This essay is excerpted from *Bellini, Giorgione, Titian, and the Renaissance of Venetian Painting,* Copyright © 2006 Board of Trustees, National Gallery of Art, Washington, and the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, available June 2006.

VENETIAN PAINTING AND THE INVENTION OF ART ✳ *David Alan Brown*

LOVERS OF VENETIAN painting may not realize how little is actually known about the works brought together in this exhibition. Indeed, we probably know less about the origins of a famous masterpiece like the *Concert Champêtre* (cat. 31) than about any other climactic moment in the history of Western art. The artistic revolution that took place in Venice at the beginning of the sixteenth century did not go unremarked, of course. But it was mainly a private matter until the two leading innovators, Giorgione and Titian, undertook the exterior fresco decoration of the Fondaco dei Tedeschi in 1508–1509. Even afterwards, the Florentine Vasari, who visited Venice twice in advance of the 1550 and 1568 editions of the *Lives,* fails to mention a single picture in the exhibition, apart from a confused account of the Ferrara Bacchanals. Later art historians responded to the gap in knowledge by producing a vast and still growing literature on the subject. But without reliable evidence, the results have proved contradictory and inconclusive. Consulted more often than read, this literature deals primarily with two problems—attribution and iconography or identification of subject matter—neither of which is new. Giorgione's contemporaries, we are told, could not easily distinguish his own works from ones painted in his style. Fortunately, some guidance is offered by a few early sources, especially Marcantonio Michiel's notebooks, which briefly describe paintings by Giorgione in private collections. Several of these recorded works joined others indisputably by the master in the Giorgione exhibition held in Venice and Vienna in 2003–2004, forming a core production against which to measure hopeful attributions.[1] Likewise, another exhibition and two new lavishly illustrated monographs offer a chance to compare works by or ascribed to Titian and, in doing so, to agree or not about their authorship.[2] The result of these recent efforts is that some, if not all, of the attribution problems left unsolved when connoisseurship went out of fashion may now be approaching resolution. As for iconography, just as attributions are seldom based anymore on linking types or motifs that are the common currency of Giorgionesque painting, so too studies of subject matter increasingly favor a more synthetic approach over using a single element shared with a text as a key to unlocking the meaning of a picture.[3] The difficulty, in any case, is inherent in the art, which not only eludes simple explanation but seems to lend itself to multiple interpretations. Thus Michiel mistook the smartly dressed youth in Giorgione's *Tempest* (page 44, fig. 3) for a soldier, while Vasari failed to discover the subjects of the Fondaco frescoes.

Early sixteenth-century Venice was a crucible in which artists turned to new subjects drawn from classical antiquity and developed new styles and new techniques to represent them. Organized thematically rather than by artist, the exhibition traces the emergence of several new pictorial themes—the pastoral landscape, eroticism and the female nude, and the dramatic portrait. And it demonstrates how the artistic revolution transformed traditional religious painting, which still predominated. The exhibition also explores music, love, and the passage of time, overarching themes that cut across the categories in which the works are presented: sacred images, sacred stories, allegories and mythologies, pictures of women, and portraits of men. These genres were not rigid, however, and they overlapped, as the protagonists of sacred or secular pictures came to exhibit the kind of inner life we associate with portraiture, and portraits took on a narrative dimension. The present exhibition, it must be emphasized, is not about a theme—the courtesan or music—or themes per se; rather it addresses artists' innovative treatments of a variety of subjects, new and old, during this crucially important period. The goal is to get visitors to the exhibition and readers of the catalogue to approach early sixteenth-century Venetian painting in a different way. By taking it out of the realm of scholarly debates over attribution and iconography and treating these works in a more integrated fashion, we hope to make what is special and significant about them accessible to a wider audience. Finally and appropriately for an exhibition, the show is about viewing and the responses that the paintings elicit from the observer.

The "Renaissance of Venetian Painting" of the exhibition title refers to the artistic renewal that occurred at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Historically, the term "Renaissance" alludes to the rebirth of antiquity, and it was during this period in Venice that humanist culture flourished as never before. To be sure, Venice had its own antique past, as Patricia Fortini Brown has demonstrated, but the kind of classicism associated with Florence and Rome came late to the Serenissima.[4] The complex relations between early sixteenth-century Venetian paintings and the intellectual and cultural climate in which they were made cannot be explored very well in an exhibition and have, in any case, been intensely studied by scholars.[5] The artists depicted subjects taken from Greek and Latin literature and philosophy; their interpretations were later called *poesie.* Artists and their patrons also took a new interest in the antiquities of Rome and in the classicizing work of the central Italian artists Raphael and Michelangelo. In 1523, for example, Cardinal Domenico Grimani bequeathed his celebrated collection of classical sculpture to the republic. In addition to its meaning as a revival *all'antica*, the "Renaissance of Venetian Painting" signifies that during this period the earlier fifteenth-century renewal of painting in Venice was completely and utterly transformed. Giovanni Bellini had succeeded in assimilating the achievements of his brother-in-law Mantegna and of Donatello in nearby Padua, and he went on to absorb the Flemish-inspired style of Antonello da Messina, who sojourned in Venice in 1475–1476. This process of renewing the local tradition through contacts with outsiders was not typical of Florence, where an unbroken series of artistic innovations links Masaccio to Michelangelo. But it does describe Bellini's practice, and it also helps to explain the fundamental changes that took place in Venetian painting after the turn of the century.

The time span covered by the exhibition—the opening decades of the sixteenth century—was selected because most of the artists came to maturity about 1500 and were either deceased or absent by the 1530s. More important, this period represents, visually and intellectually, the most exciting phase of the Renaissance in Venice, when the old Bellini (d. 1516), Giorgione (d. 1510), young Titian, Sebastiano Luciani, later called del Piombo (active in the city until 1511), and Jacopo Negretti, known as Palma Vecchio (d. 1528), were all working side by side. The exhibition does not present a dialectic of styles approaching some kind of ideal norm; instead, a variety of individual expressions each contributed to a development whose outcome was unforeseen. In Venice in 1506, Dürer described Bellini as "still the best," but among the younger generation, Giorgione played the central role. Working for a new class of culturally sophisticated patrons, he invented a new type of painting that aimed to rival poetry in its evocative power. Combining secular subjects whose meanings are elusive with a softly atmospheric style and a dreamy introspective mood, Giorgione's art had a profound impact on contemporaries, who

quickly fell under his spell. But Giorgione died tragically at an early age, and it was left to the slightly younger Titian to reinvent the art of painting in ways that continue to the present day. To each of the genres represented in the exhibition, as in his paint handling, Titian brought a new energy and vitality. By 1518 he was recognized as Bellini's successor as the leading painter in the city, and art historians have rightly stressed his rise to greatness. But the exhibition also highlights Sebastiano, who at this time was working nearly as Titian's equal. Whether or not his seminal works are datable before those of Titian, Sebastiano remains a major protagonist. While he was notably successful at working on a large scale, it is Sebastiano's brilliantly executed smaller works that are featured in the exhibition. To judge from his output, Palma Vecchio's homogenizing version of the new manner was much appreciated; he is represented here in every category. While celebrating the achievements of these masters, the exhibition does not omit more conservative artists, like Cima da Conegliano (d. 1517 or 1518) and Vincenzo Catena (d. 1531), and it includes others like Lorenzo Lotto, Cariani, and Savoldo—who worked, though not exclusively, in Venice at this time—as well as the younger Paris Bordone and Bonifacio de' Pitati. The period may be said to close with Titian's (lost) *Death of Saint Peter Martyr,* completed in 1530 as the culmination of a series of innovative altarpieces. Beyond the purview of the exhibition lie the advent of Mannerism in Venice in the 1540s and the rise of a new generation of great masters, Jacopo Bassano, Tintoretto, and Veronese.

