

# Sixteenth-Century Paduan Annotations to the First Edition of Vasari's *Vite* (1550)\*

by MARCO RUFFINI

*The discovery of annotations to a copy of Vasari's Vite (1550) in the Beinecke Library at Yale University gives us a rare insight into how the book and contemporary art literature were read and how the information they provided circulated in the Veneto. This article traces the origin of the annotations to the circle of artists and amateurs around the painter Domenico Campagnola in Padua. In polemical reaction to the Florentinism of the Vite, the annotations repeat the major anti-Vasarian arguments elaborated by art writers, but also offer new information about Veneto art. There is also a biographical note on Titian, which precedes the publication of the artist's biography in the second edition of the Vite (1568).*

## 1. INTRODUCTION

In his *Le vite de' più eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori*, Giorgio Vasari (1511–74) aspired to compile an encyclopedic overview of the art of the Italian peninsula. His collection of biographies, however, mainly consists of Florentine artists. Paolo Pino's (1534–65) *Dialogo di pittura*, which originated in the Veneto but praises masters from different regions of the Italian peninsula, acknowledged Vasari's forthcoming work two years before it was published. In a famous passage, Pino envisions the ideal artist as an embodiment of Titian (ca. 1488–1576) and Michelangelo (1475–1564), as the perfect union of Venetian *colore* (color) and Florentine *disegno* (design).<sup>1</sup> Vasari did not return the compliment. The *Vite*, first published in Florence by Lorenzo Torrentino in 1550 (commonly called *Torrentiniana*), exacerbated regional tensions of civic pride among its readers by unambiguously establishing Florence as the epicenter of modern art. Vasari stresses the primacy of Florentine *disegno* in art theory and practice, and at the same

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<sup>1</sup>Pino, 131.

time marginalizes or ignores major artists and works from Northern Italy. He honored Michelangelo with a biography, but not Titian.

Vasari's oversights were not lost on Venetians. Contemporary art literature and the hitherto-unknown annotations that I present in this article offer clues on how the *Vite* was received among art writers as well as artists and art lovers. The earliest published response to the *Vite* from the Veneto is Lodovico Dolce's (1508–68) *Dialogo della pittura* (1557), in which the exaltation of *colore* and the celebration of Titian assumes an anti-Vasarian stance.<sup>2</sup> Dolce employs a character named Pietro Aretino (after the famous polemist writer) who demonstrates to a Tuscan visitor in Venice, named Gian Francesco Fabrini, that other artists are comparable to Michelangelo and equally praiseworthy when one considers painting not only in terms of *disegno* but also in terms of “invention” and *colore*.<sup>3</sup> While Raphael (1483–1520) excelled in all aspects of painting, explains Aretino, Michelangelo did so only in *disegno*. In the conclusion of the dialogue, Dolce characterizes Titian's works as insuperable examples of *colore*. The dialogue was likely inspired by Pietro Aretino (1492–1556), who knew Dolce and whose ideas on art and admiration for his friend Titian were well known from his published correspondence, printed in six volumes between 1537 and 1557. It is also plausible that Titian himself favored Dolce's publication, irritated by the absence of his biography in the *Torrentiniana*.<sup>4</sup>

Another important published response in the Veneto to the *Vite* is the last chapter of Bernardino Scardeone's (1478–1574) *De antiquitate urbis Patavii et claris civibus Patavinis* (1560), the major sixteenth-century source on Paduan art. Dedicated to twenty-three illustrious Paduan artists from the Trecento to Scardeone's time, this chapter is representative of the immediate impact of Vasari's book on the learned tradition of civic historiography. Scardeone praises modern Paduan artists — largely neglected by Vasari — for having resurrected and improved upon the art of antiquity. This special merit was certainly deserved by Andrea Mantegna (ca. 1431–1506), whose biography in Scardeone's book plays a role similar to that of Michelangelo in the *Vite*.

Vasari tried to reconcile these criticisms in the second edition of the *Vite*. As a result, the 1568 edition, published in Florence by the Giunti

<sup>2</sup>On Dolce, see Roskill; Hope, 1993; Bernabei, 1978. Of the vast literature on the Renaissance debate on *colore* and *disegno*, still fundamental are Venturi; Grassi. See also Freedberg; Rosand, 1982; Poirier; Puttfarken; Hochmann, 2004. On the anti-Vasarian reaction in the Veneto, see Merkel, 1976; Puppi, 1976b; Bernabei, 1983.

<sup>3</sup>Dolce uses the word *colorito*.

<sup>4</sup>On Dolce's contacts with Aretino and Titian, see Hope, 1993; Dionisotti, 126.

brothers and known as the Giuntina, offered more information on artists of the Veneto and, most significantly, a biography of Titian. To research the second edition, Vasari traveled to Northern Italy in 1566 and visited Titian's studio. By the time of his departure, Vasari had set up a web of correspondents in the region, including the Veronese friar Marco Medici (1516–81), the Carrarese sculptor Danese Cataneo (1509–73), and the Florentine Cosimo Bartoli (1503–72), Vasari's longstanding friend who was serving as Duke Cosimo I's (1519–72) agent in Venice. Through Bartoli, Vasari received from the city the woodcut portraits of the artists that illustrated the new edition and, we must assume, major information on Veneto art, including Titian's biography. The length and accuracy of the biography of Titian was unprecedented, and, according to Charles Hope, was probably originally written by someone in close contact with the painter. Later, it was expanded by Vasari, who also relied on the new information that he himself had gained on his visit to Venice.<sup>5</sup>

Though Dolce and Scardeone's works are expressions of an anti-Vasarian sentiment, less clear is how accurately they reflect the overall reception of the *Vite* in Veneto artistic circles. Both Dolce and Scardeone defer to Vasari as an authority in art writing, and their anti-Vasarianism is quite indirect.<sup>6</sup> In the *Dialogo*, even the comparison between Titian and Michelangelo is only implied, mediated by Raphael and prudently inserted in the contemporary debate on the two artists.

The annotations, however, illuminate the wider reception of the *Vite* in a way that contemporary publications cannot. Annotations in the first volume of the two-volume set of the *Torrentiniana* at the Beinecke Library at Yale University, written by two anonymous Veneto readers, almost certainly Paduans, give us a rare insight into how the *Vite* and the contemporary art literature were read in the Veneto and how the information they provided circulated among artists and art lovers.<sup>7</sup> The annotations by the first annotator are the earliest known annotations made to the *Vite*; they were

<sup>5</sup>Hope, 2008a, argues that the early draft of Titian's biography was composed by the literate artist Giovanni Maria Verdizzotti.

<sup>6</sup>Scardeone, 373; Dolce, 6, 46, 59, 61. It is unlikely that Aretino, who died one year before the publication of the *Dialogo*, would have opted for a more direct confrontation. His famous letter to Michelangelo that attacks the frescoes of the Sistine Chapel dates to 1545 — the letter was printed as addressed to Alessandro Corvino and postdated July 1547 (Aretino, 2:175–77) — yet in the 1550s, being on good terms with Pope Julius III and seeking to establish new connections with Cosimo I, Aretino had good reason to avoid a conflict with Vasari.

<sup>7</sup>Vasari, 1550 (hereafter cited as Beinecke *Vite*). The annotations are transcribed in Appendix 1 at pp. 790–800 below. On the book's provenance, see Appendix 2 at p. 801 below.

written after Dolce's *Dialogo* and between the publications of Scardeone's *De antiquitate urbis Patavii* and the second edition of the *Vite*.<sup>8</sup>

Concentrated on a few biographies, the annotations were mainly written to index the book's content, usually by repeating words in the margin. Sometimes, however, they offer comments on, or amplifications to, specific passages and wider issues raised by the book. These comments and amplifications, written from memory primarily on the basis of oral sources, demonstrate the wide circulation of the main anti-Vasarian arguments derived from — or independently elaborated by — printed sources. As in the *De antiquitate urbis Patavii*, they vindicate the importance of the Paduan tradition by exalting local painters ignored by Vasari. And as in the *Dialogo*, the annotations' polemical argument centers on the exaltation of Veneto *colore* and culminates with an account of Titian's life and work, presented at the end of the volume on the recto of the first flyleaf before the back cover. The annotations include information that must have been circulating widely in the region, as shown by specific correspondences with Vasari's additions that are dedicated to Veneto art in the second edition of the *Vite*. The value of the annotations is not in the quality or accuracy of their commentary, but more in how they reflect Veneto artists' and art lovers' contemporary reading and understanding of Vasari and his critics.

Unlike the printed tradition, which advanced more nuanced and subtle critiques, the annotators' critiques are explicit and colloquial. This is not unusual. Private forms of writing, such as marginalia, are typically direct. They foster unrestrained criticism and dilation, especially in the case of a controversial book like the *Vite*. As did the first annotator of the Beinecke *Vite*, other readers such as Annibale Carracci (1560–1609), Taddeo Zuccari (ca. 1542–1609), El Greco (1541–1614), and Vincenzo Scamozzi (1548–1618)

<sup>8</sup>Exceptional, but also of a different kind, are the previously unknown editorial annotations I found in the first volume of the Torrentiniana at the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley (N6922.V2.1550.Vault). The annotations, attributable to Carlo Lenzone, consist of a series of asterisks intended for the compilation of the book's index. There are about ten known annotated exemplars of the *Vite* that are considered the earliest and most important. For the Torrentiniana, the only known copy (aside from the one discussed here) is that in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Florence, annotated by the Roman antiquarian Gaspare Celio around 1610. For the Giuntina, the copies annotated by both Federico Zuccari and Lelio Guidiccioni, Annibale Carracci, Francisco de Hollanda, and El Greco are also well known. To these we must add the copy annotated by Vincenzo Scamozzi, only recently rediscovered by Lucia Collavo in the H. P. Krauss Collection in New York: see Collavo. On the *Vite*'s annotated exemplars, see Spagnolo, 2007. On the specific exemplars mentioned, see the following: for Gaspare Celio, see Lepri; for Federico Zuccari, see Hochmann, 1988; for Annibale Carracci, see Fantì; Dempsey; Keazor; for Francisco de Hollanda, see Dos Santos; for El Greco, see De Salas and Mariás.

freely gave their criticism in their annotations to the *Vite*, sometimes even targeting Vasari with offensive language.<sup>9</sup>

As a group, the annotations add little to what is already known. The information they provide on Veneto art is scarce, limited to occasional, geographically circumscribed insights, and increasingly generic when it concerns anything outside Padua. In a larger sense, the annotations remind us how difficult it was to gather specific information on artists and artworks in the second half of the sixteenth century. Although sensitive to civic pride and willing to evaluate their local artistic tradition, the annotators do not possess means to contest Vasari. They point out the *Vite's* gaps and prejudicial views but only in a few cases — and sometimes mistakenly — are the annotators able to fill them in or correct them.

This does not mean that the annotations do not present valuable information for art historians. On the contrary, by primarily relying on oral communication and secondhand sources — based on, but also independent from, written and printed culture — they offer important comments about fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Veneto art that has been overlooked or ignored by art literature. This study analyzes in detail the informative value of individual marginalia, especially a new attribution to Titian contained in the biographical annotation dedicated to the painter: the façade decoration of Palazzo Lion in Venice, which the first annotator lists as one of the earliest works executed by Titian. I will also analyze the annotators' mistakes. Not only do they confirm the secondhand nature of the annotator's sources, but in a few cases they also offer insights on controversial art-historical issues, such as the relationship between Giovanni Bellini's (ca. 1430–1516) and Antonello da Messina's (ca. 1430–79) work and Titian's late activity.

## 2. THE ANNOTATIONS

While the authorship, date, and provenance of the annotations cannot be determined with precision, they can be described generally by a formal and contextual analysis. The graphic features of the annotations indicate that the first annotator is responsible for most of the annotations, whereas the second annotator is only recognizable in a single marginal annotation to the biography of Vittore Carpaccio (1460/65–ca. 1526) and in the concluding part of the biographical note on Titian.<sup>10</sup>

The first annotator wrote around the first half of the 1560s. Several of his annotations refer to works and events of this period, and the mention of

<sup>9</sup>See Fanti; Dempsey; Keazor; Hochmann, 1988; De Salas and Marias; Collavo.

<sup>10</sup>For the annotation in the biography of Carpaccio, see Beinecke *Vite*, 541.

a work by Domenico Campagnola (1500–64) executed in the first months of 1563, certainly after 12 April 1562, is an important *terminus post quem* for his writing. Although not automatically extendable to the whole corpus of his annotations, this chronological indication corresponds to the precise dating to 1563 in the annotations of a judgment by Domenico Campagnola on a Venetian altarpiece. The second annotator certainly wrote after 1581: he describes as extant a painting that had not yet been executed, according to a Venetian document dated that year (that I discuss below). This date corresponds to the graphic quality of his writing, attributable to the last two decades of the sixteenth century. There are continuities between the two writings, both discursive — the second annotator begins his addition to the biographical note on Titian with the conjunction “et” — and material — visual examination suggests that they use the same ink, although diluted in different concentrations. These continuities lead me to believe that the volume passed among different hands in one family or workshop.

The annotations establish the Veneto as the provenance of the document. The annotations concern works of art then visible in Padua, Venice, and Ferrara (with a few exceptions in the note on Titian) and concern artists who either lived in these cities, such as the Bellini, Carpaccio, and Ercole de’ Roberti (ca. 1451–96), or who left significant traces of their art there, like Francesco Francia (ca. 1450–1517) and Donatello (ca. 1386–1466). The linguistic elements of the annotations are also characteristic of the Veneto, including the use of the voiced occlusive velar *g* instead of the correspondent unvoiced *c* (*Domenego*, *fondego*), the evolution of *l* followed by the semivowel *j* (*ogio*), the palatal outcome of the nexus *sc*l (*sciavo*), and the pronoun *mi* functioning as subject (*mi son partito*).

Within this geographical area, Padua dominates the annotations. The most direct evidence is a reference to the city in an annotation (whose grammatical form also establishes the first annotator as male) that criticizes Francesco Francia’s altarpiece in the Ferrara Cathedral, the Ognissanti altarpiece (1506) still *in situ*: “I purposely traveled from Padua to see this altarpiece in the Ferrara cathedral and I saw a work very roughly made in comparison to the contemporary works made in Lombardy and by Lombard artists” (fig. 1).<sup>11</sup>

Another clue that suggests the Paduan origin of the annotations is their frequent reference to the painter Domenico Campagnola, a contemporary

<sup>11</sup>Beinecke *Vite*, 534: “per questa tavola del Domo di Ferrara mi son partito da Padoa per vederla, et ho veduto una gran scarponaria a paragon de le moderne fate in Lombardia et da’ lombardi.” The description of the altarpiece as a “scarponaria” literally means “made by feet.” For the altarpiece, see Negro and Roio, 207 (cat. 85).

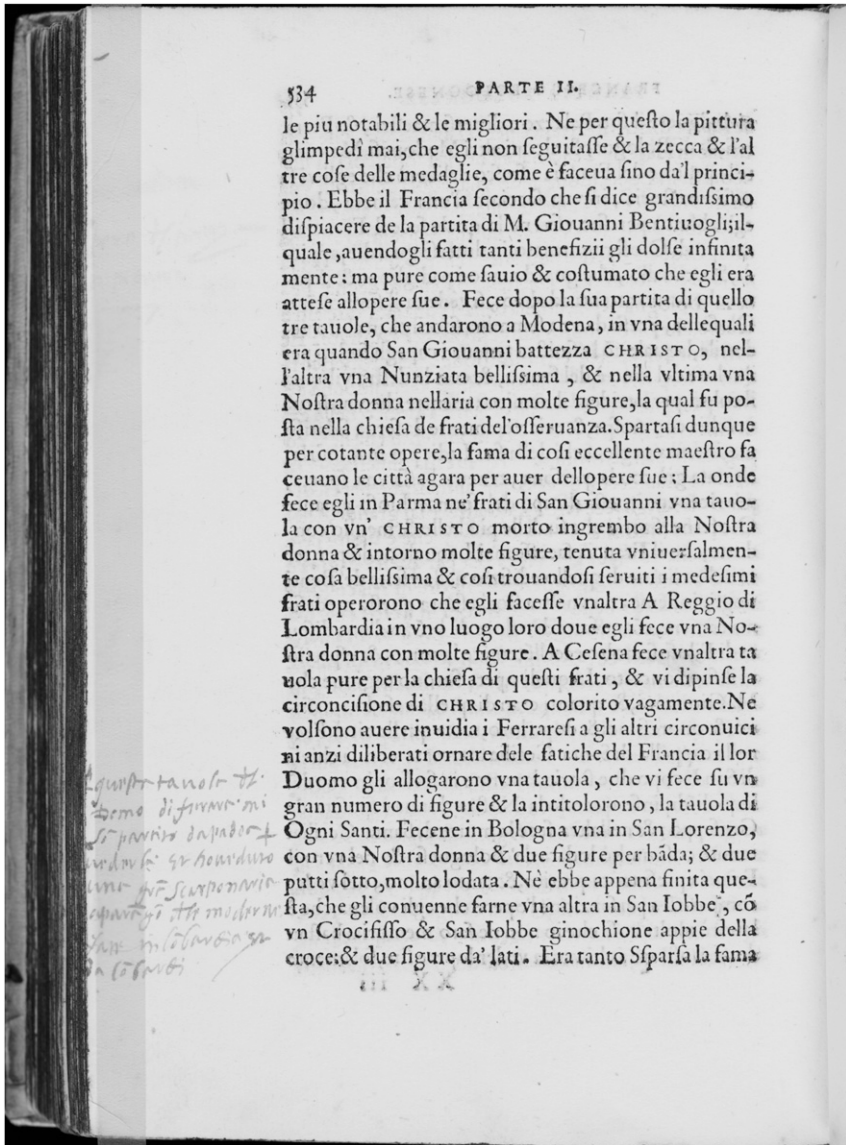


FIGURE 1. Anonymous annotator. Manuscript annotation in the margin of p. 534 of Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori italiani*. Florence, 1550. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University (1987 441 1).

