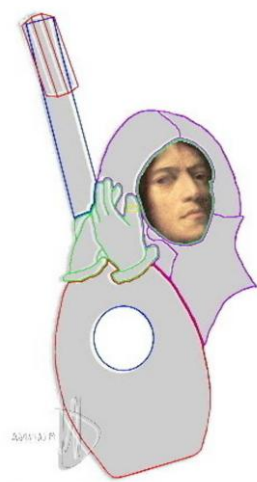


“MILE DOLCI ERRORI”: GIORGIO DE CASTELFRANCO AND  
THE LEGEND OF *THE WEDDING AT CANA* BY VERONESE

👉 1563 👈

MANUEL LAFARGA  
ET  
PENÉLOPE SANZ





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AND THE LEGEND OF

*VERONESE 'S*

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**Would you hang me? ...**

**Why kill me who cannot die?**

*F. Nietzsche, "Among enemies" after Yorick as Gypsy*





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*Giorgione.*  
*Detail of "The Tempest"*



## AS A PROEM

From the observation of the X-ray images obtained during the Veronese 's *Wedding at Cana* canvas restoration <sup>1</sup>, it becomes evident that the face depicted under the until now anonymous violagambist — Diego Ortiz <sup>2</sup> — behind the author is that of Giorgio de Castelfranco <sup>3</sup>, model and paradigm of the Venetian School during the 50 years prior to the painting 's creation.

As in the case of the renowned Neapolitan musician, data about his life are very scarce, which has given him the aura of being “the most mysterious painter in the history of art.”

The known images of the painter in the *Cinquecento* to our days were four: three self-portraits in oil and a posthumous engraving by Giorgio Vasari <sup>4</sup>. To which we must add a fifth *portrait* by Veronese — our finding — on his canvas from 1563 for the Benedictine monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore.

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<sup>1</sup> Born Spezzapedra (*lit.* stonecutter). Called “il Veronese” (Verona 1528 – Venice 1588). § Plate XXIV.A.

<sup>2</sup> Diego Ortiz (Toledo?, 1510 – Rome, 1576). Lafarga *et al.* (2018); Lafarga *et al.* (2019a; 2019b). § Plate XXV.C.

<sup>3</sup> Giorgio de Castelfranco, called “Giorgione” (Castelfranco, 1474 – Venice, 1510). We have included life data of all the characters at the footnotes from the beginning. In this way, readers can easily find them again if they wish to recover the information while reading.

<sup>4</sup> Giorgio Vasari (Arezzo, 1511 – Florence, 1574). § Plate XIV.D.

And perhaps also a *fourth* self-portrait on the lute — our proposal *de nuovo* — which is exhibited at the National Gallery in London, and that is shown in the text and in Annexes <sup>5</sup>.

In the previous design under the current scene, Giorgione, who died 50 years earlier, was depicted “inverted” with respect to two of his known self-portraits, and holding his famous lute vertically on his chest in a “silent” attitude. He was accompanied by the author himself on the harpsichord and by his still-living companion from his youth (Titian) <sup>6</sup>, who sang together with Tintoretto <sup>7</sup> and two monks the funeral mass that Giorgione could not have when he died.

The ensemble was integrated into Veronese ‘s mannerist attempts to equate and bring together in an articulated way the so-called “liberal arts”, especially painting and music, as is equally evident in the current definitive painting <sup>8</sup>.

However, this first (vocal) formation was transformed up to four times (including the current one), while Giorgione always maintained his position — although not his *attitude* — until the late arrival of Diego Ortiz in Venice.

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<sup>5</sup> § Figures 10, 11.A, and 13.B, and in Annex 2.4: Plate I.D.

<sup>6</sup> Titian Vecellio di Gregorio (Pieve di Cadore, 1488-90 – Venice, 1576). Ridolfi (1648) says that both Giorgione (p. 122) and Titian (p. 197) were disciples in the Bellini brother’s workshop. Vasari says that Giorgione was teacher for Titian (1568, p. 15; p. 806). § Plates XI and XXIV.D.

<sup>7</sup> Jacopo Robusti, called “Tintoretto” (Venice, 1519 – Venice, 1594). § Plate XXIV.C.

<sup>8</sup> Lafarga *et al.* (2018).

This essay presents, in addition to the legends, also three new guests at *The Wedding*. Firstly, the true bride (the current one), along with the original bride, although the detail and solution of this new “problem” is postponed to a future work. And also, a young and scholarly monk from San Giorgio Maggiore, named Benedetto, who daily contemplated all the vicissitudes suffered by the canvas during the 15 months lasted for its completion <sup>9</sup>.

This is the only contemporary testimony — certainly vague, but *direct* and *accurate* — that has come down to us of everything that happened in the monastery to one of the most undoubtedly renowned paintings of its time <sup>10</sup>. His famous poem, which alludes to “*mile dolci errori*” (sic.) in the Veronese ‘s painting, is one of the most conclusive evidence in favor of our model, in addition to the painter ‘s silhouette (Giorgione) that Paolo Caliari left printed under Ortiz, along with the designs of several previous *consort*.

To these two *facts*, we must add a third “fragment” of Giorgione ‘s protagonism in the original design for the Benedictine refectory: the mention of Colbert in 1671 <sup>11</sup>. Undoubtedly, some monk who saw the painter on the canvas referred what happened to some another younger *fratello*, and perhaps even this one to another, until his “veiled” presence reached Colbert ‘s ears, during his visit to the monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore more than a century later.

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<sup>9</sup> Benedetto Guidi (? , 1533 – San Benedetto Po?, 1590). § Plate XXX.B (?) and Section 11.

<sup>10</sup> See, however, the end of Section 5, which concludes the First Part dedicated to Giorgione, where, surprisingly, the mention of the *original harpsichord* is recorded in a modern Italian publication.

<sup>11</sup> Jean-Baptiste Colbert (Reims, 1619 – Paris, 1683). Marquis of Seignelay. § Section 8 and Plate XVI.