By the turn of the century, when he depicted Doge Loredan (page 7, fig. 3), Bellini had become the patriarch of Venetian painting and his art had gained canonical status. Younger artists flocked to his workshop, eager to master his exquisite distillation of visible reality. Like Venice itself, as seen in Jacopo de' Barbari's monumental bird's-eye view (pages xiv–xv) of 1500, Bellini's mature manner was a kind of self-contained realm, perfect in its own way. The map, introducing the exhibition, shows the unique geographical position of Venice as an island in a lagoon off the Adriatic Sea. As the center of a far-flung commercial empire, Venice was not isolated; it had a rich layered culture and was overflowing with artistic talent. But in 1500 the city was cut off from the most advanced artistic developments underway elsewhere in Italy and in northern Europe. As Deborah Howard explains in her essay (pages 1–10), the burst of creativity examined in this volume took place against a background of social, political, and military crises in which Venice's very existence was threatened, by catastrophic fires, by the plague that killed Giorgione in 1510, and by the war of the League of Cambrai (1508–1516).[6] Just as Venice was beset by enemies from abroad, so too the artistic culture was dramatically changed as a result of a series of "outside" influences. The role of these contacts in the artistic flowering of the early sixteenth century is only beginning to be fully appreciated. Their relevance as a catalyst for change arises from the fact that Bellini's achievement, however great, could not be developed further in its own terms except, as the exhibition demonstrates, by the master himself. The physical and emotional stasis of Bellini's work—the reticence that went hand in hand with its refinement—made it inadequate to represent the new content coming into Venetian art during this period. At the same time, artists outside Venice—Leonardo in Milan and Florence, Raphael and Michelangelo in Florence and Rome, and Dürer in northern Europe—were creating what Vasari, referring to the Italians, called the *maniera moderna.* Though most of the artists included here— Giorgione, Titian, Sebastiano, Lotto, Palma, and Catena— studied with Bellini or took his work as a point of departure, the exhibition does not present his direct legacy, as the more enterprising of his pupils, unlike the faithful "Belliniani," were quick to see the limitations of his art and turned to new models. The horizons of the younger generation rapidly expanded, as Giorgione first sought inspiration in drawings that Leonardo brought to Venice during a brief sojourn early in 1500 (page 240, fig. 3).[7] Leonardo's impact involves a basic change in the conception of the human figure that can be traced, as a sense of heightened animation, right up to Titian's *Assumption* (page 48, fig. 8).[8] If Leonardo supplied the expressive dimension missing in Bellini, Dürer was a force through the intense realism of his prints, which circulated throughout Italy, and of the paintings he completed during his Venetian sojourn of 1505–1506. Dürer's engravings influenced the landscapes in Lotto's early allegories (cats. 37, 47), for example, and his *Feast of the Rose Garlands* (page 45, fig. 6), painted for the church of San Bartolomeo a Rialto, lies behind Lotto's early *sacra conversazione* (cat. 3) in Rome.[9] Lotto, whose originality often verges on the bizarre, forms a contrast to Titian, whose work superseded Giorgione's as the standard for the new painting. Recent scholarship, borne out by the exhibition, has clarified the debt young Titian owed indirectly to sources in Raphael and Michelangelo.[10] Long before his trip to Rome in 1545, prints and drawings recording their ideas offered Titian and his contemporaries the means to update their inheritance from Bellini and Giorgione. The revolution that produced some of the world's most glorious paintings thus seems to have been prompted to a considerable extent by works on paper.

Like the other new themes treated by Giorgione and his fellow artists, the pastoral landscape became a quintessentially Venetian mode of painting. The pastoral did not arise out of some new feeling for nature or the countryside. To the contrary, it depicts an imaginary world whose roots lie in ancient bucolic poetry then being revived in Venice.[11] More than Theocritus' *Idylls*, published by Aldus Manutius in the original Greek in 1495, it was the Latin pastoral of Virgil's *Eclogues* that was the primary model for the revival. Of even greater importance because it was in the vernacular, which could be read by artists and not just their learned patrons, was the Neapolitan poet Jacopo Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, published in an unauthorized edition in 1502 and again in 1504.[12] Frequently reissued, Sannazaro's prose and verse romance tells the story of a court poet who flees the cares of urban life to seek solace in nature. Playing the shepherd, Sannazaro's protagonist encounters an idyllic landscape— a *locus amoenus* (pleasant place)—populated by real shepherds, nymphs, and satyrs. The revived pastoral in literature unquestionably stimulated the rise of pastoral painting in Venice, as seen in the epitome of the genre— Titian's *Pastoral Concert* (cat. 31) in the Louvre. As in its literary precedents, the landscape setting in the picture plays a major role and is essential to its poetic effect. Also common to the visual and verbal pastoral are arcadian motifs, such as nymphs and the shady grove and gently rolling hills. But the key element is the shepherd, shown in his dual role as herdsman (the small figure tending his flock in the background) and as musician or poet. The latter concept predominates, as Giorgione's type of curly-haired youth (page 44, fig. 4) joins the gathering in the foreground. His bare foot and humble dress, contrasted with the resplendent costume of his male companion, point to the dialectic between city and country, cultured and rustic, art and nature, that lies at the heart of the pastoral idiom.

But aside from its shared imagery and values, Titian's painting differs significantly from the literary type. Quite unlike the classical architecture in the *Arcadia*, for example, the picturesque motif of rustic structures perched on a hillside derives from Dürer's prints and may serve to recall the city left behind. Titian's main focus, however, is the figures on the grassy knoll. As shown by technical investigation, their relation to one another changed during the course of execution. In the final version, the standing nude female turns away from the group, while her counterpart, seated with a recorder in hand, turns her back to the viewer and ignores the youths, who gaze intently at each other.[13] Nothing like this occurs in Sannazaro's poem, but a similar configuration appears in Titian's *Christ and the Adulteress* (page 102, fig. 2), in Glasgow, which may be dated just prior to the *Concert*, about 1509/1510.[14] The point is not that Titian was merely reusing his figural vocabulary but that the *Concert* is essentially an artistic invention with literary associations that recommended it to the patron. Also Titian's was the decision to depict the lute player not as a pretend shepherd but as a young patrician, whose contemporary dress would have encouraged the patron to project himself into the imaginary world of the painting.

The schema of an intimate group in a landscape was also used for paintings of religious subjects. The horizontal format of these works, going back to Bellini, lent itself to a pastoral treatment, nowhere more than in depictions of the Adoration of the Shepherds. Again like the *Concert* but earlier, Giorgione's version of the theme (cat. 17), in the National Gallery of Art, includes large-scale figures of shepherds adoring the infant Christ in the foreground and smaller ones with their flock in the middle distance. As Mauro Lucco explains (page 117), these are noble shepherds, dressed poorly but dignified, almost courtly, in demeanor.[15] The later addition of an announcing angel in the upper left corner turned the pair resting under a tree into the conventional shepherds of the Gospel story. The Washington picture belongs to the so-called Allendale group, including the little *Holy Family* (fig. 1), also in the National Gallery of Art, and the *Adoration of the Magi* in the National Gallery, London, which are now generally regarded as early works by Giorgione.[16] The *Adoration of the Shepherds* may be compared in the exhibition with the *Sunset Landscape* ("*Il Tramonto*") (cat. 29), also widely attributed to Giorgione and a link with the *Tempest* and his other established secular works. As a highly innovative treatment of a familiar theme, the *Adoration of the Shepherds* inspired more copies and variants than did the *Tempest;* indeed it may have been Giorgione's most popular composition.[17] The exhibition includes three such imitations, one of them claimed to be an autograph replica. The unfinished version (cat. 18) of the *Adoration* in Vienna has often been attributed to Titian; recently Jaynie Anderson has connected the two works with Michiel's description of two pictures by Giorgione, one of which he judged superior to the other. In bringing the Washington and Vienna paintings together for the first time, the exhibition offers the chance to make just such a comparison.