Paduan artist who was ignored by Vasari in both editions; in the narrative created by the marginal annotations, however, Campagnola assumes a primary position. The first annotator judges him as one of the best modern painters (a view shared by Pino and Scardeone) and as an art expert — a role that Campagnola officially performed at least on one occasion, as attested by a contemporary notary document.<sup>12</sup> Campagnola seems to be the first annotator's main source, or at least the only source he acknowledges. The name “Domenico Campagnola painter,” crossed out but still legible, even appears on the last page of the volume at the end of a concluding comment on the book (fig. 2).<sup>13</sup>

Why the name of the artist was written and then crossed out is unclear. Perhaps the annotator intended to attribute the preceding comment to the artist, but feared the name could have been mistaken as an indication of the volume's ownership. Whatever the reason, the name is not a signature. The annotations' two references to Campagnola in the third person singular, along with a passage certainly written by the artist in a Paduan notary document dated 1 August 1542 (fig. 3), indicate that the artist cannot be identified with the annotator.<sup>14</sup> Yet his name, centered on the page at the end of the volume and written according to a formula common for signatures, is emblematic of the role the artist plays in the annotations' narrative. In light of these observations, the first annotator is probably an anonymous reader, an artist or an amateur who was close to Campagnola and his circle in the early 1560s.

Campagnola was a prominent figure in the contemporary Paduan art community.<sup>15</sup> Born around 1500 in Venice, orphan of a German immigrant shoemaker, he was adopted by the Paduan Giulio Campagnola

<sup>12</sup>That Campagnola was an excellent painter was also the opinion of the *canonici* of the cathedral, among whom was Bernardino Scardeone: see Colpi, 96. For the mention of the two artists, see Dolce, 129; Scardeone, 373. As an art expert, Campagnola was summoned to examine a painting by Gualtieri dell'Arzere: Archivio di Stato, Padua (hereafter ASP), Notarile, t. 3229, 530<sup>f</sup> (in Sartori, 54). On the document, see also n. 14 below.

<sup>13</sup>Beinecke *Vite*, 552: “Dominico Campagnola pictor.”

<sup>14</sup>ASP, Notarile, t. 3229, 530<sup>f</sup>. I could have not come to this conclusion without the help of Charles Hope, Franca Nardelli Petrucci, and Armando Petrucci. On the basis of the same document, I would reject that the writings on four of Campagnola's drawings — two at the British Museum (*Tirsi and Coridone in a Landscape*, inv. 1895.9.15.836; *Landscape*, inv. 1848.11.25.10); one at the National Gallery in Washington (*Young Fisherman*, ca. 1520, Rosenwald Collection, inv. B-17.722); and one at the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Weimar (*St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata*) — are signatures, as is often believed.

<sup>15</sup>On Domenico Campagnola, see *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 17:312–14; Thieme and Becker, 16:1–2; Colpi; Grossato, 1966, 151–98; Sambin; Puppi, 1976a; Mancini, 1993, 23–52. See also Saccomani, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1982, 1984, and 1998.



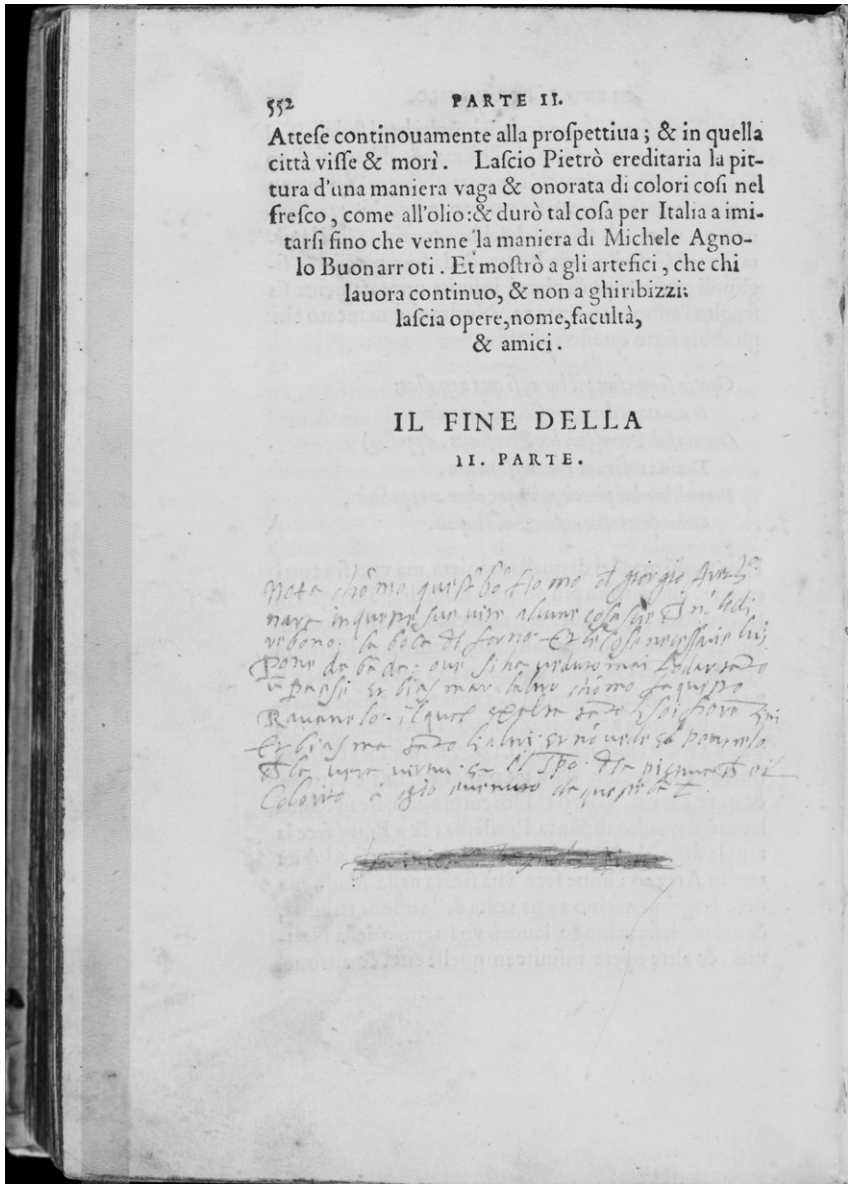


FIGURE 2. Anonymous annotator. Manuscript annotation in the margin of p. 552 of Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori italiani*. Florence, 1550. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University (1987 441 1).

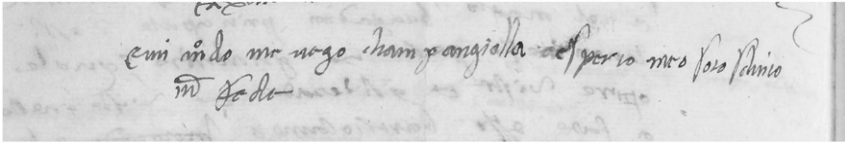


FIGURE 3. Domenico Campagnola. Autograph writing. Archivio di Stato, Padua, Notarile, 3229, 530<sup>r</sup>. Reproduction by the Sezione Fotoriproduzione of the Archivio di Stato, Padua, granted by the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, n. 11/2009.

(ca. 1482–ca. 1515). Documented in Padua in 1523, the artist obtained many of the major Paduan public and private commissions during his nearly forty-year career. He was also favored in learned circles of the city. We know that Marco Mantova Benavides (1492–1582) collected his paintings and drawings, and that Alvise Cornaro (1484–1566), according to the contemporary Marcantonio Michiel (1484–1552), commissioned him to decorate the interior of his palace.<sup>16</sup> He collaborated with the major Paduan artists: initially with the caster Guido Lizzaro; then with the sculptor and painter Tiziano Minio (ca. 1511–52), son of Guido; and with the painter Stefano dell’Arzere (ca. 1505–ca. 1576), who was only a few years younger than Campagnola, and was perhaps his former pupil.<sup>17</sup> He must have been acquainted also with Giambattista Maganza (ca. 1509–86) and Parrasio Michiel (ca. 1516–78): Michiel was the recipient of a ballad composed by Maganza, in which the name of Campagnola also appears.<sup>18</sup> Parrasio was also hired by the clergy of the Paduan cathedral to complete Campagnola’s

<sup>16</sup>For Campagnola’s work in the Mantova Benavides collection, see Favaretto, esp. 52–54; Olivato, 1984, 225. On Marco Mantova Benavides and the contemporary Paduan artists, see *Marco Mantova Benavides*; Mancini, 1995, esp. 115–37; Davis. On Campagnola and Alvise Cornaro, see Michiel, 1903, 13: “the heads painted in the ceiling of the bedroom, and the pictures on the bed-boards, are by Domenico Veneziano, a pupil of Giulio Campagnola.” (For the original, see Michiel, 1888, 12: “teste dipinte nel soffittado della camera, et li quadri in la lettiera, ritratti da carte di Raphaello, furono di mano de Dominico Venitiano allevato da Julio Campagnuola.”) See also Puppi, 1976a and 1980. For a convincing identification of Palazzo Cornaro, see Schmitter.

<sup>17</sup>On Stefano dell’Arzere, see Alessandro Ballarin’s hypothetical reconstruction of the painter’s early activity in Ballarin and Banzato, 159–64 (cat. 79–80). Domenico Campagnola was also connected to the painter and sculptor Gualtieri dell’Arzere, who had married the daughter of Guido Lizzaro; to the sculptor Agostino Zoppo, with whom he probably collaborated on the *Monument to Tito Livio* in the Palazzo della Ragione; to the antiquarian Giovanni del Cavino, famous for his forgery of classical coins; and to the painter Francesco Corona: see bibliography in n. 15 above.

<sup>18</sup>Colpi, 97.

last work after the artist's sudden death at the age of sixty-four on 10 December 1564.<sup>19</sup>

The first annotator may have been connected with the religious orders, given his interest in devotional information contained in the *Vite*. For instance, he indexes in the margins the portrait of St. Francis executed by Margaritone d'Arezzo (ca. 1216–90) and Taddeo Gaddi's (1300–66) veneration for St. Jerome.<sup>20</sup> His annotations in the margins of the biography of Lorenzo Monaco (ca. 1370–1425) largely refer to religious information. These indexical annotations include the order to which the artist belonged; the supposed veneration of his hands, held as relics by his brotherhood;<sup>21</sup> his special exemption from the duties of the order, obtained for special merits from Pope Eugenius IV (1383–1447); and the decoration of a missal, still in use in Rome at Vasari's time.<sup>22</sup> The annotator also reveals an interest in language and letters (a fact already implied by the quality of his writing), which displays a literacy superior to the average Cinquecento artist. He indexes the literary education of Cimabue (ca. 1240–ca. 1302), the poetic activity of the painter Andrea di Cione, called Orcagna (ca. 1308–68), and the names of the humanists Leonardo Bruni (ca. 1369–1444) and Angelo Poliziano (1454–94), as well as the portraits of Dante (1265–1321) and Petrarch (1304–74).<sup>23</sup>

The importance of Campagnola in the annotations also derives from the prestige of his adoptive family, which was known for its literary interests, unusual among artists. His adoptive father Giulio Campagnola was celebrated as an *enfant prodige* in the learned Paduan circles for his knowledge of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, for his poetry, as well as for his talents as engraver, calligrapher, and lute player. Vasari also praised him, but only in the Giuntina, recalling that he “made many beautiful works of painting, illumination, and copper-engraving, both in Padua and in other places.”<sup>24</sup> Of Giulio's works we have only a few drawings and engravings that represent themes then familiar in Paduan cultural circles.<sup>25</sup> He died soon after he took vows, perhaps in 1515, the last year in which his name appears in documents.<sup>26</sup> Domenico's adoptive grandfather Girolamo

<sup>19</sup>On Campagnola's last commission, see Olivato, 1976.

<sup>20</sup>Beinecke *Vite*, 137, 183.

<sup>21</sup>*Ibid.*, 215.

<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*, 216.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*, 216, 185, 140, 149, 140, 216.

<sup>24</sup>Vasari, 1996, 1:603. For the Italian, see Vasari, 1966–87, 3:621: “Dipinse, miniò e intagliò in rame molte belle cose, così in Padova come in altri luoghi.” On the literary fortune of Giulio Campagnola, see Agosti, 2005, 94–95, n. 31.

<sup>25</sup>For Giulio's work, see Zucker, 463–95; Rearick, 48–50.

<sup>26</sup>See *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 17:319; Bembo, 2:107.

Campagnola (ca. 1435–1522), a notary and art amateur, is especially known for a letter on art written in Latin and addressed to the philosopher Niccolò Leonico Tomeo (1465–1531).<sup>27</sup> The letter is now lost, but was well known by contemporaries, and used as a source by Marcantonio Michiel for his *Notizia d'opere del disegno* (1521–43) and by Vasari for the second edition of the *Vite* (1568).<sup>28</sup> For all this, Campagnola must have appeared to the first annotator as an authoritative figure in the city's artistic tradition. His prominent appearance in the annotations was instrumental in the annotators' opposition to the marginal status of Paduan art in the *Vite*, and to their claim of its enduring importance at the time.

### 3. THE ANTI-VASARIAN ARGUMENTS

At the end of the biography of Cimabue, where Vasari refers to “those who brought such craft to the amazement and wonder that we see in our own age,”<sup>29</sup> the first annotator writes: “Michelangelo Buonarroti, Raphael of Urbino as Titian, Jacopo Tintoretto, Paolo Veronese, Salviati, Bonifacio, Lorenzo Lotto, Rocco Marconi, ~~Parrasio~~, Domenico Campagnola, who executed many works, among them a panel in Sant'Agostino of Padua and [another] in the hall of the Podestà, another too by Stefano padovano; and fra' Marco wonders about the fact that one can see [Stefano's] divine works in so many places” (fig. 4).<sup>30</sup>

This annotation, exemplary of the annotator's *campanilismo* (civic pride), counts Campagnola and Stefano dell'Arzere (“Stefano padovano”) as the best contemporary artists of Padua — celebrated as such and similarly paired by the contemporaries Pino and Scardeone<sup>31</sup> — and includes them among the indisputable masters Michelangelo, Raphael, and Titian, and the Venetians Tintoretto (1518–94), Veronese (1528–88), Bonifacio de' Pitati (1487–1553), Lorenzo Lotto (ca. 1480–1556), and Rocco Marconi (before 1490–1529). The annotation also mentions Giuseppe Salviati (1520–75), a painter of Tuscan origin who was very successful in the Veneto and especially in Padua, where he was documented in 1541. Also relevant is the mention of “fra' Marco,” whom I identify as the Veronese Dominican

<sup>27</sup>On the letter, see Lightbown, 16, 393; Agosti, 2005, 303–05.

<sup>28</sup>It is possible, as Lightbown, 393, suggests, that Bernardino Scardeone also used the letter in the *De antiquitate urbis Patavii*. For a contrary opinion, see Agosti, 2005, 303–05.

<sup>29</sup>Vasari, 1966–87, 2:44: “coloro che hanno ridotto tal mestiero a lo stupore, et a la maraviglia che veggiamo nel secol nostro.” The English translation is mine.

<sup>30</sup>Beinecke *Vite*, 130. For the original passage in Italian, see Appendix 1.

<sup>31</sup>Pino, 129; Scardeone, 373.



Marco Medici, a man of letters, amateur architect, and art expert. Medici was collecting information in those years on Veronese artists for the second edition of the *Vite*, and perhaps, as the annotation may suggest, also on Paduans.<sup>32</sup>

The annotator includes references only to works of art by Paduans. He mentions two paintings by Campagnola, one in the Church of Sant'Agostino, and another in the Palazzo del Podestà. The first corresponds to the *Resurrection of Christ with Saints*, now in the Museo Civico (inv. 2321), made between 1547 and 1554 and installed on the main altar. This was celebrated by Scardeone as one of the most important works of the city.<sup>33</sup> The second work by Campagnola is the monumental canvas *Podestà Marino Cavalli and St. Mark*, commissioned during Cavalli's office as *podestà* (chief magistrate) between 12 April 1562 and the beginning of March 1563. This may be the painting recorded in a payment receipt to Campagnola dated March 2 of the same year: "for the painting of the large canvas relocated in the auditory chamber in the Palazzo of the illustrious Podestà."<sup>34</sup> Regarding dell'Arzere's work, the annotator does not offer precise details but recalls Medici's special appreciation of its wondrous quantity and quality.

