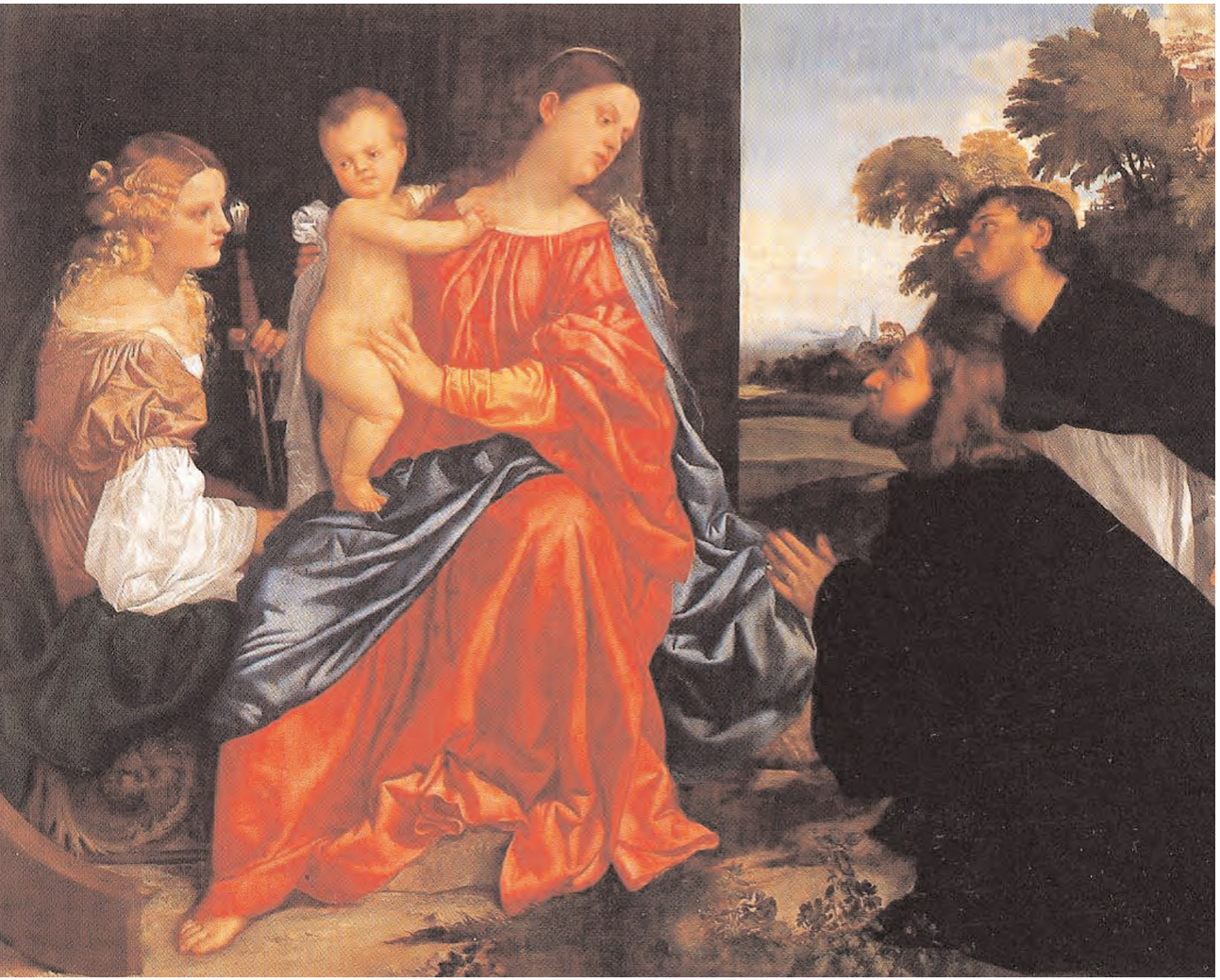

TITIAN • TINTORETTO • VERONESE

RIVALS IN RENAISSANCE VENICE

Frederick Ilchman

WITH CONTRIBUTIONS BY

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Collecting in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Venice: Originals, Copies, and "Maniera di"

LINDA BOREAN

In a famous letter sent to Jean-Pierre Mariette from Potsdam on February 13, 1751, the Venetian writer and art dealer Francesco Algarotti affirmed that "when acquiring old paintings I would always proceed, as I have done, with the greatest caution. It is not enough that a painting be a Titian; it should be well preserved, beautiful, and demonstrating his most *bella maniera*. Otherwise one runs the risk of admiring only names."[1]

Algarotti's reaction reveals an attitude common among art collectors of the era, that is, appreciation for works of art based solely on the artist's *name* rather than on the quality of execution. In this context originals by the great masters of the Renaissance, including Titian, Tintoretto, and Veronese, were truly rare and for the most part lacked signatures.[2] This last point encouraged connoisseurs to consider not only style and manner, but also—under the pressure of new collecting patterns and the business of art dealing, forces in rapid expansion by the middle of the sixteenth century—to practice a certain nonchalance regarding attribution, which caused paintings from the workshop or from able copyists to be identified as autograph works. It is possible to consider the rivalry between Titian, Tintoretto, and Veronese by reexamining the critical fortunes of their works in precisely this context of early collections and the art market through a purely quantitative approach to the popularity of replicas and copies—naturally taking into consideration the different trajectories and conclusions of the careers of Titian, Tintoretto, and Veronese and their respective workshops as they sought to meet the demands of a growing client base.[3]

Sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century writers on art from Marcantonio Michiel and Francesco Sansovino to Vincenzo Scamozzi[4] noted the expansion of art collections in Venice, above all the shift from heterogeneous "cabinet" collections to galleries often dedicated exclusively to paintings, some with a preference for a single artist. One famous example was the group of Veronese canvases owned by the ducal secretary Simone Lando and donated by him in 1584 to the church of Santa Maria Maggiore, including an *Agony in the Garden*, the painting now housed in the Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan (fig. 112). The collection owned by Gabriele Vendramin, on the other hand, renowned for its Titians, was appraised by Tintoretto during the compilation of the inventory of the collection in 1567.[5] At the end of the century, Cristoforo Barbarigo, who in 1581 had bought Titian's house in the neighborhood of Biri grande from Titian's son Pomponio Vecellio, boasted that he possessed at least four autograph works by Titian, diligently enumerated in his will of 1600.[6]

Literary sources, however helpful, only offer a starting point: the cited sources, Michiel, Sansovino, and Scamozzi, followed in the mid-seventeenth century by Carlo Ridolfi and Marco Boschini,[7] constitute precious guides to Venetian collecting practices. Their objective, however, was not to offer a systematic summary or to detail the ways in which collectors judged the

works of Titian, Tintoretto, and Veronese, but to demonstrate these artists' fame through examples, thus placing them at the top of the aesthetic canon while simultaneously promoting the value of good taste. Regarding Veronese, Ridolfi remarked that "important princes and gentlemen . . . through excessive spending" were purchasing many paintings by the artist, and furthermore, that a palazzo was not considered properly adorned "without a work by his hand."[8] Particularly desirable were his Last Suppers and other paintings of religious feasts (upon which, according to Ridolfi, Paolo's fame was based), with their sumptuous settings "in the manner of royal banquets."[9] Titian, on the other hand, was acclaimed by Boschini as the unsurpassable "Dio dela Pitura" (God of Painting), to whom every artist must subordinate himself as a "servant" and an admirer.[10]

As a juicy anecdote reported by Ridolfi suggests, however, Tintoretto would not have agreed with that view. The enfant terrible of the trio, Tintoretto was disturbed by the praise bestowed upon Titian's portrait of a woman by many artists and connoisseurs who were gathered in the house of Giacomo Contarini (the influential nobleman responsible for the selection of painters for the redecoration of the Palazzo Ducale after the fires of 1574 and 1577). One of these connoisseurs declared in Tintoretto's presence that "one must paint" as Titian does—a comment particularly galling given Tintoretto's success in portraiture. To get even, Tintoretto forged a "Titian" and submitted it for judgment to the same so-called experts, who commended this portrait as a singular work by Titian, not recognizing Tintoretto's hand. Thus, Tintoretto had the last laugh, exclaiming, "Now, gentlemen, you see the value of authority and opinion in judgment, and how few people truly understand painting."[11] These hapless connoisseurs were not the only contemporaries to confuse the portraits of Titian and Tintoretto; Raffaello Borghini noted in 1584 that "in his coloring Tintoretto has truly imitated nature, and then especially Titian, so much so that many portraits by him are held to be by the hand of Titian."[12]

The situation presented in the printed sources is largely confirmed by archival documents, including inventories (more than four hundred dating from 1560 to 1750 were sampled for this essay; see note 1) and wills. These documents shed light on a wide variety of issues relevant to Venetian private collections beginning in the sixteenth century: the formation of an artistic canon; supply and demand; and the varying appeal of autograph works, copies, and paintings "in the style of" (*in maniera di*) the most highly esteemed artists. Titian's popularity, for instance, was pronounced among aristocratic patrons (particularly non-Venetians) who wished to be immortalized through proud portraits; it is clear that for an owner or heirs, the value of a painting increased if it could be attributed to Titian by school or manner. Such clients would also permit Titian to experiment with sensual mythological subjects with minimal interference. The Spanish monarchy monopolized this aspect of the artist's production, deeming only Veronese a worthy substitute after Titian's death.[13] For the Venetian market, however, Titian generally preferred to make available canvases produced by his workshop from prototypes, now and then adding finishing touches of his own.[14] Yet Venetian collectors continued to seek paintings by Titian (and his workshop) with tenacity, a process that began to accelerate at midcentury. These collectors included fellow artists and competitors; it seems that Jacopo Tintoretto owned several paintings by Titian, including the *Crowning with Thorns* (fig. 22), a masterpiece either unfinished or in Titian's least finished style.[15] The mosaicist Valerio Zuccato, a member of Titian's circle, had to be content with copying or reworking a "Christ in the garden which came from Titian," probably based on a replica of that subject kept in Titian's studio following the shipment to Spain of two versions of the *Agony in the Garden* prior to 1574 (Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, and El Escorial). In his will of March 14, 1576, Zuccato bequeathed the painting to his wife, Apollonia, the celebrated actress, along with a *Saint Catherine* by Veronese.[16]

Titian's name was specified in inventories even when other paintings were listed anonymously, and in the period between 1560 and 1650 the few works that were noted were all considered "of the hand of Titian."[17] These documents, however, do not specify whether canvases date from the painter's youth or his old age (a situation similar to the listings of Tintoretto and Veronese); for example, *sacre conversazioni* in the manner of the "Madonna et San Iseppo schietto de man de Titian" (Virgin and Saint Joseph, a genuine Titian) in the house of Lorenzo Donà in 1589,[18] but also paintings with improbable attributions, such as "Saint Cosmas done in part by Titian and in part by Tintoretto," owned by the Widmann family and valued by the painter Nicolas Régnier in 1659 at 120 ducats.[19]