Of course, Giorgione's contribution to the pastoral surpassed the *Adoration of the Shepherds.* In the *Tramonto* he inverted the usual relation between figures and setting, giving the landscape greater importance and featuring a sunset which, as in the *Tempest,* gives the picture its name. And in the *Three Philosophers* (cat. 30), he introduced an unaccustomed note of exoticism.[18] Behind the enigmatic figures, tall tree trunks and a cave frame a pastoral vista similar to that in the *Concert.* The use of such a framing device extends beyond the Vienna picture to include the Allendale *Adoration* and even Bellini's *Saint Jerome Reading* (cat. 22) of 1505. The framing of a landscape is more explicit in Giorgione's Castelfranco altarpiece, in which two complementary pastoral scenes flank the enthroned Virgin and Child, and in his *Holy Family* (fig. 1), where an opening in a wall behind the figures encloses a vista that appears autonomous. The consistency of these views—the sunrise or sunset over blue mountains and rolling hills, the castle or other rustic buildings, the tall tree or grove, the plain with tiny figures—further contributes to the effect of a picture within a picture. Artfully composed and framed, the pastoral vignettes in these works, as well as in the backgrounds of Sebastiano's portraits (cats. 43, 55), point toward the emergence of landscape as an independent genre.

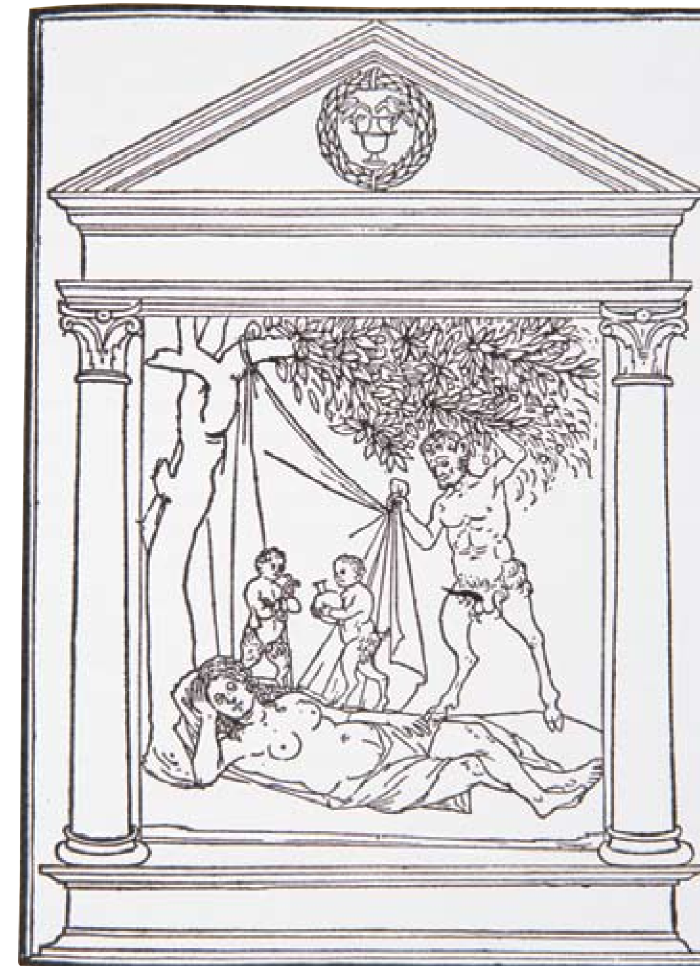
The difference between the new pastoral landscape and the older type may be gauged by comparing Titian's *Gypsy Madonna* (cat. 2) with Bellini's *Virgin with the*

1.
Giorgione, *Holy Family*, National Gallery of Art, Washington, Samuel H. Kress Collection

Blessing Child (cat. 1) of the same date, in which the background is full of symbolic details and, continuing behind the figures, helps to balance the composition. Shifted to the right, Titian's cloth of honor asymmetrically frames the landscape (fig. 2), in which a soldier, rather than a shepherd, is seated beneath a tree. The x-radiograph reveals that the artist carefully adjusted the arcadian motifs composing the view. They are repeated, in fact, from the left side of the distant landscape, framed by a rocky outcrop, in the *Sleeping Venus* (page 44, fig. 5), in Dresden, which, according to Michiel, Titian completed after Giorgione's untimely death in 1510.[19] The right side of the landscape in the *Venus*, with rustic buildings crowning a hill, also recurs on the right (fig. 3) in the *Noli Me Tangere* (cat. 21), and in other works by or attributed to Titian.[20] The repetition of the *Venus* landscape suggests that for the young Titian it was not a matter of self-borrowing but a pictorial strategy aimed at claiming responsibility for the Dresden picture. Michiel and quite possibly others credited the invention of the *Venus* and the execution of the main figure to Giorgione—all the more reason, then, for Titian to attempt to put his stamp on it. Some scholars now believe that Titian did all of this epochal painting, not just the landscape (and a cupid overpainted on the right). He was responsible for the landscape, in any case, and the integration of the figures with the echoing forms of nature in the *Noli Me Tangere*, as Nicholas Penny has observed, marks a further advance in the history of landscape painting.[21] As for the pastoral, the idealized view of nature that it presents gradually changed to admit more of the harsh reality of country life, at first simply by including enough animals to make a real flock (cat. 25).[22]

If the pastoral landscape held out the vision of a carefree existence in nature, the second of the new, quintessentially Venetian themes—the nude or partially clad female—aroused fantasies of a different sort. More directly than the pastoral, early sixteenth-century depictions of women nude or in a provocative state of partial undress raise the issue, as new as the art itself, of how such images seek to communicate with the viewer. Here the problem is that, while the pastoral may still appear delightful, the recumbent female nude in painting has become an artistic cliché to which we respond mainly in aesthetic terms. It is necessary to recall, therefore, how few female nudes there were in Venetian art before the *Sleeping Venus*. Significantly, the one most often cited as a prototype is not a painting but a woodcut. This little picture (fig. 4) of a slumbering nymph accosted by a lustful satyr illustrates one of the most famous books of the period, Francesco Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, published by Aldus Manutius in Venice in 1499. Because of its rarity, this classically sanctioned nude had an influence disproportionate to its size. Giorgione's bold step was to transform the small graphic image into a large-scale picture that rendered the nude life size and in living color, and that cast the viewer in the satyr's role as voyeur. A later example of the genre, Palma's *Bathing Nymphs* (cat. 35) offered the connoisseur of female beauty not one but thirteen nudes posed in a variety of attitudes for his pleasure.

Though portrayals of women in this period were tempered by the Neoplatonic concept, then much in vogue, of love as an ascent, through stages, from sensuality to spiritual love of the divine,[23] the modern critical notion of the male gaze again offers some help in interpreting the related genre of half-length females depicted close to the viewer. Here, too, the problem is one of overfamiliarity. Giorgione's *Laura* (cat. 38) is so famous it is easy to forget that, at this time, such images of women were rare in Venetian painting. Even if Giorgione's subject was a wife and not a mistress or courtesan, as some scholars have argued, the way she removes what appears to be a male garment must have surprised and delighted viewers used to seeing women portrayed, if at all, like Lotto's respectable matron (cat. 36). Given the lack of realistic portraits of women in Venice, Titian's so-called *Schiavona* (cat. 45),



2.
Titian, *Gypsy Madonna* (cat. 2), detail of landscape

3.
Titian, *Noli Me Tangere* (cat. 21), detail of background right

4.
Francesco Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (Venice, 1499), detail of nymph and satyr

in London, is most remarkable for its size and complexity, explicitly raising, as it does in the woman's carved profile, the issue of the *paragone* (comparison) between painting and sculpture.