This annotation on the best modern painters — which includes, together with the Paduans, artists neglected in art writing at the time such as Lorenzo Lotto and Rocco Marconi — synthetically expresses an

<sup>32</sup>Medici's collaboration on the *Vite* is acknowledged twice in the Giuntina: see Vasari, 1966–87, 3:367, 4:599. See also *ibid.*, 5:370–75, for Medici as an amateur architect and friend of Michele Sanmichele; and *ibid.*, 4:577–78, as a friend of Francesco Torbido. Medici's contribution to the edition is confirmed by two autograph letters: the first to Jacopo Guidi, sent before 21 February 1563, from which we learn that Vasari had asked Medici, though the mediation of Guidi, to emend the *Torrentiniana*: see Palli d'Addario, 388–89; and the second to Onofrio Panvinio, dated 7 September 1564, in which the Dominican asks Panvinio, then resident in Rome, for information on the Veronese architect fra' Giocondo: see Williams, 258–61, 299–301 (appendix 13). On Medici's contribution to the *Vite*, see also *Giorgio Vasari*, 230–31; Vasari, 1966–87, 3:621–22, 4:559–99. This annotation to the Beinecke *Vite*, which documents Medici's knowledge of Paduan art, suggests that the Dominican visited the city around 1563, the same year that Medici sent the letter to Guidi from Bologna. Medici may be responsible for the brief information about Paduan art in the *Vite* — more a list to be expanded than a finished text — in the biography of Carpaccio, which can hardly be attributed to Vasari or to any other known collaborator: Vasari, 1966–87, 3:621–22.

<sup>33</sup>On the altarpiece, see Merotto Ghedini, 78–79; Ballarin and Banzato, 153–54 (cat. 75).

<sup>34</sup>For the dating of the canvas, the payment receipt "per mercede di haver dipinto il quadro grande nuovamente posto nella Camera dell'Audientia nel palazzo del c[larissim]o Podestà," and their association, see Ballarin and Banzato, 158 (cat. 78).

art-historical vision of the Veneto territory centered in Padua as an alternative to the one centered in Florence that Vasari proposed, of which the annotator is increasingly critical. The most illustrative annotations in this sense are those in the biography of Francesco Francia, one of the most annotated of the volume. Here the annotator sounds a polemical note on the prejudicial treatment Vasari reserves for Lombard artists. In their defense, the annotator writes, “see how this Giorgio from Arezzo [Vasari] is very prejudicial against the Lombards, but willing or not, he must make the effort to consider them, because in these regions there are excellent men” (fig. 5).<sup>35</sup>

In the sixteenth century, artists of Veneto or Emilian provenance, like Francesco Francia, were also considered Lombards. However, the annotation cannot be a defense of Francia. Not only would it be unjustifiable to defend an artist who received a privileged treatment in the *Torrentiniana*, but we have seen that the annotator does not appreciate Francia’s work. In contrast with Vasari, but also in contrast with literary precedents, the annotator considers his work inferior to that of other Lombard artists.<sup>36</sup>

The annotator’s “excellent men” refers to artists ignored or underestimated in the *Vite* but highly regarded in Padua: locals like Campagnola and dell’Arzere as well as outsiders who left their work in the city, like Girolamo Romanino (ca. 1485–ca. 1566) in Santa Giustina — *The Last Supper* (1513) in the refectory of the convent, and the *Madonna with the Child in Throne with Saints* (1513–14), now in the Museo Civico — and the Lombardo family in the Basilica del Santo — the *Sepulchral Monument of Antonio Roselli*, by Pietro (1435–1515), and the monumental *Cappella del Santo*, decorated with a series of reliefs of *The Miracles of St. Anthony* by Tullio (1460–1532) and Antonio (ca. 1458–1516).<sup>37</sup> The annotation thus indirectly recalls a tradition of exchange among Northern

<sup>35</sup>Beinecke *Vite*, 536: “Nota chommo che questo [G]iorgio aretino è molto apassionato contro lombardi, ma faci quanto che lui vole bisongnia, che lui habi pacienza, che ancor in queste parti sonno homeni excelenti.” Ridolfi, 178, uses the same word, *appassionato*, as *prejudicial* in his critique of Vasari, when examining the controversial passages on Titian’s *Danae* in the Giuntina.

<sup>36</sup>On the literary precedents, ranging from Angelo Michele Salimbeni’s *Epithalamium* (1487) to Luca Gaurico’s *Tractatus Astrologicus* (1552), see *ibid.*, 61–67; Agosti, 1995; Agosti, 2005, 95, n. 33. The annotator’s critique of Francia comes immediately after the celebration of him in the biography as the favorite of Giovanni Bentivogli and disputed by all the Lombard cities: see Beinecke *Vite*, 533–34.

<sup>37</sup>On Romanino and Padua, see Nova, 217–21; Buganza, 78–81. On the Lombardo, see McHam; Guerra and Morresi.





Italian artists that had found extraordinary expression and continuity in Padua, from Mantegna and beyond, for almost a century. According to the annotator, Vasari intentionally overlooks this tradition in the *Vite* and elects instead an inadequate representative like Francia.<sup>38</sup>

To signal Vasari's prejudicial treatment of Lombard art, the annotation is written in the margin of the famous anecdote about Francia's death, which was taken as illustrative of the painter's mediocrity and, in a wider and more important sense, exemplary of the confrontation between Northern and Central Italian art in the book. As Vasari narrates, Francia, highly celebrated in his homeland, understood his limitations only after having seen the *Saint Cecilia* (1514) by Raphael. Overwhelmed by the sublime perfection of that painting, the Bolognese artist eventually died. To be precise, one may note that the first annotator writes this annotation on the Lombards before the conclusion of the anecdote, which ends on the following page. He probably already knew the story of Francia's death. Vasari had, in fact, anticipated it six pages before and the annotator had already indexed it on the margin: "Note how Francia abandoned art and life seeing the works of Raphael of Urbino."<sup>39</sup> Clearly, the anonymous reader was struck by the anecdote — whose veracity he does not seem to doubt — so much as to make it his own and repeat it in the biographical note on Titian: "And I believe that like the panel of Santa Cecilia by Raphael of Urbino made Francia fall into an ecstatic state, so much that, as people say, he died; in the same way, this and other works [Titian] made, not only generated amazement among the modern painters, but also demonstrate that the ancients knew nothing about painting."<sup>40</sup> Understanding the anecdote's importance as a representation of Northern Italian art in the *Vite*, the annotator adopts it for an opposite aim: by using it as a term of comparison to underscore the absolute superiority of Titian, the major Northern Italian artist overlooked in the *Torrentiniana*. More broadly, the annotations to the biography of Francia show how the cultural antagonism between Tuscany and Lombardy — longstanding competitors in the language debate from Dante to Trissino (1478–1550) and up to Manzoni

<sup>38</sup>On the centrality of Padua in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, see Salmi; Grossato, 1961, cclxi–cclxxxvi; de Marchi; Agosti, 2005, 357–432. On the *Vite* and its treatment of Lombard art, see Damiani Cabrini; Mazzini, vii–xxviii. For the similar polemical reaction in El Greco's and Lelio Guidiccioni's annotations to the *Giuntina*, see also De Salas and Marías; Spagnolo, 2005, 157–62; Hochmann, 1988, 65.

<sup>39</sup>Beinecke *Vite*, 130: "Nota chommo il Franza abandonò l'arte et la vita vedendo l'opre di Raphaelo di Urbino."

<sup>40</sup>Beinecke *Vite*, recto of the first flyleaf inserted in front of the back cover. For the original passage in Italian, see Appendix 1.

(1785–1873) — was being extended to the figurative arts. This was in large part because of Vasari's *Vite* and the anti-Vasarianism that followed.<sup>41</sup>

In a concluding comment at the end of the volume, the first annotator denounces the Florentinism of the book and accuses Vasari of having misunderstood that the fundamental value in painting is oil coloring, an invention of the Veneto: “see how this good man of Giorgio Aretino reports in these lives some of his opinions that not even the mouth of an oven would say. And he neglects important things, so much that nobody ever saw praising so much one country and blaming the other as this radish head does; for he exalts so much his own Florentines and blames so much the others, and does not see, poor man, that the true virtue and spirit of painting is the oil painting, and that it came from these regions” (fig. 2).<sup>42</sup> In colloquial language, the annotator recalls the main and enduring anti-Vasarian argument in Veneto art literature: the importance of *colore* in painting. The reference to the invention of the oil technique, which, in fact, is neither from the Veneto — as the annotator claims — nor only from Flanders — as Vasari writes — further undermines the centrality of Florence in modern painting as claimed in the *Vite*. In his inadequate coverage of Northern Italy, Vasari largely dismissed Venice, its most vital center. This critical oversight immediately emerges in annotations to the early pages of the *Vite*, in the biography of Cimabue. Where Vasari praises the Florence Cathedral as the most beautiful church of Christendom, the first annotator writes in the margin, “and what should we say about the stupendous church of San Marco in Venice?”<sup>43</sup>

The polemical argument is also developed in a series of annotations dedicated to the Greek mosaicists coming from Venice to Florence in the early thirteenth century. Vasari claims the foreign mosaicists arrived at the time of Cimabue, when the artist was still a boy. According to Vasari, Cimabue abandoned literary studies and decided to become a painter after he was inspired by the mosaics in the Gondi chapel in Santa Maria Novella in Florence. In the biography of Andrea Tafi (fl. 1300–25), Vasari also reports that Tafi went to Venice to hire mosaicists and that one of them, a certain Apollonio, instructed Tafi in the art of mosaic. Eventually, they decorated the interior of the Baptistery of San Giovanni, outdoing a mediocre

<sup>41</sup>For the linguistic context, see Bruni, 1991; Bruni, 1996, 1:xxv–lxxiii, esp. xxxix–xlvi; Hochmann, 2004, esp. 23–41.

<sup>42</sup>Beinecke *Vite*, 552. The annotator uses the word *ravanelo* (radish), a colloquialism denoting stupidity. Similarly, “the mouth of an oven” indicates someone who does not speak judiciously. For the original passage in Italian, see Appendix 1.

<sup>43</sup>*Ibid.*, 129: “Et che diremo noi de la stupen[da] chiesa di San Marcho da Vene[zia].”

artist, the Franciscan friar Jacopo. The annotator indexes the presence of the mosaicists in Florence — “Greek painters came to Florence” — and their achievement — “Gondi chapel in Santa Maria Novella begun by the Greek painters.”<sup>44</sup> He also emphasizes the contrast between the mastery of Apollonio and the mediocrity of fra Jacopo — “see the clumsiness of the friar” — a contrast admitted by Vasari.<sup>45</sup> By emphasizing the achievements of the mosaicists in Florence, which preceded those of Giotto (ca. 1267–1337) and Cimabue, the annotator makes a claim for Venice’s role in the origin of modern art.

Little is actually known about these events.<sup>46</sup> Certainly, as the Florentine historian Leopoldo del Migliore (1628–96) first pointed out, the Greek masters did not decorate the Gondi chapel, for it was built in 1277, long after their arrival in the city.<sup>47</sup> Yet a document dated 1302, lost but transcribed by Carlo Strozzi (1587–1671) in the seventeenth century and discussed by Gaetano Milanesi (1813–95) in his commentary to the *Vite*, shows that the Guild of Calimala, in charge of the decoration of the Baptistery, was looking for mosaicists from Venice after the sudden dismissal of the fraudulent Bingo and Pazzo, who were accused of having stolen glass and other materials.<sup>48</sup> Andrea Tafi might have well undertaken his trip to Venice and invited the mosaicists to Florence, as Vasari narrates, as a consequence of these events. But this could not be verified, and Vasari’s passages on the Greek mosaicists in Florence became highly controversial in the following century. While Carlo Ridolfi (1594–1658) emphasized their importance in his anti-Vasarian exaltation of Venetian art, Florentine historiographers such as Filippo Baldinucci (1624–97) and Del Migliore undermined the historical validity of the passages to reinforce the Florentine canon.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., 126: “pitori greci venuti in Fiorenza”; “Capella de Gondi in S. Ma[r]ia Novela principciata [d]a pitori greci.”

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., 132: “nota gofagine del frate.”

<sup>46</sup>On Apollonio, see Demus, 220–22. Still debated is fra’ Jacopo’s contribution to the mosaics of the Baptistery of San Giovanni. Vasari claims that he worked at the *scarsella*, the rectangular apse of the Baptistery, where we find his name inscribed with the date 1225; Vasari, 1966–87, 2:77. Demus, 224, limits Jacopo’s contribution to the decorative elements: “capitals, telamoni, and central wheel without the prophets in the interstices.” Giorgi, 83, n. 32, assigns instead the majority of these decorative elements — the vegetal ornaments and the four telamoni — to Coppo di Marcovaldo. Masi recuperated Vasari’s original attribution.

<sup>47</sup>Barocchi.

<sup>48</sup>Vasari, 1878–85, 1:343–44 (commentary by Gaetano Milanesi).

<sup>49</sup>See Ridolfi, 13; Baldinucci, 27, 74. Del Migliore even denied that Apollonio was from Venice on the basis of a 1297 document that mentions a “magister Apollonius pictor Florentinus”: on Del Migliore’s position, see Barocchi.

In the same pages of the biographies of Cimabue and Tafi, the annotator also stresses the persistence of Venetian primacy in mosaic. Where Vasari alludes to wonderful works visible in his day, the first annotator calls attention to the recent works by Francesco and Valerio Zuccati, the mosaicists close to Titian who were also celebrated by Pino, Aretino, and Dolce: “as today, the Zuccati’s wonderful works in San Marco and again the altarpiece of St. Victor in Santa Maria Nova.”<sup>50</sup> The annotation refers to the contemporary mosaic decoration in the Venetian basilica, then still in progress (in the atrium), and to the monumental *St. Victor* altarpiece, correctly recorded in the Church of Santa Maria Nova (completed on 1 August 1560, now in the holdings of the Basilica of San Marco), an important example of the pictorial potential of the micro-mosaic technique.<sup>51</sup>

The annotators argue the importance of Veneto art by evoking Venetian masters who had been undervalued in the *Torrentiniana*. Describing Carpaccio’s cycle *The Legend of Saint Ursula* (then in the homonymous Scuola, now in the Galleria dell’Accademia), Vasari praised the artist but excluded him from the group of the greatest masters.<sup>52</sup> In response to Vasari’s tepid judgment, the annotator writes, “see that this is the most beautiful work in Venice among the modern and the antique ones.”<sup>53</sup> He also amplifies the passage by adding the recollection that in the *telari* (large canvases) Carpaccio represented himself and the Bellini: “see that in the

<sup>50</sup>*Beinecke Vite*, 132: “Commo è hogi in San Marcho le maravigliose opere dei Zuchati et ancor in Santa Maria Nova la tavola di san Vetor.”

<sup>51</sup>See also the annotation in the biography of Gaddo Gaddi that praises the work of the mosaicists: *Beinecke Vite*, 135 (see Appendix 1). On the Zuccati, see Thieme and Becker, 36:575–76. On their mosaics in San Marco, see Merkel, 1987 and 1994; Mason, 1996; Niccoli, 37–48. The *St. Victor* altarpiece, praised also by Sansovino, 56<sup>v</sup> — “that altarpiece of St. Victor all made in mosaic, and therefore noteworthy and rare, was a work by Francesco and Valerio Zuccati” — had inscribed the date 1559: “what the painter does with art and colors, the Zuccati brothers do with ingenuity, and nature with stones, 1559” (“quod arte et coloribus pictor hoc Zuchati fratres ingenio, et natura saxis, 1559”); see Zanetti, 1:230. Cicogna, 1824–53, 5:581, reports a document that records instead the completion of the altarpiece on 1 August 1560. Vasari mentions the Zuccati only in the *Giuntina*, in the biography of Titian: Vasari, 1966–87, 6:173–74.

<sup>52</sup>Vasari, 1966–87, 3:622: “the labours of which pictures he contrived to carry out so well and with such art, that he acquired thereby the name, if not as one among the high and great masters, of a very good and practised one” (“le fatiche della quale [opera] egli seppe sì ben condurre col valor dell’altro, che n’acquistò nome, se non fra gli alti e grandi ingegni, almeno di accomodato e pratico maestro”).

