ("orinale") to mind, Bino was echoing his friend, the burlesque poet Francesco Berni, whose "Capitolo dell'orinale" was packed with double entendres about human "vessels" of either sex into which a man urinated or ejaculated.<sup>37</sup> The drinking glass symbolized the "passive" sexual partner, a vessel receiving fluid, and Bino's poem carries on in that burlesque tradition. Corpulent, tall, and deep, glasses were akin to bells that resounded like basins, sounds also issuing from lads and "new women" (women who have faked or refreshed their "virginity"?) when they were penetrated.<sup>38</sup> Bino's concluding lines thus have another meaning, advising the "king" to forget decorum and station in favor of gratifying his sexual desires ("slake your appetite with a beautiful 'glass,'" that is, a sexualized receptacle for fluids). A vessel for holding urine was likened to a drinking glass that contained water or wine, and the object also served as a metaphorical repository for semen.

The difference between the two fluids emitted from the penis did not signify in the same way as it does in modern culture. It was, however, clear that semen was only produced upon the advent of pubescence. In the realm of visual representation, on the other hand, the biological factor of age

did not prevent the imaging of prepubescent boys whose pissing was not significantly different from sexual emission. Following Castiglione's notion that incongruity (*disconvenienza*) was central to humor, what could not often be shown overtly as the act of an adult male could be pictured as an amusing allusion when performed by babes.<sup>39</sup> Hence, for example, in the elaborate frame below one of René Boyvin's engravings about the Golden Fleece (1563), musical instruments are put aside while a standing putto directs his "urine" into a vase, but his companion's stream enters the rear of another boy (later altered to obfuscate the anal eroticism).<sup>40</sup> Whereas the fluid in one case enters a vessel symbolic of the womb (akin to Ficino's quip), in the other case the infant playfully performs sodomitical penetration from a distance (taking a cue from the pasquinade).

With no censorial disguise, a putto pisses on the reverse side of a *desco da parto*, a type of tray presented to a woman who was pregnant or had recently given birth (see fig. 4).<sup>41</sup> In 1428, the Florentine family examining their recent gift read a now-damaged inscription in Italian, which conceives of the urine as an augury of future benefits: "I make urine of silver and gold" [fo la piscia d'ariento e d'oro]. The babe wears an apotropaic amulet of coral, and the inscription further voices the wish that the child "be born without fatigue or peril" and that the parturient mother be healthy, surviving the dangerous birth and its aftermath. Like the amulet, the painting is meant to be effective in the world of its users, easing pain, averting death, promising wealth, and providing the image of a beautiful boy that would influence the woman's imagination so that the fetus mirrored the picture of both male sex and beauty.<sup>42</sup>

While the front side of this image depicts an assuring, orderly scene of a household of women busy with their domestic chores not long after a successful birth, the reverse side pictures a fantasy outdoor scene and focuses on a sole, male figure. Surrounded by trees bearing golden fruit and pissing into a pool that is also golden, the idealized, golden-haired putto rests in a secluded glade. He is blessed with two toys, a pinwheel held in his right hand and, strangely placed under his left knee, a hobby horse. According to John Florio's dictionary, *bischeri* meant not "lute pegs" or a "childs hobby horse or riding sticke" but also "a childs pillycocke or pricke."<sup>43</sup> Placed in close proximity to the infant's genitals, the riding stick accentuates his infantile penis and maleness. Pointing down toward the pool of prolific piss and depicted in the same pale color as the rest of his body, the boy's penis is clearly not that of an adult with an erection. Yet the stream issuing forth appears to be white; it is possible that the symbolic "urine of silver and gold" refers on one level



Figure 4.

Bartolomeo di Fruosino, *A Putto Urinating* (1428). *Tempera on wood. Private Collection.*

*Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.*

to both white semen and golden piss, for he is simultaneously “an augury of fertility and fortune.”<sup>44</sup> The boy’s urine may form a pun in that it might have referred to a family of goldsmiths. More probable is the resonance of the phrase and action with “a now-forgotten popular saying,” as Laurence Kanter notes, one that would have combined amusing vulgarity with social values about prosperity and the strong preference for sons.<sup>45</sup> And, indeed, at least one such saying did exist. Humorously obscene literature envisaged silver and gold as references to, respectively, sodomitical and reproductive sex.<sup>46</sup> Although the domestic object that emphasizes birth on one side does not contrast two types of sexual practice in the inscription about silver and

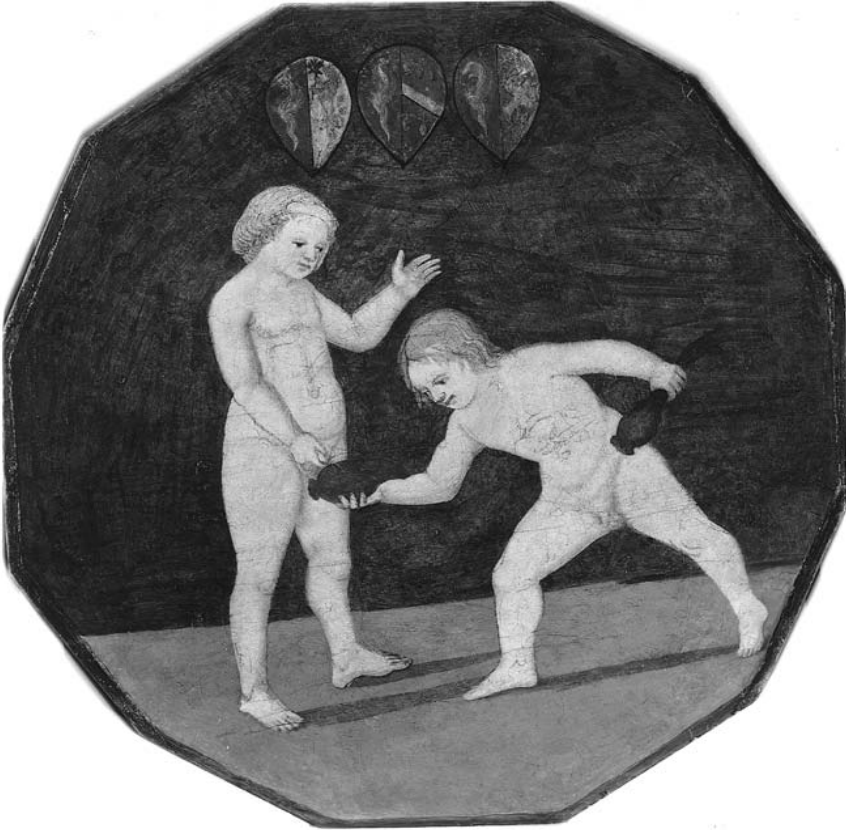


Figure 5.

*Apollonio di Giovanni workshop,*  
*Two Nude Boys, One Urinating*  
*on a Poppy Pod (1450s).*  
*Tempera on panel. North*

*Carolina Museum of Art,*  
*Raleigh, Gift of the Samuel H.*  
*Kress Foundation. Courtesy of the*  
*North Carolina Museum of Art.*

gold, the potential for an erotic meaning from two opposed types of “urine” is suggestive. The semen that produced the welcome child is golden, of highest value, because it is reproductive and in that sense its production is visually likened to that of urine.

Fertility is also the focus of a pissing boy on the reverse of another *desco*, dated to the 1450s (see fig. 5).<sup>47</sup> One standing boy urinates onto a poppy pod proffered by another boy, who holds a second capsule at the ready. The basic joke seems to be that the fluid is so abundant that it will service two containers; masculine audacity is declared through exhibitionism and boastful plenitude. The scene is “symbolic of fertility,” but in a par-

ticularly overt manner because it shows the process of sexual reproduction by way of the emission of male fluid onto seed-filled receptacles, which echo the function of urinals and so-called drinking vessels.<sup>48</sup> Again, ostensibly infantile urination functions as adult ejaculation in relation to fertilization. While Aretino used the word for poppy (“papavero”) when a character put “the stiffness of his poppystalk to the test,” the plant’s seed pods did not seem to serve for linguistic double entendres.<sup>49</sup> They do, however, appear on several *deschi*, adding to the prolific vegetal jokes that were made about male and female genitals, in this case referring to fertile feminized vessels.<sup>50</sup> More than a generic or “symbolic” reference to seeds is made, for the shape of the pods is also important, as is their suggestive role in sexual action.

Despite the theme of fertility and wordplays, scholars tend to characterize images of emitting boys as exclusive renditions of urination. On an important level of signification, however, the boys do act sexually, despite their young age. Leo Steinberg’s study of the Christ Child’s genitals has shown the semantic potential of a babe’s sex organs, which can signify beyond being merely “realistic” and charming views of naked boys.<sup>51</sup> Amusement and delight is a core response invited by pictures of pissing boys, which are entertaining in the margins of courtly frescoes or architectural ornamentation, restorative for parturient mothers when birth salvers are reversed, diverting for tired scholars pouring over manuscripts when their eyes stray to the decorated margins, and even more refreshing in the context of certain fountains. In some manuscripts, naked imps piss in the company of playful musical putti, adding to the sound of drums and horns with the carnivalesque fingering of another sort of “instrument” that results in a noisy stream.<sup>52</sup> In other words, it is, of course, likely that genital acts frequently entail sexual references, and that such references are usually meant as jokes.

The joking often centered on transformation and transferal of the discharged fluid. By these means, taboos such as that against oral sex could be contravened in mocking or lighthearted fashion. In an important sense, clusters of boys happily engaging in the pleasurable imbibing and mixing of fluids are evocatively participating in same-sex erotic activity. The opening initial of Cicero’s oration *Pro Ligario*, decorated by a northern Italian miniaturist around 1465–70, has one winged putto flying and pissing into a bowl held below by his kneeling companion.<sup>53</sup> Marco Zoppo’s drawing of putti reveling around a keg, while conveyed on a raft with a sail that suggests Fortuna, reiterates the motif of one winged boy (probably Bacchus) urinating into a bowl held below him.<sup>54</sup> His additional gesture of grasping the assistant’s forelock parodies the iconography of Occasio (Chance or Oppor-

tunity), here suggesting that the pisser urgently seizes the occasion to do nothing more than relieve himself. Humanists were the primary audience for both the manuscript and the drawing, supplied with irreverent interludes that appealed to their sense of sophistication and wit.