The x-radiograph (page 292, fig. 8) of the *Laura* reveals that the erotic motif of baring the breast was of particular concern to Giorgione as he worked on the picture. Like the artist's *Sleeping Venus*, the *Laura* launched a new genre in the history of art, including notably Titian's *Flora* (cat. 42), which is here juxtaposed with its prototype for the first time ever. Titian's celebration of female loveliness quickly superseded Giorgione's enigmatic image as a model for the *belle donne* of other artists, especially Palma, who specialized in the genre. As Sylvia Ferino-Pagden indicates (pages 189–235), the status of these works is still not entirely clear: are they idealized portraits of actual women or images of ideal female beauty? What they all have in common, aside from their seductiveness, is that the youthful beauty they portray was ephemeral. It seems fitting, therefore, that Giorgione's brutally realistic *La Vecchia* (cat. 39) should appear, arrestingly juxtaposed in their midst, as a reminder of the ravages of age. Like the hermit or intercessory saints or the teachers pictured in the exhibition, Giorgione's old woman offers an example of moral guidance. Her message, and theirs, is clear: with the passing of time (*col tempo*), youth turns into age, beauty fades, and love grows cold. Sensuous beauty and pleasure pervade the exhibition, but so, too, does a melancholy awareness of their transience.

No less than the pictures of women, male portraits of the period make a newly dramatic statement about the sitter that goes beyond his character or appearance. Lotto stressed his subjects' state of mind or aspirations through the use of symbols or emblems. But it was Giorgione and his circle who evolved a revolutionary type of idealized portraiture, in which an individual was shown in the guise of a lover, poet, musician, or soldier. Aptly called "action" portraits, these works depict young men acting out roles, as in a dramatic situation or narrative, and frequently turned toward the viewer. The epitome of this development is Titian's *Concert* (cat. 53) in Florence. In this and other group portraits, the format has been expanded to include additional figures, whose relation to the protagonist determines the content of the picture. Often such "allegorical" portraits have learning or music-making as a theme.[24] Music shared with painting the ability to convey what cannot be expressed in words. And it was believed to elevate the soul and reflect the harmony of the universe. The keyboard player in the *Concert*, accordingly, seeks inspiration, but his figure, contrasted with that of his flamboyant companion, already strikes a new note. In Titian's hands, poetic idealization increasingly gave way to a new realism and a sharper awareness of social distinctions, just as it had in the pastoral.

If the new subjects—the pastoral landscape, the erotic female, and the dramatic portrait—are particularly associated with Venice, the manner devised to represent them had much in common with what was occurring in Florence and Rome. The parallel is not surprising given that a knowledge of central Italian innovations, however indirect, was an essential factor in the transformation of Venetian painting. Most obviously, the change involved an increase in size and scale: paintings became larger, and the figures in them grew larger, too, in relation to the picture area. With this change came a change in function, as the works were mostly destined, it would seem, for fairly large spaces in the domestic setting of a palazzo, where their broader brushwork and selective detail provided a new sort of aesthetic satisfaction.

5.
Giovanni Bellini, *Virgin and Child with Saints Peter and Mark and a Donor* (cat. 5), detail of the center and right-hand side

6.
Titian, *Virgin and Child with Saints* (cat. 10), detail of the center and right-hand side

At the same time, a shift occurred toward a horizontal format, an oblong rectangle that allowed for other dramatis personae. As if stepping onto a larger stage, figures interact with one another and with the viewer. Though visible in every category in the exhibition, these dynamic structures may be seen best, as Peter Humfrey demonstrates (pages 56–63), in religious art where the basic subject matter remained more or less unchanged. We have seen that for the formal, strictly symmetrical scheme of Bellini's *Virgin* (cat. 1), Titian experimented with an arrangement (cat. 2) that shifted the figures and the cloth of honor behind them off the central axis in favor of a landscape view. The off-set view of landscape reappears, then, in Titian's *sacra conversazione* (cat. 10) in Parma. Bellini's earlier version of the theme (cat. 5) in Birmingham also depicts the figure of a kneeling donor, whose inclusion fails to alter the symmetrical composition and solemn mood (fig. 5). In Titian's more fluent grouping (fig. 6), the donor ardently presses forward and, with his patron saint, meets the Virgin's gaze, while the infant Christ turns toward Saint Catherine, featured as a *bella donna* on the left. The sloping contours of the landscape stress the piety of the patron and his pro-

tector. This kind of lively relation between figures, who seem to commune with nature as well as with each other, reached its culmination in works by Bonifacio de' Pitati (cat. 12) and Paris Bordone (cat. 13) that can truly be called holy conversations. Here on the Rest on the Flight into Egypt, the Holy Family encounters not only the little Saint John of the biblical account, but also Tobias and the angel and Saint Catherine, all in a lush pastoral landscape.

The stylistic development from static to dynamic outlined above correlates with analogous changes in painting technique. During this period Venetian painters' materials and methods were transformed, as canvas replaced wood panel as the preferred support, and as the oil medium, used alone or in combination with tempera in Venice since the 1470s, was increasingly exploited to obtain new pictorial effects. Oil paint continued to be employed, as it had been by Van Eyck a century earlier, to depict light and texture. Sebastiano's brush captured the reflections on polished metal in his *Man in Armor* (cat. 51) and the precise feel of fabric and fur in the so-called *Dorothea* (cat. 43). But oil paint could also help to portray new realms of feeling and vision. Lotto used it to convey the psychological nuances of sitters like the sensitive young man, surrounded by symbols expressing his state of mind, in Venice (cat. 57), while Titian's painting of creamy flesh and golden hair heightens Flora's erotic appeal (cat. 42). Beginning with Giorgione, the Venetians also utilized the transparency of the medium to represent sunset, twilight, and other transitory effects of light and atmosphere in landscape. New, too, were virtuosic displays of painterly skill, like the flourish of glowing yellow and orange drapery (fig. 7), featured between prayerful heads and hands, in the *Adoration of the Shepherds*. For Joseph's robe Giorgione employed one or both of the new mineral-based pigments,

7.
Giorgione, *Adoration of the Shepherds* (cat. 17), detail of Saint Joseph

8.
Titian, *Noli Me Tangere* (cat. 21), detail of hands and white drapery

orpiment and realgar, just coming into Venetian painting.[25] These colors became a hallmark of the new manner, but the brilliance and luminosity they exhibit could be achieved in other ways as well. The pioneering research of Louisa Matthew and Barbara Berrie (pages 301–309) has shown that painters obtained pigments of superior quality from *vendecolori* (color sellers), a specialty profession unique to Venice, and that they admixed unusual substances, like pulverized glass, to add vibrancy to their pictures. But the most far-reaching change occurred when Bellini's thin, smoothly applied paint layers were supplanted as a technical procedure by Titian's revolutionary method of applying paint freely and in complex layers. A prime example is the *Noli Me Tangere* (cat. 21), already cited for its pastoral landscape. Here the Resurrected Christ appears to the Magdalen (fig. 8) wearing a white shroud that winds around his nude body in loosely painted folds with impasto highlights. The visible brushwork in this passage, meant to stand out like Joseph's robe in the *Adoration*, initiates a career-long development in Titian's work leading up to the even more boldly painted loincloth in the late *Saint Sebastian* in the Hermitage, St. Petersburg.