<sup>53</sup>*Beinecke Vite*, 539: “nota che questa è la più bella opera che vi si’ in Venetia, fra le antich[e] et moderne.”

mentioned Scuola di Sant'Orsola there are portraits of Giovanni, Jacopo, and Gentile Bellini, and of the same Vittore Carpaccio."<sup>54</sup>

In addition to the cycle — the only work by Carpaccio mentioned in the *Torrentiniana* — the annotator calls the *Martyrdom of the 10,000 Saints on the Mount Ararat*, then in the Venetian church of Sant'Antonio and now in the Galleria dell'Accademia, the best altarpiece in Venice: "see that [Carpaccio] made an altarpiece in Sant'Antonio in tempera representing ten thousand martyrs, which is the most beautiful altarpiece in Venice."<sup>55</sup>

Only in one case does the annotator criticize a Venetian work, recalling another opinion of Domenico Campagnola: Cima da Conegliano's (ca. 1459–1517) *St. Peter Martyr between St. Nicholas, St. Benedict, and an Angel Playing Music* (1504), in the church of the Corpus Domini (now at the Brera), the only work by Cima mentioned in the *Vite*. The annotation reads: "This panel is worth nothing, according to the judgment of the excellent painter sir Domenego Campagnola illustrious painter."<sup>56</sup> Like the critique of Francia's altarpiece, this view stands in isolation in art literature. After Vasari, the painting is unanimously praised by the major Venetian art writers: Francesco Sansovino (1521–86), Marco Boschini (1613–78), and Anton Maria Zanetti (1706–78).<sup>57</sup>

#### 4. THE BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE ON TITIAN

As in Dolce, the anti-Vasarian argument of the annotations culminates with the exaltation of Titian's work as an insuperable example of invention, *colore*, and naturalism, comparable only to that of Raphael. The annotators wrote the biographical annotation on Titian two decades apart, a temporal gap also made explicit by their use of different tenses: whereas the first annotator uses the present tense, indicating that Titian was still alive at the time of writing, the second uses the past tense, which dates his writing after the artist's death in 1576.<sup>58</sup>

The annotation is essentially an extemporaneous list of works executed by Titian (fig. 6). The first annotator lists works located outside of Venice

<sup>54</sup>Ibid.: "Nota chommo in deta Scola de Sant'Orsola è r[e]trato Zan, Jacobo et Zentil Bellini et anco[r] esso Vetor Scarpazo."

<sup>55</sup>Ibid.: "nota che costui [Carpaccio] ha fato una tavola a Sant'Antonio a tempera di 10 milia marti[ri], che è la più bella tav[ola] che sii in Venetia."

<sup>56</sup>Ibid.: "Non val niente questa tavola, per iuditio d[e] l'excelente pictor ser D[o]menego Campagnola pictor egregio."

<sup>57</sup>On the panel and these literary references, see Humfrey, 121–22 (cat. 82).

<sup>58</sup>I thank Charles Hope for this observation.

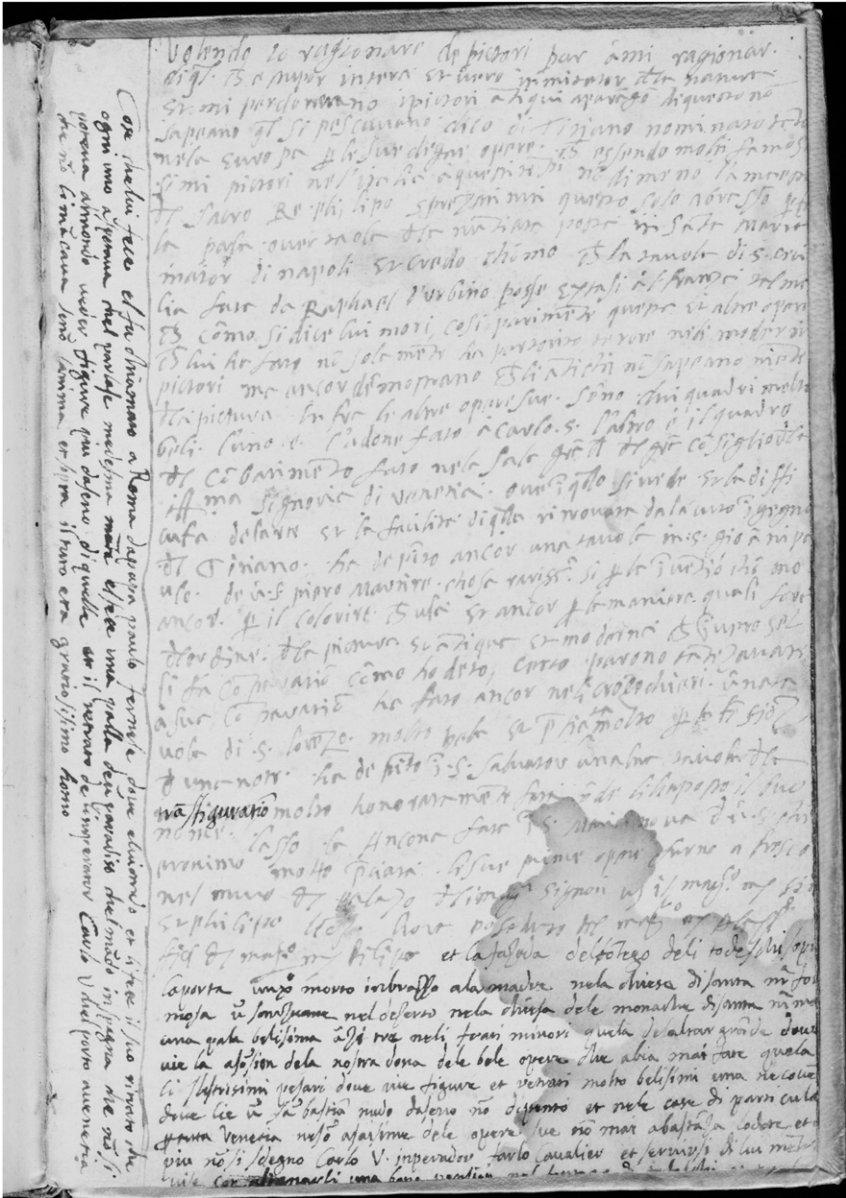


FIGURE 6. Anonymous annotators. Manuscript annotation on the verso of the first flyleaf before the back cover of Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori italiani*. Florence, 1550. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University (1987 441 1).

and commissioned by prestigious patrons; works visible in Venice, in the Doge's Palace, and churches; and an early work. The second annotator adopts the same conceptual division, but reverses the order, creating a symmetry that emphasizes the continuity between the two writings. The last lines report two essential bits of biographical information: the knighthood that Titian received from Charles V (1500–58) in 1533, and his journey to Rome in 1545, when he was summoned by Pope Paul III (1468–1549). The following is a translation of the entire annotation, all of which is important for the insights on Titian's work and for the analysis of the marginalia as a group.

Since I am willing to write about painters, I should write about that one who is the wonder of the world and the true imitator of nature; and the antique painters will forgive me, for they — when compared with this one — did not know what they were doing. I am here referring to Titian, so celebrated in Europe for his lavish works that, although there are many famous painters these days, the Holy Majesty of King Philip disregarded others and chose him only to make the altarpiece, or panel, of the Annunciation, placed in Santa Maria Maggiore in Naples. And I believe that like the panel of Santa Cecilia by Raphael of Urbino made Francia fall into such an ecstatic state that, as people say, he died, in the same way, this and other works he made not only generated amazement among the modern painters, but also demonstrate that the ancients knew nothing about painting. Among his other works there are two beautiful paintings: one is the Adonis made for Charles V, the other is the painting of the Battle, made in the state hall of the Great Council of the very illustrious Signoria of Venice, where one can see both the difficulty of art and its ease, recovered by the keen genius of Titian. He also painted a panel of a St. Peter Martyr in Santi Giovanni e Paolo, a very rare thing, for the invention, as well as for the way of using color and style, which is almost out of the rules of painting both antique and modern (that in truth, if we make a comparison, as I said, [their works] seem a bunch of old shoes). He also made a panel of St. Lawrence in the Crociferi, beautiful and appreciated for the representation of a night scene. He painted another panel representing the ~~Annunciation~~ Transfiguration in San Salvador, very honorably executed, on which he put his name. I will only mention the panel of a St. Jerome made in Santa Maria Nova, very appreciated. His first works were in frescoes on the walls of the Palazzo of the magnificent sirs, namely the magnificent sirs Simone and Filippo Lion, now owned by the magnificent sir Alessandro son of the magnificent sir Filippo; and the façade of the Fondaco de' Tedeschi, above the door; a Christ on the lap of his Mother in the church of Santa Maria Formosa; a St. John in the desert in the church of the nuns of Santa Maria Maggiore; a beautiful altarpiece, actually three, in the Frati Minori: one at the main altar of the Ascension of our Lady, one among the most beautiful works he has ever

done; one of the very illustrious Pesari, with beautiful figures and portraits; one in the convent with a naked St. Sebastian, cleverly done, and not painted. And in private homes everywhere in Venice there are many of his works never praised enough; and . . . the Emperor Charles V considered it appropriate to make him a knight and to use his services for his entire life providing him with a good stipend. . . .

Works that he made: when summoned to Rome by Pope Paul Farnese, he made his portrait, and it was so lifelike that everybody was expecting to hear it speak. In the same way he made an altarpiece of Paradise that he sent to Spain (one could not see in the world figures more cleverly done than those). And the portrait of the Emperor Charles V, which he brought to Venice, lacked only soul and, most of all, was a very gracious man.<sup>59</sup>

The works cited in this annotation attempt to roughly outline Titian's career. "The painting of the Battle" is the *Battle of Spoleto*, the public commission Titian received from Venice as early as 1513, but carried out only in 1538 (the painting was lost in the 1577 fire). The *St. Peter Martyr* altarpiece in San Giovanni e Paolo was celebrated by Aretino, Dolce, and Vasari, and completed by 27 April 1530; in 1867 it was destroyed in a fire. The *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*, which hung in the Church of the Jesuits (then the Church of the Crociferi, as cited in the annotation), was started at the end of 1548 and completed ten years later, between 1557 and 1559. The annotator also mentions the *St. Jerome* of Santa Maria Nova, which was executed around 1555 and is now in the Brera. Finally, the annotation offers a new attribution to the painter, the fresco decoration of Palazzo Lion.

The second annotator records the frescoes of the Fondaco dei Tedeschi, the first public work by Titian known to date, and the *Pietà* of Santa Maria Formosa, another new attribution. He then recalls the *St. John the Baptist* of Santa Maria Maggiore (now in the Gallerie dell'Accademia), and the three altarpieces Titian executed for the Frari (also listed together and in the same chronological order by Dolce and Vasari in the Giuntina): the *Assumption of the Virgin Mary*, inaugurated on 19 May 1519; the *Pala Pesaro* — "one [altarpiece] of the very illustrious Pesari" — in the Pesaro chapel executed between 1519 and 1526; and the *Madonna and Child in Glory with Six Saints* — "one [altarpiece] in the convent with a naked St. Sebastian, cleverly done, and not painted" — completed by the mid-1530s for the high altar of San Nicolò della Lattuga, part of the same ecclesiastical complex (now in the Vatican

<sup>59</sup>Beinecke *Vite*, recto of the first flyleaf inserted in front of the back cover. For the original passage in Italian, see Appendix 1.



Museum).<sup>60</sup> The annotation ends by running up the inside margin of the page, where the second annotator records three works: a *Portrait of Paul III*, corresponding to one of the two portraits of the pope then in the Farnese Guardaroba in Rome (now in the Museo di Capodimonte, Naples); the *Trinity* (“an altarpiece of a Paradise that he sent to Spain”), the large canvas commissioned by Charles V in 1550–51, completed and sent to Flanders in 1554 and transferred to the monastery of Yuste in Spain in 1556; and a portrait of Charles V, which can be identified with a version of the *Portrait of Charles V in Armor* painted at Augsburg in 1548.

Two novelties in the annotation deserve further discussion: the attributions to Titian of the decoration of the façade of Palazzo Lion and the *Pietà* altarpiece in Santa Maria Formosa. The first annotator reports that Palazzo Lion belonged to Simone and Filippo Lion at the time of the decoration, and to Alessandro, son of Filippo, at the time of the annotation. Simone and Filippo are recorded as sons of Tommaso Lion in Marino Sanudo's *Diarii* several times from 1509 to 1533.<sup>61</sup> Alessandro Lion can be identified with one of the protagonists (together with Lodovico Bembo) of two dialogue-form guidebooks and historical treatises on Rome and Naples by Luigi Contarini.<sup>62</sup> Notably, the annotation refers to two different persons with the name Filippo, the brother and the son of Simone, respectively. In fact, from the testament of Filippo Lion, dated 29 May 1540 in the Archivio di Stato in Venice, we learn that he died without any legitimate sons, and left all his substantial goods to the sons of his brother

<sup>60</sup>The first annotator singles out the figure of St. Sebastian in the San Nicolò altarpiece in terms similar to those used by Dolce, 66: “a naked St. Sebastian of beautiful shape, and with a painted flesh so similar to nature, that it seems not painted, but alive.” The phrase *not painted, but alive* is common in *ibid.*, 35, 152; Aretino, 1:19. The same expression is also in Ridolfi, 172. Hood and Hope attribute the figure of the St. Sebastian to Francesco Vecellio. However, the invention is likely by Titian himself. As Rosand, 1994, 29–37, points out, Titian had painted a similar figure in a canvas made for the Duke of Mantua, Federico Gonzaga, before 6 August 1530.

<sup>61</sup>See Sanudo. Filippo Lion is recorded from 28 March 1509 (*ibid.*, 8: col. 38) to 17 June 1532 (56: col. 406); Simone Lion, from 8 September 1509 (9: col. 206) to 25/26 June 1533 (58: col. 386). On Simone's presence in Bologna among the Venetian delegates (1530), recorded by Sanudo (52: col. 467), see also Cicogna, 1824–53, 2:230, n. 2. Simone Lion also appears in a 1518 tax record: Archivio di Stato, Venice (hereafter ASV), Savi Decime, reg. 1472, 900<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>62</sup>Contarini's work is *L'antiquità, sito, chiese, corpi santi, reliquie e statue di Roma: Con l'origine e nobiltà di Napoli* (Naples, 1569; the first treatise reprinted in Venice by Francesco Ziletti, 1575; and in Naples, 1678 [included in the miscellanea compilation *Raccolta di varii libri*, 1680]). For a bio-bibliographical profile of Luigi Contarini, see Cicogna, 1824–53, 2:315–16.

Simone.<sup>63</sup> The document also records Filippo Lion's residency in the *contrada* of Santa Maria Nova (the same parish as Luigi Contarini), an important topographical indication for the identification of the building. This is corroborated by the annotator's record, immediately following the Lion frescoes, of another work located in Santa Maria Nova, the *St. Jerome*.

The annotation to the *Pietà* of Santa Maria Formosa — “a Christ on the lap of his Mother in the church of Santa Maria Formosa” — is far more problematic. The annotator mistakenly attributes to Titian a work executed by Palma il Giovane (ca. 1548–1628) after Titian's death. The painting is still in the Venetian church, in the second chapel on the right nave, on the altar of the Sorrowful Mother. It shows a deposed Christ lying across the Virgin and flanked by a kneeling figure of St. Francis (fig. 7). The painting is first recorded as the work of Palma in Ridolfi's *Le maraviglie dell'arte* (1648): “In Santa Maria Formosa, a deposed Christ in his Mother's lap.”<sup>64</sup> Since Ridolfi, the attribution to Palma has not been contested, although the painting never found a satisfactory place within the artist's oeuvre. Pietro Zampetti refers to the altarpiece as a stylistic and chronological enigma in Palma's career. Recognizing its distinct Titianesque style, Zampetti and Nicola Ivanoff considered the painting one of Palma's early works from the late 1560s, when the artist, then not yet twenty years old, was strongly influenced by Titian.<sup>65</sup> But, as Stefania Mason argues, it seems unreasonable that Francesco Sansovino (in 1581) and Raffaello Borghini (in 1584), usually reliable in the case of Palma's early activity, do not mention this large public work. Mason believes that the altarpiece was executed in Palma's later years. Given the absence of the work in the usually accurate additions to Sansovino published by Giovanni Stringa in 1604, Mason proposes that year as a *terminus post quem*. If the style of the painting remains puzzling, Mason argues, it is because a nineteenth-century restoration compromised it. What we see, she concludes, is a modern painting based on an original composition by the late Palma.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>63</sup>ASV, Notarile Testamenti, b. 836, n. 160 (Giacomo Raspi). From the document we learn that Filippo Lion had two natural sons, Leone and Suor d'amore, to whom he left money but not property. According to the “Arbori di patritii veneti” by Marco Barbaro (Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, mss. Italiani, classe VII, n. 926, 222<sup>v</sup>), Filippo died on 27 February 1548 (1547 in the Venetian calendar), eight years after his brother Simone, who died at the age of forty-two. Simone left two sons: Tomaso and Filippo. The latter is almost certainly the father of the Alessandro recorded by the annotator.

<sup>64</sup>Ridolfi, 176: “In Santa Maria Formosa un deposto in croce nel seno della Madre sua.”

<sup>65</sup>Ivanoff; Ivanoff and Zampetti, 579–80 (cat. 322).