Only in the second half of the seventeenth century, by which time many kinds of people—artisans, merchants, nobles, ecclesiastics—had dedicated themselves to collecting art,[20] does one observe the distinction between originals and paintings described as being done in Titian's "*maniera*," assigned to his "*scuola*," or which "came from him," meaning copies—a distinction that

Fig. 22
Titian
Crowning with Thorns, about 1570–76
Oil on canvas
Bayerische
Staatsgemäldesammlungen,
Alte Pinakothek, Munich

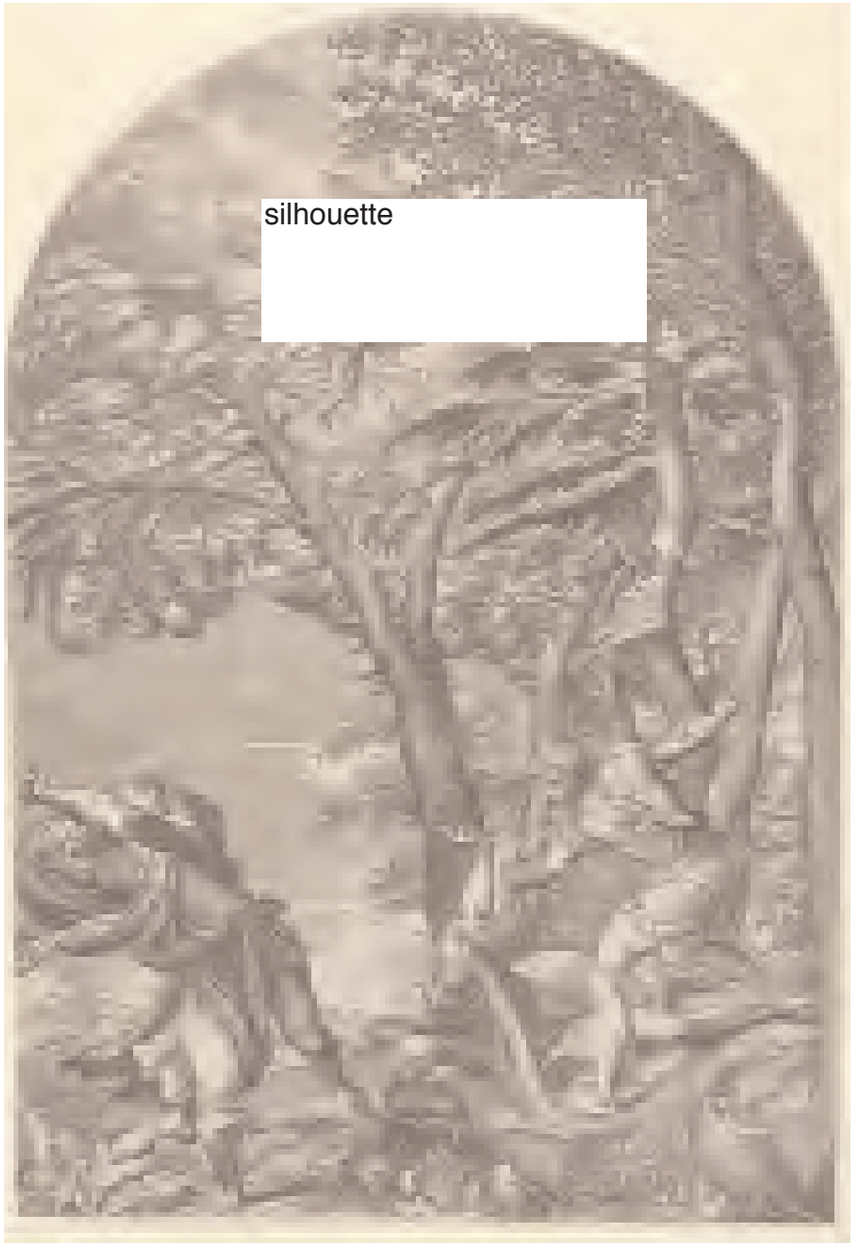

Fig. 23
Martino Rota (Croatian, about 1520–1583), after Titian's lost original of 1530
Saint Peter Martyr, about 1560
Etching and engraving
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

emerges in parallel with a growth in the number of paintings attributable to Titian and his circle.[21] As originals were always extremely scarce, the hunt for paintings shifted to works found in churches on the mainland, for example the altarpiece from the Duomo of Santa Maria at Serravalle or the *Assumption of the Virgin* from the cathedral of Verona. Nor did collectors hesitate to remove Titian's works from their original architectural settings (such was the case with canvases of Tintoretto and Veronese as well).[22] These copies and imitations won approval among collectors and critics, so much so that these paintings were even in competition with originals and were defined as "delights among paintings" or "laudable deceits"[23] because they were the fruit of two arts, that of the inventor and that of the copyist (one example among many would be the *Venus and Adonis*, an "extremely beautiful copy of Titian"[24] purchased for only 3 ducats in 1667 by Giovan Donato Correggio, the owner of many Titian replicas executed by his painter of choice, Antonio Cecchini).

The derivations from original Titians had, for some time, not been limited to his own workshop's production (an analogous argument can also be made for Tintoretto and Veronese).[25] Artists of modest ability such as Rocco da San Silvestro had sniffed out the available opportunities and set up businesses based on creating copies of the works of famous painters. This market made use primarily of Flemish artists such as Gasparetto Piterman, who is recorded as having made a copy of a Titian Magdalen that was "ritocata dal Rotenhamer," that is, retouched by Hans Rottenhammer and acquired by Gaspare Chechel, consul of the Fondaco dei Tedeschi in the first half of the seventeenth century.[26] Even in the workshop of the fourth protagonist of the Venetian Renaissance, namely Jacopo Bassano, there were numerous replicas of original paintings by other artists, including Titian. For example, a "Magdalen, copy of Titian, finished by the hand of signor Geronimo [Gerolamo]," together with a "Magdalen derived from Titian, finished by the hand of signore Geronimo," was listed in the 1621 inventory of the painter's son Gerolamo Bassano, himself a painter.[27] In this context, where illustrious *imitatori* operated—one thinks of Pietro Vecchia—doubts about attributions increased, and the connoisseurship skills of the experts were continually put to the test when confronted with accurate replicas, imitations, and pastiches "in the manner of."

One interesting case is the perplexity the painters Stefano Rubini and Nicolò Rossi expressed in 1709 when challenged to confirm the authenticity of the

eight (!) Titians owned by Giorgio Bergonzi. A refined collector, Bergonzi had inherited a rich picture gallery of sixteenth-century masters from his father, Francesco, a friend of the writer Carlo Ridolfi; Giorgio subsequently added to this collection.[28] If the two appraisers, Rubini and Rossi, could be forgiven for mistaking a Polidoro da Lanciano for a Titian, it is astonishing that they would confuse Perino del Vaga with Titian. The best Titians in the Bergonzi collection were two portraits, one of a jeweler and the other, from the Marcello family, of a woman "painted with great freshness" and recorded also by Ridolfi. Each portrait was assigned the high value of 500 ducats, well above the market at the time.[29]

Descendants of the first owners of autograph portraits by Titian tended to hold on to them as family heirlooms or because this had been stipulated in a will, and portraits constitute one of the more common categories found in Venetian inventories. For example, Andrea de Franceschi (1473–1551), of the Leone branch of the family, occupied the important government post of grand chancellor from 1529 until the time of his death.[30] Titian painted two versions of his portrait; Andrea's will of March 1, 1535, left "my first portrait painted by the hand of Titian" to one of his nephews, Pietro de Franceschi, and "my second portrait by the hand of Titian" to another nephew, Girolamo de Franceschi.[31] Pietro was the secretary to the Council of Ten,[32] and on June 28, 1581, his property was divided. Among Pietro's goods was a portrait of Andrea by Titian, made when the sitter was "sixty years old."[33] To the de Franceschi family, then, information about the priority (and thus perhaps the quality) of the two portraits, as well as the age of the sitter, seems to have been confirmation of value important enough to pass on to the next generation.

Besides portraiture, the most popular subject by Titian in Venetian collections was without doubt that of the Magdalen. The theme, which combines piety with female beauty, was thought to be very dear to Titian—so much so that Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle noted in the middle of the nineteenth century in the margin of his drawing after the Barbarigo *Magdalen*, "They say [Titian] died holding this [painting]."[34] The oldest document from an inventory concerning this subject is the 1563 division of property belonging to Antonio Grimani of San Polo among his sons, Giovanni, Alvise, and Girolamo. Girolamo received a *Magdalen* by Titian, which can probably be connected with a "document of messer Titian on the 20th day of July 1557," corroborated in the 1563 family inventory.[35]

Certain other themes appeared frequently, corresponding to high points in Titian's oeuvre, such as the *Saint Peter Martyr* altarpiece (fig. 23) installed in 1530 in the church of Santi Giovanni e Paolo. The astute dealer Daniel Nijs offered the amazing sum of 18,000 scudi for the original.[36] The "Bacanal copy of Titian in Padovanino's hand," listed by Boschini in a posthumous inventory of Paolo del Sera in 1680,[37] brings to mind what may be another set of replicas, now in Bergamo, made by Padovanino (1588–1649) after the celebrated mythologies by Titian for the *camerino* of Alfonso I d'Este.[38] By 1598 Titian's paintings from the camerino could be found in the Aldobrandini collection in Rome, where Padovanino, of a generation that sought inspiration from the masters of sixteenth-century Venice, hastened for the express purpose of copying these masterpieces. Padovanino was evidently able to meet the demand for paintings in a market continually being depleted of original Titians, so much so that one begins to wonder if his choice to take over Titian's seat (the "sedia di Tician," in Boschini's words)[39] had been influenced by commercial motivations and perhaps the prodding of Boschini, who as a successful dealer intended to satisfy his clientele, guaranteeing also the success of painters of his own era.[40] As many documents attest, Padovanino made a career of imitating Titian;[41] one such document describes a work in the paintings gallery of Cecilia Corner (of the San Maurizio branch, widow of the Procurator of San Marco *"de supra"* Daniele Bragadin) as a "Lord in Emmaus, three figures in a black frame with a gold band, copied from a Titian by Padovanino."[42] The painting may be related to the version (fig. 24), once located in the Palazzo Ducale, that the Contarini family gave to the Republic in the sixteenth century, having judged the work more appropriate for a public building than a private residence.[43] The fortunes of collecting, however, returned Titian's *Supper at Emmaus* to a private home (Brocklesby Park in Lincolnshire, seat of the Count of Yarborough) thanks to the well-timed efforts of Sir Richard Worsley, the last British diplomatic resident in Venice and ancestor of the painting's current owner, who seems to have purchased the celebrated work from French authorities in 1797. Another version of this composition by Titian, made for Count Nicola Maffei, an official in Mantua, was later sold to the ruling Gonzaga family (cat. 21).