Aside from fluid brushwork, other changes in the creative process also profoundly altered the course of Western art. Modern technologies, including x-radiography and infrared reflectography, have revolutionized our understanding of the methods of the Venetian painters. As Elke Oberthaler and Elizabeth Walmsley explain (pages 285–300), already in the 1930s, early sixteenth-century Venetian paintings were among the first to be studied using x-rays, which revealed pentimenti (changes of mind) as the artists worked out their compositions. More recently, infrared reflectography has exposed the underdrawings lying beneath the surfaces of these paintings and in doing so qualified Vasari's claim in the *Lives* that Venetian artists did not draw. Even allowing for the low survival rate for Venetian drawings, compared with the riches of Florentine draftsmanship, it seems clear that, instead of making numerous, detailed preliminary studies on paper, Venetian artists, beginning with Bellini, drew with the brush directly on the panel or canvas to be painted. The underdrawings, in a carbon material, range from slight indications of contours to fully worked-up sketches complete with hatchings for shadows. While in Bellini the underdrawing is mainly confined to the figures and becomes more abbreviated, Giorgione's underdrawings, made with a wider brush, are bolder and more varied and extend to the landscape. Significantly for the pastoral, Giorgione experimented with the size and profile of the cave, framing the distant landscape, in both the *Adoration of the Shepherds* and the *Three Philosophers*. The new infrared reflectogram (page 293, fig. 11) of the Vienna picture, published here for the first time, is particularly interesting, as a touchstone for Giorgione's draftsmanship and for what it reveals about his working methods. The reflectogram shows that the underdrawing is not uniform and consistent, in the manner of a finished drawing or cartoon on paper, but varies throughout the painting according to a specific purpose. The technical investigation further reveals that the protagonists' robes were first longer, as seen in the underdrawing, and then shorter, as in the x-radiograph, before reaching their present appearance. Combining the two investigative techniques leads to a better understanding of Giorgione's creative process, which did not involve two different versions of a composition, one drawn and the other painted, but a more complex method of continuous revision. Giorgione's practice of altering compositions while working on them was not lost on his "creati," as Vasari called Sebastiano and Titian.

In their works, too, the same process of experimentation ranged from simple contour adjustments to what seem to be changes in subject. The figure of Roch in Titian's *Virgin and Child with Saints* (cat. 7) in the Prado, for example, bends over from a formerly upright position to expose his plague sore to the gaze of the infant Christ.

The relation between the Venetians' iconographically unusual subjects and the innovative styles and techniques they used to represent them is difficult to determine exactly. For example, we have seen that before painting the *Tempest* Giorgione had already evolved the new creative procedures for representing the pastoral landscape. What is clear is that style and technique converge in artists' treatments of a given theme. Approached from this standpoint, Venetian paintings of the period demonstrate a heightened self-consciousness on the part of their creators. This artistic self-consciousness is manifested in various ways both in the works themselves and in the manner in which they address the viewer. Unlike their predecessors, early sixteenth-century Venetian painters seem to declare, or draw attention to, the status of their works as artistic creations. We can detect this kind of conscious artistry applied to all three of the new pictorial themes. The pastoral offers the fiction of an ideally beautiful landscape into which the city dweller might escape. But for all its links to literature, the visual pastoral is essentially an artistic invention relating in each case to the artist's other works. And the landscape is brought to the viewer's attention as an artistic construct both by its greater importance and by the way in which vistas are framed or featured within the larger picture. A key factor is the repetition of the type. Similarly, with the *belle donne*, the image of an ideally beautiful woman appears in various guises in both sacred and secular pictures. What mattered was not the ostensible subject but the type (especially the long blond hair), which could be varied to suit the viewer or even radically altered, as in *La Vecchia*, to confound his (or her) expectations. Or, the viewer's pleasure could be doubled, as in Palma's *Bathing Nymphs*, in which the seductive female nude was multiplied and combined with a pastoral setting. In the portraiture of men, the subject could confront the viewer, by means of highly obvious but effective devices, like the turning pose and over-the-shoulder glance.

Self-conscious artfulness could be impressed on the observer in other ways, too, like displays of painterly skill. The kind of reflections on shiny metallic surfaces in Sebastiano's *Man in Armor* were a specialty of Giorgione's, according to Vasari and other early sources. Titian's bravura brushwork, featured next to the Magdalen's outstretched hand in the *Noli Me Tangere*, also solicited the viewer's admiration. If for the artists' contemporaries these comparisons and contrasts remained implicit, in the exhibition they resonate in telling juxtapositions and sequences. For example, we can follow the permutations of a type or motif throughout the show, as when musician angels abandon their places at the base of a throne (cats. 6, 9) and move outside (cat. 20), or become a handsome youth making music in a landscape (cat. 31) or a real-life singer and lutenist (cat. 54). Even in the area of subject matter, the painter's art became visible as his treatment of a theme deviated—deliberately it would seem in a *paragone* of painting and poetry—from the biblical or classical texts on which it was based. Of course, artists had always been obliged to add elements not found in literary sources and each one did so in his own particular style. It was the Venetian painters' approach to subject matter that was new, with the textual source or program indicated by the patron serving as a point of departure for an autonomous artistic invention that was meant to be admired for its own sake, as a distinctive or even deeper interpretation of a theme.[26]

The appearance of a new kind of painting created—and meant to be perceived—as a product of the artist's imagination is obviously connected with the larger issue of Renaissance notions of subjectivity and the self.[27] In the visual arts, the idea that a work of art reflected its creator was reinforced, in Venice, by the visits of Leonardo and Dürer at the beginning of the century. The presence of these two magnetic personalities, combined with their works, would have made a compelling case for artistic innovation. Leonardo showed off a portrait of Isabella d'Este, on which he was working, to a visitor in his studio.[28] And Dürer included his self-portrait, looking out at the viewer, in the *Feast of the Rose Garlands*, both as a proud declaration of authorship and as a challenge to the Venetians, who, he complained, were stealing his ideas.[29] Marcantonio Michiel's notebooks, already cited in connection with the *Allendale Nativity*, offer further evidence that the cultural climate in which Giorgione and his contemporaries were working had recently begun to prize personal invention and its visibility in works of art. In what is essentially a glorified list, dated 1521 to 1543 and preserved in the Biblioteca Marciana, Venice, Michiel describes works of art he had seen in public and in private collections to which he had access in Venice and elsewhere in northern Italy. A well-connected patrician and friend of the writers Sannazaro and Bembo and of the artists Bellini, Titian, Sebastiano, and Catena, Michiel had his own art collection—including, it would seem, a copy of Jacopo de' Barbari's *View of Venice*—and he had a collector's interest in the works he described.[30] Going beyond the superficial praise for lifelikeness found in much humanist writing on art, he notes the medium and support of paintings, and he was alert to problems of attribution, quality, and condition, just as in a modern catalogue. His assertion that two of Giorgione's pictures, the *Three Philosophers* and the *Sleeping Venus*, were completed by Sebastiano and Titian, respectively, is remarkable for its time. But Michiel had no interest in the place of a work in an artist's oeuvre, and he made no distinction, as a modern art historian would, between period styles. Most of his entries are necessarily brief, but Michiel describes certain works in greater detail, indicating how he looked at them. He does not offer his personal reactions, so there is no projection or titillation or even admiration for Venetian color. Michiel aimed to record what he found characteristic about a painting, namely the artist's treatment of its subject, which he often fails to identify precisely. His list makes clear that Venetian collectors prized Flemish or Flemish-inspired panels, as well as classical sculpture, and that their holdings went far beyond the small devotional images and portraits that hitherto constituted the pictorial decoration of Venetian palazzi. Many works now had secular subjects, and among these Michiel notes iconographical novelties: a portrait sitter and a female nude by or after Giorgione were both "seen from the back," as was the donor in Titian's *Baptism* now in the Capitoline Museum, Rome. Michiel was also sensitive to landscape and not only in the *Tempest*, which he examined in the collection of the wealthy patrician Gabriele Vendramin and which he famously describes as a "small landscape, on canvas, with a storm and a gypsy and a soldier." Evidently Michiel discussed the objects with their owners—in other words, a conversation about art—and though more skilled as a connoisseur, his remarks may be taken to reflect their approach to art and art collecting as well. One of this new breed of

art lovers, Michele Contarini had a study of a nude in a landscape for a Giorgione painting owned by Michiel himself, and even made small copies after the masters. Two others each had a version of a "head of a young man holding an arrow" (page 44, fig. 4) by Giorgione, one of which Michiel believed to be a copy. Preliminary studies, paintings in the new manner, and copies after them, all displaying the artist's invention, were avidly collected.[31]