It is indeed a *paradoxical* case, given the fame that the painting achieved from its beginnings, and also during the following centuries, among scholars and humanists, painters, ecclesiastics, and nobles throughout Europe. Together with the tiring work that was carried out on the Veronese scaffolding to consummate all the alterations that the painter undertook during just one year. Especially over the central instrumental ensemble, which he transformed up to four times after the original pending funeral mass for the late maestro, Giorgione. It means, his lost Venetian right.

All these circumstances, added to the large cast of persecuted ecclesiastical authorities that populates the canvas, and given the pro-reformist message that the Benedictine Order printed there, leads us to think that the news related to all these events were systematically and progressively silenced since the beginning of the commission.

Within this context, the essay presents an updated biography of Giorgio de Castelfranco and a scrutinizing of the seven (7) "true" legends about the canvas that we have managed to articulate coherently in the framework of our model.

Finally, all the Caliori brothers' and their own patrons' (also of the painter honored in their time) good intentions were again unsuccessful, burying for the second time the good Giorgione along with his Venetian mass, now twice pending.



## INTRODUCTION

Giorgione 's name will probably remain forever associated with his legend, and perhaps for many years also with the fame of being the most mysterious painter in the History of Art.

In 1562, the Venetian “Leonardo,” as Vasari named him half a century after his death, had been posthumously portrayed — and hidden a year later — as the protagonist of the central scene of what would be one of the most renowned paintings in the world for the next five centuries to the present day.

Paolo Caliari, one of Palladio 's most reputed collaborators<sup>12</sup>, finally began to devote to Giorgione, on a gigantic canvas, the funeral mass that he had not received to his premature death in the *Lazzaretto*<sup>13</sup>.

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<sup>12</sup> Andrea Palladio Vicentino (Padua, 1508 – Maser, 1580), known as “il Veronese” of architecture. Born Andrea Di Pietro della Gondola, He adopted the surname “Palladio” in 1538 after the Greek goddess of wisdom, Pallas Athena. § Lavin (2018, p. 104). Palladio was the architect responsible for the renovation of the refectory for which the canvas of *The Wedding* was commissioned.

<sup>13</sup> Lafarga & Sanz (2019a). Those infected with the plague were taken to the “Hospedali de li Amalati”, located in the *Lazzaretto vecchio*, the first hospital in the world founded in 1423 on the island of Santa Maria de Nazareth by the government of the Republic, which in 1484 had 209 beds: initially called Nazaretum, it later took the name of the complex on a nearby island dedicated to Saint Lazarus. While those who had been in contact with the plague victims spent 40 days (quarantine) at the *Lazzaretto nuovo*, founded in 1468 on an island near the port of Murano: their possessions were not burned, but disinfected (including their houses) and stored to be returned to them if they did not fall ill: Segre (2011, p. 384). § Notes 133-134.

Giorgione had died of the plague in 1510, and his protectors in life, the Grimani family, in agreement with Veronese and the monks of San Giorgio Maggiore, decided to restore his lost "Venetian right" in a painting that was going to turn out, as happened later and quickly also with his own figure, *immortal*.

We have insisted on highlighting his presence within this context since we found him hidden, under the face of the most famous violagambist master in Europe during the central decades of the *Cinquecento*.

Even though it was finally the musician of Spanish origin who ended up whispering his own musical improvisations in the author 's ear, Giorgione 's role on the canvas was undoubtedly not minor or secondary, given that he occupied the position next to Veronese 's own self-portrait, before being buried again, this time under the colors of his distinguished colleague 's palette.

We had previously conjectured that his presence in *The Wedding* could be related to the Veronese 's mannerist intentions in combining the arts in just one central scene by Venetian painters, whose fame as musicians was already legendary <sup>14</sup>. The artifice was reinforced by the arrangement of musical *consort*: a polyphonic vocal quartet with harpsichord for a refectory in which speaking was forbidden <sup>15</sup>.

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<sup>14</sup> Lafarga *et al.* (2018). Lafarga *et al.* (2019a).

<sup>15</sup> *Id.*

At the same time, we conjecture there the possible “explicit” desire of the author to finally offer Giorgione the funeral mass that he could not have at his death <sup>16</sup> — due to its effective presence in the original design and almost until the end of the canvas, placing him in the center of the painting and beside himself. This personal, professional and also civic tribute seems to be independent of the political-religious motivations of the Benedictines, and we believe that it could be directly related to Grimani family, who were patrons and protectors of both the missing painter and the artists present on the canvas, and of the monastery itself.



*Figure 1. The angel of death striking a door during the plague of Rome. Engraving by Levasseur after J. Delaunay. Wellcome Images, ICV No 10922, Foto No V0010664.*

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<sup>16</sup> Lafarga & Sanz (2019a).

We have also proposed in a previous work <sup>17</sup>, that the identity of the two commensals who exceed the "twelve apostles" (supposedly represented to the left of Jesus Christ) could correspond to Domenico Grimani <sup>18</sup>, who was a contemporary and patron of Giorgione and also deceased at the time of the canvas, and Girolamo Grimani <sup>19</sup>, who was probably the main patron of the commission, and whose stone portrait was made by Alessandro Vittoria in these same years — a sculptor who is also present in painting <sup>20</sup> looking directly at Girolamo himself.

Giorgione was a very relevant artist during his lifetime for the city that welcomed him, and his presence in *The Wedding* could not go unnoticed by Veronese 's contemporaries.

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<sup>17</sup> Lafarga & Sanz (2022).