Zoppo's infant transforms wine into another kind of liquid. Instant processing is evident in Guido Reni's painting of a chubby baby Bacchus guzzling wine from a glass flask and peeing at the same time, the arc of his urine echoing that of wine leaking from the nearby keg.<sup>55</sup> In an anonymous engraving, *Fountain of Cupids* (see fig. 6), winged putti pissing into the fountain's basin are joined by six comrades below, one of whom collects "urine" in both his mouth and a cup. A proverb probably joked about drinking so much that one pissed wine.<sup>56</sup> Gossip from the French court, reported by Brantôme in the mid-1580s, included multivalent mirth when drinking from a wine goblet decorated with salacious scenes: "some drank laughing and others drank ravished, some pissed themselves drinking and others drank and pissed, that is to say, something other than actual pissing" (ejaculating).<sup>57</sup>

In the top right of Michelangelo's red chalk drawing *Children's Bacchanal*, of 1533–34, eight children eagerly gather around a large wine vat.<sup>58</sup> One standing boy pisses into the drinking bowl held by a kneeling infant, and the open-mouthed tap of the vat is placed directly above the bowl, suggesting that the boy is either pissing "wine" or "making water" to dilute the wine. Michelangelo, like the illuminators and engravers, was in part joking about euphemisms whereby urine or semen became "water." In several languages, such as Italian, French, and English, "to make water" was a euphemism for urination.<sup>59</sup> A sermon by the Dominican Giordano da Pisa delivered in Florence in 1305 used the euphemism, so it had long been a familiar and nonobscene custom. In ecclesiastical settings, putti were pictured almost, but not quite, emitting water, as they were, for example, in two marble washbasins installed in the north and south sacristies of the Florentine cathedral in the early 1440s.<sup>60</sup> Buggiano's *lavabo* for the north sacristy has two winged *spiritelli* perched atop an inflated wineskin and clutching metal taps projecting from the skin at a point directly below their genitals. Represented as wine (that is, almost urine), the fluid becomes cleansing water, an inversion of the miracle of Cana (John 2:1–11). The other *lavabo* reiterates the theme, having two putti stand with large amphorae between their legs, alluding once more to the miraculous transformation of fluids, a process central to the transubstantiation of the eucharistic rite.





*Figure 6.*  
*North Italian, probably Fer-*  
*rarese, Fountain of Cupids*  
*(1470s). Engraving. British*

*Museum, London. Courtesy*  
*of the Trustees of the British*  
*Museum.*

Furthermore, Italian verbs like *innaffiare* (or *annaffiare*) and *spargere*, about watering and sprinkling, functioned as double entendres about male fluids in the work of wits like Aretino. For instance, in one example by Aretino, a chaplain uses a large aspergillum or liturgical “sprinkler” (*spar-golo*) to pour “holy oil on her ladyship’s garden,” an obscene act of “watering” (*innaffiare*).<sup>61</sup> A carnival song dedicated to gardeners also envisages the watering of needy “gardens” with holy water.<sup>62</sup> To a fourteenth-century poet, *spargere* meant the sowing of his father’s semen in his mother’s body, a verb used more generically by Aretino for all “seeds that are sewn in our gardens” and that lead to impregnation.<sup>63</sup> Aretino claimed that a prudish woman objected to the use of such suggestive words as *zampillare*, a verb referring to liquid gushing or spurting out.<sup>64</sup> In part, these vernacular wordplays and puns derive from established biology, for Aristotle, still a canonical author in university curricula, believed that semen “is a compound of *pneuma* and water [*pneuma* being hot air], and that is why it is fluid in its nature; it is made of water.”<sup>65</sup>

Matteo Bandello’s phraseology in his *novelle* published in 1554 is thus far from unique. In one story, a teenage bride unsatisfied with her fifty-year-old husband decides upon adultery with any suitable “waterer” (“adacquatore”) she could find so that he might “water her ill-cultivated garden” [il suo mal coltivato orto innacquasse].<sup>66</sup> Aptly, she sets her sights on their actual gardener, and he soon proves how much better he is than the husband at watering the “garden” [adacquava l’orto]. Hence, the water gushing forth from a phallic spout in the central, lower area of Titian’s so-called *Sacred and Profane Love* is a visual allusion to marital “watering” in a painting commissioned around 1514 to celebrate a wedding. The putti with poppy capsules (fig. 5) tend the seed pods by both fertilizing and watering them, in anticipation of male offspring from the primary female viewer. A merry putto from the della Robbia workshop intently focuses on his task as he lifts his shirt in the classical gesture of infantile urination and prepares to “water” a fictive garden in front of the blue and yellow flowers of an iris.<sup>67</sup> The streams in such examples indicate more than licit fertility, however, for they also signify pleasurable, even adulterous, release.

Spirited jokes about the utility of male bodily fluids have been misunderstood or ignored. The fifteenth-century Florentine print of a winged putto pissing onto a knife-grinder’s whetstone (see fig. 7) has been taken as a genre scene, possibly satirical, but it is making a sexual joke.<sup>68</sup> Coitus was likened to grinding corn between millstones, familiar in such languages as classical Latin (*molo*), Renaissance Italian (*macinare*), and Elizabethan



Figure 7.

*Florentine, Putto Urinating on a Knife-Grinder's Whetstone (late 15th cent.). Niello print. Courtesy of the Département*

*des Estampes et de la Photographie, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.*

English.<sup>69</sup> “Refined flour,” as Masuccio put it, thus resulted from the mutual friction of sexual concourse. A character in another of his *novelle* is an actual miller, “forced to do his [sexual] work, and he poured water [acqua] once when aloft, but not onto his mill wheel.”<sup>70</sup> The exact meaning of the phrase is unclear. Probably, Masuccio is referring to premature ejaculation by the weary, reluctant lover, or the phrase may allude to a situation or proverb

that also applied to flying putti peeing into cups held beneath them. Lovers frequently engaged in sexual “milling” or “grinding” according to Bandello’s mid-sixteenth-century euphemistic language too.<sup>71</sup> Aretino also uses “water” to refer to ejaculate, describing a man’s orgasm thus: “grinding the harvest, [he] poured the water [acqua] on the mill wheel.”<sup>72</sup> In the Florentine print, grinding is accompanied by a pouring of “water,” similar to the language familiar to the readers and disseminators of stories like those of Aretino and Bandello.

With his backside to the viewer and surrounded by boys, the knife grinder may primarily allude to sodomitical conjunction. The instruments becoming keener and more acute under his attentive craft are knives and sharp cutting tools, associated in burlesque poetry, carnival songs, and other erotic puns with the carving of sexualized “meats,” usually savored in a sodomitical sense.<sup>73</sup> Italian verbs for cutting were sexually suggestive (*incidere*, for example, also meant “to lance”), but the chief verb used in an erotic sense was *tagliare*, “to cut, to slice, to hacke, to make incision, . . . to carve meate, . . . to clip or pare with any cutting weapon . . . Also to carve or cut up meate.”<sup>74</sup> Aretino was apt to use “to cut” when he meant something akin to the English slang “to screw.”<sup>75</sup> Since objects of homoerotic interest were likened to roast meat, to carve or cut often meant to sodomize, and knives in general were sexually active, phallic objects. Carnival songs used *tagliare* when celebrating sodomy with women, carving them with “nostri coltellini,” our little knives.<sup>76</sup>

Knives and other cutting instruments, depicted with grinding and pissing in the anonymous Florentine print, all point to the image having a sexual sense, in addition to any diurnal reportage of urine used in the process of honing. The emitting figure, after all, is winged and bears a windblown sash across his chest, as though he has just arrived from a classicizing frieze. The disjunctive combination of the everyday with the imaginary, of genre with classicism, may well have been a large part of the joke. Perhaps the “garzon con ali,” Cupid as a boy with wings in one of Petrarch’s poems, is here having his arrows sharpened, as the verse suggests.<sup>77</sup> But neither quiver nor arrows are visible and the incongruity remains amusing, leading to the ironic elevation of the ordinary street scene and, simultaneously, mockery of the winged putto, a figure usually signifying desire, whether in classicizing or courtly schemes of decoration. As with the carnivalesque, a classical motif is now featured in an incongruous setting. The humor points to an anti-Petrarchan tenor, denying poetic sublimation in favor of earthy gratification. Resituated amidst the ordinary and the vernacular, the pissing infant signals laughter, accompanied

by the artist's skill with perspectival rendering of the mobile mechanism and with figures seen from a variety of angles. The artist is an intelligent jokester showing off artistic skill as well as visual and verbal wit.

Urine and ejaculate worked as metaphors of each other, an infant made "urine of silver and gold," and urine also metamorphosed into wine or water. While some jokes relied on wordplay, actual fountains literalized the aqueous transformation. Pissing putti appear on ancient reliefs, while a phallic fountain survives from Pompeii's house of the Vettii in which water flowed from the tip of an ephebe's large, erect penis.<sup>78</sup> Anyone drinking the cool water gushing through the marble phallus was put in the literal position of ingesting from a compliant ephebe, thereby enjoying the thrill of nearly overcoming the ancient taboo against oral sex. They had to notice what *Priapea* 48 insisted an audience standing before Priapus's statue observe: "That that part of me [you see] is dripping / for which I am called Priapus / isn't due to dew or hoarfrost. / No, it drips spontaneously / when I think of kinky wenches" ["pathicae puellae," that is, sodomized "girls"].<sup>79</sup> Depending on the day's water pressure, the Vettii fountain indeed provided "dripping" fluid or even more copious bursts flowing into a basin.