The premium placed on personal invention engendered rivalries between painters, who engaged in a competitive struggle for dominance on the Venetian scene. As Charles Hope has noted, "artistic rivalry, probably never before so intense or overt in Venice, must have been a major factor in the rapid development of Venetian painting in this period."[32] Striking out on their own, Bellini's former pupils competed both with him and with each other. In his essay entitled "Masters and Pupils, Colleagues and Rivals" (pages 39–53), Peter Humfrey tracks the shifting personal and professional relationships between these artists. The context for their rivalry was the *paragone* or debate over the superiority of painting, on the one hand, and poetry or sculpture, on the other. Leonardo lauded the painter's ability, through reflections, to make multiple views of a figure; unlike sculpture in the round, these could be perceived simultaneously.[33] The *paragone* was aired in print in the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* and in Luca Pacioli's *Divina Proportione* published in Venice, respectively, in 1499 and 1509. Above all, it was a courtly matter. In his *Il Cortegiano (Book of the Courtier)*, Baldassare Castiglione explains that "in painting Leonardo da Vinci, Mantegna, Raphael, Michelangelo, and Giorgio da Castelfranco are most excellent; and yet they are all unlike each other in their work: so that in his own manner no one of them appears to lack anything, since we recognize each to be perfect in his own way."[34] We know that Castiglione's Mantuan patron, the marchesa Isabella d'Este, deliberately compared portraits for their artistic merits. In April 1498 she wrote to Cecilia Gallerani, mistress of Duke Lodovico Sforza, in Milan, asking her to send her portrait by Leonardo (the *Lady with the Ermine* in Cracow) so that she might compare it with examples by Bellini.[35] Recalling an earlier competition between Pisanello and Jacopo Bellini for her uncle Lionello d'Este, Isabella's *paragone* was not made for disinterested aesthetic reasons only, for shortly afterwards she commissioned the portrait of herself from Leonardo, evidently preferring his style to that of Bellini. Similarly, for the decoration of the *studiolo* (private study), where she displayed her collection, Isabella solicited works from the most renowned masters, who were expected to emulate the Mantuan court painter Mantegna. Here Isabella could, and did, compare Mantegna's *Parnassus* and *Expulsion of the Vices*, which initiated the series, with Perugino's *Battle of Love and Chastity* and with two allegories by Mantegna's successor, Lorenzo Costa. Isabella tried to obtain a contribution from Bellini as well, but without success. Even though she agreed that he might paint a picture "of his own invention" and "in his own way," in the end they settled on a *Nativity*, which is lost.[36] Judged worthy of comparison with Mantegna, Bellini's *Nativity* encouraged Isabella to try again—and again without success—for a secular work for her *studiolo*. The problem, Pietro Bembo explained in a letter to the marchesa of 1505, was that the artist was "accustomed as he says to wander at his will in his paintings."[37] Bellini was pitted against Mantegna once more in a commission from the Venetian Francesco Cornaro, who wished him to complete a cycle of four history pictures left unfinished at Mantegna's death in 1506. From the way it is painted, Bellini's *Continence of Scipio* (cat. 28) appears to have offered a rejoinder to Mantegna's grisaille in the National Gallery, London.

The rivalry between Venetian painters extended to Bellini's pupils and went public with the exterior decoration of the headquarters of the German merchants, the Fondaco dei Tedeschi, recently rebuilt after a fire. Giorgione painted the canal façade in 1508, while Titian, probably in 1509, undertook the less important façade overlooking the street. The cycle, which featured large-scale allegorical figures, is preserved only in a few badly damaged fragments and in engraved copies. It is uncertain whether Titian began working as Giorgione's assistant—he claimed to have won the commission independently—but the two artists quickly became rivals. Both Lodovico Dolce in his *Aretino* of 1557 and Vasari report that Titian's contribution was held to have surpassed Giorgione's to the chagrin of the latter.[38] We have observed that a slightly later work, the *Pastoral Concert* (cat. 31), is more Giorgionesque than any other work by Titian; indeed, it is more Giorgionesque than is Giorgione. If it is not by Giorgione, as most critics now agree, why does the Louvre picture enter so deeply into his manner? It would be gratifying to believe that Titian's painting was a fond memorial to his recently deceased mentor. But in light of the Fondaco incident, it would seem that in the *Pastoral Concert* Titian was signaling that he had assumed leadership of the artistic revolution then underway. The painting is emblematic of the relation between the two artists in the sense that, no longer having to challenge Giorgione, Titian was now taking his place. The younger artist brought a new energy, vitality, and sensuality to Giorgione's lyricism. But, along with its visual poetry, there is something slightly unsettling about the Louvre picture, as if Titian had not only counterfeited Giorgione's style but also assumed his identity.

With Giorgione dead and Sebastiano departed for Rome, only the old Giovanni Bellini stood in Titian's way as an obstacle to advancement. As Humfrey recounts (page 47), in 1513, three years before Bellini's death, Titian staked his claim to succeed him as head of the Venetian school by offering to paint a "work which no other artist had been able to do"—a battle piece left unexecuted by Perugino (and presumably by Bellini) in the Sala del Maggior Consiglio in the Doge's Palace. Even earlier, Titian's votive picture of *Jacopo Pesaro Presented to Saint Peter* in Antwerp, together with a *sacra conversazione* recently attributed to him in the Prado, appears, like the *Gypsy Madonna*, less an imitation of Bellini than a challenge to his supremacy.[39] After Bellini died in 1516, the rivalry between the two artists became posthumous. Only two years before his death, Bellini completed the *Feast of the Gods* (cat. 32) for the *camerino* of Duke Alfonso d'Este in the castle at Ferrara. This work and the *Lady with a Mirror* (cat. 41) show that, late in life, Bellini reinvented himself once again. While stunningly beautiful and moving as a testament to his undiminished creative powers, these two paintings, brought together in the exhibition, represent a highly personal, ambivalent response to the current vogue for secular art. Like his sister Isabella's program of juxtaposing mythological pictures by different artists, Alfonso's *camerino* paired the *Feast* with three large mythological canvases by Titian—the *Worship of Venus* (cat. 34), the *Bacchanal of the Andrians* (cat. 33), both in the Prado, and the *Bacchus and Ariadne* in the National Gallery, London. The chronology and arrangement of the *camerino* pictures are still debated, even after the Titian exhibition of 2003 reunited them. But scholars agree that the *Worship of Venus* preceded Titian's other contributions and that the *Andrians* and the *Feast* hung side by side, with Titian's

picture on the left, as can be deduced in each case from the continuity in the landscape background. The *Worship of Venus* seems to have flanked Bellini's painting on the right. Beverly Brown has recently suggested that Titian may have taken the *Feast* into consideration when planning the *Worship of Venus*, as the towering trees from which putti gather fruit on the left echo those in Bellini's picture.[40] The issue is clearer with the *Andrians*. The composite x-radiograph of the *Feast* (page 289, fig. 4) shows that Titian repainted the landscape background (one that already covered Bellini's screen of trees) on the left, not only to harmonize that work better with the *Andrians* but also, perhaps, to facilitate a direct comparison between the two pictures. The exhibition provides a rare opportunity to view Bellini's and Titian's canvases as they were originally meant to be seen, side by side in a relatively narrow space, in a wooden enframement and raised to a considerable height approximating that of the original vantage point. The major difference between the two compositions lies in the scale of the figures, which are larger in the *Andrians* and closer to the viewer. The hedonistic mood of Titian's drunken, dancing revelers obviously differs too—a real bacchanal, we might say. But these differences cannot disguise the way in which Titian's canvas echoes Bellini's, not only in the sleeping females (figs. 9, 10) in the lower right and in the bare-backed males carrying jugs on the left but also in small details like the overturned cups. Some of the allusions are witty, too: Titian's vine-crowned, urinating boy substitutes for the infant Bacchus pouring wine from a cask, and his larger, tastier guinea fowl, perched in a tree, confronts Bellini's pheasant.[41]