If the popularity of Titian paintings in Venetian collections rested principally on works executed for private patrons, in Tintoretto's case, besides portraiture, commissions for government or religious buildings played a significant role, providing the foundation of the artist's fame.[44] Regarding princely patrons, Tintoretto did receive requests from the Gonzaga family as well as

Fig. 24
Titian
Supper at Emmaus, about 1530–34, possibly earlier
Oil on panel
Brocklesby Park, Lincolnshire, Earl of Yarborough, on loan to Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool

Rudolf II, the Holy Roman Emperor, but he did not gain more than a foothold in the Spanish court. They preferred Parrasio Michiel, and even after Michiel's death in 1578, Tintoretto was largely shut out. His plan in 1587 to give Philip II a "beautiful painting of the Last Judgment" made little difference.[45]

In his *Breve istruzione* inserted in the 1674 publication of *Ricche minere della pittura veneziana*, Boschini expressed his opinions on Robusti's huge canvases in the church of the Madonna dell'Orto this way: "Tintoretto painted them for 50 ducats each. Now, if one had to sell them, and I know who you would be, I estimate that to the two numerals that make up the number 50, you would add another three zeros, and not lettering of a pen, but in lettering of gold."[46] Boschini's observation justifies his conclusion that great painting was more valuable than gold—"più vale la pittura che l'oro"—and also emphasizes the high commercial value that Tintoretto had reached. Less than a century after his death, Tintoretto's enduring position within local taste was documented also in a literary appreciation, when he was celebrated in a collection of verses published in 1677 by the painter and man of letters Giovanni Prati. Prati devoted a sonnet to a *Last Judgment* by "Robusti immortal opra sublime." Tintoretto was the only Venetian painter of the sixteenth century to be included in this collection of poems.[47] An examination of the inventories of the second half of the sixteenth century through the seventeenth century has revealed that above all, starting from the middle of the seventeenth century, there was a growing circulation of replicas and works classified as "scuola di" or "si dice di" (said to be by), but with a clear distinction, however, between Tintoretto *vecchio* and Tintoretto *giovane*, which is to say between Jacopo and his son Domenico. Despite the fact that his father had bequeathed him the workshop, with

the obligation to complete all of the paintings left unfinished at the time of his own death with "diligence," accuracy, and patience,[48] Domenico, in fact, developed his own personal style, a distinction that did not escape the expert's eye.

References to portraits dominate the documents and early sources on Tintoretto. Indeed, the painter earned great fame in this category in his early maturity. In 1551 the publisher Francesco Marcolini, who considered Tintoretto something of a protégé, declared to Pietro Aretino, the referee of the Venetian artistic scene, how skilled this artist was at making a sitter appear alive.[49] That the personality of the sitter could constitute some of the appeal for a collector is shown by an interesting portrait dated 1561 of Giovanni Paolo Cornaro (or Corner), nicknamed dalle Anticaglie (of the antiquities) because he was a famed accumulator of antiquities from the classical world (fig. 25).[50] Tintoretto portrays precisely this aspect of the sitter, showing him with his forearm resting on top of a presumably ancient statue. Ridolfi mentions that the portrait is in the possession of the Zaguri family,[51] who seemed to have owned it after 1618, thanks to the inheritance of Pietro Pellegrini. Pellegrini, the illustrious secretary of the Council of Ten, was known above all as an antiquities expert, a passion that may have encouraged a marriage of convenience to Samaritana Corner, the daughter of Giovanni Paolo. Pietro came to possess, in fact, his father-in-law's collection, including the portrait by Tintoretto, which would have been particularly appealing to a collector of antiquities such as Pellegrini.[52]

The appreciation, commercial or otherwise, for Tintoretto's portraiture among seventeenth-century collectors is exemplified by the efforts Paolo del Sera made to track down portraits by Tintoretto. Del Sera, a great admirer of the painter, seems to have been inspired in this category of painting by the enthusiasm of his employer, Cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici. In May 1657 del Sera found in the house of the collector Stefano Celesti

> a portrait by Tintoretto the Elder of a man armed from the knees up and with a spirited attitude, with a colonnade behind and a window through which one sees the distant sea with a galleon, in the most exquisite manner of this artist, with the armor being both so beautiful and awesome, that if one did not know the sitter's face, which shows Tintoretto's hand, any one of us would believe that the painting had been done by Titian. The portrait depicts Venier, who would later become the Capitano Generale da Mar of the Venetian fleet in 1571 but was, at the time this portrait was painted, forty years old and the Capitano di Golfo.[53]

Fig. 25
Tintoretto
Giovanni Paolo Cornaro, 1561
Oil on canvas
Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Ghent

Del Sera concludes his letter by remarking that the painting "could stand alongside any portrait by Titian," the painter evidently considered supreme in portraiture.

Many of the faces immortalized by Tintoretto remain unidentified; one example is the *Portrait of a Man Aged Twenty-Six* (cat. 36), which has a coat of arms on its reverse side, identified according to one hypothesis as that of the Giustinian-Lolin family of Venice; on the frame one can also read the inscription "C. Giusti," while a second inscription states "Count Balbi Venezia," suggesting that the painting passed through an English collection.[54]

Compared with his portraits, Tintoretto's religious works appeared less frequently in private collections. Among these paintings, some themes are common and others are quite rare—as is the case with the *Supper at Emmaus* attributed to him. This work is mentioned in

the 1654 inventory of the possessions of Lorenzo Gabrieli, the Procurator of San Marco starting in 1651 and the son of Zaccaria Gabrieli, who had been one of the candidates for doge in 1623.[55] So far, this record constitutes the only mention in the Venetian context of a work by Robusti of that subject,[56] and can perhaps cast new light on the provenance of the Budapest *Supper at Emmaus* (cat. 22), which was purchased in Paris in 1821 with the attribution of Andrea Schiavone, a painter whose works were often confused with those of Tintoretto.[57]

Records of Venetian private collections attest to Tintoretto's fame in the public sphere, documenting reduced-scale copies, preparatory models, and reproductive prints. Such smaller works could serve as substitutes for immovable originals. The *Crucifixion* from the Scuola Grande di San Rocco was engraved by Agostino Carracci in 1589, and the print immediately became highly esteemed, so much so that Boschini could claim that Tintoretto considered the engraving the equal of the canvas; meanwhile, the copperplate ended up in the hands of the dealer Daniel Nijs, who took it to Flanders and purportedly faced it in gold to prevent its deterioration.[58] The *Paradiso* in the Palazzo Ducale (fig. 6), painted after a hard-fought official competition among the top painters in Venice following the calamitous fire in the Sala del Maggior Consiglio in 1577,[59] was also admired by connoisseurs, as seen in the case of one of the *modelli* related to the great canvas. The friendship between Tintoretto and Grand Chancellor Giovan Fancesco Ottobon, and the influential position of his nephew Leonardo, secretary of the Council of Ten from 1588 on,[60] meant that they were perfectly placed to acquire and to appreciate a *modello* for a famous painting in the Sala del Maggior Consiglio, as part of a conspicuous group of paintings by Robusti.[61]

Even though in the seventeenth century *modelli* were often considered superior to the finished canvas and could be obtained for modest prices, preparatory models were not enough for some demanding collectors. Indeed, written sources bear witness to numerous attempts to acquire large-scale canvases suitable for "royal salons." In 1656 Paolo del Sera tried to persuade Leopoldo de' Medici to conclude a deal for Tintoretto's *Wedding Feast at Cana* from the refectory of the brothers of the Crociferi, taking advantage of the suppression of the order by the pope to finance La Serenissima's war against the Ottoman Empire.[62] Thanks to the intervention of painters and the Venetian government, the painting remained in Venice, now housed in the church of the Salute. An outcome less fortunate for Venice befell the *Washing of the Feet* from the church of San Marcuola, which left the lagoon at a still-unknown date and has been identified by scholars with the version in the Museo Nacional del Prado (fig. 26), where it would have arrived from the collection of Charles I of England prior to 1657.[63] It is precisely in Spain, among noble families who had diplomatic posts in Italy, that an extraordinary interest in Tintoretto developed in the seventeenth century. In this period Tintoretto's popularity nearly rivaled that of Titian in Spain. The Marquis of Carpio's efforts to acquire the contents of Tintoretto's studio in 1678 provides powerful testimony of Tintoretto's appeal, as does the inventory of the Marquis's collection, crammed into his palazzo at the Piazza di Spagna in Rome, where apparently 108 works attributed to Robusti were recorded in 1682.[64] But by this time, the workshop of the celebrated painter, squalidly maintained by Sebastiano Casser, Tintoretto's son-in-law, had already given up its greatest treasures; Casser's death sparked a raging debate about the fate of the remaining works of art, with chests full of pictures carried away in secret.[65]

By comparison, the descendants of Paolo Veronese demonstrated a more careful attitude to their inheritance. Upon the death of Gabriele Caliari, Paolo's son, in 1631, the contents of the workshop passed to his son Giuseppe, who then became their faithful custodian, despite never having taken up the profession himself, which his father had abandoned earlier.[66] The paintings and drawings recorded—though without specific attributions—in the famous inventory of the house of Caliari in 1682[67] would mostly have been workshop productions from the end of the Cinquecento and the start of the Seicento, though there may have been some works by Paolo himself, according to Ridolfi (1648). To take on numerous commissions, Veronese had created an enterprise characterized by the practice of what Beverly Louise Brown calls "collaborative imitation," indicated by the signature Haeredes Pauli, adopted by his heirs; the system produced "autograph" paintings with or without the direct intervention of the master, making it tricky to distinguish the hand of Paolo from that of Carletto and Benedetto, core members of the Caliari workshop.[68] The experts thus limit themselves to using terms such as "copy of" and, in rare cases, "coming from" (*viene da*) without being more specific. One pertinent example is offered by a painting of the "Virgin Annunciate with the Eternal Father carried by two angels and three cherub heads with the Holy Spirit by Carletto, retouched by Paolo Veronese," in the collection of Giovan Donato Correggio; the description furnished by the owner suggests that the painting was being circulated as an autograph work on the authority of col-