Usually, the urinelike flow of fountains was issued by a young boy of around three years of age. The most famous instance is the *Mannekin-Pis*, a landmark of Brussels originally made of stone (perhaps in the late fourteenth or fifteenth century) and replaced by Jerome Duquesnoy's bronze version in 1619.<sup>80</sup> Fifteenth-century statues of grinning, peeing boys survive in marble, culminating around 1544 in Pierino da Vinci's infant whose grin is accompanied by a satyr's wide-mouthed mask poised at his genitals, from which water flowed (see fig. 8).<sup>81</sup> Pierino's joke about metamorphosis (from boy's urine or satyr's saliva to water) is accentuated by the grotesque mask that symbolizes deception and self-conscious theatricality. In this statue, as in numerous representations of devils and in various wordplays, the nose was phallic, but here the licentious satyr's face is manipulated by a mere boy and the actual flow of fluid apparently issued at a relative trickle, "belying the implied potency of his hidden member."

Gleeful innocence is combined in Pierino's statue with grimacing, knowing, carnal excess, an amusing blend often underlying images of pissing boys. Sometimes that amalgam rendered the figure suitable for religious or moral purposes, as was perhaps the case around 1404–9 with the unusually early postclassical existence of a urinating infant in high relief on the archivolt of the *Porta della Mandorla*, the northern entrance of the Florentine cathedral.<sup>82</sup> Along with a famous figure of standing Hercules in



*Figure 8.*  
*Pierino da Vinci, Putto Pissing through a Grotesque Mask (ca. 1544). Marble. Museo Statale d'Arte Medievale e Moderna, Arezzo.*

the door frame below, the vignette amongst decorative foliage is another instance of the prescient revival of ancient motifs and forms on the Porta, whereas most images of pissing boys instead only appear from the mid-fifteenth century. Perhaps the Florentine sculptor (Niccolò Lamberti?) did not quite understand the meaning of the ancient type. The putto follows Lucretius's description of pissing boys who "are lifting up their garments," but that gesture makes the carved infant an exhibitionist who seems to be dancing in response to the music played by many of the other putti populating the Porta's reliefs.<sup>83</sup> Either pissing or dancing, or both, the figure conveys the sense of bacchanalian celebration enjoyed in the afterlife that was appropriate for both an ancient sarcophagus and a Christian church.

Around the late 1450s, excess was very much the theme when Donatello depicted a pissing infant to one side of a wine press in a scene of grape treading and bacchanalian revelry (see fig. 9).<sup>84</sup> It was one of three bronze reliefs on the base of his *Judith Slaying Holofernes* statue produced for the garden of the new Medici palace in Florence. As indicated by an inscription, humble, virtuous Judith conquered the besieging general, who was a symbol of sinful *luxuria* (incontinence) and pride. In 1550, Vasari's emphasis on "the effect of wine and sleep" evident in Holofernes's body drew out the theme of the reliefs. Although a Roman sarcophagus may have informed Donatello's conception, the paradisaical, bacchanalian joy of the ancient iconography is forsaken for indulgent excess and lack of self-control, befitting the way in which the military man succumbed to the seductions of wine and pleasure. Notably, the best positions for viewing the urinating putto are also the ones that enable the viewer to see Judith's heavy clothing entirely covering the general's genitals. One indulgent and penile activity is contrasted with the defeat of another.

Restoration work in 1986–88 revealed that the reliefs were not perforated, thereby disproving the common assumption that Donatello's statue had functioned as a fountain, so there is no connection with actual water in the grape treading scene where one winged *spiritallo* holds up his garment with both hands in order to urinate.<sup>85</sup> Having drunk so much that he must pee where he stands, he directs the flow either just behind a sleeping reveler or into the ear of that exhausted youth. Either way, his bodily fluid is being freely "spent," sodomitically cast in an inappropriate vessel. The scene also once more conjures the conceit of sound and disruption, and the adjacent relief indeed accentuates raucous celebration with two blaring horns held high.

At other times, the element of soothing or amusing aural pleasure characterizes the depiction of urinating boys. As in some manuscript illumi-



Figure 9.

Donatello, Putti at the Wine Press (1450s). Bronze, base of Judith and Holofernes. Palazzo Vecchio, Florence. Courtesy of the

Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali—Opificio delle Pietre Dure di Firenze, Archivio Fotografico.

nation, the relaxing, even chuckling sound of trickling water/urine is combined with a musical putto in Correggio's early drawing of a fountain in which a cluster of pissing putti stand beneath a single boy blowing a horn.<sup>86</sup> The entertaining eruption of sound is central to the scenario that accompanies the illustration of a pissing fountain in the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, a splendid, high-end product of the book industry in Venice published by the Aldine press in 1499 and written by Francesco Colonna (see fig. 10).<sup>87</sup> The protagonist Poliphilo is tricked into approaching the fountain for some water, and he thereby activates a hidden mechanical device; hence "the little Priapus lifted his penis and squirted the freezing water in my hot face. . . . At this, such a high and feminine laughter echoed around the hollow dome that as I recovered, I too began to laugh fit to die." Cunning women are contrasted with the innocent "boy" Poliphilo. As befits a deceptive ensemble in which "all three faces were laughing," the Greek inscription declares that the sculpture is of a Trickster, one who brings about laughter (Geloïastos). The





Figure 10.  
*Fountain with pissing boy.* Francesco Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (Venice, 1499), sig. E7r. Courtesy of the George

Peabody Library, Sheridan Libraries, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.

wit was akin to water play amongst courtiers, who might find themselves surprised by a flood or by spurts of water, from a syringe or from hidden jets, rising up between legs and petticoats, as Montaigne noted.<sup>88</sup> Openly urinating was quintessentially a masculine act, regarded in a joking fashion when the male was a mere infant, freighted with innocence and amusement, but the image shifted to more knowing wit in many contexts.

Ceilings were another locale for watery wit. Just as putti released liquid downward from fountains or while hovering in the air, so too naked boys sometimes threatened to “rain” a kind of “water” down on viewers below who, like Poliphilo, must join in the fun and laugh. Mantegna’s joke in the oculus of the “camera picta” of the Ducal palace in Mantua is that either a precariously balanced tub or currently continent imps might cause a cascade at any moment. Giulio Romano later entertained the Mantuan court and its distinguished visitors with intertextual wit by painting a similar boy now urinating down on his audience in the Palazzo Te, augmented by liquid poured from the pitcher held by a female accomplice.<sup>89</sup> While feminine fluid must issue from an enclosed vessel, male urine easily jets forth from an external member, and in a parabolic path. Yet again, masculine urination is exhibited as an act that projects, and with some force. Such ceiling paintings engage viewers, insisting that they not only watch out for themselves to keep dry but also appreciate the skillful foreshortening and the illusionistic joke. Bacchanalian and clever wit brings attention to the image and invites laughter, often of an eruptive, sudden kind.

In the *Hypnerotomachia*, pissing virtually personifies laughter, characterized by unexpected mischief, ingenious cunning, and infectious, suddenly erupting sound. Given these features, it is not surprising that the Italian verb *ridere*, “to laugh” or “to smile,” also connoted sexual acts, particularly sodomy.<sup>90</sup> One of the anecdotes about Donatello’s erotic relations with his apprentices relates that when one assistant left after a quarrel, they made up by “laughing” at each other, a tale glossed in the sixteenth century as “licentioso.” Often a pictorial double entendre for ejaculation, the motif of the pissing boy in turn invited orgasmic laughter.

The motif’s erotic wit is central to the feature of the pissing boy in Titian’s *Andrians* (ca. 1521–25), a painting executed for the *studiolo* or *Cammerino* in the apartments of the Duke of Ferrara, Alfonso d’Este (see fig. 11).<sup>91</sup> The canvas is an adaptation of a painting described in Philostratus’s ancient Greek *Imagines*, where Dionysus “leads Laughter and Revel, two spirits most gay and most fond of the drinking-bout” on the island of Andros (which, significantly, means “man” in ancient Greek).<sup>92</sup> Due to the personification



Figure 11.

Titian, *The Andrians*  
(ca. 1523–25). Oil on canvas.

Courtesy of the Museo del  
Prado, Madrid.

of “the humorous one” in the *Hypnerotomachia*, it has been plausibly argued that Titian’s boy similarly allegorizes Laughter, while Philostratus’s Revel is encapsulated in the drunken sleep of the naked woman nearby.<sup>93</sup>

One of Titian’s inventions is the addition of the pissing boy, familiar from other scenes of wine pressing and imbibing, as well as musical revelry, and here with similar connotations of manly merriment and the elimination of “wine.” Philostratus observed that the stream of wine was “a river undiluted” or “untempered,” so Titian’s vine-wreathed infant probably directs “wine” rather than “water” into that rivulet.<sup>94</sup> He is a miniature bacchant whose infantile teetering, overly intense focus on simple acts, and public urination enact the behavior expected of drunkards, people who have imbibed endlessly, just as the French lyrics of the nearby sheet of music encourage (“He who drinks and does not drink again, does not know what drinking is”). As another source of the oenoic stream, the pissing “trickster” is also akin to a

junior river god, the youngest member of a “family” consisting of the supine patriarch on a hilltop and the slumbering, naked woman in the foreground. Her overturned urn recalls the traditional iconography of water sources, so she resembles a fountain nymph sleeping at her spring, also here implicitly of wine.<sup>95</sup> Although age clearly differentiates the seminaked boy from the overtly nude woman, the erotic tenor of her sensual display and reverie is heightened by the adjacent act of masculine emission. The very incongruity is one of many reasons why Titian’s depiction of pissing evokes laughter.

On a superficial level, the infant simply pees because he has had too much to drink.<sup>96</sup> But we have seen that the act of seeming urination frequently signified more than that. Furthermore, to depict the outright mixing of wine with urine would disrupt the carefree tone, inserting a note of ribald caricature inappropriate to a chamber where the duke relaxed, conversed, read, and entertained visitors. Rather, the infant performs an act of metamorphosis, turning amber urine into dark red wine, and he does so in a quintessentially masculine manner (as is the case with Reni’s young Bacchus). Another coloristic alteration is engineered by a pissing boy in the calendar scene of February illuminated by Franco-Flemish artists in a breviary that the Venetian Cardinal Domenico Grimani had purchased by October 1520.<sup>97</sup> The boy kneels at the threshold of his humble abode and lifts his garment with both hands, directing a steady and copious flow into the snowy yard. The Venetian nobleman Marcantonio Michiel soon singled out the vignette for admiration, noting that the boy “urinating in the snow turns it yellow.”<sup>98</sup> Warm urine becomes cold but colored ice, a conceit that the Venetian artist Titian may well have seen or heard about. Perhaps inspired by the illuminator, Titian presents a coloristic pun personified by an amusing babe who simultaneously attracts attention to the joke and to the artist’s skill.