<sup>18</sup> *Id.* § Plate XXIX.A. (Venice, 1461 – Rome, 1523). Son of Antonio Grimani, Dux of Venice (Venice, 1434 – Venice, 1523). Domenico was appointed cardinal in 1493 thanks to a payment of 25,000/30,000 ducats (Benzoni & Bortolotti, 2002), although he was not ordained as a priest until five years later. He served as Patriarch of Aquileia from 1498 to 1517, when he relinquished the position in favor of his nephew Marino Grimani (Venice, c. 1489 – Venice, 1546). After the election of Pope Julius II in 1503 (civil name Giuliano della Rovere: Albisola, 1443 – Rome, 1513), he was appointed Cardinal of San Marco. The Venetian ambassadors in Rome described him as the richest man in Italy.

<sup>19</sup> § Plate XXIX.C. (Venice, 1496 – Venice, 1570). Venetian patrician and procurator of San Marco. We have also proposed the presence of a third member of the family, the Patriarch of Aquileia, Giovanni VI Grimani: § Plate XXIX.B, and Notes 45, 260 and 306. Lafarga & Sanz (2022).

<sup>20</sup> § Plate XXIX.D. Born Alessandro di Vigilio Vittoria della Volpe (Trento, 1524-5 – Venice, 1608). Sculptor, painter and architect. *Ibid.* § Notes 247 and 307.

Vasari mentions Giorgione 's *Christ Carrying the Cross*, displayed in his own time in the church of San Rocco, and how he was continually visited by devoted multitudes to the miracles he granted.

First of all, we present in this work a brief review of our forgotten and missing protagonist of the canvas along with some historical data — Sections 3 to 5 —, while the following Sections — 6 to 12 — will expose one after another the true “legends” (7) affecting our story.

Vasari was the first to allude Giorgione 's musical interests and his legendary lute, as well as his premature death from the plague, along with his lover Cecilia. And we also know from him that Giorgione 's self-portrait as *David* was exhibited in the art gallery of the powerful family that protected him during his life, the Grimani <sup>21</sup>.

Ridolfi, however, was the first <sup>22</sup> Grimani and Veronese himself, whom the true patron of *The Wedding* took with him in his role as Venetian ambassador to Rome, on the occasion of the election of a new pontiff. And he was also the first to state that among the guests were quite a few relevant monks from the Benedictine Order, and especially from the congregation of San Giorgio Maggiore — six (6) according to our model.

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<sup>21</sup> Vasari mentions this fact in the two editions of his *Lives*. § Section 4.

<sup>22</sup> Carlo Sartor Boschetto (Lonigo, 1594 – Venice, 1658). Called the “Venetian Vasari”: Farquhar (1855, p. 147); Collins (1977, p. 1648). § Section 6, Annex 1.2.1 (Biographic Registers) and Plate XV.

We owe Boschini the legend of the golden ring that distinguished the Venetian painter-musicians present on canvas <sup>23</sup>, all of them fitted — except Benedetto, the brother of the author <sup>24</sup> — inside the circle of the central scene under the watchful gaze of Jesus Christ, including two figures standing above Titian who, in our opinion, could be painter-singers <sup>25</sup>.

While it was Colbert, the minister of Louis XV <sup>26</sup>, who mentioned, a century after the commission, and *for the first and only time until our work*, the name of Giorgione, whose memory seems to have been lost even before the completion of the canvas.

Colbert had undoubtedly heard the story of his presence in the painting from someone in charge of the monastery, during his visit three years prior to Boschini's mention of the musicians in the central scene.

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<sup>23</sup> Marco Bartolomeo Boschini (Venice, 1602 - Venice, 1681). Painter, engraver, and author of two guides to Venice for contemporary cultural tourism (*Grand Tour*), as well as a comprehensive collection of brief biographies of Venetian painters from the 15th century to his time. § Section 7, Annex 1.2.2 and Plate XVII.A. § Dal Pozzolo (2014).

<sup>24</sup> Benedetto Caliari (Verona 1538 – Venice, 1598). Lafarga *et al.* (2018). § Plate XXV.A.

<sup>25</sup> Lafarga *et al.* (2021b, pp. 48-51). Our conjecture, and a possibility already pointed by Faillant-Dumas (1992, p. 118).

<sup>26</sup> Called the "Sun King", or "Louis the Great" (Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 1638 – Versailles, 1715).



*Figure 2. San Giorgio Maggiore around 1874. Catalog of photographs of Carlo Naya, N° 18.*

Two of the three following legends, that of Zanetti the Younger <sup>27</sup> and that of Henry F. Holt <sup>28</sup>, are of a different nature, and affect almost entirely the table of international authorities perpendicular to the right of Jesus Christ.

Both keep a close personal and political relationship with Charles V <sup>29</sup> and with what the emperor represents for the ultimate motivation of the canvas by the Order (and also for the city of Venice), in the political-religious environment of the moment, at least during the three decades preceding the commission.

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<sup>27</sup> Anton Maria Zanetti (Venice, 1706 – Venice, 1778): § Plate XVIII.D. Zanetti the Elder ‘s mention of musicians (Venice, 1679 – Venice, 1767) is similar to that of Boschini: § Section 9, Biographical Registers and Plate XVIII.C. § Lafarga *et al.* (2018).

<sup>28</sup> Henry Frederick Holt (? , 1813 – London, 1871). § Holt (1867). § Section 10.

<sup>29</sup> Charles I of Spain and V of Holy Roman Germanic Empire, called “the Emperor” or “the Caesar” (Prinsenhof, 1500 – Yuste, 1558). § Plate XXVII.D.

In his story, Zanetti the Younger reported, although without citing his sources, a document consulted in Venice that identified these latter characters.

To whom Holt would add a century later, in the same way and through a similar document, other equally relevant guests: three new patricians of the city and a very influential lady, in addition to two others related to the high Venetian and Roman ecclesiastical authorities.

Among others, Holt added the Barbaro brothers — Daniele<sup>30</sup> and Marcantonio<sup>31</sup> —, Giulia Gonzaga<sup>32</sup>, the patron of the already mentioned commission, Girolamo, and two very relevant figures in the Council of Trent during the two decades preceding the achievement of the canvas and of the council itself, Reginald Pole<sup>33</sup> and Alvise Priuli<sup>34</sup>.