Fig. 26
Tintoretto
Washing of the Feet, 1548–49
Oil on canvas
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

lectors and experts.[69] Similarly, one should not be surprised that collectors and agents made negative, indeed cutting, judgments about the works remaining in the Caliari studio. In 1632 Giovanni Antonio Massani, the secretary to Giovan Battista Agucchi, brought back to Cardinal Francesco Barberini, at that time searching for works by Veronese,[70] the opinion of an expert that in the Caliari house "there are many things that could have been designed by Paolo, but not colored or finished by him; and I have been assured that among the said pieces there is not even one which is worthy of being valued as a good thing by the hand of this master."[71] At this time Veronese's fame had expanded beyond the borders of La Serenissima. Already he was the undisputed protagonist of prestigious decorative campaigns sponsored by the Venetian government and religious orders; starting in the 1570s, the painter tried to bring his work to international collectors through allegorical canvases of considerable size, like *Wisdom and Strength* (The Frick Collection, New York) and *Allegory of Virtue and Vice (The Choice of Hercules)* (fig. 27). The goal would have been to impress (with the help of influential dealer Jacopo Strada) princes from Northern Europe such as Albert of Bavaria and Maximillian II Hapsburg, who in 1571 came into contact with the artist through his ambassador in Venice, Viet von Dornberg.[72] Particularly after Veronese's death, his critical reputation and the prices for his works grew; the aforementioned Massani specifies that "the works by this Master were not very esteemed here in the past, but today their worth is much appreciated, and anyone who owns something of his deems it to be of great worth (as if it were by Titian himself, who has always been regarded as divinity itself in this country), judging that Paolo was perfect in *disegno*, beautiful in *colorito* . . . and skillful in inventions."[73] Veronese, therefore, was admired as being capable of eclipsing Titian, reflected in "the universal taste of great princes and lords for this eminent painter."[74]

According to the documentary record, those in Venice who had the good fortune to own original works by Veronese (or were capable of recognizing them) were mostly patricians; merchants and citizens possessed predominantly replicas and derivative works.[75] These patrician collectors were loath to relinquish paintings by Veronese, and they even attempted to prevent their being copied. This is exemplified by the negotiations in 1664 between Pietro Basadonna, the Venetian ambassador to Rome, and the agents of Queen Christina of Sweden on the matter of a picture much admired before the nineteenth century, the *Family of Darius before Alexander*, then owned by the Pisani Moretta and now in the National Gallery, London. This esteemed picture inspired the appetites of the wealthiest collectors, but the asking price was astronomical, over 5,000 ducats,[76] and no one dared spend that much. Perhaps the hope for a similar price inspired stipulations in the wills of the family's ancestors that prohibited its sale and forbade its copying, presumably to preserve the uniqueness of the work.[77] In fact, replicas did exist, as did workshops that specialized in them, such as the dealer-restorer Michele Spietra (d. 1656). Such work-

Fig. 27
Veronese
Allegory of Virtue and Vice (The Choice of Hercules), about 1565
Oil on canvas
The Frick Collection, New York

shops offered copies at reasonable prices, after popular themes such as the Adoration of the Magi, Christ and the Centurion, and the Finding of Moses—religious subjects that Veronese interpreted in an elegantly secular manner.[78] Returning to the *Family of Darius before Alexander*, the derivatives made by the French artist Valentin Lefèvre, one of the painters most influenced by the language of Caliari in the seventeenth century, satisfied impassioned admirers of Veronese; Giorgio Bergonzi valued his copy of the Pisani Moretta painting, in fact, at 80 ducats,[79] a rather high price if we consider that the same collector valued at only 100 ducats the "portrait done by the hand of Paolo Veronese of the famous Agostin Barbarigo, with the arrow in one hand, dressed in armor, with a baton in the other," hanging in the *portego* of his palace. This most probably relates to the same version Pietro Edwards recorded later in an unpublished manuscript catalogue he compiled in 1794 of the Gerolamo Manfrin Gallery, which probably included the portrait of Agostino Barbarigo, now in the Cleveland Museum of Art (cat. 41),[80] a painting whose commemorative character one would associate with a public setting or a residence of the Barbarigo family.[81] Bergonzi had ordered that his painting be transferred to the church of Sant'Andrea della Certosa "so that it hangs in the chapel above the chest wherein lie the illustrious remains," that is, those of the admiral Agostino Barbarigo.[82] As far as we know, the portrait was never conveyed to this location.

The Venetian state wholeheartedly supported Veronese during his lifetime by involving him in the prestigious decorations of the Palazzo Ducale. A little less than a century after his death, however, the government decided to remove from Venice one of his major works and send it abroad for political ends. In 1664, at the suggestion of the able diplomat Alvise Molin, the Venetian government donated the enormous *Supper in the House of Simon* from the refectory of the Servite monastery to Louis XIV (now at the Musée National du Château, Versailles), thus sealing the artist's international reputation and his fame among collectors.[83] The removal of the painting to Versailles fueled the trade in replicas and derivatives and provided a destination for endless visits by princes and collectors who would never have let the picture return to the lagoon, since it had so fed the taste for the Venetian master within France. The episode, which mobilized all of the ambassadors and principal agents of the city between 1650 and 1660, was a fascinating struggle among rival princely collectors—Leopoldo de' Medici, the Duke of Mantua, Alfonso IV d'Este, the Marchese Spinola, and Louis XIV. Undoubtedly *the* event in the art market at the middle of the Seicento, the struggle has been recently reconstructed.[84] Such episodes were fueled by heated competition between collectors and dealers, since all princes and sovereigns hoped to acquire a *Supper* by Veronese for their own salons, for which the sumptuous costume banquets of the biblical episodes were well adapted as decoration.

Fortunately many attempts to remove paintings by Veronese from Venice failed. In 1666 Paolo del Sera wrote to Cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici and recommended the purchase of a *Rape of Europa*, since at that time there were no other large works by Veronese in private hands, with the exception of the *Family of Darius before Alexander* of the Pisani Moretta. Leopoldo's nephew Cosimo III, Grand Duke of Tuscany, later considered acquiring the painting from del Sera. The tale of Europa was one of the subjects most beloved by connoisseurs, a fad that began when Giacomo Contarini commissioned from Veronese the famous version in which the mythological episode was transformed into a kind of marriage feast (Sala dell'Anticollegio, Palazzo Ducale).[85] It has recently been proposed that the painting in the Dresden Gemäldegalerie (attributed to the workshop) be recognized as the one owned by del Sera.[86] Indeed, the information del Sera supplied in the letter to Leopoldo of March 13, 1666, corresponds with the example at the German museum ("the Story of Europa seated on a white bull, with maidens who serve her, little cupids, and additional little figures and animals, with a countryside and beautiful trees"),[87] down to the measurements expressed in "braccia fiorentine." Boschini records that del Sera had claimed the painting was worth the enormous sum of 3,000 ducats.[88] Perhaps that high price caused the negotiation with Cosimo III to fail, even though experts had judged the painting "the sweetest work created by that famous brush."[89]

With another acquisition in mind, the Grand Duke later sent his architect, Pier Maria Baldi, to Serravalle (Vittorio Veneto) to evaluate the quality of Titian's large altarpiece in Santa Maria Nuova.[90] The architect did not acquire that altarpiece, deciding that it was in poor condition, nor did he bring back any canvases from Venice. Baldi visited a Venice awash in copies, workshop productions, and works "in the manner of" Titian, Tintoretto, and Veronese. But paintings by the very hands of these three equally supreme artists so astounded the architect that although unsuccessful in his mission, he was consoled by what his eyes had enjoyed. In 1677 Baldi returned to Florence empty-handed but "with his head full of paintings . . . of extraordinary beauty by the most famous artists."[91]

Banca Popolare di Castelfranco Veneto, 1981); Bernhard Rupprecht, "Sanmichelis Villa Soranza," in *Festschrift Ulrich Middledorf*, ed. Antje Kosegarten and Peter Tigler (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1968), 1:324–32; Pignatti and Pedrocco, *Veronese* 1:cats. 17–22.

84. Rearick, *Art of Paolo Veronese*, 38–39; Pignatti and Pedrocco, *Veronese* 1:cats. 28, 29.

85. Pignatti and Pedrocco, *Veronese* 1:cats. 69–76, 175; Hochmann, *Peintres et commanditaires*, 197–99, 242–51.

86. See de Maria, "Merchants of Venice," 183–285; Brown, *Private Lives*, 19, 96; Hochmann, *Peintres et commanditaires*, 204–6; Pignatti and Pedrocco, *Veronese* 1:cats. 182–85.

87. Roskill, *Dolce's "Aretino,"* 191–93.

88. Hope, "Titian and His Patrons," 80. On Aretino, Dolce, and other literati as intermediaries, see Hochmann, *Peintres et commanditaires*, 95–122.

89. Ridolfi, *Le maraviglie dell'arte* 1:180–82; Freedman, *Titian's Portraits*, 118.

90. Wethey, *Paintings of Titian* 2:16–24, 85–86, and passim.

91. Pietro Aretino, *Lettere sull'arte,* ed. Ettore Camescasa (Milan: Edizioni del Milione, 1957–60), 1:129–31; Biadene and Yakush, *Titian: Prince of Painters*, 244.

92. Cited by Clare Robertson, *"Il Gran Cardinale": Alessandro Farnese, Patron of the Arts* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), 69.

93. Ferino-Pagden, *Late Titian*, 149–51; Robertson, *"Il Gran Cardinale,"* 70.

94. Robertson, *"Il Gran Cardinale,"* 70.

95. Ibid., 70; Wethey, *Paintings of Titian* 2:97–99.

96. Charles Hope, "A Neglected Document about Titian's *Danaë* in Naples," *Arte Veneta* 31 (1977): 188–89; Roberto Zapperi, "Alessandro Farnese, Giovanni Della Casa and Titian's *Danaë* in Naples," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 54 (1991): 159–71; Biadene and Yakush, *Titian: Prince of Painters*, 267–69; Wethey, *Paintings of Titian* 3:56–62, 132–36; Robertson, *"Il Gran Cardinale,"* 72.

97. Wethey, *Paintings of Titian* 2:5–6, 1:30 n. 172; Augusto Gentili, "Titian's Venetian Commissions: Events, Contexts, Images, 1537–1576," in *Late Titian*, ed. Ferino-Pagden, 44–45.

98. Andrew John Martin, "La bottega in viaggio. Con Tiziano ad Augusta, Füssen e Innsbruck (1548): Domande e ipotesi," *Studi Tizianeschi* 4 (2006): 99–108, esp. 103; Hope, "Titian and His Patrons," 81–82.