<sup>66</sup>Mason, 1984, 128 (cat. 439, ill. 675). The painting was restored by Walter Piovan in 1990: see Tranquilli, 56.

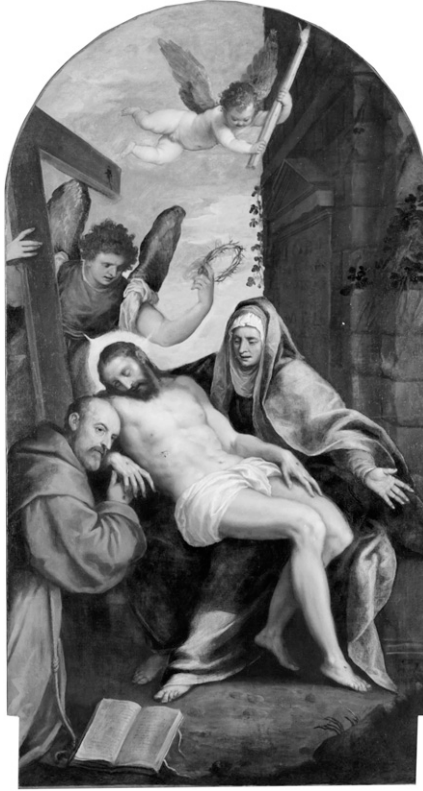


FIGURE 7. Jacopo Palma il Giovane. *Pietà*, ca. 1581–90. Santa Maria Formosa, Venice. By permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali.

A previously unknown document throws new light on the history of the altarpiece and its controversial chronology, confirming in part Mason's argument. This is a document that records two codicils of a will concerning the chapter of Santa Maria Formosa, held in the Archivio Storico del Patriarcato in Venice.<sup>67</sup> On 5 November 1580, Polissena, first wife of the

<sup>67</sup>Archivio Storico del Patriarcato, Venice, Parrocchia di Santa Maria Formosa, Amministrazione, 1.4.2, "Libro de punti de testamenti e scritte et istromenti de fabrica et capitolo," 11<sup>v</sup>–12<sup>f</sup>. For the original text and a translation, see Appendix 3 below at p. 802. Polissena's original will, in ASV, Notarile Testamenti, b. 659, n. 733 (Vittore Maffei), indicates that the correct date of the second codicil is 14 March. Notably, there is no record of the agreement between Polissena and the chapter of Santa Maria Formosa in the list of the *mansionarie* (commemorative masses) extant in the church, recorded a few months later on 30 May 1581 during the Campeggi Pastoral Visit: see Archivio del Storico del Patriarcato, Venice, Curia patriarcale, Archivio segreto, Visite apostoliche, I, 30<sup>v</sup>–31<sup>r</sup>.

deceased Giovanni Martini, and second wife of Francesco Carugo, granted a stipend to the chapter of Santa Maria Formosa for a *mansionaria* (commemorative Mass) on the altar dedicated to the Pietà. Four months later, on 14 March 1581, Polissena left more money and specific directions to her husband Francesco for the decoration of the altar in the case of her death. At the date of Polissena's testament, a sarcophagus with the names of Giovanni Martini and Polissena had already been built in front of the altar of the chapel. The altarpiece must have been commissioned afterwards, for the same document suggests that no arrangements had yet been made for the realization of the altar's decoration. If we take into consideration Borghini's account, the painting was probably installed after 1584. It is implausible, however, that the altarpiece reached its destination after 1604, as Stringa's additions to Sansovino imply. This date seems exceedingly late, not only considering the date of Polissena's will, but also the formal qualities of the handwriting of the second annotator, who describes the altarpiece as already located in the church.

The finished painting also suggests that Polissena died before its execution. The kneeling figure holding the hand of Christ, painted in the guise of St. Francis, is almost certainly the patron, Francesco Carugo. From the collection of inscriptions of the church collected in the nineteenth century by Emmanuele Antonio Cicogna, we can also partially reconstruct Carugo's refurbishing of the chapel. He reserved a place for himself in the tomb and commissioned two new inscriptions for the two sides of the altar.<sup>68</sup> With the exception of the altarpiece, the decoration of the chapel — perhaps already dismantled during the remaking of its pavement in 1840 — was eventually lost in the bombing of the church in 1916.

If the commission of the *Pietà* of Santa Maria Fomosa is now clearer, it remains puzzling how the annotator could have made such a trivial mistake. So far, I have not been able to find any satisfactory answer. Yet the peculiarity of the altarpiece and its enigmatic status in Palma's corpus must be taken into account when reading this annotation. Indeed, the painting,

<sup>68</sup>For the inscriptions, see Cicogna, 2001, 943–44: “Fra(nciscu)s Carugus I. V. D. / noviss(imae) pietatis et / off(ici) monumta / pos(uit) / aram deo / et Polyxena ux(or) be / nem(erenti) sec(undis) nupt(iis) iunc(tae) / eiusq(ue) prist(ino) coniugi / sibiq(ue) sep(ultis)” (“Francesco Carugo I. V. D., as a memory of his last devotion and obligation, erected an altar to God, to Polissena, his meritorious wife, married in second wedding, to her first husband, and to himself, there buried”) (righthand inscription); and “Polyxena tibi Carugus cultor / amoris / hunc tumulum atq(ue) aras / ad tua vota facit / sunt area memoranda / tuae pietatis imago / et tumolo duplices con / tagis [likely *contegis*] umbra viros” (“Oh Polyxena, for you Carugo, cultor of love, erected this tomb and altar according to your vows. The altars are a memorable image of your piety; in the tomb you shelter two men with your shadow”) (lefthand inscription).

convincingly Palmaesque in its details, remains strikingly Titianesque as a whole. Its composition is almost the reverse of the central (and possibly original) composition of the only *Pietà* designed by Titian, the famous painting in the Gallerie dell'Accademia that was completed by Palma after Titian's death.<sup>69</sup> How could such a Titianesque design appear a decade after Titian's death painted by Palma, and why would a contemporary artist or art lover record the same painting as a work of Titian? These are questions that call attention to the functioning of Titian's workshop and to the destiny of the works produced there after his death, two aspects widely discussed in recent studies on the painter.<sup>70</sup> Even more, the annotation points to the unclear role Palma played in the reworking of Titian's late production and to the unknown circumstances through which the *Pietà* of the Gallerie dell'Accademia passed from Titian's studio to Palma's hands.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>69</sup>As Hope, 1994, argues, the first autograph version of the Accademia *Pietà* was a smaller painting formed by one of the seven pieces of canvas that we can detect today. At this stage, the painting represented only the central figures of Christ and the Virgin. Hope's hypothesis has been criticized by Giovanna Nepi Scirè in *Late Titian*, 308–11 (cat. 3.20): she claims it is unlikely that Titian would have executed a composition so compressed in the canvas. My only objection to Hope's reconstruction, rather, concerns the horizontal shape of this hypothetical early version of the painting, which would have paired oddly with the architectural frames of the altars and the other altarpieces. Even if different in scale, all contemporary altarpieces in the church maintain a ratio of 2:1 between height and width, with no exceptions. The 1:2 height-to-width ratio would have been a highly unusual shape for an altarpiece, and not just in the Friari.

<sup>70</sup>On Titian's late years and his workshop, see Puppi, 2004; Dal Pozzolo, 2006 and 2008; Gentili; Hope, 2008b; Tagliaferro, 2006, 2008a, and 2008b. Relevant for an interpretation of the annotation is also Pomponio Vecellio's documented activity of selling unfinished works by his father after he regained possession of the house at the Biri and its content in 1579: see Hope, 2008b, 36 and n. 90.

<sup>71</sup>For any further investigation in this direction, it is relevant to note that Giovanni Martini and Francesco Carugo are connected to Titian. On more than one occasion Titian's son Orazio relied on their legal office. On 16 January 1568, Orazio, representing Cornelio Sarcinelli, the husband of his sister Lavinia, elected Carugo as arbiter in an agreement with Antonio Grimani: see ASV, Notarile. Atti, b. 2576 (P. Contarini), 14<sup>r</sup>–15<sup>r</sup>. The matter of the controversy remains unknown. Nine months later, on 31 October 1568, Martini served as arbiter, and Carugo as witness, in a controversy, ratified on 2 December, between Orazio and Cornelio de Fabrii (or Fabii) from Serravalle concerning timber trading: see *ibid.*, b. 3100 (Antonio Callegarini), 412<sup>r</sup>–413<sup>v</sup>. On 15 May 1571, Carugo represents Orazio in a controversy against Pietro de Siceis: see *ibid.*, b. 8238 (Francesco de Micheli), 340<sup>r</sup>–341<sup>r</sup>. He dismissed himself from duty on 20 October 1574: *ibid.*, b. 8238 (Francesco de Micheli), 340<sup>v</sup>. For the document of 16 January 1568, see Puppi, 2004, 135, n. 103. I learned about the documents of 31 October 1568, of 1571, and of 1574 from Charles Hope. I also thank him for allowing me to use his transcriptions.

## 5. IMPRECISIONS AND MISTAKES

In an annotation to the biography of Carpaccio, the first annotator reports that Domenico Campagnola praised Giovanni Bellini's *St. Job* altarpiece but criticized the clothing of the St. Sebastian in it: "In this panel, made for San Job, there is a figure of a St. Sebastian, highly praised by modern painters, which has only one defect: he wears shorts in the fashion of slaves, according to the judgment of the excellent painter sir Domenico Campagnola; 1563" (fig. 8).<sup>72</sup> As one can verify, there is no trace of such shorts in the painting: the figure of the saint wears a conventional loincloth. This means that either Campagnola mistakenly recalls the detail, or that the annotator recorded the artist's opinion of a different painting. In either case, the origin of the mistake must have been an imprecise recollection of a contemporary painting, now probably lost.

I should nonetheless mention the possibility that the painting was Antonello da Messina's *Pala di San Cassiano*, which, for typology, dimensions, subject, style, and celebrity, the annotator could have confused with Bellini's masterpiece.<sup>73</sup> It is difficult to determine what specific clothing the saint was wearing: documented in the church of San Cassiano until 1581, the altarpiece was already dismembered into five pieces by the 1630s. The piece representing St. Sebastian is not among the surviving three (now at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna). The figure is known, however, from a copy by David Teniers the Younger, executed in the 1650s, when the five fragments, then attributed to Giovanni Bellini, were in Brussels in the collection of Leopold of Augsburg; in 1660 Teniers included engraved copies of the fragments in the *Theatrum Pictorium*, which illustrates the collection's masterpieces. Teniers's copy clearly shows the saint covered by a piece of cloth that may well correspond to the piece of clothing described by Campagnola: short and amply folded (perhaps also modified by the Baroque copyist), a cross between traditional loincloths and the short, clingy undergarments that recur in other works by Giovanni Bellini and Antonello.<sup>74</sup>

The biographical note on Titian includes another puzzling annotation: "[Titian] painted another panel representing the ~~Annunciation~~

<sup>72</sup>Beinecke *Vite*, 448.

<sup>73</sup>The possibility of Antonello's painting was suggested to me by Francesco Caglioti.

<sup>74</sup>On the *Pala di San Cassiano*, see Lucco, 226–29 (cat. 34). Short and clingy undergarments are represented on the St. Sebastian in Giovanni Bellini's *Allegoria sacra*; on the Dresden *St. Sebastian* by Antonello da Messina (Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister); and on the two thieves in the Antwerp *Crucifixion*, also by Antonello (Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten).

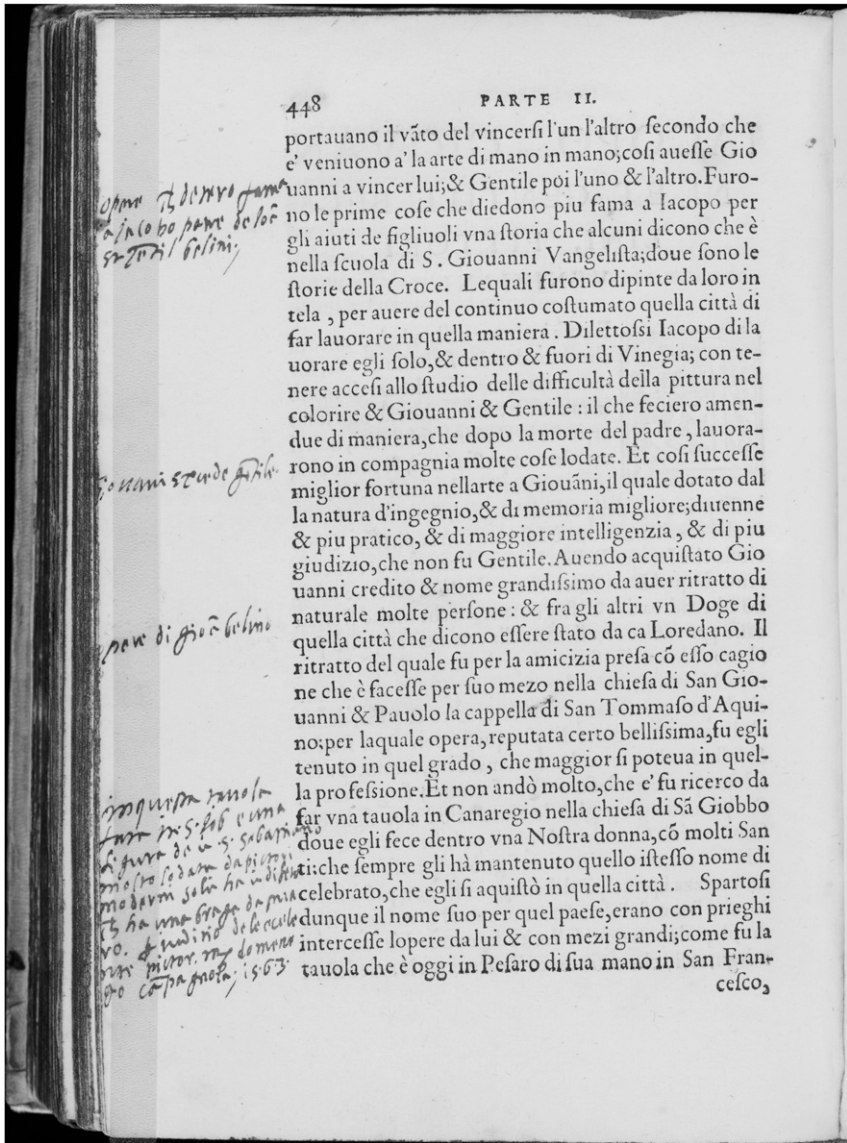


FIGURE 8. Anonymous annotator. Manuscript annotation in the margin of p. 448 of Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori italiani*. Florence, 1550. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University (1987 441 1).

Transfiguration in San Salvador, very honorably executed, on which he put his name.” The annotation refers to the two altarpieces Titian executed for the church of San Salvador: the *Transfiguration* for the main altar, made between 1562 and 1565, and the *Annunciation* for the chapel of the merchant Antonio Cornovì della Vecchia, made between 1563 and 1565.<sup>75</sup> But the writing of *Transfiguration* over *Annunciation* shows that the first annotator (whose hand can be identified as having written both words) was unaware that both works were in the same church and that only the latter, as he had first correctly reported, carries the signature of the artist.<sup>76</sup> This double mistake suggests that he relied on at least two different sources at different times, and that one of these, antecedent and accurate to the point of recalling the detail of the signature, was no longer available at the moment of the correction.

The reference to the *Venus and Adonis* is also mistaken. Titian executed this painting around 1553–54 for Philip II, and not for Charles V, as the annotator claims. This error may have been indirectly caused by Dolce’s *Dialogo*, which includes the famous painting in a list of works Titian made for both rulers.<sup>77</sup> Finally, the annotator records Titian’s Neapolitan *Annunciation* in the church of Santa Maria Maggiore instead of San Domenico Maggiore, where it remained until its modern transfer to the Capodimonte, and states that it was commissioned by Philip II (1527–98) rather than by Cosimo Pinelli, whose patronage is documented by a letter on the painting by the botanist Bartolomeo Maranta (d. 1571), protégée of Cosimo.<sup>78</sup> Though wrong on both counts, this confirms the Paduan origin

<sup>75</sup>On the altarpieces see *Le siècle de Titien*, 668 (cat. 251); Bohde, 460.

<sup>76</sup>The signature reads “Titianus faciebat”: see Nepi Scirè, 126.

<sup>77</sup>Dolce, 68: “for Cesar and the King of England.” I thank Charles Hope for this suggestion.