His report, however, tells an entirely different story, which we believe possible and even *probable*: that of the existence of a previous copy of small dimensions which Girolamo Grimani owned in his family art gallery.

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<sup>30</sup> § Plate XXVIII.A. Daniele Matteo Alvise Barbaro (Venice, 1514 – Venice, 1570). Architect and polymath. Patriarch of Aquileia. Lafarga & Sanz (2022).

<sup>31</sup> (Venice, 1518 – Venice, 1595). *Ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> § Plate XXVIII.B. (Gazzuolo, 1513 – Naples, 1566). *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> § Plate XXVIII.D. (Stourton, 1500 – London, 1558), Cardinal and almost pope (by one vote) in 1549, and the last Archbishop of Canterbury. Pole was one of the protectors of the Benedictine Order. *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> § Plate XXVIII.C. (Venice, ? – Padua, 1560), close friend and secretary of Reginald Pole. *Ibid.*



The abbot of the monastery, Girolamo Scroguerro <sup>35</sup>, having seen it displayed there three years before the commission, would have been fascinated with the idea of a gigantic version for his congregation <sup>36</sup>.

Finally, the case of a Benedictine monk from San Giorgio Maggiore, historian, poet and editor — who witnessed all the vicissitudes of the canvas while it was being “composed” day after day until its completion — is extremely illustrative for our purposes and for our story. And precisely for this reason we have relegated it to the end in a kind of *summary*.

Thus, we believe that his refined and elegant poetic testimony is a *direct* and *reliable* source regarding our model and our interpretation, and we declare ourselves in complete agreement with him regarding the “sweetness” of the “thousand errors” to which he alludes.

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<sup>35</sup> Dom Girolamo of Piacenza, civil name Girolamo Sclocceto, Scrocchetto, or Scroguerro (? – ?). Number 11 in Figure 22 and number 37 in Annex 3.4.

<sup>36</sup> Holt (1867). We had previously documented this alleged legend and our conjectures about it in Lafarga & Sanz (2022). In the X-rays of the canvas, this small *modello* can be seen, which the brother of Veronese painted with his left hand in front of the Benedictines’ table. The graphic and semantic arguments supporting our claims will be presented in a subsequent publication: Lafarga et al. (in preparation).

All these fragments (7) can be articulated around our original model <sup>37</sup>, both with regard to the vicissitudes of the painting and to the identity of the characters: the presence of a posthumous funeral mass for Giorgione — discarded and transformed several times, finally in favor of a “political” or diplomatic option with Diego Ortiz and the court of Naples, it means the Spanish Crown —, and also the underlying political-religious motivations of the work in relation to the “reformist” history “ of the Order, especially the monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore <sup>38</sup>.

Other minor or secondary legends have been recorded along the way, as appropriate to the discourse — especially in Section 12, and in the same way than our proposals and suggestions —, and all those mentioned appear in the Annexes in a chronological order.

We have presented them this way, and not in a semantic sense, in the confidence that this is the best criterion to fit the facts and arguments that connect the legends with the characters represented, and with the history of the canvas itself.

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<sup>37</sup> Lafarga & Sanz (2019a).

<sup>38</sup> Lafarga & Sanz (2019a; 2019b). Lafarga *et al.* (2019a; 2019b). Lafarga *et al.* (2022). Since our initial work, where we recognized Ortiz and Giorgione, we believe we have identified - originally and up to this point - a total of fifteen “guests” (15) who differ from the accepted tradition. This includes the aforementioned artists and Tintoretto, whose identity we restored after being lost since Zanetti the Younger. Additionally, we have proposed the presence of the two Benedictines who signed the contract. § Annex 3.4. § Lafarga & Sanz (in preparation).

To our days, the observations about the identity of the characters as “true portraits”, and even more so that of the painter-musicians, have been repeatedly discredited and considered as legends without *ascertainable* veracity<sup>39</sup>. In the same way that the mention of Giorgione on the canvas has been ignored, from barely a century after its completion.

However, all the stories eventually contained a remnant of the “truth”<sup>40</sup>. The main problem we faced at the time was to find the appropriate algorithm in origin. And then, to find out how they fit together and how the true data from some of them excluded the erroneous data from others in a *mechanical* or *automatic* way. And, given that we have managed to articulate and integrate them into a *coherent* model, we believe we have thus given *veracity* to these historical sources. And this is the reason we will list the presumed *legends* in what follows.

Considering that a significant number have turned out to be partially true — as we will continue to show in future works —, it seems pertinent to insist that little or *no attention* has been paid to them and that they have been repeatedly discredited *without verification* of the identities (the faces) portrayed in their own time even by the same painters (and in many cases friends) who concern us.

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<sup>39</sup> E.g. Prierer (1997) or Ton (2011), as the most representative views.

<sup>40</sup> Those we are considering here (7): Giorgio Vasari, Marco Boschini, Carlo Ridolfi, Jean-Baptiste Colbert — the only one who mentions Giorgione, certainly a relevant topic for both the author and the Order —, Zanetti the Younger, Henry F. Holt, and Benedetto Guidi.

No mention is made here of the conflicts between the Inquisition and some of the remaining protagonists of canvas <sup>41</sup>, since no legend has reached us that alludes to these circumstances in relation to *The Wedding*: the presence of renowned *spirituali* (with the exception of Vittoria Colonna <sup>42</sup> and Giulia Gonzaga, in addition to the emperor himself) has gone unnoticed until our work, perhaps because its trail could have been actively and consciously pursued or "silenced" starting in the last three decades of the 16th century <sup>43</sup>.

Vittoria and her friend and table companion, the emperor, were in fact two of the most important characters present at the banquet — also for the protection they offered to the *spirituali* —, and their figures will emerge very soon and with more force in the plot that links the guests, the monks, and Venice, with the canvas and Reformation context at the time of the conclusion of the Council of Trent <sup>44</sup>.