The visual echoes meant to demonstrate Titian's superiority over Bellini were only part of the pictorial strategy employed in the *Andrians*. The younger artist also sought to align himself and his picture with modern art. By "modern" the Renaissance meant classicizing, and Titian's painting, accordingly, alludes to both ancient and contemporary works not on view in the *camerino* but surely known to the artist's patron. For guidance in artistic matters, Alfonso d'Este looked to Rome. On a trip there in July 1512 to seek pardon for offenses against Pope Julius II, he climbed the scaffold to inspect the nearly completed ceiling decoration of the Sistine Chapel. After others in the party had left, an eyewitness reports that "Alfonso remained up there with Michelangelo, for he could not see enough of those figures, he flattered him copiously and…requested that he should make him a painting; and he made him discuss it, he offered money, and extracted a promise to do it."[42] Whether or not this work was for the *camerino* is unknown. On a subsequent visit to Rome for Pope Leo X's coronation in 1513, Alfonso was similarly said to "care only for commissioning pictures and seeing antiquities."[43] Titian, who began working for Alfonso in 1516, knew him as a discerning patron and shared his cultural ambitions. The borrowings from central Italian art in the *Andrians* are deliberate, not disguised, and were designed both to update the picture and to appeal to a patron captivated by Michelangelo and the antique. Already in the *Bacchus and Ariadne* Titian had conspicuously cited the famous *Laocoön* in the figure of a satyr struggling with snakes. The allusions to classical sculpture in the *Andrians* are even more appropriate, as that work aimed to evoke an ancient painting described in the literary source for the picture. What is particularly interesting about the derivations in the *Andrians* is that some of them involve the very same figures that Titian contrasted with Bellini's. Thus, the sleeping nymph with her arm raised in the lower right corner is based on the *Sleeping Ariadne* (fig. 11), then believed to represent Cleopatra, in

9.
Giovanni Bellini, *Feast of the Gods* (cat. 32), detail of the sleeping Lotis on the right

10.
Titian, *Bacchanal of the Andrians* (cat. 33), detail of the sleeping nude female on the right

11.
Marcantonio Raimondi, Engraving after the statue of the Sleeping Ariadne in the Vatican, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence

12.

Aristotile da San Gallo (copy after Michelangelo's cartoon for the *Battle of Cascina*), *The Bathers*, Earl of Leicester, Holkham Hall

the Vatican, as well as on similar reclining females on bacchic sarcophagi, known to Renaissance artists and collectors in the original or from drawings or engravings.[44] Likewise, the bearded man carrying a jar on the left in the *Andrians* derives from Agostino Veneziano's signed engraving of a Man carrying a Column Base or a similar type of nude male figure bearing a heavy burden.[45] But Titian's principal debt, as far as modern sources are concerned, was undoubtedly Michelangelo's famous cartoon for the *Battle of Cascina*. The male nude reclining to the right of the woman raising her cup in the *Andrians* replicates a figure in Michelangelo's drawing, which, having been cut up, was known from fragments and various copies, including one (fig. 12) of the main composition.[46] In fact, Titian repeatedly quoted figures from the cartoon in a number of works dating to the second and third decades of the century.[47] Not just individual motifs but the whole composition of the *Andrians* mimics the densely intertwined figures in the battle piece, and the lesson Titian learned from Michelangelo was no doubt a key factor in his success with Alfonso. But no one would mistake Titian's revelers for Florentine bathers responding to an alarm. The male nudes in the *Andrians* are only a chorus to the real star of the picture—the unabashedly sensual nymph, shown life size and at eye level, in the lower right. She precedes a series of provocatively posed female nudes that Titian painted for an ever-wider circle of princely patrons. In the same way, the extraordinary range, variety, and brilliance of color in the *Andrians* are, like the similar palette in the *Feast*, unmistakably Venetian. In the end, it was not just the pictorial strategies of early sixteenth-century Venetian painting but its beauty of color that formed a lasting legacy for Western art.

1. Ferino-Pagden and Nepi Scirè 2004; and Nepi Scirè and Rossi 2003. See also the review by Paul Holberton, "Giorgione: Myth and Enigma," *Apollo* (July 2004), 58–59.

2. For the monographs, see Joannides 2001 and Pedrocco 2001; for the exhibition, see *Titian* 2003 and Falomir 2003.

3. Stephen J. Campbell, "Giorgione's *Tempest*, *Studiolo* Culture, and the Renaissance Lucretius," *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. 56 (2003), 299–332.

4. Patricia Fortini Brown, *Venice and Antiquity: the Venetian Sense of the Past* (New Haven and London, 1996).

5. To the older literature may be added the exhibition celebrating the quincentenary of Aldus Manutius' activity, held in Florence and Venice in 1994, together with *Aldus Manutius and Renaissance Culture,* Acts of the International Conference, Venice and Florence, 1994, D.S. Zeidberg, ed., with the assistance of Fiorella Gioffredi Suberbi (Florence, 1998).

6. Marin Sanudo recorded these and innumerable other events in his diaries, which chronicle a period (1496–1533) corresponding to that covered in the exhibition.

7. See *Leonardo and Venice* 1992.

8. The lesson of Leonardo apparently sank in during the opening decades of the century; though the comparison has gone unrecognized, the gesticulating apostles reacting to the miracle in Titian's *Assumption* are indebted to the new figurative language Leonardo developed for the *Last Supper* in Milan. Like Raphael, Titian ignored the idiosyncratic quality of Leonardo's work, its combination of beauty and strangeness, that appealed to Giorgione.

9. Compare Lotto's Saint Onophrius, with his long white mustache and beard, to a similar figure on the left in Dürer's altarpiece. The head of the infant Christ is nearly identical to that in Dürer's *Madonna* of 1506 in the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin.

10. Hochmann 2004, 193–242.

11. The fundamental study of Venetian pastoral paintings and drawings is David Rosand, "Giorgione, Venice, and the Pastoral Vision" (see Rosand 1988, 21–81). See also Luba Freedman, *The Classical Pastoral in the Visual Arts* (New York, 1989). About the pastoral in general, see the essays in *Pastoral* 1992.

12. Jacopo Sannazaro, *Arcadia and Piscatorial Eclogues,* Ralph Nash, trans. and intro. (Detroit, 1966).

13. With their facial expressions shadowed, the relation between the young men in the painting is ambiguous, by contrast to the ostensibly homoerotic pairings in two drawings of pastoral landscapes by Titian's associate Domenico Campagnola (W. R. Rearick, "From Arcady to the Barnyard," in *Pastoral* 1992, 148–149 and figs. 13 and 14).

14. The Glasgow *Adulteress* may be dated between Titian's Fondaco frescoes of 1509 and those he painted in 1510–1511 in the Scuola del Santo in Padua. About the painting, which includes a shepherd with his flock beside a shady grove in the background, see Peter Humfrey's entry in Peter Humfrey, Timothy Clifford, Aidan Weston-Lewis, and Michael Bury, *The Age of Titian: Venetian Renaissance Art from Scottish Collections* (exh. cat., National Gallery of Scotland), (Edinburgh, 2004), 80–82, nos. 13 and 14.