99. Wethey, *Paintings of Titian* 1:21–22, 27–30, 32–33, 2:5–6.

100. Fernando Checa, "Beyond Venice: Titian and the Spanish Court," in *Late Titian*, ed. Ferino-Pagden, 55–61.

101. Ibid., 60. Cf. Humfrey, *Titian,* 168; Hope, *Titian*, 135.

102. Hans von Voltelini, "Urkunden und Regesten aus dem K. u, k. Haus-, Hof- und Staats-Archiv in Wien," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 13 (1892): xxvi–clxxiv, docs. 8804, 8806, 8808.

103. Nichols, *Tintoretto*, 133–34, 243; Cornelia Syre, *Tintoretto: The Gonzaga Cycle*, exh. cat. (Ostfildern-Ruit: Hatje Cantz, 2000), 13–22; Pallucchini and Rossi, *Opere sacre e profane* 1:cats. 392–99; Echols and Ilchman, "Toward a New Tintoretto Catalogue," cats. 236–43 (all either Jacopo or studio design, with studio execution).

104. Xavier F. Salomon, *Veronese's Allegories: Virtue, Love, and Exploration in Renaissance Venice*, exh. cat. (New York: Frick Collection, 2006). Salomon argues that the Metropolitan Museum's *Venus and Mars United by Love*, "dating from the first half of the 1570s, seems to have been an ideal candidate for Emperor Maximilian's patronage" (24). Cf. Rearick, in *Art of Paolo Veronese*, 120–24, who sees the *Allegories of Love* as a commission by Rudolf around 1576, and the other allegories as commissions or purchases over the next six years. See Pignatti and Pedrocco, *Veronese* 2:263–66, 268, cats. 247–50.

105. Nichols, *Tintoretto*, 135–37.

106. Rearick, *Art of Paolo Veronese*, 123; Pignatti and Pedrocco, *Veronese* 1:cats. 332–33.

107. Falomir, *Tintoretto*, 362–66; Miguel Falomir, "Tintoretto and Spain: From El Greco to Velázquez," in Falomir, *Tintoretto*, 159–60; Nichols, *Tintoretto*, 134–35; Pignatti and Pedrocco, *Veronese* 1:cat. 341 (with workshop); Pallucchini and Rossi, *Opere sacre e profane* 1:cat. A37; Echols and Ilchman, "Toward a New Tintoretto Catalogue," cat. 271.

108. Ridolfi, as translated in Carlo Ridolfi, *The Life of Tintoretto and of His Children Domenico and Marietta*, trans. Catherine Enggass and Robert Enggass (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 1984), 56–57.

109. Ridolfi, *Le maraviglie dell'arte* 1:347: "Le Pitture sparse nelle Galerie più famose dell'Europa . . . non parendo per appunto adorno qualsivoglia Palagio, ove non entri alcuna cosa di questa mano." See also Salomon, *Veronese's Allegories*, 24.

Collecting in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Venice: Originals, Copies, and "Maniera di"

1. This essay derives from my work on the survey of art-collecting practices in Venice, from their origins to the nineteenth century; it was coordinated by Stefania Mason at the Università di Udine and supported by the Fondazione di Venezia. Algarotti's letter is from Francesco Algarotti, *Opere* (Livorno: Marco Coltellini, 1765), 6:33. The original reads: "nell'acquistare quadri antichi io avrei proceduto sempre, come feci, con cautele grandissime. Non basta che un quadro sia di Tiziano, vuol essere ben conservato, della bella maniera e del fior della bella maniera del pittore. Altrimenti si corre risico di ammirar solamente i nomi."

2. Louisa C. Matthew, "The Painter's Presence: Signatures in Venetian Renaissance Pictures," *Art Bulletin* 80 (1998): 641.

3. Michel Hochmann, *Peintres et commanditaires à Venise (1540–1628)* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1992), 75–91.

4. Marcantonio Michiel, *Notizia d'opere di disegno* [Vienna, 1896], ed. Theodor Frimmel (Florence: Edifir, 2003); Francesco Sansovino, *Venetia città nobillisima et singolare descritta in XIIII libri* (Venice: Jacomo Sansovino, 1581); Vincenzo Scamozzi, *Dell'idea dell'architettura universale* (Venice: for Giorgio Valentino, 1615).

5. On the Vendramin, see Rosella Lauber, "Per un ritratto di Gabriele Vendramin: Nuovi contributi," in *Figure di collezionisti a Venezia tra Cinque e Seicento*, ed. Linda Borean and Stefania Mason (Udine, Italy: Forum, 2002), 25–71.

6. On Simone Lando, see Hochmann, *Peintres et commanditaires*, 199–201. On Cristoforo Barbarigo and his collection, now housed at the State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, see Herbert Siebenhüner, *Der Palazzo Barbarigo della Terrazza in Venedig und sein Tizian Sammlung* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1981), 28, 113; and Charles Hope, "Titian's Family and the Dispersal of His Estate," in *Late Titian and the Sensuality of Painting*, ed. Sylvia Ferino-Pagden, exh. cat. (Venice: Marsilio, 2008), 29–41 (Cristoforo's will is discussed on 37–38).

7. Carlo Ridolfi, *Le maraviglie dell'arte* [Venice, 1648], ed. Detlev von Hadeln, 2 vols. (Berlin: Grote'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1914–24); Marco Boschini, *La carta del navegar pitoresco* [Venice, 1660], ed. Anna Pallucchini (Venice: Istituto per la collaborazione culturale, 1966), 21.

8. Ridolfi (*Le maraviglie dell'arte* 1:347) describes how "i maggiori prencipi e signori di questo chiaro pittore, havendo eglino con eccessive spese fatto di quelle numerosa raccolta, non parendo adorno qualsivoglia palagio, ove non entri alcuna cosa di questa mano."

9. Ibid., 313.

10. Boschini, *La carta*, 31–33.

11. Ridolfi's original, in *Le maraviglie dell'arte* 2:66, reads: "hor vedete signori, quanto prevaglia nei giudizi l'autorità e l'opinione, e come pochi siano coloro, che bene intendono di pittura."

12. The original reads: "nel colorire dice ha vere imitation la natura, e poi particolarmente Titiano, in tanto che molti ritratti fatti da lui sono stati tenuti di mano di Titiano." Raffaello Borghini, *Il riposo* [Florence, 1584] (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1969), 551.

13. Peter Humfrey, "Epilogue: The Demand from Abroad," in *Venice and the Veneto*, ed. Peter Humfrey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 334, 338, with bibliography. It was not by chance that Veronese had modified his *Annunciation* for El Escorial in a Titianesque manner. On the competition at the Spanish court after the death of Titian, see Miguel Falomir, "Tintoretto and Spain: From El Greco to Velázquez," in Falomir, *Tintoretto*, 159–62; and Philip Cottrell and Rosemarie Mulcahy, "Succeeding Titian: Parrasio Michiel and Venetian Painting at the Court of Philip II," *The Burlington Magazine* 149, no. 1249 (2007): 232–45.

14. See Ridolfi, *Le maraviglie dell'arte* 1:227. Erica Tietze-Conrat ("Titian's Workshop in His Late Years," *Art Bulletin* 28, no. 2 [1946]: 77) hypothesizes that the 50 scudi Girolamo Dente requested to copy the *Martyrdom of Saint Laurence* by Titian at El Escorial could be a standard price for a workshop painting. On Titian's *atelier*, see also Giorgio Tagliaferro, "In the Workshop with Titian, 1548–1576," in *Late Titian*, ed. Ferino-Pagden, 71–77.

15. Wethey, *Paintings of Titian* 1:83 n. 27.

16. Wilhelm Bode, Georg Gronau, and Detlev von Hadeln, *Archivalische Beiträge zur Geschichte der venezianischen Kunst, aus dem Nachlass Gustav Ludwigs* (Berlin: Cassirer, 1911), 156; and Francesca Pitacco, "Fonti per il collezionismo veneziano (1580–1600)" (graduate thesis, Università di Udine, 1999–2000), 143–57.

17. Documentation on sixteenth-century collecting practices is concise, and inventories often lack attributions. See Michel Hochmann, "Quelques réflexions sur les collections des peintures à Venise dans la première moitié du XVI siècle," in *Il collezionismo a Venezia e nel Veneto ai tempi della Serenissima*, conference proceedings, ed. Bernard Aikema, Rosella Lauber, and Max Seidel (Venice: Marsilio, 2005), 117–34.

18. Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Notarile, Atti, notaio Pietro Partenio, b. 10680, cc. 79v–95v, February 20, 1589, inventory of the property of Lorenzo Donà *quondam* Alvise at Santa Maria Formosa.

19. Fabrizio Magani, *Il collezionismo e la committenza artistica della famiglia Widmann dal Seicento all'Ottocento* (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere e Arti, 1989), 34.

20. Boschini, *La carta*, 21.

21. Stefania Mason, "'By the hand of Titian,' 'Derives from Titian': Clues from Venetian Collections," in *Late Titian*, ed. Ferino-Pagden, 79–87.

22. Maria Stella Alfonsi, "Cosimo III de Medici e Venezia. I primi anni di regno," in *Figure di collezionisti*, ed. Borean and Mason, 273–77. Among the complaints about the rarity of originals, see that of Paolo del Sera in a letter of 1660 to Leopoldo de' Medici: "in truth, there are no more drawings or paintings, and none to be found on the streets, a sign that if I were ordered to provide something—not necessarily a painting, but a beautiful portrait by Titian or someone else of his stature—even regardless of cost, I would not know where to begin looking"; Gloria Chiarini De Anna, "Nove lettere di Paolo del Sera a Leopoldo de' Medici," *Paragone* 26, no. 307 (1975): 89.

23. The first citation is in Giulio Mancini's *Considerazioni sulla pittura, 1617–1621*, ed. Anna Marucchi and Luigi Salerno (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1956), 1:135; the second is in Boschini's *La carta*, 704. Regarding the role of copies from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Jeffrey M. Muller, "Measures of Authenticity: The Detection of Copies in the Early Literature on Connoisseurship," in *Retaining the Original: Multiple Originals, Copies, and Reproductions*, exh. cat. (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1989), 141–49; and Maria Loh, "Originals, Reproductions, and a 'Particular Taste' for Pastiche in the Seventeenth-Century Republic of Painting," in *Mapping Markets for Paintings in Europe, 1450–1750*, ed. Neil De Marchi and Hans J. Van Miegroet (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2006), 237–60.

24. Linda Borean, *La quadreria di Agostino e Giovan Donato Correggio nel collezionismo veneziano del Seicento* (Udine: Forum, 2000), 185, 188.