In addition to others *not yet mentioned*, four of the characters already "identified" according to our model — linked to the ecclesiastical environment and the *spirituali* — were involved in Inquisition processes, including the disqualified Patriarch of Aquileia Giovanni VI Grimani <sup>45</sup>.

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<sup>41</sup> Lafarga & Sanz (2022); Lafarga & Sanz (in preparation).

<sup>42</sup> (Marino, 1492 – Rome, 1547): Number 10 in Figure 21. § Plates XIV.A and XXVII.C. Lafarga & Sanz (in preparation).

<sup>43</sup> The dark shadow that floats over the ominous silence that has surrounded this great canvas for five centuries is undoubtedly that of the Roman Catholic authorities, especially that of Paul IV, of secular name Gian Pietro Carafa (Capriglia Iripina, 1476 – Rome, 1559). Lafarga & Sanz (in preparation).

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>45</sup> *Id.* (Venice, 1506 – Venice, 1593). § Notes 19, 260 and 306. The other three are Alvise Priuli, Reginald Pole, and Andrea de Asolo: § Note 47.

In the same sense, and in addition to others already proposed previously — Scroguerro <sup>46</sup>, Pampuro <sup>47</sup>, Dom Maurizio <sup>48</sup>, Dom Alessandro <sup>49</sup> — we propose here the identity of a new guest in the context of the Order: Benedetto Guidi.

In Section 2, we have included a portrait of Vittoria Colonna to represent Cecilia, Giorgione 's lover, of whom we did not have a face <sup>50</sup>.

The **Annexes** contain, as is our custom, brief biographical sketches of the main protagonists of this new work. A Section dedicated to Giorgione 's known "patrons" (commissioners or owners of his canvases) is included at the beginning, with the exception of Pietro Bembo, of whom we will deal later <sup>51</sup>.

These are followed by the "messengers" of the respective legends, with the arguments that relates each of them to our model having been previously exposed in the Second Part of the text.

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<sup>46</sup> § Plate XXX.D. Lafarga & Sanz (2022).

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.* § Plate XXX.C. Secular name, Andrea Pampuro (Asolo, ? – ?, ? ). Number 33 in Annex 3.4.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.* § Plate XXX.A (?). (Bérgamo, ? – ?): dean in charge of overseeing the proper use of community funds.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.* § Plate XXX.B (?). (Bérgamo, ? – ?): cellarer or bursar in charge of the monastery's expenses. All acquisitions or commissions of the congregation, including artistic ones, were required to bear his signature. His name is the one that appears on the payment receipt upon delivery of the canvas.

<sup>50</sup> § Figure 5 and Plate XIV.A. It has been suggested that Cecilia may have been represented in the Portrait of a *Lady with a Lute* by Giovanni Bonconsiglio (private collection).

<sup>51</sup> (Venice, 1470 – Rome, 1547). Cardinal, humanist, historian and philologist. First official historian of the *Serenissima* and director of the Biblioteca Marciana. § Note 87. Lafarga & Sanz (in preparation).

Segregating their life data in this way from the complex plot at hand greatly simplifies the reasoned exposition of our general discourse <sup>52</sup>. This list of life data is closed with a Chronological Table in which we record in some detail all the legends mentioned in the text, whether they are *verified* in our model (seven of them) or not.

The reviews are followed by the 5 known portraits of Giorgione from the *Cinquecento*: three by his own hand, the Vasari engraving, and our own find — the silhouette of Giorgione 's face traced over his hidden portrait in *The Wedding*.

We also include the *David* in Vienna — Plate I.B — and the *Shepherd with flute* — Plate V.D —, together with which we propose a new self-portrait as a "coded" lutenist, it means, as a secondary figure at the foot of the scene represented — Plate I.D.

And also the trail of his self-portraits through two of the "art galleries" that David Teniers the Younger <sup>53</sup> made for the court of the governor of the Netherlands <sup>54</sup>, whose collections included works by Giorgione, Titian, Bassano <sup>55</sup>, Schiavone <sup>56</sup>, Tintoretto, and Veronese.

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<sup>52</sup> Instead, we have left Vasari for a later publication in progress dedicated to architects, the art, among which he dominated, in which he stood out. Lafarga & Sanz (in preparation).

<sup>53</sup> (Antwerp, 1610 – Brussels, 1690). The "galleries" contain collections and paintings by other authors.

<sup>54</sup> Leopold Wilhelm of Habsburg (Wiener Neustadt, 1614 – Vienna, 1662). Military man, Catholic prince-bishop, patron and art collector, youngest son of Emperor Ferdinand II (Graz, 1578 – Vienna, 1637).

<sup>55</sup> Jacopo Bassano Dal Ponte (Bassano dal Grappa, 1510 – Bassano dal Grappa, 1592). § Plate XXIV.B.

Next is a Table with a list of 20 later portraits of Giorgione up to the present day (all of them copies based on each other and/or from the 5 already mentioned), which is followed by a series of portraits (18) attributed to our protagonist.

And, as is also our custom, on this occasion we provide almost a hundred portraits of some of the characters referred to here, including Titian — Plate XI —, who personally knew our protagonist. In addition to 29 of the portraits that Veronese left us on his canvas.

The last three Annexes illustrate our own contributions to the **respective identities** of the guests at the banquet: all the characters who, in our opinion, have already been “identified” so far in the Benedictines’ commission.