Urinating water, wine, or semen from fountain spouts in pictorial and literary puns, the pissing putto is a figure of magic and masculine fun, as well as creativity and illusion. Almost like an alchemist, he mixed and transmuted fluids. In the *Hypnerotomachia*, the boy’s “little member” is “pissing cold water into the hot bath, to make it tepid,” and then it squirts freezing water into Poliphilo’s hot face.<sup>99</sup> Laughter, rather than moderation, resulted from the unexpected, sensate combination. On the other side of the wall, Poliphilo had earlier enjoyed the erotic sight of a fountain consisting of a sleeping nymph whose nipples “spurred streams of water, cold from the right-hand one and hot from the left.”<sup>100</sup> If the female figures of fountains directly emit fluids, it is usually from the breasts, as in Poliphilo’s fantasy land, thereby associating water with milk and blending erotic with nurtur-

ing fluids and body parts. In the paintings by Titian, Giulio Romano, and Zucchi, as in Colonna's novel and Rembrandt's etchings, sexual difference is centered on contrasted modes of emission.

### **Lorenzo Lotto's imagery**

The "pissing" male infant was not one clear iconographic type with only one meaning, a variety indicated by the unsettled nomenclature used by modern scholars. "Putto pisciatore" is the most common phrase, but Latin and Italian variants abound, such as "putto pissatore," "putto pissiator," "putto mingens," "puer mingens" and "putto mictans." The motif's multivalence is evident in the work of the painter Lorenzo Lotto (ca. 1480–1556), who often produced images of urinating male characters. His first such figure was probably the infant on the ceiling of the Oratorio Suardi (1524), which casts the familiar theme of the wine harvest in a pergola in relation to the eucharistic "Christ-Vine." The humor has a religiously celebratory inflection, accompanied by an inscription above the boy's head that urges joyful drinking and the banning of sadness.<sup>101</sup> Not far to the left, below, the particularized image of a bird catcher may be a self-portrait, and then a side door interrupts the cycle. The self-conscious humor of the pissing putto, who directly gazes at viewers below, not only resonates with the artist's portrait but also catches people entering or leaving the chapel with the conceit that those looking up must dart out of the way of the liquid cascade, so effective, moving, and clever is the artifice.

The combination of wit and self-conscious play with an act signifying plentiful, joyous fluidity recurs in Lotto's other renditions. His portrait of *Andrea Odoni* (1527) juxtaposes two bronze statuettes in a collection of antiquities, one showing *Hercules mingens*, whose piss arcing into a woman's bathing vessel produces such a powerful, acidic jet that it has worn away the female figure's lower leg.<sup>102</sup> Although the *Hercules mingens* type is of an adult, here bearded, the depicted statuette is so much smaller than that of the bathing woman (probably Venus) that he appears to be an infant, his slight unsteadiness actually due to wine but doubling for childishness. The urinary effect is perhaps the painting's riposte in the *paragone* debate: so much for the greater permanence of sculpture, when deftly handled oil paint can erode solid bronze with a few strokes. A third instance in Lotto's repertoire occurs, if he painted *Venus Adorned by the Graces*, where a background vignette shows a boy, supported by a female figure, being toilet trained over a large basin or wellhead.<sup>103</sup> The sexual goddesses' kind of "toilette" is humorously comple-

mented by an earthy “toilet.” Earthiness is the point of the episode in the intarsia panel Lotto designed in 1527, showing Judith fleeing with the decapitated head of Holofernes.<sup>104</sup> That horror is contrasted with the oblivious nighttime activity of decamped soldiers, two of whom squat and defecate, one of whom stands and urinates on a hill in the right background.

To these relatively incidental instances of religious imagery, genre, and classicizing reference, Lotto added his *Venus and Cupid* painting in which the “pissing” infant is a major figure (see fig. 12).<sup>105</sup> Dated anywhere between 1520 and 1540, the canvas shows a rather semenlike stream emitted from a red-tipped penis toward the naked woman’s genitals. The often raunchy humor of epithalamic poetry is echoed in what is very probably a wedding picture, one in which the portraitlike face of Venus is joined by a strangely adult face for Cupid too. His act is certainly more than childlike, and his fertilizing fluid that falls near petals that “stain” her thighs makes, I suggest, a joke about the masturbatory “macula” left on the thigh of the Knidian Aphrodite.<sup>106</sup> In Lotto’s painting the goddess of sex fittingly receives from the cheeky daemon of love a liquid tribute that is a double entendre, alluding to fertilization, “watering,” and ejaculatory desire.

Boys emitting bodily fluid were represented everywhere, in one artist’s oeuvre in Lotto’s case, and in a variety of spaces and media, freighted with meanings ranging from poignant genre or irreverent classicism to witty piety and epithalamic celebration. In literature and visual imagery, an important proof of masculinity in the European tradition is to be able to emit fluids from the penis, usually with some force, and significantly while standing upright. In early modern culture, the fluids were multiple and metaphoric, inviting a range of wordplays and visual puns, many of them sexual in nature but often not nuptial or parturient in function. What seemed nothing more than urine often alluded to wine, water, or semen. While some “pissing” putti connote fertility, it is more a matter of the liquid and seed-laden nature of prolific semen than reproductive purpose that underlies the jaunty sense that female “gardens” are being “watered.” Erotic and comic possibilities were opened up by the multivalent and transforming nature of male body fluids. The delightful or overindulgent excesses of drinking wine, for instance, are featured in images of boys emitting streams that are ambivalently winy and urinary. The relief of the release of urine doubles for the pleasure of ejaculation, with male or female partners. Enjoyable too are the jokes and quips to be made by literalizing and mocking euphemisms such as “making water” (with, for instance, “rain” falling from ceilings or “water” spouting from pissing fountains) or bawdy phrases like



*Figure 12.*

*Lorenzo Lotto, Venus and Cupid*  
(ca. 1520–40). Oil on canvas.

*Metropolitan Museum of Art,*  
*New York, Purchase, Mrs.*

*Charles Wrightsman Gift, in*  
*honor of Marietta Tree, 1986*

*(1986.138). Courtesy of the*  
*Metropolitan Museum of Art.*

one that coupled grinding with watering. Pissing became a virtual personification of laughter, which in turn might signify sex.

The crucial deeds to be performed by a penis ranged beyond the penetrative. Most commonly visualized by way of images of “pissing” boys, the acts of masculine emission are often amusing, occurring amidst scenes of acrobatic, musical, bacchic, whimsical children. Alongside the picturing of what seems to be innocent, charming, fledgling masculinity, however, viewers are often treated to double entendres and metaphors that add a contrary knowingness to the image. Lack of adult self-control then moves from characterizing the idyllic, carefree state of boyhood to personifying masculine bravado, potency, and sexuality.

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## Notes

I am grateful to Tim McCall and Monika Schmitter for their engagement with this project. Translations of sources are my own unless otherwise indicated.

- 1 Ernst Mayr, "On the Concepts and Terminology of Vertical Subspecies and Species," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 94 (1944): 48–53, esp. 51–52. The term was developed further in Ernst Mayr, "Taxonomic Categories in Fossil Homi- nids," *Cold Spring Harbor Symposia on Quantitative Biology* 15 (1950): 109–18, esp. 113, 117.
- 2 Alessandro Benedetti, *Historia corporis humani sive Anatomice*, ed. Giovanna Ferrari (Firenze: Giunti, 1998), 86; trans. L. R. Lind, *Studies in Pre-Vesalian Anatomy: Biog- raphy, Translations, Documents* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1975), 83. The text was first published in Venice, 1502.
- 3 Benedetti, *Historia corporis humani*, 234; trans. Lind, *Studies in Pre-Vesalian Anatomy*, 112.
- 4 Helkiah Crooke, *Microcosmographia: A Description of the Body of Man* (London, 1615), 3, with the "upright frame . . . looking upwards" reiterated on 4–5, 11, 13.
- 5 K. J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality*, rev. ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989), 106. On Christianity, see James Brundage, "Let Me Count the Ways: Canonists and Theologians Contemplate Coital Positions," *Journal of Medieval His- tory* 10 (1984): 81–93.
- 6 Herodotus, *Persian Wars* 2.35, in *Herodotus, Volume I: Persian Wars, Books I–II*, rev. ed., trans. A. D. Godley (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1926), 317.
- 7 Hesiod, *Works and Days* 727–32, in *Hesiod, Homeric Hymns, Epic Cycle, Homeric*, rev. ed., trans. Hugh G. Evelyn-White (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1936), 57.
- 8 Luigi Bassano, *Costumi, et i modi particolari de la vita de Turchi* (1545), facsimile ed., *Costumi et i modi particolari della vita de' Turchi*, ed. Franz Babinger (München: Max Hueber, 1963), fol. 59r: ("Gl'huomini orinano sedendo come le nostre donne . . . dicendo che l'orinare in piedi è cosa da bestie"); George Sandys, *A Relation of a Jour- ney begun An. Dom. 1610* (London, 1615), 64: "all of them affect cleanliness so reli- giously, that . . . they never so much as make water, but they wash both their hands and privities: at which businesse they sequester themselves, and crouch to the earth; reviling the Christian whom they see pissing against a wall. . . . This they do to pre- vent that any part of either excrement should touch their garments, esteeming it a pol- lution, and hindering the acceptance of prayer."
- 9 Juvenal, *Satire* 6.264, in *The Sixteen Satires*, 3rd ed., trans. Peter Green (London: Pen- guin, 1998), 42: "ride positis scaphium cum sumitur armis." The degree to which a military force is culturally presumed to be masculine is reiterated by the put-down "Do you squat when you pee?" barked out at Navy SEAL trainees in the film *G. I. Jane* (1997).
- 10 Giovanni Boccaccio, *Elegia di Madonna Fiammetta; Corbaccio*, ed. Francesco Erba- ni (Milano: Garzanti, 1988), 243 ("tutte son femine, ma non pisciano"); trans. and ed. Anthony K. Cassell, *The Corbaccio* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975), 32.
- 11 Erik Hinterding, Ger Luijten, and Martin Royalton-Kisch, *Rembrandt the Printmaker* (London: British Museum Press, 2000), 105–7.