<sup>78</sup>Maranta, 1:863. If locating the altarpiece in the wrong church is a mistake that can be attributed to geographical distance, the suggestion of a different patron remains a matter of speculation: Philip II might have indeed played a major role in the commission. In the years of the commission, he had secured Titian for himself and offered Cosimo Pinelli unconditional support, granting him the title of Great Councilor of the Kingdom in 1557, the Duchy of Acerenza in 1563, and bestowing on his son Galeazzo the Marquis of Tursi, in 1570. On the Pinelli, see Foglietta, 226–27; De Lellis, 165–66; Spreti, 371–73. It is also worth noting that Philip II was already familiar with Titian’s composition. Not only was it well known through its engraving by Giovanni Jacopo Caraglio, but in 1537, Titian had donated the first version of the painting, the *Annunciation* originally destined for the nuns of Santa Maria degli Angeli in Murano, to the Empress Isabella: Aretino, 1:78–79 (Aretino’s letter to Titian, 9 November 1537). The painting is now lost but was recorded in Spain by Cassiano dal Pozzo in 1626. On the painting and Caraglio’s engraving, see Weston-Lewis, 285 (cat. 130); *Late Titian*, 254–56 (cat. 3.3).



of the annotations. The first idea for the commission of the painting came, in fact, to the young Giovanni Vincenzo Pinelli (1535–1601), son of Cosimo, after his arrival in Padua from Naples in 1558, as documented by Maranta.<sup>79</sup> A remembrance of the commission in Paduan artistic circles explains why the Neapolitan canvas, which rarely received enthusiastic appreciation in print until 1623, is the first work listed in the biographical annotation.

Mistakes like these oblige us to question the veracity of each annotation. But it is also true that the reliability of the annotations as a whole is directly related to the connection they establish with Padua. The city is the center from which the gaze of the annotator widens, losing focus and precision with distance. The only mistake I have found that is directly related to the city concerns the terracotta sculptor Guido Mazzoni, called Modanino (ca. 1445–1518), whom the annotator believes to be buried in the atrium of the no-longer-extant church of San Lorenzo: “this Modonino is buried in Padua in San Lorenzo outside of the church” (fig. 9).<sup>80</sup> In fact, the sculptor was buried in his hometown Modena, in the Church of the Carmelites on 12 September 1518.<sup>81</sup> The annotator was most likely misled by a funerary epigraph in the wall of the church’s atrium, now lost, which commemorated a musician also called Modanino (which must have been a common nickname among short men from Modena).<sup>82</sup>

The first annotator was not a man of letters, but he demonstrates his substantial good faith in using the annotations to transmit, however unsystematically, information on Padua that had been neglected by Vasari. For example, he attributes to Donatello the *Crucifix* in Santa Maria dei Servi in Padua in an annotation appearing at the end of Vasari’s excursus of Donatello’s works in the city: “[Donatello] also made the crucifix, which is now in the church of the Servites of Padua.”<sup>83</sup>

<sup>79</sup>Maranta, 1:898–99. For the date of Giovanni Vincenzo’s arrival in Padua, see a second letter by Maranta quoted in Grosso, 76.

<sup>80</sup>Beinecke *Vite*, 357: “Questo Modonino è sepolto in Padua in San Lorenzo fori dela chiesa.”

<sup>81</sup>Tiraboschi, 260.

<sup>82</sup>The epigraph reads: “Ossa MODENINI clauduntur marmorae tanto / Quem tulit Amutina proles Malatignia quondam / Musicus ipse fuit patria splendorque decusque / atque suis patriam meritis ad sydera duxit” (“This very marble contains the bones of Modanino, of the Modenese lineage of the Malatini. He was a musician, honor and splendor of his homeland, which he lifted to the stars thanks to his own merits”). For the inscription, see Tomasini, 213. For the epigraph’s location in the church’s atrium, see the manuscript compilation: Ferretto, 5:218<sup>f</sup>–19<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>83</sup>Beinecke *Vite*, 344: “ha [Donatello] ancor fato il Crucifixo quale hora è in chiesa di Servi di Padoa.” I have argued, together with Francesco Caglioti, in favor of this attribution: see Caglioti, 2008; Ruffini, 2008.

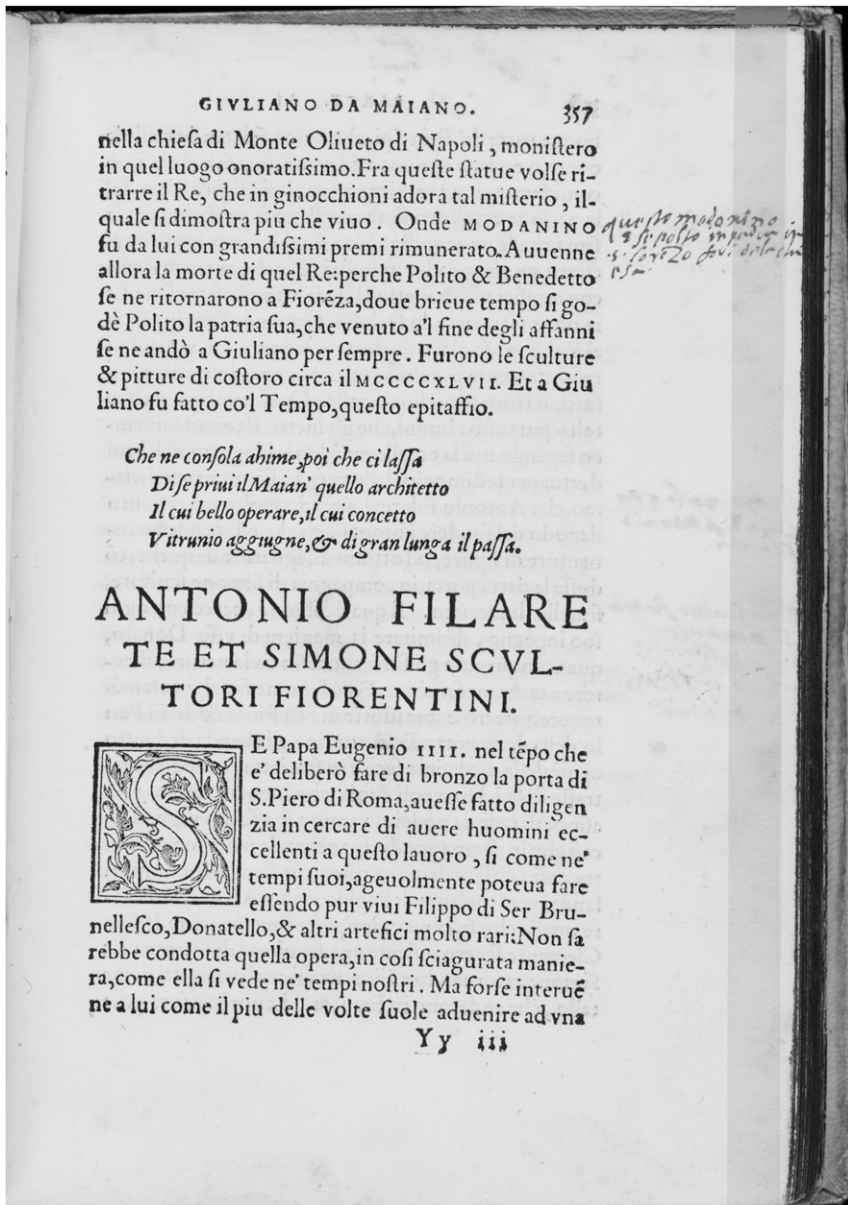


FIGURE 9. Anonymous annotator. Manuscript annotation in the margin of p. 357 of Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori italiani*. Florence, 1550. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University (1987 441 1).

## 6. SOURCES

The annotators' errors indicate that they largely wrote from memory and from oral sources. Although influential, written sources seem to have been mediated or supplanted by oral ones. It is unlikely that the annotators read Dolce's or Aretino's works, and even more unlikely that they had them in hand at the moment of the writing. If this had been the case, correspondences between these texts and the annotations would have been closer. Linguistic limitations, evident in the mistake regarding Guido Mazzoni, also probably limited the annotators' access to Scardeone's learned compilation in Latin, *De antiquitate urbis Patavii*: access to this source may have only been indirect.

We can also assume that the second annotator never read the substantially augmented second edition of the *Vite*, published at least thirteen years before his writing. First, his brief addition to the biographical annotation of Titian is in no way comparable to the accurate sixteen-page biography of the artist included in the Giuntina. Second, we see errors made by the first annotator that would have been corrected had the second annotator consulted the new edition: one example is the overwriting of *Transfiguration* over *Annunciation*, two works correctly described by Vasari as coexistent in the same church.

However, the relationship between the annotations and the Giuntina is far more complex: we find precise correspondences between them. The judgment of Carpaccio, for example, is more favorable in the new edition. Vasari eliminated the incidental subordinated sentence — “if not among the high and great masters” — that had excluded Carpaccio from the echelon of the best artists, and provoked the intervention of the annotator. The *Martyrdom of the 10,000 Martyrs*, praised by the annotator as the best altarpiece in Venice, is included in the catalogue of the artist. These correspondences do not mean that the new edition was revised on the basis of these specific annotations, but the annotations indicate that the circulation of anti-Vasarian arguments in Veneto art circles after the publication of the *Torrentiniana* may eventually have had an impact on the Giuntina.

More puzzling is information given by the second annotator in the margin of the biography of Carpaccio. Indexing the portrait of a member of the Badoer family by the Veronese painter Francesco Torbido (1486–1562), the annotator added that Torbido was a pupil of Giorgione (ca. 1477–1510) and that he had painted the portrait when he was young: “Francesco Torbido pupil of Giorgione; and a beautiful portrait by him while he was young”

(fig. 10).<sup>84</sup> In the Giuntina we find the same information in a new section of part 3, entitled “Liberale da Verona and other Veronese artists,” which was based on accounts provided by Marco Medici, the same fra’ Marco mentioned by the first annotator as an expert on Paduan art. Any direct connection between Vasari and the second annotator is unlikely, even if it were through Medici. But if the Giuntina, published long before the writing of the annotation, remained unknown to the annotator, then we have reached with this annotation the point of a circular influence, impossible to solve in one direction or the other. This seems especially true if we consider the possibility that early readers of the *Torrentiniana*, like the second annotator, became familiar with the Giuntina only through oral accounts and secondhand sources.

The annotations’ frequent reference to recent works may be explained by the emphasis on fresh information that is characteristic of oral sources. This explanation also accounts for their reliance on accessible or famous works like the *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*, an altarpiece first mentioned in print only in the Giuntina, but already popular in Veneto art circles for its rendering of nocturnal light.<sup>85</sup>

With the exception of Domenico Campagnola, the first annotator does not prove to have had any direct contact with the artists he mentions. It is unlikely he had any access to Titian or to any member of his close entourage. The insight into the Palazzo Lion’s frescoes is better explained by an acquaintance with the Lion family rather than direct contact with the artist. The case of the Neapolitan *Annunciation*, another peculiarity in the list, simply demonstrates the prominence of Paduan sources in the annotations and, ultimately, the annotations’ unreliability for more distant works.

The second annotator’s knowledge of Titian was also indirect, but in two cases it seems plausible that his information originated from the artist’s entourage. The first instance is the claim that Titian brought a portrait of Charles V to Venice. This event, never recorded in the literature on the

<sup>84</sup>Beinecke *Vite*, 541: “Francesco Turbido disepolo di Giorgione; et retrato da lui molto belo mentre era giovine.” The annotation refers to the *Ritratto di pastore incoronato*, which was in the convent of Santa Giustina in Padua in 1810 and now at the Museo Civico of Padua (inv. 455). See esp. Grossato, 1957, 166–68; Mariani Canova, 147–48 (cat. 40).

<sup>85</sup>Vasari, 1966–87, 6:167. On the painting and its immediate fortune, see Biadene, 308–13 (cat. 53). Ridolfi, 172, claims that Palma il Giovane copied the painting in the church when he was fifteen, an indication that it was installed before 1559. The painting is also recorded in a letter, dated 9 October 1564, from Garcia Hernández to Philip II regarding the possibility of obtaining a copy of the painting from Girolamo Dente: see *Tiziano e la corte di Spagna*, n. 119.

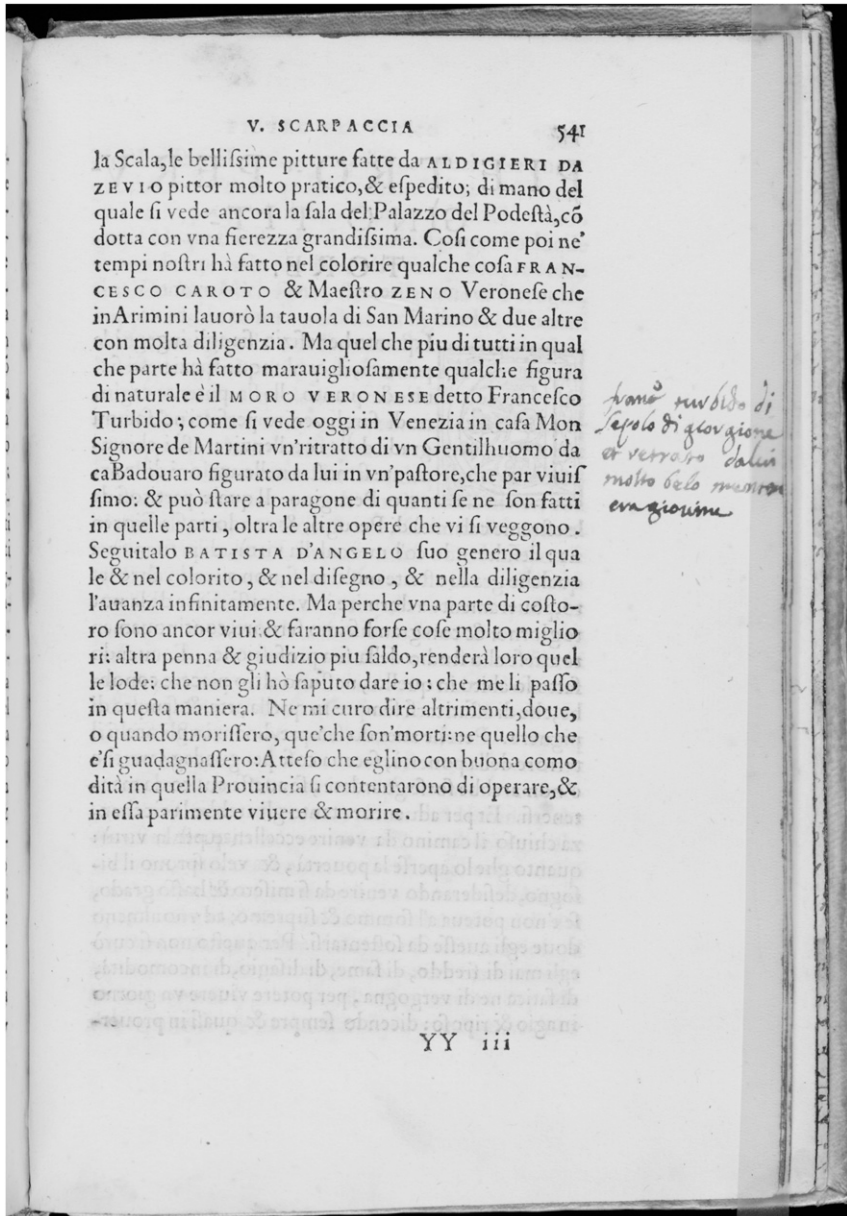


FIGURE 10. Anonymous annotator. Manuscript annotation in the margin of p. 541r of Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori italiani*. Florence, 1550. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University (1987 441 1).

artist, might have indeed inspired Aretino to compose the sonnet “Nel ritratto de lo imperadore” in the same month that Titian returned from Augsburg.<sup>86</sup> The second case is the reference to the *Trinity* as a “Paradiso,” a title that appears in print only in 1622, in the anonymous biography of Titian known as the *Breve compendio*, but which was used by Titian in his January 1567 request for copyright on the work’s reproduction.<sup>87</sup>

In a few cases, the annotators had direct knowledge about paintings. In the annotation on Francia’s altarpiece in Ferrara, the first annotator recalls that he had traveled from Padua to see it. His remarks on the two major works of Santa Maria Nova, the *St. Victor* and *St. Jerome* altarpieces, also suggest that he had visited that church. Finally, the precise location of the composition of Judith in the frescoes of the Fondaco dei Tedeschi “above the door,” a detail never mentioned in print before Ridolfi (in 1648), can only be explained by a direct knowledge of the decoration.

In other instances the second annotators’ knowledge of Titian’s work was probably based on reproductions. For example, the description of the *Trinity* — “one could not see in the world figures more cleverly done than those” — which, although generic, could have been based solely on the observation of an engraved copy. The original painting had been hardly seen in Venice, for it had been sent to Flanders immediately after its completion. The description, then, must have been derived from Cornelis Cort’s (ca. 1533–ca. 1578) engraving of the work (1566) published before the annotator’s writing.<sup>88</sup>

## 7. THE ANNOTATORS

A few final observations should be devoted to the annotators’ reading of the *Vite*. First, it is important to highlight their partial knowledge of the book,

<sup>86</sup>The sonnet is in a letter from Aretino to Don Luigi d’Avila, dated Venice, November 1548: see Aretino, 2:264.