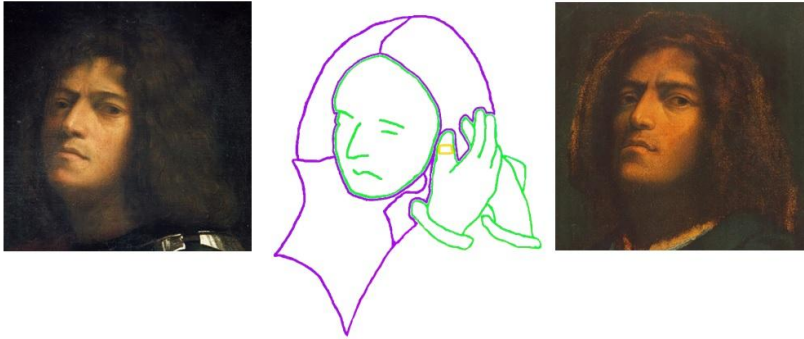
The news referring to what we are narrating and documenting since the beginning of our work seems to have already been lost early — at least in the written sources <sup>57</sup> — barely three generations after the commission, since Boschini and Ridolfi already ignore Diego Ortiz, and both are unaware of what happened to Giorgione and the original harpsichordist (the author of the painting) <sup>58</sup>.

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<sup>56</sup> Andrea Meldolla, called “Schiavone” (Zara, 1510 – Venice, 1563) was a disciple of Morto da Feltre (Note 63) and is also portrayed in *The Wedding* behind Veronese’s head. § Lafarga & Sanz (2022). § Plate XXV.B.

<sup>57</sup> Exceptions are: Colbert in 1671 (Colbert, 1865; 1867) regarding the presence of Giorgione; Holt (1867) in relation to the previous *modello* from the Grimani gallery; as well as Guidi (1565), although in a veiled or *encrypted* form.

<sup>58</sup> Lafarga *et al.* (in preparation).



**Figure 3.** *Giorgione's self-portraits (both inverted) compared with the silhouette of the original face in the X-ray of The Wedding at Cana. A: Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum, Braunschweig. B: Silhouette drawn on the x-ray of the face underlying Ortiz's. Louvre Museum. © Manuel Lafarga. C: Fine Arts Museum of Budapest.*



**FIRST PART. THE LEGEND  
OF GIORGIONE**





## 1. THE *TRUE GHOST* OF GIORGIONE

The first time we saw the *true* ghost of Giorgione, the genuine protagonist of the canvas, we did not know that he was still in the painting that had been dedicated to him, buried under layers and layers of precious oils and pigments, although we knew him since before through *his own hand*.

Few months ago, we had launched a network of searches and strategies to get closer to the figure of Ortiz, after Javier Alejano told us that the Spanish musician was portrayed right behind the author of *The Wedding*, musically assisting to his left ear <sup>59</sup>.

Since, according to pictorial tradition, the group represented members of the Venetian School of painting, we identified them. And, along with the few guests known until then on the scene, we also included, among our first observations, to Giorgione and Bellini (as the canons dictate) <sup>60</sup>.

In this way, the painter 's pronounced facial features remained fixed in our memory, despite his apparent absence of the central *consort*, which shows an instrumental formation of violas *da gamba* in the current canvas.

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<sup>59</sup> Lafarga *et al.* (2018); Lafarga *et al.* (2019a; 2019b).

<sup>60</sup> Giovanni Bellini (Venice, 1430 – Venice, 1516).

It is possible that the fact of not having verified at that moment his age and date of death later prevented oblivion from doing its work with the memory, since in principle these two characters "should not have been" on the canvas. And, if we had known at that time, they were not contemporaries of the painting (half a century is a long time), perhaps we would have overlooked that Titian knew them, and the brain would have closed this apparently "dead" path.

The second time we saw him it was no longer "he" from his own hand, but his ghost, the "true ghost" of Giorgione, portrayed by Paolo Caliari in 1562 and hidden in 1563. And reappeared 429 years later in the x-ray's images published after the canvas restoration, in 1992.

We found him a few months later in the Louvre Archives, who gave us access to part of their print documentation, impressed by an excellent photograph that reproduces the X-ray plates corresponding to the central scene of musicians <sup>61</sup>. We had not seen him previously, because the edition of the book then published was limited and long out of print and had not reached our hands before we saw him in Paris.

Neither we didn't recognize him there: the feminine-looking character who was under Ortiz seemed to smooth his long hair in front of what at that moment seemed to us like a mirror (the score behind Paolo Caliari's head in the current canvas) — "My God! What a woman means among the Venetian School?"

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<sup>61</sup> Faillant-Dumas (1992, p. 117).



*Figure 4. The Tempest. Giorgione, c. 1508. Venice, Gallerie dell' Accademia.*

So, we returned home with him (her?) unaware of his true identity.

The next day, organizing the material we had brought from Paris, we contemplated the scene again, and the circuits of memory were suddenly reconnected with the self-portraits of the painter that we had stored months ago, when we began our research on Ortiz and the Venetian School. The nose, it was his nose — "Well, if it 's not a woman, it 's Giorgione!"

In fact, he was him but *inverted* in the Veronese painting with respect to his two preserved self-portraits.

After a year and a half later, when we were going to record a public conference about his life and work, that would begin a Cycle explaining the transitions between the successive *consort* <sup>62</sup>, the sky dumped so much rain that the ground floor of the Higher Conservatory of Valencia was flooded, the institution canceled classes, and our protagonist did not either allowed us to capture him on this occasion.

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<sup>62</sup> [[www.theweddingatcana.org](http://www.theweddingatcana.org)].

## 2. MORTO DA FELTRE AND THE CASINO OF SPIRITS

A Venetian legend tells that the ghost of Lorenzo Luzzo <sup>63</sup> is heard some nights lamenting in the Casino of the Spirits <sup>64</sup>, whose construction was commissioned by Gasparo Contarini in his time <sup>65</sup>. Lorenzo would have fallen in love with one of Giorgione 's lovers, Cecilia, who have repeatedly denied him her favors, thus precipitating his suicide in one of the rooms of the palace.

The “Beautiful Cecilia”, as she was known, was also an excellent singer, in addition to serving as a model for Giorgione and perhaps inspiring him in some of his female portraits, perhaps in *The Madonna of Castelfranco* <sup>66</sup>. And it seems that, not being completely faithful to her lover, she was capricious and given to anger, being sometimes described as half angel and half demon.