15. On the concept of the innately noble shepherd, as opposed to the peasant, whose poverty was scorned, see Patricia Emison, *Low and High in Italian Renaissance Art*, (New Haven and London, 1997), 37–89.

16. For the *Holy Family* see most recently David Alan Brown in Ferino-Pagden and Nepi-Scirè 2004, 170–172, no. 2.

17. For three of these, see Joannides 2001, figs. 30, 55, and 56.

18. Rosand 1988, 51.

19. Anderson 1997, 307–308.

20. Compare the *Sacred and Profane Love* in the Borghese Gallery, Rome, and the *Cupid* by a Titian follower in the Akademie, Vienna (Joannides 2001, 188–189 and fig. 158).

21. Nicholas Penny, in Penny 2003, 87–88, no. 7, hypothesizes that the group of buildings on the hill in the *Noli Me Tangere* may precede the same motif in the Dresden picture.

22. For the later type associated with Jacopo Bassano, see Rearick in *Pastoral* 1992, 154–157.

23. Pietro Bembo, *Gli Asolani*, Rudolf B. Gottfried, trans. (Bloomington, Indiana, 1954).

24. In addition to the publications of Augusto Gentili cited in the bibliography, see Ian Fenlon, "Music in Italian Renaissance paintings," in *Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Music*, Tess Knighton and David Fallows, eds. (New York, 1992), 189–209 (with bibliography).

25. About these pigments, which were used for the *Three Philosophers* and other pictures in the exhibition, see Lorenzo Lazzarini, "The Use of Color by Venetian painters 1480–1580: Materials and Techniques," in *Color and Technique in Renaissance Painting*, Marcia Hall, ed. (Locust Valley, New York, 1987), 117 (115–136); and Dunkerton 1994, 67 (63–74). The swirling orange drapery recurs in Titian's early *Circumcision* in the Yale University Art Gallery (Joannides 2001, fig. 77).

26. Giulio Campagnola's prints record pictorial ideas and types closely associated with Giorgione, much as Marcantonio's contemporary engravings after Raphael, Michelangelo, and others transmit their pictorial concepts. About Giulio's prints, see Konrad Oberhuber in Jay Levenson, Konrad Oberhuber, and Jacquelyn Sheehan, *Early Italian Engravings from the National Gallery of Art* (exh. cat., National Gallery of Art), (Washington, 1973), 390–413. About the graphic dissemination of artists' ideas, see David Landau and Peter Parshall, *The Renaissance Print 1470–1550* (New Haven and London, 1994), 116–161.

27. The seminal study is Stephen J. Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago, 1980).

28. About the cartoon for this work, in the Louvre, see most recently Françoise Viatte in *Léonard de Vinci. Dessins et manuscripts* (exh. cat., Musée du Louvre), (Paris, 2003), 185–189, no. 61.

29. For the altarpiece, see Peter Humfrey, "Dürer's *Feast of the Rosegarlands:* A Venetian altarpiece," *Bulletin of the Society for Renaissance Studies*, vol. 4, no. 1 (April 1986), 29–39; and about Dürer's independent self-portraits, see Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Moment of Self-Portraiture in German Renaissance Art* (Chicago, 1993), and the review by Peter Parshall in *The Art Bulletin* 76, no. 3 (September 1994), 537–539.

30. Jennifer Fletcher, "Marcantonio Michiel: His Friends and Collection," *The Burlington Magazine* 123, no. 941 (August 1981), 453–467; "Marcantonio Michiel, 'che ha veduto assai,'" in *The Burlington Magazine*, no. 943 (October 1981), 602–608.

31. For the present locations of these works, see Rosella Lauber, "Breviario per una Diaspora: In Quali Musei Sono Finiti i Dipinti Descritti da Michiel," in *Venezialtrove*, Fabio Isman, ed. (Venice, 2000), 46–83 (with English translation).

32. Hope 1980 (London ed., 1981), 27. For competition between artists in Venice and elsewhere, see Goffen 2002.

33. Claire J. Farago, *Leonardo da Vinci's Paragone* (Leiden, 1992). The reflection in Bellini's *Lady with a Mirror* (cat. 41) demonstrates this principle.

34. Baldassare Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, Charles Singleton, trans., and Daniel Javitch, ed. (New York and London, 2002), 45. Though the book was not published until 1528, this passage was written before 1514.

35. David Alan Brown, "Leonardo and the Ladies with the Ermine and the Book." *Artibus et Historiae* 22, no. 11, (1980), 47–61.

36. On the negotiations with Bellini, Goffen 2002, 11–18.

37. Goffen 1989, 268: "vagare a sua voglia."

38. See Roskill 1968, 186–187; and Giorgio Vasari, Vita of Titian, in Francesco Valcanover, *Tiziano. I suoi penelli sempre partorirono espressioni di vita* (Florence, 1995), 133.

39. David Alan Brown, "Titian and Bellini: From Pupil to Rival," *Arte Cristiana* 93, no. 831, (November–December 2005), 425–442. The Prado picture is a close variant of Bellini's *Virgin and Child with Two Female Saints* in the Accademia, Venice. For the relation between the two artists, see David Alan Brown, "Bellini and Titian," in *Titian* 1990, 57–67.

40. Beverly Brown, Review of Titian 2003, in *Renaissance Studies* 18, no. 1 (March 2004), 117 (113–123). Titian would have seen Bellini's picture as the duke's guest at the castle in February–March 1516.

41. For the idea that the *Andrians* critiques the *Feast*, see cat. 33, note 3. The birds were aptly contrasted in Fehl 1957), 165, note 3.

42. About this incident, see John Shearman, "Alfonso d'Este's Camerino," in *"Il se rendit en Italie." Etudes offertes à André Chastel* (Rome and Paris, 1987), 250–251; and Goffen 2002, 270.

43. Shearman 1987, 250–251.

44. For the *Ariadne*, reproduced here in one of Marcantonio Raimondi's engraved copies, see Hans Hendrik Brummer, *The Statue Court in the Vatican Belvedere* (Stockholm, 1970), 153–184; and for the sarcopaghi, see Sheard 1993, 317–320, especially note 21, and 340.

45. About Agostino's engraving (B.XIV. 354.477) and one in reverse by Marcantonio Raimondi as well as similar figures by Raphael and in ancient sculpture, see Innis H. Shoemaker and Elizabeth Broun, *The Engravings of Marcantonio Raimondi* (exh. cat., Spencer Museum of Art), (Lawrence, Kansas, 1981), no. 41, 140–142.

46. About the debt of the *Andrians* to Michelangelo's cartoon, see most recently Goffen 2002, 284–285. For the copy of the composition, see Martin Kemp in *Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration*, Jay A. Levenson, ed. (exh. cat., National Gallery of Art), (Washington, 1992), 266–268, no. 167; and for engraved copies of individual figures by Marcantonio Raimondi (B.XIV. 363.488 and B.XIV. 361.487), datable 1509 and 1510, see Shoemaker and Broun 1981, 90–92, no. 19. Landau and Parshall (1994, 143–144) note that one of these engravings cites Michelangelo as the inventor of the image, the first dated appearance in the history of printmaking of the term *invenit*. An engraved copy by Agostino Veneziano (B.XIV.363.423) of 1523 likewise bears Michelangelo's name. As the authors explain, the function of these and other prints after Michelangelo or Raphael was to disseminate their pictorial inventions for reproduction by other artists.

47. The number of these works, including the *Three Ages of Man* in Edinburgh, the *Baptism of Christ* in Rome, the *Triumph of Faith* woodcut, and the polyptych with the Resurrected Christ in Brescia, suggests that Michelangelo's art, or what Titian knew of it, struck him with the force of a revelation, analogous to Giorgione's response to Leonardo a decade or so earlier.