- 12 Pietro Aretino, *La cortigiana* 3.8, ed Giuliano Innamorati (Torino: Einaudi, 1970), 91 (“non pisciano come le villane?”); Aretino, *Ragionamento: Dialogo*, ed. Paolo Procaccioli (Milano: Garzanti, 1984), 177 (“Chi piscia come le altre è come le altre”).
- 13 Mina Gregori, *Paintings in the Uffizi and Pitti Galleries* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1994), 230, plate 305.
- 14 On the four paintings, but not the dog (overpainted in the Ambrosiana example until a recent cleaning), see Harold E. Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian: Complete Edition, Volume 1: The Religious Paintings* (London: Phaidon, 1969), 63–68; Peter Humfrey, *Titian: The Complete Paintings* (Gent: Ludion, 2007), 294, 320. Una Roman D’Elia, “The Decorum of a Defecating Dog,” *Print Quarterly* 22 (2005): 125, 130, 132, offers an alternative reading. On the importance of Christ’s genital maleness, see Leo Steinberg, *The Sexuality of Christ in Renaissance Art and in Modern Oblivion*, 2nd ed. rev. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).
- 15 Gender distinction is again the import of a panel painted around 1500 and attributed to Giuliano Bugiardini or an anonymous Florentine artist, in which a charming male infant and a male dog are each shown pissing in a piazza while Tobias and others feast in the loggia behind. See Colin Eisler, *Masterworks in Berlin: A City’s Paintings Reunited* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1996), 196–97. Two naked boys play with a dog further to the right, so all the infants seen in public are male.
- 16 For gender differences, see Anne Jacobson Schutte, “Suffering from the Stone: The Accounts of Michel de Montaigne and Cecilia Ferrazzi,” *Bibliothèque d’Humanisme et Renaissance* 64 (2002): 21–36. I thank George Hoffmann for this reference.
- 17 Alice Dreger, *Hermaphrodites and the Medical Invention of Sex* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998), 39; see also 178–80, 188–89, 193–94, 199, 241 n. 35.
- 18 Antonio Benivieni, *De abditis nonnullis ac mirandis morborum et sanationum causis*, trans. Charles Singer (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1954), 34–35, also 170–71, with the Latin reproduced in a facsimile of the 1507 edition. For hypospadias, see *The Seven Books of Paulus Aegineta* 6.69, trans. Francis Adams, 3 vols. (London, 1846), 2:381, which was copied often, including in Albucasis, *On Surgery and Instruments* 2.70 (which classifies it as hermaphroditic), ed. M. S. Spink and G. L. Lewis (London: Wellcome Institute of the History of Medicine, 1973), 454; Ambroise Paré, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. J.-F. Malgaigne, 3 vols. (1840–41; repr. Genève: Slatkine Reprints, 1970), 2:458.
- 19 Dymrna Callaghan, “The Castrator’s Song: Female Impersonation on the Early Modern Stage,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 26 (1996): 331.
- 20 Anton Francesco Grazzini, *Le Cene* 1.2, in *Le Cene ed altre prose di Antonfrancesco Grazzini detto il Lasca*, ed. Pietro Fanfani (Firenze, 1857), 20.
- 21 Paré, *Oeuvres complètes*, 2:458, 489–90. For other pipes, most of them illustrated, see 63, 87, 101–2.
- 22 Ambroise Paré, *Les oeuvres de m. Ambroise Paré . . . Avec les figures & portraits tant de l’anatomie que des instruments de chirurgie, & de plusieurs monstres. Le tout diuisé en vingt six liures . . .* (Paris, 1575), 721; Paré, *Oeuvres complètes*, 2:612–13; facsimile ed. in *The Collected Works of Ambroise Paré translated out of the Latin by Thomas Johnson from the first English edition, London, 1634* (Pound Ridge, N.Y.: Milford House, 1968), 876–77.

- 23 *The Life and Adventures of Mrs. Christian Davies, the British Amazon, Commonly Called Mother Ross*, 2nd ed. (London, 1741), 2. On dildoes, see Patricia Simons, "The Cultural History of 'Seigneur Dildoe,'" forthcoming in *Sex Acts in Early Modern Italy*, ed. Allison Levy (Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2010); or see the Italian version of the article, "La storia culturale del *seigneur dildoe* nell'Italia rinascimentale," in *Sesso nel Rinascimento: Pratica, perversione e punizione nell'Italia rinascimentale*, ed. Allison Levy (Firenze: Le Lettere, 2009), 73–88.
- 24 Rudolf M. Dekker and Lotte C. van de Pol, *The Tradition of Female Transvestism in Early Modern Europe* (London: Macmillan, 1989), 16, with the case of a cross-dressed woman "detected by a sailor while pissing, drunk" (22).
- 25 Paré, *Oeuvres complètes*, 2:612.
- 26 Brigitte Erickson, trans., "A Lesbian Execution in Germany, 1721: The Trial Records," *Journal of Homosexuality* 6 (1980–81): 35, hereafter quoted from 31–39 passim. The German text is in *Weibliche Homosexualität um 1900 in zeitgenössischen Dokumenten*, ed. Ilse Kokula (München: Frauenoffensive, 1981), 91–112.
- 27 Helmut Puff, "Female Sodomy: The Trial of Katherina Hetzeldorfer (1477)," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 30 (2000): 59 (the German), 61 (English trans.). Subsequent quotations are from the court document, 60–61.
- 28 Representations of cross-sex intercourse sometimes showed participants not having any visual experience of the other person's genitals. See, for example, Cornelis Dusart's watercolor *Lascivious Couple* (ca. 1687) in the British Museum, reproduced in H. Perry Chapman, Wouter Th. Kloek, and Arthur K. Wheelock Jr. et al., *Jan Steen: Painter and Storyteller* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1996), 49, fig. 15; and Joachim Bueckelaer's *Brothel Scene* (1562) in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, reproduced in Ger Luijten et al., *Dawn of the Golden Age: Northern Netherlandish Art, 1580–1620* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1993), 117, fig. 5.
- 29 Schultes's oft-reprinted and translated *Armamentarium Chirurgicum* was a profusely illustrated compendium of surgical instruments that included various perforated drainage pipes and a metallic insert or catheter for a diseased male urethra. See Johann Schultes, *Armamentarium Chirurgicum XLIII*. . . (Ulm, 1655); facsimile ed., Johannes Scultetus, *Armamentarium Chirurgicum XLIII*. . . (New York: Editions Medicina Rara, 1972), 8, 9, 55–56, and plates 12–14 and 39–40 (some are shown in use on a man's chest in 47 and 49, and plate 37). For the German version, see Johann Schultes, *Faksimile-Druck der Scultetus-Ausgabe von 1666* (Stuttgart: Kommissionsverlag W. Kohlhammer, 1974), 28–29, and plates 13 and 40 (and depicting their use, 114, plate 35). For the English version, see Johannes Scultetus, *The Chyrurgeons Storehouse*. . . (London, 1674), 30–31, 33, 36–37, 162, 167–69, 186–87, 189–91, with the same plate numbers as the Latin edition. In plate 39 a man urinates with the aid of a tubular insert while lying down, nevertheless depositing a solid, arcing stream into a chamber pot some distance away. Paré is often directly cited, and he was the acknowledged source for *An Explanation of the Fashion and Use of three and fifty Instruments of Chirurgery* appended to the second edition of Crooke's *Microcosmographia* (London, 1631), after 1012, reused by Alexander Read in 1634. See K. F. Russell, *British Anatomy, 1525–1800: A Bibliography of Works Published in Britain, America, and on the Continent*, 2nd ed. (Winchester, Eng.: St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1987), nos. 223 and 682.

- 30 The “twin-tube penis” is misunderstood as having separate paths for semen and urine in David Friedman, *A Mind of Its Own: A Cultural History of the Penis* (New York: Free Press, 2001), 58. For the tripartite distinction, see Charles D. O’Malley and J. B. de C. M. Saunders, *Leonardo da Vinci on the Human Body* (New York: Henry Schuman, 1952), 352, 454, 460, 462, plates 204–5.
- 31 See, for example, J. N. Adams, *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982), 92, 142, 245–46, citing Catullus, *Poems* 67.23–30, among others.
- 32 Ficino’s quip is recorded in Angelo Poliziano, *Detti piacevoli*, ed. Tiziano Zanato (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1983), 72, no. 185: “si vuole usare le donne come gl’orinali, che, come l’uomo v’ha pisciato drento, si nascondono e ripongono.” For sexual implications of the word *orinale*, see Salvatore Battaglia, *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana*, vol. 12 (Torino: U.T.E.T., 1984), 110, no. 4 (citing the sixteenth-century poet Francesco Beccuti, called Coppetta); Jean Toscan, *Le carnaval du langage: Le lexique érotique des poètes de l’équivoque de Burchiello à Marino* (Lille: Presses Universitaires de Lille, 1981), 1404–7.
- 33 *Pasquinate romane del cinquecento*, vol. 1, ed. Valerio Marucci, Antonio Marzo, and Angelo Romano (Roma: Salerno, 1982), 331–32, no. 329; trans. James J. Wilhelm, *Gay and Lesbian Poetry: An Anthology from Sappho to Michelangelo* (New York: Garland, 1995), 318–19.
- 34 Giovan Francesco Bino, “In lode del bicchiere al Rè della virtù,” in *Il secondo libro dell’opere burlesche di M. Francesco Berni, del Molza, di M. Bino, di M. Lodovico Martelli, di Matteo Franzesi, dell’Aretino, e di diversi autori* (1555; repr. London [i.e., Florence?], 1723), 218: “Dicendo, che chi vuol viver giocondo, / Per dichiararvi ciò, c’ho detto addietro; / Senza altre pompe, o vanità del mondo, / Spenga la sete sua con un bel vetro.” The *capitolo* is also in *Dicerie di Annibal Caro e di altri a’ Rè della virtù*, ed. Bartolomeo Gamba (Calveley-Hall [Venice], 1821), 73–78, where it is named as a “Tributo . . . a Giuseppe Cincio medico fiammingo.” On the date and activities of the “Academy of Virtue,” see Patricia Simons and Monique Kornell, “Annibale Caro’s After-Dinner Speech (1536) and the Question of Titian as Vesalius’ Illustrator,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 61 (2008): 1069–97.
- 35 John Florio, *Queen Anna’s New World of Words* (London 1611), facsimile ed., *Queen Anna’s New World of Words, 1611* (Menston, Yorkshire: Scolar Press, 1968), 493: “thirst, thirstinesse, desire to drinke, drought. Also greedinesse or great appetite of anything. Also all manner of silkes.”
- 36 Francesco Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, facsimile ed., ed. Marco Ariani and Mino Gabriele, 2 vols. (Milano: Adelphi Edizioni, 1998), 1:208 (“un altro vaso urinaceo, o vero di forma cucurbitacea”), and 2:846–47 nn.; Francesco Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: The Strife of Love in a Dream*, trans. Joscelyn Godwin (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1999), 207 (“another vase shaped like a urinal or rather a gourd”). He is describing the chief element in a lamp hanging within the Temple of Venus, which is illustrated. I thank Rosemary Trippe for her assistance with this passage.
- 37 Francesco Berni, *Rime*, ed. Danilo Romei (Milano: Mursia, 1985), 52–54, dated to before August 1522. Romei notes that Berni’s “bicchiere” signified sexual “passivity” because it was held in a horizontal position when being used (53 n. 50). For genital