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<sup>63</sup> (Feltre, 1480 – Zara, 1527). Called Morto da Feltre by Vasari. Also called as Pietro Luzzo or Luci. § Plate XIV.B.

<sup>64</sup> The building was located, along with other similar ones, in the gardens of the Palazzo Contarini del Zaffo, built on the ruins of an old Gothic building in the 1530-40s. It is one of only two preserved from the complex: Figures 6 and 36.

<sup>65</sup> (Venice, 1483 – Bologna, 1542). § Note 254. Cardinal, Venetian diplomat and bishop of Belluno. He was one of the first to advocate a rapprochement with the Protestant theses in the religious context that led to the celebration of the Council of Trent. Member of one of the oldest families in Venice, he was considered the second most important personality below the Pope from the 1530s until his death.: Lafarga & Sanz (2022); Lafarga & Sanz (in preparation).

<sup>66</sup> “*Vieni o Cecilia / Vienit'affretta / Il tuot'aspetta / Gioi'gio ...*” Written on the back of the Pala di Castelfranco in red pencil. Cited by Crowe & Cavalcaselle (1879, pp. 168-169). Vasari attributes his contagion and tragic end to Cecilia.

*Figure 5. Vittoria Colonna.  
Michelangelo Buonarroti, h. 1550.  
London, British Museum (detail).*



Nevertheless, our alleged “suicide” died in fact 10 years after Giorgione himself.

He probably did it in a heroic way, in combat at the Dalmatian coast of Venice, perhaps in Zara, according to Vasari <sup>67</sup>. The florentine nicknamed him “Morto da Feltre” because of his excessive fondness for excavations and Roman tombs in search of *grotteschi* that he later used in his designs <sup>68</sup>.

But it is more likely that he died in Venice, where he appears to have been active in 1522, and to have dated his will to the end of 1526.

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<sup>67</sup> Vasari (1568, p. 224).

<sup>68</sup> Extravagant style of decoration in ancient Rome, with strange, ugly, fantastic faces, or expressions of disgust, rediscovered in the 15th century in the ruins of the foundations of the Domus Aurea, then called “le Grotte”. He collaborated with Titian and Giorgione, who assigned him the same task during the restoration of the frescoes of the Fondazione dei Tedeschi: Bryan (1873, p. 496). § Section 4.



Neither the Casino had connections in origin with ghosts or the spirits of the dead — although it was reused as a *lazzaretto* during the subsequent bubonic plague in the following century, and the adjacent island of San Michele was converted into a cemetery at the beginning of 1700.



*Figure 6. Venice, Casino of the Spirits. Photo: Didier Descouens, CC BY-SA 4.0.*

On the contrary, the enclosure and its sumptuous gardens were — like those of San Giorgio Maggiore — a reunion and meeting point during the first half of the *Cinquecento* for numerous nobles, ecclesiastics, humanists and artists, among whom were: e.g., Titian, probably Bellini, Sansovino <sup>69</sup>, and the Aretin <sup>70</sup>, although not Giorgione, who had died 20 years before its construction.

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<sup>69</sup> Jacopo d' Antonio Sansovino (Florence, 1486 – Venice, 1570), proto-architect of Venice, also present in the canvas of *The Wedding*, according to our model: Lafarga & Sanz (in preparation).

<sup>70</sup> Pietro Aretino (Arezzo, 1492 – Venice, 1556). § Plate XXV.D.

And later also Palladio, Tintoretto and Veronese himself, in addition to many of the guests at *The Wedding* banquet, among them eminent representatives of the *spirituali* <sup>71</sup>.

Instead, a significant number of legends that have come down to us about the canvas, its authors, or its protagonists — including the Benedictine Order —, have shown to contain each one *at least a coherent fragment* of truth. And consequently, we have presented here seven of them *articulated* in a chronological order, reserving for the end the testimony of a learned monk who witnessed all the vicissitudes that the painting suffered during its creation <sup>72</sup>.

The legend of Giorgione, for its part, arose from the brief biography that Vasari dedicated to him in his *Lives*, few years before the commission of *The Wedding*.

But no one — not even Vasari — made mention of the painter *who disappeared* from the painting until a century later. A single mention that has again remained discredited to our days, since his presence was revealed to the minister of the King of France during his visit to the monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore, without further information having reached us in this regard <sup>73</sup>.

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<sup>71</sup> Lafarga & Sanz (2022); Lafarga & Sanz (in preparation).

<sup>72</sup> Lafarga & Sanz (2019a). § Section 11.

<sup>73</sup> Colbert (1865, p. 461; 1867, p. 216).

### 3. THE LEGEND OF GIORGIONE

As for Giorgione himself, he did not sign his paintings, and except for two that were probably signed by a different hand <sup>74</sup>, the rest of his work — concentrated in just over a decade — is *attributed* to him. Despite this brief period of production, he had an enormous influence on renowned contemporary Venetian masters and on many other followers of the *Cinquecento* known as *Giorgionescos* <sup>75</sup>, many of whose paintings also lack a signature, a circumstance that makes the attribution of all these works very problematic.

It was not common for artists to leave their signature on their works until well into the Renaissance, and it seems that it was the pressure between schools and workshops that accelerated the need and value of rubrics in works <sup>76</sup>.

Perhaps due to the need to promote themselves to new employers, Giorgione 's generation tended to sign more often even than the later Veronese and Tintoretto, among whom it was not the norm — not even for Schiavone.

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<sup>74</sup> Stonard (2016). *Laura* and the so-called "Terra portrait", currently in San Diego: § Note 99 and Plates V.A y VII.C, respectively.