25. Hochmann, *Peintres et commanditaires*, 90.

26. Linda Borean, "'Desegni e stampa de rame.' La collezione grafica di Gaspar Chechel, mercante tedesco nella Venezia del Seicento," *Aprosiana: Rivista annuale di studi barocchi*, n.s., 10 (2002): 155–78.

27. The document is being published by Stefania Mason, whom I thank for allowing its inclusion here. The actual quotations read as follows: "Madalenna Copia de Titian de man del s[igno]r Geronimo finida" and "Madalena cavada dal Titian de man del s.r Ger finida."

28. Linda Borean, "Il caso Bergonzi," in *Il collezionismo d'arte a Venezia: Il Seicento*, ed. Linda Borean and Stefania Mason (Venice: Marsilio, 2007), 203–21.

29. Isabella Cecchini, *Quadri e mercato di quadri a Venezia nel Seicento: Uno studio sul mercato dell'arte* (Venice: Marsilio, 2000), 236–37, 248–49; Ridolfi, *Le maraviglie dell'arte* 1:194. Ridolfi states that not only did the portrait of a woman come from the Marcello family, but it depicted a member of that family.

30. Mary Frances Neff, "Chancellery Secretaries in Venetian Politics and Society, 1480–1533" (PhD diss., University of California, 1985), 431.

31. Hochmann, *Peintres et commanditaires*, 356–58.

32. Giuseppe Tassini, Cittadini veneziani, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Venice, ms. P.D. c 4/ 2, p. 240ter.

33. Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Giudici del Proprio, Divisioni, reg. 12, cc. 59v–60v, June 28, 1581. Pietro possessed, therefore, the first version, but current opinion holds that both versions should be dated to around 1532, when the sitter was about to turn sixty. The painting had been first assigned to Pietro's widow, as seen in the inventory compiled three weeks earlier restoring her dowry, which listed "ritrato del Concilior grando Francisci d'età d'anni 60"; Pitacco, "Fonti," 252. The canvas at the Detroit Institute of Arts is generally thought to be of higher quality than the portrait in Washington, DC, which contains workshop intervention and bears the fragmentary inscription "TIS OLX," which may be interpreted as the remnant of the original "AETATIS SUAE LX"; see Wethey, *Paintings of Titian* 2:100–101 nn. 34, 35. Wethey associated the painting in Detroit with the portrait of the chancellor Ridolfi saw at the house of Widmann (in the 1659 inventory of the collection, transcribed in Magani's *Il collezionismo*, 34, is cited a "Ritratto di un cancellier grande di Tiziano"). The 1756 inventory of pictures owned by Costantino Franceschi of the delle Rose branch of the family includes a "Ritratto del nostro antico Cancellier Grande di Tizian" (Donatella Bernardi, "Interni di case veneziane del Settecento," *Studi veneziani*, n.s., 20 [1990]: 241. Alberto Bagnara, in "I De Franceschi collezionisti a Venezia tra XVI e XVIII secolo," *Venezia Arti*, no. 17/18 [2003/2004]: 49–50, published a 1750 inventory of Costantino Franceschi's collection, identical to that of 1756).

34. Siebenhüner, *Der Palazzo*, 32.

35. Mason, "'By the Hand of Titian,'" 81.

36. Boschini, *La carta*, 29.

37. I thank Isabella Cecchini for the annotations to the list. In the preceding inventory of the del Sera collection, compiled in 1674 upon the request of his creditors and without the assistance of an expert, "2 quadreti di bacanali de bona man" are mentioned. The document is published in Borean and Mason, *Il collezionismo d'arte*, 348–54.

38. The replicas (now at Accademia Carrara, Bergamo) were in the possession of Dario Varotari, son and heir to Padovanino (see Boschini, *La carta*, 198) by the middle of the seventeenth century.

39. Boschini, *La carta*, 419.

40. Mitchell F. Merling, "Marco Boschini's *Carta del navegar pitoresco*: Art Theory and *Virtuoso* Culture in Seventeenth-Century Venice" (PhD diss., Brown University, 1992), 97.

41. Maria H. Loh, *Titian Remade* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2007), 86–87, 114.

42. The original reads "Signor in Emmaus tre figure soaze nere con fillo d'oro copia del Tician fatta dal Padovanin." Cecilia Corner's inventory of 1699 is transcribed in Borean and Mason, *Il collezionismo d'arte*, 355–61, with further discussion on 246–47.

43. Wethey, *Paintings of Titian* 1:160–61 n. 142. In the manuscript catalogue of paintings sent by Worsley to London in 1797 (soon to be published by this author), the painting does not appear, while an *Ecce Homo* is noted along with a replica of the *Diana and Callisto* made for Philip II and a *Saint Christopher* derived from the fresco in the Palazzo Ducale. For the Louvre's *Supper at Emmaus* (cat. 22, where it is dated about 1533–34), see Guido Rebecchini, "Tiziano e Mantova: *La Cena in Emmaus* per Nicola Maffei," *Venezia Cinquecento* 5, no. 10 (1995): 41–68. Regarding the dispersal of Titian paintings, see Rosella Lauber, "Itinerario di una diaspora: Il giro del mondo alla ricerca dei Tiziano non più a Venezia," *Venezialtrove: Almanacco della presenza veneziana nel mondo* 6 (2007): 77–93.

44. On Tintoretto's critical fortune among Venetian collectors, see Linda Borean, "Jacopo Tintoretto nelle collezioni veneziane tra Sei e Settecento," in *Jacopo Tintoretto: Actas del congreso internacional / Proceedings of the International Symposium*, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, February 26–27, 2007 (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, forthcoming).

45. This information is from a letter from the Venetian ambassador to Madrid, Girolamo Lippomano. See Mary Pittaluga, "L'attività di Tintoretto in Palazzo Ducale," *L'Arte* 25 (1922): 94 n. 6; and Linda Borean, "Documentation," in Falomir, *Tintoretto*, 444, with the complete transcription of the letter.

46. Boschini (*La carta*, 747) recounts: "il Tintoretto dipinse per cinquanta ducati l'uno. Ora, se si dovessero vender, so io che vi sarebbe chi, appresso alle due figure che formano il numero 50, v'aggiungerebbe altri tre zeri, e non in caratteri di penna, ma in caratteri d'oro."

47. Giovanni Prati, *La musa delirante* (Venice, 1677), 208–9. The other artists praised in Prati's sonnets were all from the seventeenth century. Essays in a forthcoming volume edited by Linda Borean, Massimo Favilla, and Ruggero Rugolo discuss Prati and his artistic and literary culture.

48. Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Notarile, Testamenti, Antonio Brinis, b. 157, no. 483, May 30, 1594, will of Jacopo Tintoretto. The document is transcribed in Carlo Ridolfi, *Vite dei Tintoretto da Le Maraviglie dell'arte overo le vite degli illustrissimi pittori veneti e dello stato descritte dal cavalier Carlo Ridolfi (1648)*, introduction by Antonio Manno (Venice: Filippi, 1994), 127–28; and in Borean, "Documentation," 448–49.

49. Francesco Marcolini to Pietro Aretino, September 15, 1551. See Borean, "Documentation," 421, with bibliography.

50. Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Ghent. On the painting, see the entry in Arnout Balis et al., *200 Jaar Verzamelen: Collectieboek Museum voor Schone Kunsten Gent* (Ghent: Ludion, 2000), cat. 71; and Paola Rossi, *Jacopo Tintoretto*, vol. 1, *I ritratti* (Venice: Alfieri, 1974), 107.

51. Ridolfi, *Le maraviglie dell'arte* 2:58.

52. Giovanni Paolo Corner and Pietro Pellegrini will be discussed in my contributions and those by Paola Benussi in *Il collezionismo d'arte a Venezia: Dalle origini al Cinquecento*, ed. Michel Hochmann, Rosella Lauber, and Stefania Mason (Venice: Marsilio, 2008). Pietro Pellegrini's July 16, 1625, inventory was transcribed by Hochmann in *Peintres et commanditaires*, 364–66.

53. The original reads: "ritratto di mano del Tintoretto vecchio, dal ginocchio in su armato in attitudine spiritosissima con architettura di colonne dietro, e da una finestra si vede il mare lontano con una galeazza, della più esquisita maniera di questo autore, essendo anco così belle e terribili le armature, che se non si conoscessi dalla testa, che è mano del Tintoretto, ogn'uno crederebbe che fussi di mano di Tiziano. Il ritratto rappresenta il Veniero che fu poi Capitano Generale de' veneziani nell'Armata Navale del 1571 essendo stato fatto dell'eta' di 40 anni quando era Capitano di Golfo." See Miriam Fileti Mazza, ed., *Archivio del collezionismo mediceo: Il Cardinal Leopoldo*, vol. 1, *Rapporti con il mercato Veneto* (Milan: Ricciardi, 1987), 327–29.

54. This information was graciously provided by Julia Armstrong-Totten (oral communication, September 1, 2004). The coat of arms, however, does not exactly coincide with that of the Giustinian-Lolin, a family that died out in the first half of the nineteenth century, at which point their palace was occupied by Francesco Aglietti (1757–1836), a noted Venetian collector.

55. Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Marco Barbaro-Alessandro Tasca, Arbori de Patritii Veneti, II, c. 183 and 188; and Andrea da Mosto, *I dogi di Venezia* (Florence: Giunti,

2003), 356. Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Giudici del Proprio, Mobili, b. 226, c. 26v.

56. In the 1661 inventory of the Spanish noble Luis Méndez de Haro, a painting of the same subject is listed. See Falomir, "Tintoretto and Spain," 163.

57. Pallucchini and Rossi, *Opere sacre e profane* 1:137, cat. 42.

58. Ridolfi, *Le maraviglie dell'arte* 2:29; Boschini, *La carta*, 146–47; Diane DeGrazia Bohlin, *Prints and Related Drawings by the Carracci Family: A Catalogue Raisonné* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1979), 254–57 n. 147a; and Maria Agnese Chiari Moretto Wiel, ed., *Jacopo Tintoretto e i suoi incisori*, exh. cat. (Milan: Electa, 1994), 26 n. 3.2.

59. See Jean Habert, ed., *Le Paradis de Tintoret: Un concours pour le palais des Doges*, exh. cat. (Paris: Musée du Louvre Editions, 2006).

60. Andrea Zannini, *Burocrazia e burocrati a Venezia in età moderna: I cittadini originari (sec. XVI–XVIII)* (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere e Arti, 1993), 158. The relationship between the artist and Giovan Francesco Ottobon is noted by Ridolfi in *Le maraviglie dell'arte* 2:69–70.