- connotations of various containers like vases and drinking glasses, see Toscan, *Carnaval du langage*, 1397–1422, 1668.
- 38 Bino, *Secondo libro dell'opere burlesche*, 214: “Corpacciutoni, e alti di mascelle, / Alti, e fondi, e non bassi come piatti. / Quei bicchierin, che come campanelle / Vanno sonando come infrescatoi, / Son da fanciulli, e da donne novelle.”
- 39 Baldassar Castiglione, *Il libro del cortegiano* 2.46, ed. Giulio Carnazzi (Milano: Rizzoli, 1987), 160.
- 40 Jacques Levron, *René Boyvin, graveur angevin du 16e siècle, avec catalogue de son oeuvre et la reproduction de 114 estampes* (Angers: J. Petit, 1941), plate 25, no. 7. In the later version, the stream continues past the backside; see the reproduction in Rebecca Zorach, *Blood, Milk, Ink, Gold: Abundance and Excess in the French Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), fig 4.34, although her comment refers to the uncensored plate (173).
- 41 On the *desco*, dated April 25, 1428, by an inscription on the recto side, see Paul Watson, “A *Desco da Parto* by Bartolomeo di Fruosino,” *Art Bulletin* 56 (1974): 4–9; Laurence B. Kanter’s entry in *Painting and Illumination in Early Renaissance Florence, 1300–1450* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1994), 311–14, no. 43; Cecilia de Carli, *I deschi da parto e la pittura del primo Rinascimento toscano* (Torino: Allemandi, 1997), 98–101; and Jacqueline Marie Musacchio’s entry in *Art and Love in Renaissance Italy*, ed. Andrea Bayer (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2008), 152–54, no. 69. For the popularity of the pissing putto in Italian art, see Paul Barolsky, *Infinite Jest: Wit and Humor in Italian Renaissance Art* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1978), 161–65.
- 42 On maternal imagination see, for example, Gen. 30:37–42; Leon Battista Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books* 9.4, trans. Joseph Rykwert, Neil Leach, and Robert Tavernor (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1988), 299; Ambroise Paré, *On Monsters and Marvels*, trans. Janis L. Pallister (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 38–39.
- 43 Florio, *Queen Anna’s New World of Words*, 62. The word *bischero* is used in 1536 for the “little prick” of the statuette of a hermaphrodite in Annibale Caro, “La statue della foia ovvero di Santa Nafissa,” in *Opuscoli del commendatore Annibal Caro: Commento di Ser Agresto da Ficaruolo sopra la prima ficata del padre Siceo*, ed. G. Romagnoli (1861; repr. Bologna: Commissione per i Testi di Lingua, 1967), 205 (“uno bischero ardito”).
- 44 Watson, “A *Desco da Parto*,” 4; Keith Christiansen, “Lorenzo Lotto and the Tradition of Epithalamic Paintings,” *Apollo* n.s. 124 (1986): 170.
- 45 The ideas about the pun and the popular saying are raised in Kanter’s entry on the *desco* (*Painting and Illumination*, 311). He identifies the coat of arms on the right as those of the Sienese family of the Montauri, but the instance he cites, a Biccherna cover of 1480, has a creature like a goat atop the *monti* and a star above, whereas the *desco* shows a lion rampant and no star. See L. Borgia et al., eds., *Le Biccherna: Tavole dipinte delle magistrature senesi (secoli XIII–XVIII)* (Roma: Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali, 1984), 182–83.
- 46 Riccardo Brusciagli, *Trionfi e canti carnascialeschi del Rinascimento*, 2 vols. (Roma: Salerno, 1986), 1:103 line 20, 260–61 (Bernardo Giambullari’s “Canzona dell’argento”), 267 line 25, 285 line 30; Toscan, *Carnaval du langage*, 628–29, 721–24.

- 47 Ellen Callmann, *Apollonio di Giovanni* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), 59–60, no. 16; Carli, *Deschi da parto*, 144–45; Mussachio's entry in *Art and Love in Renaissance Italy*, 158–59, no. 72.
- 48 The quotation is from Christiansen, "Lorenzo Lotto," caption to fig. 8, although it is based on a mistranslation of "poppe" as "poppies" in a passage from Vincenzo Cartari, *Imagini delli dei de gl'antichi* (Venice, 1647), ed. Marco Bussagli and Mario Bussagli (Genoa: Nuova Stile Regina Editrice, 1987), 170, 173 n. 25 (first published 1556). The word means "breasts," as is clear from the context.
- 49 Aretino, *Ragionamento: Dialogo*, 52 ("facendo prova della schiena del suo papavero"); *Aretino's Dialogues*, trans. Raymond Rosenthal (New York: Stein and Day, 1971), 44. *Papavero* is not indexed in Toscan, *Carnaval du langage*.
- 50 Jokes about vegetables are plentiful. See, for instance, Philippe Morel, "Priape à la Renaissance," *Revue de l'art* (1985): 16–17; Lorenzo de' Medici, *Tutte le opere*, ed. Paolo Orvieto, 2 vols. (Roma: Salerno, 1992), 2:791–94. Poppy capsules appear on painted or ceramic *deschi* and on the side panel of a marriage chest; see Jacqueline Musacchio, *The Art and Ritual of Childbirth in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1999), 130–31, figs. 56, 122–24, 131. Poppyheads that almost enter each other appear on the belt of Donatello's enigmatic *Atys-Amorino* in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello, perhaps referring to opiate inebriation, as pointed out in H. W. Janson, *The Sculpture of Donatello* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1963), 145, but also suggesting homoerotic conjunction.
- 51 Steinberg, *Sexuality of Christ*.
- 52 Augusto Campana, "Pueri mingentes nel quattrocento," in *Friendship's Garland: Essays Presented to Mario Praz on His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Vittorio Gabrieli, 2 vols. (Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1966), 1:31–42, esp. figs. 3–5, and fig. 2 illustrates a pissing infant in the margins of a mid-fifteenth-century musical treatise. For two putti urinating amidst acrobatic, musical, and other playful putti, see Maria Grazia Recanti, "Castello di Bianzano," in *I pittori bergamaschi dal xiii al xix secolo: Le origini* (Bergamo: Edizioni Bolis, 1992), 418, no. 38, 424.
- 53 Giovanna Lazzi, "Il Cicerone Landau Finaly della Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze," in *La miniatura italiana tra gotico e Rinascimento*, 2 vols., ed. Emanuela Sesti (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1985), 1:322, 325. Two anonymous engravings (one of *Cupids at the Vintage*, the other of the *Fountain of Cupids*, the latter fig. 6 here), which are probably Ferrarese in conception and date from the 1470s, also relate urine to a potable liquid to be enjoyed by an associate who holds a drinking bowl. See Arthur M. Hind, *Early Italian Engraving: A Critical Catalogue with Complete Reproduction of All the Prints Described*, 7 vols. in 4 (Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1970), 1:258 (E.III.18 and 20), 4: plates 410 and 412; Giovanni Sassu's entry in *Cosmè Tura e Francesco del Cossa: L'arte a Ferrara nell'età di Borso d'Este*, ed. Mauro Natale (Ferrara: Ferrara Arte, 2007), 480–81, no. 158. Two putti similarly piss into drinking bowls held by companions below them in an ornamental panel engraved by Giovanni Pietro da Birago (formerly known as the Master of the Sforza Book of Hours); see Hind, *Early Italian Engraving*, 5:79–81, 6: plate 609, detail 10(9), one of twelve upright ornamental panels, probably designed as patterns for architectural decoration.
- 54 Lilian Armstrong, *The Paintings and Drawings of Marco Zoppo* (New York: Garland,