<sup>87</sup>For the engraving and its early sources, see Bierens de Haan, 117–20 (cat. 111); Sellink, 170 (cat. 59); Chiari, 51–52. Titian also refers to the canvas as *Trinity* in two letters dated 1567: to Alessandro Farnese on 16 January, and to Margherita of Parma on 15 June. The letter to Farnese (Pierpont Morgan Library, MA 4334) was transcribed by Charles Hope and published by Anderson, 286. On the letter to the emperor’s daughter, see especially Bierwirth, n. 939. *Trinity* is the title that we also find in Aretino’s letters, in the Giuntina, and in the inventory of Charles V. The painting was also known as *Gloria* (in Jose Sigüenza’s description of the Escorial, 1605) and *Last Judgment* (again in Sigüenza and in a codicil of the testament of Charles V): see Falomir, 220–23. On Titian’s copyright, see Witcombe, xix–xxi.

<sup>88</sup>See Bierens de Haan, 117–20 (cat. 111); Sellink, 170 (cat. 59); Chiari, 51–52.

which was probably limited to the first two of the three artistic periods delineated by Vasari. They likely possessed only the first of the two volumes of the *Torrentiniana*. It would otherwise be curious for the first annotator to mention recent works and contemporary artists in the first volume, in which Vasari discusses works and artists from the Duecento to the early Cinquecento; the second volume, dedicated to Vasari's contemporaries — and in which he writes about almost half of the artists mentioned in the annotations — would have been a more appropriate choice for the annotators' comments. The biographical note on Titian would have found its ideal location at the end of the second volume, as a counterpoint to Michelangelo's biography. Similarly, the concluding annotation to the *Vite*, which appears at the end of the first volume, would have been more logically placed at the end of the work as a whole. Finally, the indexing of the text, the main purpose of the annotations, would have been useless in light of the second volume's exhaustive printed index of the whole book.

Second, the first annotator's reading of the text was probably discontinuous. It would otherwise be difficult to explain the absence of annotations where one expects to find them. The biography of Mantegna, for example, presents mistakes that seem to have passed unnoticed. We would expect the annotators to correct the claim that the artist was Mantuan instead of Paduan (noted by Scardeone), and the mistaken location of the Ovetari chapel in the church of Santa Maria dei Servi instead of in the Eremitani.<sup>89</sup> Similarly, the biography of Bellano, the only Paduan who received significant attention in the *Vite* (with the exception of Mantegna), remains untouched. Moreover, the annotator does not acknowledge the passages dedicated to the invention of oil painting in the book's theoretical introduction to painting, or in the biography of Antonello da Messina, a subject for which he expressed keen interest in the annotation on the volume's last page.<sup>90</sup> Occasional and extemporaneous, the annotators' reading of the book seems limited to those pages where we find annotations. Except for the dedicatory letter to Cosimo I, which was copiously annotated,<sup>91</sup> and the biographical note on Titian, which for its scope represents a case in itself, the pages the annotators read can be grouped into five distinct sections of the text: from Cimabue to Giotto (126–49); from Taddeo Gaddi to Lorenzo Monaco (177–218); from Brunelleschi to Antonio Averlino, called Filarete (305–59); from Gentile da Fabriano (and Pisanello) to Francesco

<sup>89</sup>Vasari, 1966–87, 3:554.

<sup>90</sup>Ibid., 1:132, 3:301–08.

<sup>91</sup>Beinecke *Vite*, 3; see also Appendix 1.

d'Angelo di Giovanni, called Cecca (417–60); and from Francesco Francia to Pietro Perugino, the last biography of the volume (530–52).

Partial knowledge of the book is consistent with the extemporaneous character of the annotations and their narrow reference to the text. The annotators are mainly interested in indexing or supplementing the book's content with precise information. In general, they disregard theoretical issues. The introductions on the principles and techniques of each art have no annotations. The mediocrity of fra' Jacopo, which in the *Vite* introduces a digression on the historicity of art, is taken literally in the annotations, as an example of the inferiority of the Florentines to the Greek mosaicists. Finally, while they are critical, the annotators never question the reliability of the *Vite*. Their indexical notes and amplifications reveal an unconditional acceptance of the information contained in the book. Thus, in more than one case the first annotator indexes wrong information: understandable in the case of the Gondi chapel of Santa Maria Novella, a work distant in time and space, but surprising in the case of the equestrian wooden model, now in Palazzo della Ragione, that Vasari mistakenly attributed to Donatello. The faith in Vasari's knowledge, combined with the Florentinism of the book, led the annotators to believe that any omission in the *Vite* was intentional. This is the case in the biography of Francia, where the first annotator accuses Vasari of being prejudicial against Lombard artists. The possibility that Vasari simply did not have enough information about them, which is entirely plausible, never occurs to the annotator.

## 8. CONCLUSIONS

The annotations offer new clues for art historians, but as a group they mainly repeat what is already known. They show how information in contemporary art writing circulated, especially in response to Vasari, in a peripheral location like Padua. The claim of *colore* as a defining quality of Veneto painting, and much of the account of Titian's life and work, derive from Dolce's and Aretino's writings. The celebration of the Paduan contemporary artists Domenico Campagnola and Stefano dell'Arzere echoes Scardeone's authoritative compilation. Material from these works makes their way into the annotations, albeit in uneven and imprecise ways.

Moreover, the annotations' tendency to simplify information that originates in printed sources and to mistakenly record oral information shows how difficult it was to obtain specific knowledge about artists and works of art in the second half of the sixteenth century. At the same time, and by contrast, the annotations also remind us what an unprecedented amount of information the *Vite* presented to contemporary readers. Unlike



its predecessors in the Veneto, the *Torrentiniana* presented precise information (although not necessarily correct) on artworks' authorship and locations. Veneto art books such as Pino's *Dialogo* and Luca Gaurico's *De sculptura* (published in Florence in 1504 but compiled and set in Padua) were mainly interested in art as a theory or as a literary genre. More than any other book about art, the *Vite* could be used as an art guide — a topographical catalogue of identifiable works of art — and it was, in fact, used by the first annotator in this way, in the case of Francia's altarpiece in the Ferrara Cathedral.<sup>92</sup>

The annotators understood the weight of the *Vite*'s authority. They never seem to doubt the validity of its information, and when trying to argue against Vasari, they structure their responses with his rhetorical formulas, examples, syntax, and vocabulary. Their criticism turns into emulation, as in the case of the incipit of the biographical note on Titian — “since I am willing to write about painters,” which refers to the intention to write a compilation like the *Vite* — or in the adaptation of Vasari's anecdote on Francia a few lines below in the same annotation.<sup>93</sup> The annotations as a group are thus a precocious example — even more valuable for their limitations and spontaneity — of the normative effect the *Vite* exerted on contemporary art writing. This effect was enhanced by the partiality of its view, which instilled in contemporary readers a desire to close its gaps, or to rewrite the whole book from an alternative point of view.

Finally, the annotations reflect the increasing marginality of Padua in the artistic geography of the Italian peninsula, and its minor status vis-à-vis Venice. Very little remains of the longstanding rivalry between the two cities

<sup>92</sup>An important exception is Marcantonio Michiel's *Notizie d'opere del Disegno*, nearly contemporary to the *Vite*, which offers accurate information on works of art then visible in Northern Italy. But Michiel's work did not circulate until it was found in the Marciana Library in the eighteenth century and published by Jacopo Morelli in 1800. For unknown reasons, perhaps the news of the *Torrentiniana*'s forthcoming publication, Michiel left the compilation incomplete, in a manuscript form. On the *Notizia*, see Schmitter; Fletcher, 1941a and b.

<sup>93</sup>Beinecke *Vite*, recto of the first flyleaf inserted in front of the back cover: “volendo io ragionar dei pictori.” This statement refers to a passage in Vasari's dedicatory letter to Cosimo I de' Medici, translated in Vasari, 1996, 1:3, as: “I think that you cannot but take pleasure in this labour which I have undertaken, of writing down the lives, the works, the manners, and the circumstances of all those who, finding the arts already dead, first revived them, then step by step nourished and adorned them, and finally brought them to that height of beauty and majesty whereon they stand at the present day.” The annotator's comment to this passage is at Beinecke *Vite*, 3: “[Vasari] promises to write the lives of those who resurrected the art of painting.” See the Appendix for the Italian original of the annotation.

that characterized early Renaissance Veneto culture in an exemplary case of the vivid dialectic between center and periphery.<sup>94</sup> Scardeone avoided any explicit confrontation between contemporary Paduan art and that of the rest of the peninsula by creating a geographically idiosyncratic and chronologically asymmetric anti-Vasarian narrative. Despite its claims to universality and emphasis on the art of the present in the introduction, the chapter dedicated to illustrious artists is exclusively dedicated to Paduans, and is dominated by Mantegna, an artist of three generations earlier whose treatment in Scardeone easily matches that of Michelangelo in the *Vite*.<sup>95</sup>

The annotators share Scardeone's anti-Vasarian spirit, but reconcile civic and regional pride by delegating to Titian — as celebrated by Pino, Dolce, and Aretino — the function that Mantegna plays in the learned historical compilation. The annotations portray a Paduan society characterized by nostalgia, valorizing its artistic tradition, but whose present was destined to remain unmemorable. The first annotator's inclusion of a local master like Domenico Campagnola as one of the best contemporary painters of the Italian peninsula is at best a reach. Despite Marco Medici's presence in the city, at the time that he was in charge of revising the section of Northern Italian art for the second edition of the *Vite*, Campagnola's name remained excluded from the book.

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<sup>94</sup>Castelnuovo and Ginzburg; Benzoni.

<sup>95</sup>For a wider consideration of the historiographical issues that the literature on Mantegna raises, see Agosti, 2005.

*Appendix 1: Manuscript Annotations in the First Volume of  
Le vite de' più eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori (1550),  
Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (1987 441 1)*

In the following transcription, I have modernized the original orthography and punctuation only where comprehension would have been at risk. The letters dropped out because of damage to the document, or of indeterminacy, are enclosed within square brackets. Abbreviations have been expanded. Words that are crossed through (e.g., *il Parazio*) are those crossed out or corrected by the annotator. The biography or section, the page number, and the line number (within square brackets) precede the annotations.

Allo Illustrissimo et Eccellentissimo Signore il Signor Cosimo de' Medici Duca di Fiorenza Signore mio Osservandissimo

p. 3 (A2):

- [7] *Nota chommo Cosmo de Medi[ci] et sui progeni[tori] sempre hanno fa[vo]rito virtuosi*  
 [14] *Il duca di Fiorenz[a] non solamente ha favorito li pictori ma ancor chi ha disegno*  
 [18] *Costui promete di [scri]ver le vite de co[lo]ro quali hanno [re]scuscitato la pic[tura]*  
 [22] *Hogidì è la più [be]lla maniera di d[i]pingere che fosse m[ai]*  
 [25] *In questa parte [. . .] più non dice i [. . .] che siino stati [. . .] sol alcuni*

Giovanni Cimabue

p. 126:

- [10] *[Gioan] Cimabue naque in Fiorenza l'ano 1240*  
 [17] *[Gi]oan Cimabue fo mandato a Santa Maria Novela per [i]nparar litere*  
 [21] *[Gi]oan Cimabue in cambio del studiar facea picture*  
 [22] *[correct spinto over spirito in the text]*  
 [26] *Pitori greci venuti in Fiorenza*  
 [30] *Capella de Gondi in Santa Ma[r]ia Novela principiata [d]a pitori greci*

p. 127:

- [1] *Gioan Cimabue lassò il studio et del continuo sta a veder lavorar i maestri greci*  
 [8] *Gioan Cimabue è acon[cio] con li maestri greci*  
 [19] *Gaddo Gaddi amico di Gioan Cimabue; Andrea Taffi.*

p. 129:

- [11] *Giotto discepolo di Gioan Cimabue*  
 [19] *Arnolfo*  
 [26] *Scapornaria et [. . .] la fiorentina*  
 [28] *Et che diremo noi de la stupen[da] chiesa di San Marcho da Vene[zia]*

p. 130:

[31] *Michielanzolo Bonaroti, Raphael d'Urbino commo Titiano, Jacomo Tentoreto, Paulo Veroneze, el Salviati, Bonifacio, Lorenzo Loto, Rocho Marchonio, il Parazio, Domenego Campagnola, qual ha fato molte opere, fra le altre una tavola in Sant'Agostin di Padoa et in la Sala del Podestà, un'altra Stephano padoano ancora, et fra' Marcho maraveglia commo in più lochi si vegono le sue opere divine*

Andrea Taffi pittor fiorentino

p. 131:

[19] *Andrea Taffi*

[30] *Apollonio pictor greco*

p. 132:

[14] *Nota gofagine del frate*

[27] *Commo è hogi in San Mar[c]ho le maravigliose opere dei Zuchati et ancor in Santa Maria Nova la tavola di San Vetor*

Gaddo Gaddi pittor fiorentino

p. 135:

[4] *Vadino a Venezia si volgion veder opere egregie fate per li divini Zuchati*

Margaritone aretino pittore

p. 137:

[16] *A Sargiano è il ritrato de san Francesco fato da Margariton aretino; 1316*

Giotto pittor fiorentino

p. 140:

[1] *Ritrato di Dante ne la Capela del Palagio del Podestà di Fiorenza fato da Giotto; 1326 .S.*

[34] *Leonardo Aretino sepolto in Santa Croce .S.*

p. 149:

[23] *Angelo Poliziano*

Andrea Pisano scultore

p. 160:

[14] [Correction of a typographical mistake in the text: the annotator added the missing *s* in *santo Lorenzo*]

Taddeo Gaddi pittor fiorentino

p. 177:

[20] *Tadeo Gadi discepolo di Giotto*

[26] *Opere di Tadeo Gadi*

p. 180:

[8] *[Co]nsideration de una [P]assion di Cristo pinta [d]a Tadeo Gadi .S.*

p. 181:

[22] *Simone Memmi*

p. 183:

[12] *Santo Gieronimo è in venerazione a Tadeo Gaddi .S.*

[25] *Morte di Taddeo Gaddi*

[26] *Discepoli di Tadeo Gaddi*

[30] *Gioanni milanese*

Andrea di Cione Orgagna pittore et scultore fiorentino

p. 185:

[11] *Lode d'Orgagna*

[14] *Commo era architeto, scultor, pitor et poeta*

[24] *Opere de l'Orgagna*

[26] *Taddeo Gaddi*

[28] *Dominico Ghirlandai*

p. 186:

[6] *Bernardo fratele de l'Orgagna*

[11] *[G]uardi messo di commune. Nota*

p. 187:

[1] *Opere di Bernardo fr[a]telo de l'Orgagna*

[5] *Bernardo Nelo*

[8] *Morte de l'Orgagna*

[15] *Marioto nepote de l'Orgagna .S.*

Tommaso fiorentino pittore detto Giotino

p. 188:

[11] *Thomaso de chi fo discepolo*

[15] *Perché era deto Gio[t]tino*

[28] *Opere di Thomaso*

p. 190:

[10] *Thomaso scultore*

p. 191:

[11] *Morte di Thomaso*

[21] *Discepoli di Thomaso*

Duccio pittor sanese

p. 200:

[3] *Miglioramento dela pitura fata per Ducio .S.*

Antonio veneziano

p. 201:

[10] *Opere di Antonio in Vinegia [underlined] quale finhora è in essere*

[23] *San Spirito di Fiorenz[a]*

[24] *Opere di Antonio in Firenze*

Spinello aretino pittore

p. 208:

[28] *Inmaginatio facit casum .S.*

Fra' Lorenzo de gli Agnoli pittor fiorentino

p. 215:

[24] *Di qual religione fosse fra' Lorenzo*

[26] *Mani di fra' Lorenzo tenute commo reliquie*

[28] *Qual maniera tenne fra' Lorenzo*

p. 216:

[2] *[O]pere di fra' Lorenzo*

[12] *Ritrato di Dante et Petrarca*

[17] *[Fr]a' Lorenzo fu dispensato da papa [E]ugenio dala graveza [d]ela religione*

[20] *Messale di fra' Lorenzo ogidi [. . .] per uso in Roma*

[26] *Morte di fra' Lorenzo*

[27] *Francesco fiorentino*

Taddeo Bartoli pittor sanese

p. 217:

[27] *Opera de Thadeo Bartholi qual li dà gran nome*

p. 218:

[17] *Morte di Thadeo Bartholi*

[27] *Domenico Bartholi*

p. 269:

[cross sign on the internal top margin of the page]

Filippo Brunelleschi scultore et architetto

p. 305:

[19] *1420*

Donato scultore fiorentino

p. 334:

[28] *Natività de Donatelo*

p. 335:

[20] *L'opera qual diede nome a Donatelo*

p. 337:

[2] *Opera di Filipo Bruneleschi, qual fa stupire Donatelo*

p. 338:

[1] *Michielozo discepolo di Donatelo*

[21] *Donatelo non solamente lavorava cole mani ma ancor col iuditio*

[32] *Filipo Bruneleschi*

p. 339:

[13] *Comparazion fra opere moderne et quele di Donatelo*

- [26] *Andrea Verocchio*  
 [32] *Statua rarissima fata dal Donatelo*
- p. 340:  
 [22] *Opera quale sastifò tanto a Donatelo che li posse il suo nome.*
- p. 342:  
 [13] *Donatelo porta grand'amor a casa Marteli*  
 [25] *Napoli*  
 [32] *Prato*
- p. 343:  
 [7] *Gatamelata a Padoa*  
 [9] *Considerazion del cavalo di Gatamelata gitato da Donatelo*  
 [22] *Sant'Antonio da Padoa*  
 [29] *Capi de Lista del cavalo*
- p. 344:  
 [2] *Ha ancor fato il Crucifixo quale hora è in chiesa di Servi di Padoa*  
 [25] *Vinegia*  
 [27] *Faenza*  
 [30] *Montepulciano*  
 [33] *Andrea Verocchio*
- p. 345:  
 [1] *Roma*  
 [5] *Siena*
- p. 346:  
 [24] *Bertoldo discepolo di Donatelo*
- p. 347:  
 [9] *Lode di Donatelo*
- p. 348:  
 [21] *Filipo*
- p. 349:  
 [19] *Morte di Donatelo*  
 [25] *Honor che fo fato a Donatelo ne la sua morte.*

Michelozzo Michelozzi scultore et architetto fiorentino

- p. 352:  
 [23] *Michelozzo discepolo di Donatelo.*
- p. 353:  
 [5] *Opere di Michelozzo*  
 [23] *Opera che dete fama a Michelozzo*
- p. 354:  
 [10] *Morte di Michelozzo*

Giuliano da Maiano scultore et architetto

- p. 355:  
 [12] *Exercizio del padre di Giuliano*

[17] *Natività di Giuliano*

[29] *Opere di Giuliano in Napoli*

p. 356:

[4] *Piero del Donzelo pictore pinse Pogio Reale di Napoli, et Polito suo fratello*

[20] *Morte di Giuliano*

[21] *Onore qual fu fato [per] l'exequie di Giuliano*

[25] *Benedeto fratello di Giuliano*

[30] *Modanino da Modona*

p. 357:

[4] *Questo Modonino è sepolto in Padoa in San Lorenzo fori dela chiesa*

Antonio Filarete et Simone scultori fiorentini

p. 358:

[15] *In che era la excelentia di Antonio Filarete*

[19] *Simon scultor fratello di Donatelo*

[22] *Opere di Antonio et Simone*

p. 359:

[9] *Ducio sanese*

[15] *Morte di Simone*

[21] *Giovanni Focheta pic[io]re*

[25] *Morte di Antonio Filarete*

Gentile da Fabriano et Vittore Pisanello pittori

p. 417:

[20] *Opere de Victore Pisane[lo]*

p. 418:

[2] *Morte di Victore Pisanelo*

[7] *Opere di Gentile*

[20] *Morte di Gentile*

Galasso ferrarese pittore

p. 427:

[14] *Pietro dal Borgo*

[22] *Opere di Galasso*

p. 428:

[7] *Morte di Galasso*

[15] *Cosmo da Ferrara*

Antonio Rossellino scultore fiorentino

p. 429:

[5] *Lode di Antonio*

[13] *Perché si adomandava il Roscelini*

[21] *Opere del Roscelini*



p. 430:

[11] *Considerazion de una opera fata nel'arca del gardinal di Portogalo*

p. 431:

[6] *Morte del Ruscelini*

[7] *Bernardo*

Francesco di Giorgio scultore et architetto sanese

p. 432:

[22] *Opere di Francescho ~~Giorgio Francesco~~*

[30] *~~Giorgio Francesco Francesco~~ dà opera a la pittura*

p. 433:

[2] *Urbino*

[12] *Francescho ~~Giorgio Francesco~~ electo de Signori*

[21] *Morte di ~~Giorgio~~ Francescho*

[27] *Jacopo Cozerelo*

Desiderio da settignano scultore

p. 434:

[20] *Patria di Desiderio*

[29] *Opera di Desiderio*

p. 435:

[12] *Bacio da Montelupo*

p. 436:

[17] *Morte di Desiderio*

p. 437:

[13] *Benedeto da Maiano*

Ercole ferrarese pittore

p. 443:

[7] *Hercole discepolo di Lorenzo Cossa*

[10] *Opere di Hercole*

[17] *Questo ha lavorato la Capela Grande di San Dominico di Ferara*

[27] *Lode di Hercole*

p. 444:

[14] *Consideratione di una Crusifixione di Cristo fata da Hercole in Bologna*

p. 445:

[25] *Burla fata a Hercole da pitori bolognesi*

[28] *Duca Tagliapietra scultor*

p. 446:

[5] *Morte di Hercole*

[12] *Discepolo di Hercole Guido bolognese*

Jacopo, Giovanni, et Gentile Bellini, pittori veneziani

p. 448:

[3] *Opere che detero fama a Jacobo patre de Gioan et Zentil Belini*

[14] *Giovani excede Gentile*

[20] *Opere di Gioan Belino*

[27] *In questa tavola fata in San Job è una figura de un san Sebastiano molto lodata da' pictori moderni: solum ha un difeto, che ha una braga da sciavo, per iuditio de l'excelente pictor messer Domenego Campagnola; 1563*

p. 449:

[21] *Girolamo Moceto discepolo di Gioan Belini*

p. 450:

[2] *Consideration de alcuni quadri posti in Sala del Conselgio*

p. 451:

[2] *Gentile fratello di Gioan Belini*

p. 452:

[3] *Honore di Gentil Belini havuto da Maugmeto turcho*

[23] *Opere di Gentil Belini*

p. 453:

[4] *Morte di Gentil Belini*

[21] *Opere di Gioani Belini*

[34] *Jacobo da Montagnano*

p. 454:

[4] *Rondinelo da Ravena*

[14] *Beneto Coda*

[15] *Bartholomeo figliolo et discepolo di Beneto Coda*

[16] *Zorzon da Castelfranco*

[25] *Morte di Gioan Belini*

Cosimo Rosselli pittore fiorentino

p. 455:

[15] *Opere di Cosmo Rosceli*

[28] *Opera migliore che ha di fato in Fiorenze il Rusceli*

p. 456:

[7] *Sandro Boticelo, Dominico Girlandaio, Abate san Clemente, Luca Cortona, Piero Perugino*

[27] *Nota astutia del Rusceli*

p. 457:

[9] *Nota pictore*

[19] *Piero di Cosmo*

[24] *Andrea di Cosmo*

[27] *Morte del Rosceli*

[29] *Nota alchimista*

## Il Cecca ingegnere fiorentino

p. 459:

- [9] *Chi fosse il Cecha nela soa gioventù*
- [12] *A che atese il Cecha a saper*
- [18] *Il Cecha provisionato da signori fiorentini*
- [22] *Nota artificio grande del Cecha*

p. 460:

- [9] *Morte acerba del Cecha*

## Francesco Francia bolognese pittore

p. 52

- [20] *Nota*

p. 530:

- [11] *Nota chommo il Franza abandonò l'arte et la vita vedendo l'opre di Rapha[e]lo di Urbino .S.*
- [12] *Nascimento et patria del Franza*
- [16] *Statura del Franza*
- [23] *A qual dete meglio opera il Franza sendo [o]refice*
- [30] *[I]ngegno miracolozo del Franza*

p. 531:

- [7] *Caradosso*
- [8] *Medalgie fate dal Franz[a]*
- [27] *Andrea Mantegna*

p. 532:

- [5] *[O]pere del Franza in pictura .S.*

p. 534:

- [27] *Per questa tavola del Domo di Ferara mi son partito da Padoa per vederla, et ho veduto una gran scarponaria a parangon de le moderne fate in Lombardia et da' lombardi*

p. 536:

- [21] *Raffaello d'Urbino*
- [26] *Nota chommo che questo [G]iorgio aretino è molto apassionato contro lombardi, ma faci quanto che lui vole, bisongnia che lui habi pacienza, che ancor in queste parti sonno homeni excelenti .S.*

p. 537:

- [7] *Lode de una tavola fata per Raffael d'Urbino*
- [21] *Fivizzano*

## Vittore Scarpaccia et altri pittori veneziani

p. 539:

- [2] *Nota chommo in deta Scola de Sant'Orsola è r[e]trato Zan, Jacobo et Zentil Bellini et anco[r] esso Vettor Scarpazo*
- [7] *Nota che questa è la più bella opera che vi si' in Venetia, fra le antich[e] et moderne .S.*

[12] *Nota che costui ha fato una tavola a Sant'Antonio a tempera di 10 milia marti[ri], che è la più bella tav[ola] che sii in Venetia*

[24] *Non val niente questa tavola per iuditio d[e] [l']excelente pictor ser D[o]menogo Campagnola pictor egregio*

p. 541:

[10] *Francesco Turbido disepolo di Giorgione; et retrato da lui molto belo mentre era giovine*

p. 552:

[centered on the page] *Nota chommo questo bon homo de Giorgio aretino nara in queste sue vite alcune cose sue che non le direbono la boca del forno, et le cose necessarie lui pone da banda; ove si ha veduto mai lodar tanto un paese et biasmar l'altro, chommo fa questo ravanelo, il qual exalta tanto li soi fiorentini et biasma tanto li altri et non vede, el poverelo, che la vera virtù et il spirito de la pictura, che è il colorito a ogio, è venuto da queste bande? ~~Dominico Campagnola pictor~~*

Recto of the first flyleaf inserted in front of the back cover (p. 553, pagination in pencil):

*Volendo io ragionare de pictori par a mi ragionar di quel che è stupor in tera et vero inimitator de la natura et mi perdonerano i pictori antiqui: a parangon di questo non sapeano quel si pescavano, dico di Tiziano nominato tanto nela Europa per le sue degne opere, che essendo molti famosissimi pictori nel'Italia a questi tempi, nondimeno la Maestà del sacro re Philipo, sprezzati tuti, questo solo abràssò per fa[re] la pala over taola de la Nunziata, posta in Santa Maria Maior di Napoli et credo chommo che la tavola di Santa Cecilia, fata da Raphael d'Urbino posse extasi al Franza, tal me[n]te che, commo si dice, lui morì, così parimente questa et altre opere che lui ha fato, non solamente ha partorito terore neli moderni pictori, ma ancor dimostrano che li antichi non sapeano niente de la pictura. In fra le altre opere sue sonno dui quadri molto beli, l'uno è l'Adone fato a Carlo .5., l'altro è il quadro del Combatimento, fato nela sala grande del Gran Consiglio de la illustrissima signoria di Venetia, ove in questo si vede et la difficultà de l'arte et la facilità di questa, ritrovata da l'acuto ingegno del Titiano; ha depinto ancor una tavola in Santi Giovanni Paulo de un san Piero martire, chosa rarissima, sì per la invention, chommo ancor per il colorire che usa et ancor per la maniera quasi fore de l'ordine de la pictura et antiqua et moderna, che invero s'el si fa comparison commo ho deto, certo parono tante zavate a sua comparison; ha fato ancor ne li Crozechieri [z corrected over c] una tavola di san Lorenzo molto bela et pretiata [ta interlinear] molto per la finsion de una note; ha depinto in San Salvator un'altra tavola dela ~~nunziata~~ Transfiguration molto honoratamente fata onde li ha posto il suo nome; lasso la ancona fata in Santa Maria Nova de un san Hieronimo molto preciata. Le sue prime opere furno a fresco nel muro del palazzo de li magnifici signori videlicet il magnifico messer Si[mone] et Philipo Lion, hora poseduto dal magnifico messer Alaxandro fiol del magnifico messer Filippo; et la fazada del fontego de li Todeschi sopra la porta; un Cristo morto in braccio a la madre nela chiesa di Santa Maria Formosa; un san Zuane nel deserto nela chiesa de le monache di Santa Maria Ma[iore]; una pala belisima, anzi tre, neli Frati Minori: quella del'altar grande dove vi*

*è l'Asoncion dela Nostra Dona, de le bele opere che abia mai fate, quella li ilustrisimi Pesari, dove vi è figure et retrati molto belisimi, una ne covento dove li è un san Bastian nudo da seno non dipento; et nele case di particula[ri] per tuta Venetia ne son asaisime dele opere sue non mai abastanza lodate, et [. . .] più non si sdegnò Carlo V inperador farlo cavalier et servirsi di lui mentre vise con alienarli una bona pension nel [. . .]*

*Cose che lui fece: el fu chiamato a Roma da papa Paulo Farnese, dove a lui andò et li fece il suo ritrato che ogniuno aspetava ch'el parlase; medesamente el fece una palla de un paradiso ch'el mandò in Spagna, che non si poteva al mondo veder figure piu da seno di quelle et il retrato de l'imperator Carlo V, ch'el portò a Venetia, che non li mancava se non l'anima et sopra il tuto era gratiosissimo homo.*

*Appendix 2: The Provenance of the First Volume of Le vite de' più eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori (1550), Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (1987 441 1)*

On the book's provenance we have scattered information. The English painter Matthew Dixon owned the volume in the eighteenth century. The correspondence between the graphical features of two of Dixon's signatures, one on the *ex libris* on the endpaper glued to the volume's cover, and the other in his will dated 5 October 1710, makes the identification unequivocal. Dixon's collection of books was divided among his six children after his death in 1710: on Dixon, see Edmond. In 1856, the book was in the Roman bookstore of Giovanni Gallarini: see the Gallarini stamp on A1<sup>v</sup> and the mention of the book in Gallarini's *Catalogo* of that year: see n. 14739 (Supplement). The volume made its way to Florence, where the author and collector William Inglis Morse bought it on 26 March 1931, possibly from Leo Samuel Olschki: see the dedication from Morse to his son-in-law, the literary historian Frederick Whiley Hilles, on the recto of the flyleaf, and Olschki's *ex libris* on the endpaper. Hilles donated the volume to the Beinecke Library on 10 December 1975. For the presence of this exemplar in Padua, it is worth recalling Vincenzo Borghini's visit to the Paduan humanist and collector Marco Mantova Benavides in spring 1550, immediately after the publication of the book: see Vasari, 1923–40, 1:287–89.

*Appendix 3: Archivio Storico del Patriarcato, Venice, Parrocchia di Santa Maria Formosa, Amministrazione, 1.4.2, "Libro de punti de testamenti e scritture et istromenti de fabrica et capitolo," 11<sup>v</sup>–12<sup>r</sup>; Partial Transcription of 11<sup>r</sup>.*

Ex testamento quondam Donna Pulixena olim uxoris in secundo voto existentis Domini Francisci Carrugo doctoris, rogato per me Victorem de Mapheis notarium venexianum, anno 1580, die quinto, mensis novembris. Lasso una mansionaria in perpetuo nella chiesa di Santa Maria Formosa, quale voglio sii ufficiata per il piovano di essa chiesa, che per tempo sarà all'altar predetto della Pietà in essa chiesa di Santa Maria Formosa con carrico di celebrar la santa messa dui giorni la settimana, cioè la dominica, et il mercore, in perpetuo, et in essa celebratione commemorar et pregar Iddio per la remissione delli mei peccati et d'altri che sono et seranno sepolti nell'archa mia, che è avanti esso altare, sopra la quale è intagliato in littere il nome del quondam messer Zuan Martini, et di me Polissena sua consorte [. . .] Et in codicillo eiusdem per me notarium rogato sub die 13 mensis martii 1581, sic codicillando ordinavit videlicet: ordino che mancando io senza haver fatto et ornato el detto altare, voglio che immediate doppo la morte mia sii per il mio carissimo consorte messer Francesco venduto li miei manili d'oro et la mia corrona de lapislazuli, et tutto il tratto di essi manili et corrona sii investido nel dar compimento ad esso altare secondo l'ordine mio, et secondo il buon giudicio di esso mio amantissimo marito. Io voglio che della veste mia de raso rovano listada de veludo à torno sii fatto immediate un panno al detto altare listado de veludo predetto con la sua croce di veludo.

[From the testament of the deceased Donna Polissena, formerly the wife, by second wedding vow, of the living messer Francesco Carugo, doctor, written by myself, Vittore de Maffeis, Venetian notary, on 5 November 1580. I [Polissena] leave the celebration of a perpetual mass in the church of Santa Maria Formosa, which I want to be celebrated by the parish priest of the same church at the altar of the Pietà mentioned above (once it is ready), in the same church, two days per week, perpetually, on Sundays and Wednesdays. And I want this celebration to commemorate and praise God for the remission of my sins and for the sins of those who are and will be buried with me in the tomb, which is in front of said altar, on which the names of the deceased Giovanni Martini, and Polissena, his wife, are carved [. . .] And a codicil of the same testament, written by myself as notary on 13 March 1581, ordered the following: I [Polissena] order that if I die without having made and decorated the mentioned altar, I want my dearest husband messer Francesco to sell my golden jewelry and my lapis lazuli diadem immediately after my death. And I want the money gained from this jewelry and diadem to be used to complete the mentioned altar according to my order, and according to the good judgment of my very beloved husband. I also want an altar cloth with a velvet cross to be made for the said altar out of my satin rust-colored dress with velvet trim.]

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