61. This *modello* is now owned by the Istituti di Ricovero e di Educazione (IRE) in Venice. See Barbara Mazza, "Tracce dei Tintoretto nei fondi archivistici dell'IRE," in *Jacopo Tintoretto nel quarto centenario della morte: Atti del convegno internazionale di studi. Venezia, 24–26 Novembre, 1994*, ed. Paola Rossi and Lionello Puppi (Padua: Il Poligrafo, 1996), 83–88.

62. Del Sera to Leopoldo de' Medici, March 18, 1656, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Carteggio di Artisti, V.

63. Falomir, *Tintoretto*, 236–40, cat. 12.

64. Marcus B. Burke and Peter Cherry, *Collections of Paintings in Madrid, 1601–1755*, Documents for the History of Collecting, Spanish Inventories, 1 (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 1997), 726–86; Falomir, "Tintoretto and Spain," 159–67.

65. Stefania Mason, "Dallo studiolo al 'camaron' dei quadri. Un itinerario per dipinti, disegni, stampe e qualche curiosità nelle collezioni della Venezia barocca," in *Il collezionismo d'arte*, ed. Borean and Mason, 32–33.

66. Ridolfi, *Le maraviglie dell'arte* 1:354; Hochmann, *Peintres et commanditaires*, 77–78.

67. Gregorio Gattinoni, *Inventario di una casa veneziana del secolo XVII (La casa degli Eccellenti Caliari eredi di Paolo il Veronese)* (Mestre: Officine Grafiche, 1914).

68. Boschini, *La carta*, 735; Beverly L. Brown, "Replication and the Art of Veronese," in *Retaining the Original*, 111–24.

69. The inventory of 1671 reads: "un quadro rappresenta la Nontiata con il Padre Eterno portato da due angioli e tre testine di serafini col spirito santo di Carletto retocata da Paulo Veronese altri si spaza." See Borean, *La quadreria*, 191. The painting was acquired in 1671 for 42 ducats.

70. In 1607, the Patriarch of Aquileia gave to Scipione Borghese *The Preaching of John the Baptist* and *Saint Anthony Preaching to the Fish* (Galleria Borghese, Rome), which may have sparked interest in Veronese within the Barberini circle. See Pignatti and Pedrocco, *Veronese* 2:cats. 210, 382.

71. The original reads: "vi son ben delle cose, che possono essere state disegnate da Paolo, mà non colorite, ò perfettionate da lui; e sono insomma stato assicurato, che tra detti pezzi non ve ne è uno, che meriti di essere stimato per cosa buona di mano di quel maestro." See William L. Barcham and Catherine R. Puglisi, "Paolo Veronese e la Roma dei Barberini," *Saggi e memorie di storia dell'arte* 25 (2001): 86. In addition to publishing this important July 10, 1632, letter by Massani, Barcham and Puglisi discuss the rise of Veronese's popularity among Roman collectors in the first half of the seventeenth century, as well as the general influence of Venetian Renaissance masters on later Italian painters, particularly Pietro da Cortona. The article includes another appendix listing paintings by Veronese in four notable Roman collections of the early Seicento.

72. Klara Garas, "Veronese e il collezionismo del Nord nel XVI–XVII secolo," in *Nuovi studi su Paolo Veronese*, ed. Massimo Gemin (Venice: Arsenale Editrice, 1990): 19–20. See also Xavier F. Salomon, *Veronese's Allegories: Virtue, Love, and Exploration in Renaissance Venice*, exh. cat. (New York: Frick Collection, 2006), 23–24.

73. The original reads: "le opere di questo Maestro non erano qui un tempo fa in molta stima, mà hoggi è salito a segno il credito di esse, che chi hà alcuna cosa di lui, ne tiene assai più conto, che sé fosse di Tiziano istesso, che è stato sempre tenuto il nume de Pittori di questo paese, giudicandosi, che Paolo sia perfetto nel disegno, vago nel colorito…e valente nelle inventioni." See Barcham and Puglisi, "Paolo Veronese," 86. In *Le maraviglie dell'arte* 1:335, Ridolfi underscores that "many were the paintings collected after the Painter's death."

74. Of course, these same collectors would have found it difficult to turn down a painting by Titian; see Ridolfi, *Le maraviglie dell'arte* 1:347. For an exploration of the critical fortune of Veronese, see Richard Cocke, "The Development of Veronese's Critical Reputation," *Arte Veneta* 34 (1980): 96–112.

75. One exception was the collection of Cristoforo Orsetti, a merchant of Greek *malvasia* wine, who seems to have owned the *Venus and Mars* now in the Galleria Sabauda, Turin. See Linda Borean and Stefania Mason, "Cristoforo Orsetti e i suoi quadri di 'perfetta mano,'" in *Figure di collezionisti*, ed. Borean and Mason, 145.

76. In the fiscal declaration to the Ufficio dell'Inquisitorato alle Acque from 1737, on Chiara Pisani's behalf, the value of the painting was fixed at "only" 2,500 ducats. Giuseppe Gullino, *I Pisani dal Banco e Moretta: Storia di due famiglie veneziane in età moderna e delle loro vicende patrimoniali tra 1705 e 1836* (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'età Moderna e Contemporanea, 1984), 223.

77. Bert W. Meijer, "Per la fortuna di Paolo Veronese sino al 1664," in *Veronese e Verona*, ed. Sergio Marinelli, exh. cat. (Verona: Museo di Castelvecchio, 1988), 122–23. The prohibition on copying this work apparently continued in subsequent centuries; see Penny, *Sixteenth Century Italian Paintings*, 2:354. For a full discussion about the patrons and history of the painting, see 354–87 in the same catalog.

78. Simona Savini Branca, *Il collezionismo veneziano nel Seicento* (Padua: Cedam, 1965), 134–40. Martinioni's 1663 additions to Francesco Sansovino's guidebook, *Venetia, città nobillisima et singolare descritta in XIII libri*, ed. Giustiniano Martinoni (Venice: S. Curti, 1663), contain a list of painters active in Venice, "Quinto catalogo," including one "Bastian Bombello da Udine [who] while he was a student made magnificent copies from Paolo Veronese," 2:21.

79. The February 1704 inventory, drawn up by the owner, mentions "La copia del quadro d'Alessandro di Paulo Veronese che è in Ca Pisani Moreta fatta da Monsù Lefebre." The document is published in Borean and Mason's *Il collezionismo d'arte*, 362–83.

80. Agostino Barbarigo, the Provveditore Generale da Mar, died on October 9, 1571, from an arrow to the eye at the Battle of Lepanto. The 1851 inventory of paintings owned by Marchesa Manfrin Plattis (Library and Archive of the National Gallery, London) lists as no. 31 "P. Veronese. Ritratto d'un generale con freccia in mano." The *Catalogo dei quadri esistenti nella Galleria Manfrin in Venezia*, Venice, 1856, includes as no. 179 a portrait with dimensions close to those of the painting now in Cleveland (102.2 x 104.2 cm [40 ¼ x 41 in.]), assigned to Veronese and believed to depict Onfrè Giustinian, the admiral who communicated the news from Lepanto to Venice. Ridolfi (*Le maraviglie dell'arte* 1:338) records a Veronese portrait of Onfrè Giustinian in the Giustinian house at San Moisé. The Cleveland painting (inv. 1928.16) was published in 1928 as a portrait of the admiral Manfrin, based on the supposed provenance of the painting. See Terisio Pignatti, *Veronese: L'opera completa* (Venice: Arsenale Editrice, 1976), 135, cat. 172; and Pignatti and Pedrocco, *Veronese* 1:284–85, cat. 188. The painting was relined, and without photographic documentation of the back of the canvas during the treatment, it is impossible to verify inscriptions or other marks that might support the Manfrin provenance. I thank Jon Seydl of the Cleveland Museum of Art for this information. A copy of this portrait is housed in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC; see Fern R. Shapley, *Catalogue of the Italian Paintings: National Gallery of Art, Washington*, 2 vols. (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1979), 1:531, cat. 1485.

81. Rearick, *Art of Paolo Veronese*, 108, cat. 54.

82. As was specified in the 1703 will (Borean, "Il caso Bergonzi," 214).

83. Regarding the *Supper* from the Servite monastery, see Laura De Fuccia, "Collezionisti francesi di pittura veneziana nel Seicento" (PhD thesis, Università di Udine–Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, 2007), 1:41–51. In the collections of prints *Opera selectiora* by Valentin Lefèvre, published in 1673 (Ugo Ruggeri, *Valentin Lefèvre [1637–1677]: Dipinti, disegni, incisioni* [Manerba: Merigo Art Books, 2001], 210–26), and *Pitture scelte* by Carla Caterina Patin (Padua: Tipografia del Seminario, 1691), one sees the decline of Tintoretto's fame by comparison to that of Titian and Veronese in French taste. Alvise Molin, who owned a splendid art collection, compiled a list of its contents in 1668, including a *Supper at Emmaus* and a *Risen Christ* by Veronese. See Linda Borean, "Alvise Molin," in *Il collezionismo d'arte*, ed. Borean and Mason, 288–89.

84. Marguerite Allain-Lunay, "A Token of Franco-Venetian Friendship," in *The Feast in the House of Simon: Veronese. History and Restoration of a Masterpiece* (Paris: Alain de Gourcuff, 1997), 65–66.

85. Michel Hochmann, "La Collection de Giacomo Contarini," *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome* 99 (1987): 451–52. The painting reached its present location in 1713 with the donation of the Contarini collection to the Venetian state.

86. The Dresden painting (dimensions 321 x 289 cm [126 1/16 x 113 11/16 in.]) is reproduced in color and discussed by Penny in *Sixteenth Century Italian Paintings* 2:437 and fig. 8. This connection between the Dresden painting and the picture owned by del Sera was advanced by Alfonsi ("Cosimo III," 269). Del Sera's painting would later reach the hands of Francesco Algarotti, who bought it for the Dresden Gallery in 1743. According to Savini Branca (*Il collezionismo veneziano nel Seicento*, 279), del Sera may have purchased the work from the Caliari family. Von Hadeln's notes to Ridolfi (*Le maraviglie dell'arte* 1:357) associated the Dresden painting, which von Hadeln attributed to Carletto, with that mentioned by Ridolfi as owned by Giuseppe Caliari.

87. The original reads: "Historia dell'Europa posta a sedere sopra un toro bianco, con damigelle che la servono, con amorini, et con altre figurette et animali, con paese et alberi bellissimi." See Paola Santin, "Paolo del Sera a Venezia (1640–1672)" (graduate thesis, Università di Udine, 2003/2004), 48.