- 1976), 298–92 and plate 1. The “Parchment Book” probably dates from the late 1450s or early 1460s: Hugo Chapman, *Padua in the 1450s: Marco Zoppo and His Contemporaries* (London: British Museum Press, 1998), 66.
- 55 D. Stephen Pepper, *Guido Reni* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1984), 279, no. 170. Two engravings and two painted copies suggest that the joke was popular. For wine connoting sexual pleasure or acts, see Toscan, *Carnaval du langage*, 1486–90, 1767.
- 56 Perhaps there was a variant of a fourteenth-century saying, “il vino sciocco . . . poco nutrica e tosto l’orina commuove” [insipid wine nourishes little and soon leads to piss], in Battaglia, *Grande dizionario*, s.v. *orina*, 12:109.
- 57 Pierre de Bourdeille, Seigneur de Brantôme, *Les dames galantes*, ed. Maurice Rat (Paris: Éditions Garnier Frères, 1965), 30: “les unes beuvoient en riant, et les autres beuvoient en se ravissant; les unes se compissoyent en beuvant, et les autres beuvoient en se pissant; je dis, d’autre chose que de pissat.”
- 58 *Drawings by Michelangelo in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen at Windsor Castle, the Ashmolean Museum, the British Museum, and Other English Collections* (London: British Museum, 1975), 103, no. 122; Michael Hirst, *Michelangelo and His Drawings* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1988), 115–16. It was also reproduced in an engraving by Beatrizet. As far as I know, the similarity with earlier works of the kind adduced here has not been noted before.
- 59 Battaglia, *Grande dizionario*, 1:129 (“*Fare acqua*: orinare”); Giordano da Pisa, *Quaresimale fiorentino, 1305–1306*, ed. Carlo Delcorno (Firenze: Sansoni, 1974), 203 (“schifare e fannosi come acqua”). Randle Cotgrave, *A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues* (1611), facsimile ed., *A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues, 1611* (Menston, Yorkshire: Scholar Press, 1968), has under *pisser* “to pisse, to stale, to make water,” and under *uriner* “to urine, pisse, make water.”
- 60 Margaret Haines, *La Sacrestia della messe del Duomo di Firenze* (Firenze: Cassa di Risparmio di Firenze, 1983), 126–29, figs. 74–75.
- 61 Aretino, *Ragionamento: Dialogo*, 79; *Aretino’s Dialogues*, 63 (adapted). A baptismal sprinkler (*battisteo*) means “penis” on 91. The work closes with a suggestive garden and fountain (494). For a French instance, see Brantôme, *Les dames galantes*, 30 (“alla avec son serviteur prendre de cette bonne eau qui est si douce sans sucre, et que son serviteur luy donna de sa petite burette”). For English examples, see Eric Partridge, *Shakespeare’s Bawdy*, 3rd ed. (New York: Routledge, 1968), 144 (“make water”), 210 (“urine”), 215 (“water” and “watering”); Gordon Williams, *A Dictionary of Sexual Language and Imagery in Shakespearean and Stuart Literature*, 3 vols. (London: Athlone, 1994), 3:1256–57 (“sluice”), 1505 (“water”).
- 62 Brusciagli, *Trionfi e canti carnascialeschi*, 2:404 (“la s’annaffia o getta; l’è un’acqua benedetta”), also 403 line 9 for equivocal “rain.” For other examples of ejaculated “acqua,” see, for instance, 26 line 36; 410 lines 21–22 (“L’acqua con che no’ bagnano / esce d’una certa vena”); 449–50 (lines 23–40 *passim*).
- 63 Antonio Beccari, *Le Rime di Maestro Antonio da Ferrara (Antonio Beccari)*, ed. Laura Bellucci (Bologna: Riccardo Patron, 1972), 188 (in poem 41, beginning “Le stelle universali e i ciel rotanti,” line 13, “a spargere ’l suo seme”); Aretino, *Ragionamento: Dialogo*, 176 (“son tanti vari i semi che si spargono nei nostri orti”), also 252. “Kisses, smiles, words, jokes, caresses and embraces of girls have proven that seed and fruit

- sparga* and produce that desire which is by us called *amore*”: Francesco Sansovino, *Ragionamento* (1545), in Arnaldo di Benedetto, *Prose di Giovanni della Casa e altri trattatisti cinquecenteschi del comportamento* (Torino: U.T.E.T., 1970), 648. *Spargere* means “ejaculation” in Lucian, *I dialoghi piaceuoli; Le uere narrationi; Le facete epistole* (Venice, 1551), fol. 176r (first published in this Italian translation in Venice in 1525).
- 64 Aretino, *Ragionamento: Dialogo*, 120; see also 240. Berni’s phallic eel “squirts forcefully and then comes away / even more if you clasp and enclose it” [sguizz per forza] (*Rime*, 42 [8.17–18]). The verb used for ejaculation, *sguizzare*, nicely summons both senses given in Florio: “to glide as fish in the water, to slide as upon ice. Also to spurt or squirt” (*Queen Anna’s New World of Words*, 498).
- 65 Aristotle, *Generation of Animals* 736a, trans. A. L. Peck (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1942), 163. For the multivalence of bodily secretions, primarily in the ancient tradition, see W. Deonna, “Fontaines anthropomorphes: La femme aux seins jaillissants et l’enfant ‘mingens,’” *Genava* 6 (1958): 268–69 and *passim*.
- 66 Matteo Bandello, *Le novelle* 1.53, ed. Delmo Maestri, 4 vols. (Alessandria: Edizioni dell’Orso, 1992–97), 1:484, 489. For a similar sense of “watering the garden,” see 1.9 and 1.15 (1:96, 129); 2.20 and 2.57 (2:149, 520); 3.64 (3:301). While Boccaccio’s busy gardener in a nunnery is an inspiration, the relevant verbs he uses are “labour” and “ride,” not “water.” See Giovanni Boccaccio, *Decameron* 3.1, ed. Cesare Segre (Milano: Mursia, 1966), 181–86. *Inacquare*, in the sense of diluting wine, is used to comedic effect in Boccaccio, *Decameron* 7.4 (432–33); and Pietro Aretino, *La cortigiana* 5.2, ed. Giuliano Innamorati (Torino: Einaudi, 1970), 117. The definition is clear in Florio, *Queen Anna’s New World of Words*, 241: “*Inacquare*, to water as they doe Gardens, to put into water, to put water into wine, to sprinkle with water.”
- 67 Allen Marquand, *Andrea della Robbia and His Atelier*, 2 vols. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1922), 2:184–85, no. 335; illustrated in Bertha Harris Wiles, *The Fountains of Florentine Sculptors and Their Followers from Donatello to Bernini* (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1933), fig. 12. From the garden of the Palazzo Pucci in Florence, the Bode Museum attributes it to Girolamo della Robbia (ca. 1515–20).
- 68 Hind, *Early Italian Engraving*, 1:58 (A.I.93), 2: plate 85; Evelyn Welch, *Shopping in the Renaissance: Consumer Cultures in Italy, 1400–1600* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2005), 45 and fig. 50.
- 69 For example, Adams, *Latin Sexual Vocabulary*, 24, 152–53, 219; Boccaccio, *Decameron* 8.2 (474–75); Poggio Bracciolini, *Facezie*, ed. Marcello Ciccuto (Milano: Rizzoli, 1983), 194, no. 75; Florio, *Queen Anna’s New World of Words*, 293 (“*Macinio*, greest or grinding-corne, taken also for carnall copulation”); Aretino, *Ragionamento: Dialogo*, 39; Toscan, *Carnaval du langage*, 1252, 1469–72, 1519, 1693, 1713, 1760 (for *farina*, *macinare*, *mulino*, and *tramoggia*); Williams, *Dictionary of Sexual Language*, 2:624–25 (“grind”), 887–89 (“mill”), 3:1505 (“water”).
- 70 Masuccio Salernitano, *Il novellino*, ed. Giorgio Petrocchi (Firenze: Sansoni, 1957), 16 (novella 1), 332 (novella 36, “forzato a tale lavoro, da una volta in su diede acqua al non suo molino”).
- 71 In Bandello, *Le novelle* 3.31 (3:152), a Venetian courtesan grinds several sacks of grain in her rooms, and “her mill never squeezed in vain,” nor rusts due to lack of use. See

- also 1.37 and 1.53 (1:351, 489); 2.11 and 2.20 (2:102, 149); 3.27 and 3.52 (3:137–38, 236); 4.17 (4:128).
- 72 Aretino, *Ragionamento: Dialogo*, 120 (“macinava a raccolta diede la acqua al molino”); *Aretino’s Dialogues*, 94 (trans. adjusted). In *Aretino’s Dialogues*, 289, a group of men raping a woman “poured their bottled-up water [acqua] onto the mill wheel” (trans. adjusted); *Ragionamento: Dialogo*, 380 (“davano il bottaccio de l’acqua al molino”).
- 73 For *arrosto* or *lesso* meats, see Berni, *Rime*, 152; Brusciagli, *Trionfi e canti carnascialeschi*, 1:267 line 23, 404 line 23, and passim; Toscan, *Carnaval du langage*, 543–47, 1663, 1771; Deborah Parker, *Bronzino: Renaissance Painter as Poet* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 28.
- 74 Florio, *Queen Anna’s New World of Words*, 244, 550. For *tagliare* see Toscan, *Carnaval du langage*, 1391–95, 1756; and see 1373, 1390, 1486, 1680, and passim for *coltello*, *intagliare*, and *trinciare*.
- 75 Aretino, *Ragionamento: Dialogo*, 56, 143, 298; Williams, *Dictionary of Shakespeare’s Sexual Language*, 3:1208.
- 76 Brusciagli, *Trionfi e canti carnascialeschi*, 1:85 (lines 26–28), and see also 135–37 for “Canzona di lanzi tagliatori a tavola,” and 407 line 5.
- 77 *Petrarch’s Lyric Poems: The “Rime sparse” and Other Lyrics*, trans. and ed. Robert M. Durling (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976), 297, no. 151: “in che in suoi strali Amor dora et affina.”
- 78 John R. Clarke, *The Houses of Roman Italy, 100 B.C.–A.D. 250: Ritual, Space, and Decoration* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 211–14. For early modern fountains of female figures emitting water like milk from their breasts, or pissing putti, see Guy de Tervarent, “L’origine des fontaines anthropomorphes,” *Bulletin de la Classe des Beaux-Arts* 38 (1956): 122–29, with ancient examples noted on 127–29; Deonna, “Fontaines anthropomorphes,” 239–96, including vases with phallic spouts on 266–68.
- 79 *The Priapus Poems: Erotic Epigrams from Ancient Rome*, trans. Richard W. Hooper (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 78–79 (with the Latin).
- 80 Marc Lanval, *L’enigme du Manneken-Pis* (Bruxelles: Les Editions du Laurier, 1953). De Tervarent, “L’origine des fontaines anthropomorphes,” 127, cites a document of July 3, 1377, regarding the fountain.
- 81 See, for instance, two Florentine marble statues of the mid-fifteenth century, in Françoise de la Moureyre-Gavoty, *Sculpture italienne: Musée Jacquemart-André* (Paris: Édition des Musées Nationaux, 1975), no. 43; Enrica Neri Lusanna and Lucia Faedo, eds., *Il Museo Bardini a Firenze* (Milano: Electa, 1986), 258, no. 193. On Pierino da Vinci, see Charles Dempsey, *Inventing the Renaissance Putto* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 112, and quoted below. There is a variant in a private collection in Venice: Alessandro Parronchi, “Alcuni inediti,” in Marco Cianchi, ed., *Pierino da Vinci* (Firenze: Becocci Editore, 1995), 31, figs. 44 and 46.
- 82 Phyllis Pray Bober and Ruth Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture: A Handbook of Sources* (London: Harvey Miller and Oxford University Press, 1986), 91. A photograph of the detail, on the lower right of the lunette’s frame, is available at the *Census of Antique Works of Art Known to the Renaissance*, census ID no. 64034, at [www.census.de](http://www.census.de) (Dec. 13, 2008). On the Porta and its “*interpetatio Christiana* in clas-