88. Lucia Procacci and Ugo Procacci, "Carteggio di Marco Boschini con il cardinale Leopoldo de' Medici," *Saggi e memorie di storia dell'arte* 4 (1965): 106–7.

89. Alfonsi, "Cosimo III," 278.

90. Wethey, *Paintings of Titian* 1:112, cat. 70; Pedrocco, *Titian: Complete Paintings*, 202, cat. 149; Humfrey, *Titian: The Complete Paintings*, 219, cat. 161.

91. Alfonsi, "Cosimo III," 274. Some of the aforementioned topics concerning the socio-economic conditions of Venetian painters and the art market, including prices for paintings, are discussed in greater detail in a forthcoming essay by Philip Sohm, "Venice," in *Painting for Profit: The Economic Lives of Painters in Seventeenth-Century Italy*, ed. Richard Spear and Philip Sohm.

Materials and Techniques of Painters in Sixteenth-Century Venice

1. See Paola Lanaro, *At the Centre of the World: Trade and Manufacturing in Venice and the Venetian Mainland, 1400–1800* (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, University of Toronto, 2006).

2. See M. Murano, "Tecniche della pittura murale Veneta," *Pittura murali nel Veneto e tecnica dell'affresco* (Vicenza: Neri Pozza, 1960), 233–34 n. 2.

3. Diana Gisolfi, "Tintoretto e le facciate affrescate di Venezia," in *Jacopo Tintoretto nel quarto centenario della morte: Atti del convegno internazionale di studi. Venezia, 24–26 Novembre, 1994*, ed. Paola Rossi and Lionello Puppi (Padua: Il Poligrafo, 1996), 111–14.

4. See Luca Mola, *The Silk Industry in Venice* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2000).

5. Although production stamps have been found on wooden panel and copper supports, little has been documented concerning the manufacture of and market for canvases specifically for artists' use. The illustrated stamp shows a design that is quite similar to weavers' marks on tapestries from the northern regions during this time frame. The stamp/production facility (weaver) has not, as yet, been identified. This stamp is present on Gentileschi's *Way to Cavalry* (about 1604, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna).

6. Andrea Rothe, "Andrea Mantegna's Adoration of the Magi," in *Historical Painting Techniques, Materials, and Studio Practice: Preprints of a Symposium*, University of Leiden, The Netherlands, June 26–29, 1995 (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Trust, 1995), 111–16.

7. The *Wedding Feast at Cana* for the monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore was not stretched onto a wooden frame but mounted directly to the wall with spikes. Hans Dieter Huber, *Paolo Veronese: Kunst als soziales System* (Munich: W. Fink, 2005), 252.

8. Franz Mares, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Kunstbestrebungen des Erzherzogs Leopold Wilhelm," in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* (Vienna: Verlag Holzhuasen, 1887), 5:353.

9. Bruno Heimberg, "'Nostro Apelle Novello': Tintoretto and Italian Easel Painting from the Thirteenth to the Sixteenth Century," in *Tintoretto: The Gonzaga Cycle*, ed. Cornelia Syre, exh. cat. (Ostfildern-Ruit: Hatje Cantz, 2000), 233. The details in fig. 29 are from three paintings in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. From left to right, they are Titian, *Ecce Homo* (inv. 73); Veronese and Workshop, *Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine* (inv. 1529); and Titian, *Danaë* (inv. 90).

10. Robert Wald, "Titian's Vienna *Danaë*: Observations on Execution and Replication in Titian's Studio," in *Late Titian and the Sensuality of Painting*, ed. Sylvia Ferino-Pagden, exh. cat. (Venice: Marsilio, 2008), 124–33. See also Xavier F. Salomon, *Veronese's Allegories: Virtue, Love, and Exploration in Renaissance Venice*, exh. cat. (New York: Frick Collection, 2006), 38.

11. For an example of a painting from the cycle for Philip II (Titian's *Rape of Europa*), see Hilliard Goldfarb, *Titian and Rubens: Power, Politics, and Style*, exh. cat. (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 1998), 97.

12. Veronika Poll-Frommel, Jan Schmidt, and Cornelia Syre, "The Gonzaga Cycle," in *Tintoretto: The Gonzaga Cycle*, ed. Syre, 28–121.

13. An examination of the ground layers from *Gypsy Madonna*, *Madonna of the Cherries*, and *Madonna and Child with Saints* (all before 1520, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) reveals monochrome calcium sulphate grounds. Tintoretto's *Susannah and the Elders* as well as *Saint George and the Dragon* (both mid-1550s) are executed on light-colored gesso grounds. See Jill Dunkerton, "Tintoretto's Painting Technique," in Falomir, *Tintoretto*, 146.

14. Armenini writes, "the darker the *imprimatura* the muddier the colors become. But for those who do not want the colors to change in time, the priming should be almost entirely of white lead, with one-sixth of varnish, and a little red that dries at the same rate." He provides alternative recipes as well. See Giovanni Battista Armenini, *On the True Precepts of the Art of Painting*, trans. Edward Olszewski (New York: B. Franklin, 1977), 192. Also see Armenini, *De'veri precetti della pittura* (Ravenna: Libro Secondo, 1587), 122.

15. For a general discussion of the topic, see Arie Wallert and Carlo van Oosterhout, *From Tempera to Oil Paint: Changes in Venetian Painting, 1460–1560* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1998).

16. Jill Dunkerton and Marika Spring, "The Development of Painting on Coloured Surfaces in Sixteenth-Century Italy," in *Painting Techniques, History, Materials and Studio Practice: Contributions to the Dublin Congress, 7–11 September 1998* (London: International Institute for Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works, 1998), 120–30.

17. For the examination of grounds and *imprimatura* of selected mid- to late-career works by Titian, see Martina Griesser and Natalia Gustavson, "Observations on Technique and Materials in Titian's Late Work," in *Late Titian*, ed. Ferino-Pagden, 102–11.

18. Jill Dunkerton, "Developments in Colour and Texture in Venetian Painting of the Early 16th Century," in *New Interpretations of Venetian Renaissance Painting*, ed. Francis Ames-Lewis (London: University of London, Birkbeck College, 1994), 71.

19. Joyce Plesters, "Tintoretto's Paintings in the National Gallery," *National Gallery Technical Bulletin* 4 (1980): 32–47. See also Syre, *Tintoretto: The Gonzaga Cycle*, 123.

20. Nicholas Penny, "Paolo Veronese: The Adoration of the Kings," in Penny, *Sixteenth Century Italian Paintings* 2:396.

21. Syre, *Tintoretto: The Gonzaga Cycle*, 124.

22. For the description of the problems associated with the transport of Titian's *Venus and Adonis*, see Wethey, *Paintings of Titian* 3:189. More recent investigations have brought into question which version of *Venus and Adonis* is the canvas that was actually damaged during this initial transport from Italy to England; see also W. R. Rearick, "Titian's Later Mythologies," *Artibus et Historiae* 17, no. 33 (1996): 23–67. The characteristics and subsequent repair (perhaps original) of a series of horizontal losses to the painting *Girl in a Fur Wrap* (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) suggest that this painting was damaged in transit and repaired (repainted with modifications) by the artist himself. The repairs to the losses were made with original paint from an overlying composition, which considerably modified the underlying composition. See Ferino-Pagden, *Late Titian*, 15.

23. Robert Wald, "Titian's Portrait of Johann Friedrich von Sachsen in the Kunsthistorisches Museum," in *Tiziano: Téchnicas y restauraciones*, exh. cat. (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 1999), 87–97.

24. Giorgio Vasari, *Vasari on Technique*, ed. G. Baldwin Brown (New York: Dover, 1960), 236–37.

25. Elke Oberthaler and Elizabeth Walmsely, "Technical Studies of Painting Methods," in *Bellini, Giorgione, Titian and the Renaissance of Venetian Painting*, ed. David Alan Brown and Sylvia Ferino-Pagden, exh. cat. (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 2006), 286–300. See also Paolo Spezzani, "Le Indagini non Invasive," in *Il colore ritrovato: Bellini a Venezia*, ed. Rona Goffen and Giovanna Nepi Scirè, exh. cat. (Milan: Electa, 2000), 181–83; and discussion of Giorgione's *Adoration of the Kings* in David Bomford, ed., *Underdrawings in Renaissance Paintings: Art in the Making* (London: National Gallery, 2003), 136–43.

26. Oberthaler and Walmsely, "Technical Studies," 286–300. See also Cavigli Bagarotto et al., "La Tecnica Pittorica di Giovanni Bellini," in *Il colore ritrovato*, ed. Goffen and Scirè, 184–202.

27. Giorgio Vasari, *Das Leben des Tizian*, ed. Alessandro Nova and Christina Irlenbusch, trans. Victoria Lorini (Berlin: Verlag Klaus Wagenbach, 2005), 45.

28. Carmen Bambach, *Drawing and Painting in the Italian Renaissance Workshop: Theory and Practice, 1300–1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 406 n. 70.

29. A woodcut from Cesere Vecellio, 1591, depicts an enlarging/diminishing grid together with a pricking instrument; see Bambach, *Drawing and Painting*, 13.

30. Sylvia Ferino-Pagden and Robert Wald's catalogue entry on *Saint Jerome* in Falomir, *Tintoretto*, 330–32.

31. Bruce Cole, "Titian and the Idea of Originality in the Renaissance," in *The Craft of Art: Originality and Industry in the Italian Renaissance and Baroque Workshop*, ed. Andrew Ladis and Carolyn Wood (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1995), 86–112. See also Miguel Falomir, "Tiziano: Replicas," in *Tiziano*, ed. Miguel Falomir, exh. cat. (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2003), 77–92.

32. Wenke Deiters, "Tizians Sacre Conversazioni im Kunsthistorischen Museum, im Chiswick House und im Musee du Louvre," in *Der Späte Tizian und die Sinnlichkeit der Malerei*, ed. Sylvia Ferino-Pagden, exh. cat. (Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 2007), 141–47.

33. Robert Wald, "Titian's Vienna *Danaë*: Observations on Execution and Replication in Titian's Studio," in *Late Titian*, ed. Ferino-Pagden, 124–33.

34. Julius von Schlosser, "Aus der Bilderwerkstatt der Renaissance," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 31 (1913–14): 10–135.

35. Roland Krischel, *Tintoretto und die Skulptur der Renaissance in Venedig* (Weimar: VDG, 1994); Julius von Schlosser, "Aus der Bilderwerkstatt der Renaissance," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 31 (1913–14): 118. See also Lucy Whitaker, "Tintoretto's Drawings after Sculpture and His Workshop Practice," in *The Sculpted Object, 1400–1700*, ed. Stuart Currie and Peta Motture (Aldershot, UK: Scholar Press, 1997), 177–91.