- sical guise,” see Leopold D. Ettlinger, “Hercules Florentinus,” *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz* 16 (1972): 120–28. For attribution, see Mary Bergstein, *The Sculpture of Nanni di Banco* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000), 89–93.
- 83 Lucretius, *De rerum natura* 4.1027, trans. W. H. D. Rouse, rev. Martin Ferguson Smith, rev. ed. (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992), 357.
- 84 The literature on the statue is extensive, though the reliefs receive little detailed attention. See Edgar Wind, “Donatello’s Judith: A symbol of ‘sanctimonia,’” *Journal of the Warburg Institute* 1 (1937): 62–63; Janson, *Sculpture of Donatello*, 198–205; Francesco Caglioti, *Donatello e i Medici: Storia del “David” e della “Giuditta,”* 2 vols. (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 2000), 1:81–100 and passim; Dempsey, *Inventing the Renaissance Putto*, 55–58.
- 85 Antonio Natali, “Exemplum salutis publicae,” in *Donatello e il restauro della Giuditta*, ed. Loretta Dolcini (Firenze: Centro Di, 1988), 27; Caglioti, *Donatello e i Medici*, 83–84 and passim; cf. Dempsey, *Inventing the Renaissance Putto*, 57–58. In Adrian W. B. Randolph, *Engaging Symbols: Gender, Politics, and Public Art in Fifteenth-Century Florence* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2002), 264–65, the reference to a “stealing girl” in an inscription on the Priapus statue in the garden of the Medici palace is misunderstood. It does not refer to Donatello’s nearby Judith, for the statue was probably located at some distance (Caglioti, plate 18), and the thief is actually a common motif in the *Priapea*, along with addresses to women (*Priapus Poems*, passim).
- 86 A. E. Popham, *Correggio’s Drawings* (London: British Academy, 1957), 17–18, 149, no. 3 (ca. 1510–12).
- 87 Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, 1:84–85 and 2:686–88); trans. Godwin, *Strife of Love in a Dream*, 84–85. In the French translation, published in Paris in 1546, the redrawn image included a copious stream of urine. See Francesco Colonna, *Le Songe de Poliphile*, trans. Jean Martin, ed. Gilles Polizzi (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1994), 85–87. A later scene of the wine harvest includes the usual pergola, wine press, and pissing boy, who is not mentioned in the text (*Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, 1:175).
- 88 Montaigne, “Travel Journal,” in *The Complete Works of Montaigne*, trans. Donald M. Frame (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1957), 901, 928, 931, 963. For an amorous game involving a blindfold and a syringe filled from a fountain, see the *Garden of Love* painted by the Vivarini workshop ca. 1465–70, in Ursula Hoff, *European Painting and Sculpture before 1800*, 3rd ed. (Melbourne: National Gallery of Victoria, 1973), 160–62. On hidden water spouts and sudden floods in Poggioreale and elsewhere, see George Hersey, “Water-Works and Water-Play in Renaissance Naples,” in *Fons Sapientiae: Renaissance Garden Fountains*, ed. Elisabeth B. MacDougall (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1978), 73 and n. 67, also MacDougall’s introduction, 7.
- 89 *Mantegna’s Camera degli Sposi*, ed. Michele Cordaro (Milano: Electa, 1993), 30–52 (illustrations); Barolsky, *Infinite Jest*, 135–36 and figs. 5–18 (Giulio Romano). The semireclining pissing putto squeezed awkwardly behind a fictive “quadro” in Annibale Carracci’s Farnese Galleria is amusing due to the very anomaly of his position and posture. See Giuliano Briganti, André Chastel, and Roberto Zapperi, *Gli amori*

- degli dei: Nuove indagini sulla Galleria Farnese* (Roma: Edizioni dell'Elefante, 1987), plate 33.
- 90 Toscan, *Carnaval du langage*, 1179–81, 1389. An Italian verb for “to ejaculate” was *gridare*, “to call out,” akin to the sudden release of sound also evident in laughter, often used in a sodomitical sense (1127–28, 1704). On Donatello, see also Poliziano, *Detti piacevoli*, 84, no. 234; Lodovico Domenichi, *Detti, et fatti de diversi signori et persone private* (Venice, 1562), fol. 127v (“licentioso”).
- 91 The bibliography is extensive, although the incident of urination does not often receive close attention. See Harold E. Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian: Complete Edition*, vol. 3, *The Mythological and Historical Paintings* (London: Phaidon, 1975), 37–41, 151–53, no. 15; Humfrey, *Titian*, 103; Anthony Colantuono, “Tears of Amber: Titian’s *Andrians*, the River Po and the Iconology of Difference,” in *Phaethon’s Children: The Este Court and Its Culture in Early Modern Ferrara*, ed. Dennis Looney and Deanna Shemek (Tempe: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 2005), 225–52, esp. 239–40.
- 92 Philostratus, *Imagines* 1.25, trans. Arthur Fairbanks (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960), 96–99.
- 93 Harry Murutes, “Personifications of Laughter and Drunken Sleep in Titian’s ‘*Andrians*,’” *Burlington Magazine* 115 (1973): 518–25.
- 94 The Fairbanks translation of Philostratus has “undiluted”; Rigas N. Bertos, “A Short Note on the *Bacchanal of the Andrians*,” *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 20 (1976): 407, has “untempered.”
- 95 On fountain nymphs, see Murutes, “Personifications,” 522.
- 96 Some scholars prefer to interpret his act only on the level of charming genre, for example, Philip Fehl, “The Worship of Bacchus and Venus in Bellini’s and Titian’s *Bacchanals* for Alfonso d’Este,” *Studies in the History of Art* 6 (1974): 79 n. 100 (“the motif . . . is more reasonably and generously explained . . . by a consideration of the most harmless side-effect of drunkenness”); Erwin Panofsky, *Problems in Titian Mostly Iconographic* (London: Phaidon, 1969), 101–2 (“the infant . . . can do nothing but pass water” and is “naughty”); and Paul Holberton, “Battista Guarino’s *Catullus* and Titian’s ‘*Bacchus and Ariadne*,’” *Burlington Magazine* 128 (1986): 349 (agreeing with Fehl).
- 97 Giorgio E. Ferrari, Mario Salmi, and Gian Lorenzo Mellini, *The Grimani Breviary, Reproduced from the Illuminated Manuscript Belonging to the Biblioteca Marciana, Venice* (Woodstock, New York: Overlook Press, 1974), plate 3, and 263 for the date.
- 98 Marco Antonio Michiel, *Notizia d’opere del disegno: Edizione critica a cura di Theodor Frimmel, Vienna 1896* (Firenze: Edifir, 2000), 56: “uno fanciullo orinando nella neve, la fa gialla.” Neither citing Michiel nor reproducing the illumination, Campana, “*Pueri mingentes nel quattrocento*,” 39, suggests a connection between Titian’s *Andrians* and the Grimani scene, but the idea does not seem to have been picked up by other scholars. More often, Titian’s inspiration is said to be classical, following Saxl’s passing remark about a pissing infant on an ancient sarcophagus, who only uses one hand, however, to lift his garments. See Fritz Saxl, *A Heritage of Images* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1970), 97, fig. 126; Bober and Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture*, 91, no. 53. The projection of one leg in front of the other

- and the tilt of the head are additional features shared by Titian's figure and that of the Grimani breviary, but not the Roman relief.
- 99 Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, 1:84; trans. Godwin, *Strife of Love in a Dream*, 84.
  - 100 Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, 1:71, 84; trans. Godwin, *Strife of Love in a Dream*, 71, 84.
  - 101 *Lotto: Gli affreschi di Trescore*, ed. Carlo Pirovano (Milano: Electa, 1997), 49, 118, 121.
  - 102 On the painting, see Barbara Coli, "Lorenzo Lotto e il ritratto cittadino: Andrea Odoni," in *Il Ritratto e la Memoria: Materiali 1*, ed. Augusto Gentile (Roma: Bulzoni, 1989), 183–204, esp. 195–200; and Peter Humfrey's entry in *Lorenzo Lotto: Rediscovered Master of the Renaissance* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1997), 161–64, no. 28. On the *Hercules mingens* type, see Deonna, "Fontaines anthropomorphes," 264–65, fig. 122.
  - 103 Christiansen, "Lorenzo Lotto," 170; Coli, "Lorenzo Lotto," 198, fig. 19.
  - 104 Francesca Cortesi Bosco, *Il coro intarsiato di Lotto e capoferri per Santa Maria Maggiore in Bergamo* (Milano: Silvana, 1987), 469–75, plate 226. The urinary flow establishes that the troops are well watered, in contrast to the besieged populace whose water source had been seized according to *Judith* (7.6–25 passim).
  - 105 Christiansen, "Lorenzo Lotto"; Peter Humfrey, *Lorenzo Lotto* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1997), 139–40; Andrea Brayer's entry in *Art and Love in Renaissance Italy*, 321–23, no. 148.
  - 106 Several features recall the discussion about desire conducted near the Knidian temple in pseudo-Lucian's *Erotes*.

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