<sup>75</sup> Among others: Lorenzo Luzzo; Giovanni Busi, called Cariani (San Giovanni Bianco, 1490 – Venice, 1547); Vincenzo di Biagio Catena (Venice, 1480 – 1531); Girolamo di Romeno, called Il Romenino (Brescia, 1485 – 1566); Giulio Campagnola (Padua, 1482 – Venice, 1515); Sebastiano (Luciani) del Piombo (Venice, 1485 – Rome, 1547); Domenico di Bernardino Capriolo (Venice, 1494 – Treviso, 1528); Andrea Previtali (Berbenno, 1480 – Bergamo, 1528); Bernardino Licinio (Poscante, 1489 – Venice, 1565); Paris Paschalinus Bordone (Treviso, 1500 – Venice, 1571); Domenico Mancini (Venice ? – ?).

<sup>76</sup> Goffen (2004, pp. 116-8).

Titian, e.g., known as the "painter of princes" and the "prince of painters", only signed if the situation required it, especially between 1550 and 1570 when his works were shipped to travel to foreign lands <sup>77</sup>.

During the next two hundred years, the confusion of works of art attributions to one and another — *Giorgionescos* —, added to the scarcity of data about his life, contributed to the legend by mythologizing the figure of Giorgione, and during the 19th century his very existence was even doubted.

In fact, his paintings were also attributed to other authors until after 1800, and even today the most critical voices do not admit more than half a dozen canvases as authentic by his own hand.

Likewise, a good number of his admitted paintings until the end of the last century, mostly portraits, have been called into question <sup>78</sup>. In 1871, the attribution of his works was drastically reduced from more than 200, to a couple of dozens, thanks to the combined work of two English scholars.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle <sup>79</sup> showed how problematic was to speculate about the painter and his work given the paucity of data about his life <sup>80</sup>.

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<sup>77</sup> § Matthew (1998).

<sup>78</sup> E.g., the Portrait of *Vittore Capello* in the Budapest Museum, the so-called *Gattamelatta* in the Uffizzi Gallery and the *Double Portrait* in the Museum of the Palazzo Venezia in Rome. Cited by Zuffi (1991, p. 13).

<sup>79</sup> Crowe & Cavalcaselle (1871). Joseph Archer Crowe (London, 1825 – Werbach, 1896), journalist, diplomat and art historian. Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle (Leganado, 1819 – Rome, 1897), writer and art critic.

<sup>80</sup> Uglow (2014, p. 7).

They themselves just accepted a scant dozen <sup>81</sup>, leaving aside entire categories of other works, such as portraits <sup>82</sup>. Both scholars thus created “a new Giorgione, the artist we know today: an enigma” (*sic.*) <sup>83</sup>.

The basic document for the reconstruction of his work is a set of notes by the Venetian art collector Marcantonio Michiel <sup>84</sup>, written between 1521 and 1543, about works of art in the churches and private houses of Venice, Padua, Cremona, Milan, Pavia, Bergamo, and Crema, citing at least 14 paintings by Giorgione <sup>85</sup>.

His notes were not intended for editing, and the manuscript was discovered in the 18th century and published in 1800 as an anonymous work by the newly appointed head of the Library of San Marco, Abbot Jacopo Morelli <sup>86</sup>. Michiel corresponded with Pietro Aretino and with the first official historians of the Republic and those responsible for the Biblioteca Marciana: Pietro Bembo <sup>87</sup> and Andrea Navagero <sup>88</sup>.

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<sup>81</sup> Uglow (2017, p. 26).

<sup>82</sup> *Id.*, p. 27. Annex 2.4 shows the scant two dozen portraits currently attributed to him.

<sup>83</sup> *Id.*, p. 25.

<sup>84</sup> (Venice, c.1484 – Venice, 1552). § Annex 1.1.1.

<sup>85</sup> Upon his death, his personal collection included at least one: Blackburn (1992, p. 2).

<sup>86</sup> Morelli (1800). Iacopo Morelli (Venice, 1745 – Venice, 1819) He succeeded Zanetti the Younger as custodian of the library upon his death in 1778, and was appointed director 20 years later, in 1799. § Section 9 and Annex 1.2.5.

<sup>87</sup> § Note 51.

<sup>88</sup> (Venice, 143 – Blois, 1529).

Michiel mentions, in addition to Domenico Grimani, some Venetian patricians who owned paintings by the painter <sup>89</sup>, all of them related to Bembo, who apparently also had a copy of Giorgione in his house. Andrea Odoni <sup>90</sup> owned a copy of *Saint Jerome*; Gerolamo Marcello <sup>91</sup>, a *portrait of himself in armor*, a *nude Venus* (possibly that of Dresden, completed by Titian) and a *Saint Jerome reading*; Taddeo Contarini <sup>92</sup>, *The Three Philosophers* (completed by Sebastiano del Piombo <sup>93</sup>), a *Birth of Paris* and an *Inferno with Aeneas and Anchises*; and his brother-in-law Gabriele Vendramin <sup>94</sup>, *The Tempest*, the *Portrait of an Old Woman* and the *Dead Christ*.

Michiel also mentions portraits in the collections of Giovanni Antonio Venier <sup>95</sup>, and of the collector of Spanish origin living in Venice Giovanni Ram, who also commissioned his companion Titian <sup>96</sup>.

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<sup>89</sup> Quoted by Urquizar (2012, pp. 40-41 y p. 29).

<sup>90</sup> (Venice, 1488 – Venice, 1545) Venetian collector, son of a wealthy Milanese merchant who had recently settled in the city. § Annex 1.1.3.

<sup>91</sup> § Plate VII.B and Annex 1.1.6. (Venice, 1476 – Venice, 1547). It is believed that Girolamo may be the character portrayed in this canvas (although it could also be Gabriele Vendramin), in which case it must have been painted by Giorgione around the age of 19, although the dating attributed until now is between 1505 and 1510. § Notes 352-362.

<sup>92</sup> (Venice, 1466 – Venice, 1540). In our previous work we already stated that we were unable to find detailed biographical data on this character. Settis (1990) and Alcamo (2019) provide them, and consequently, together with the rest of Giorgione's known possible patrons, we summarize them here: § Notes 169-170, and Annex 1.1.2.

<sup>93</sup> § Note 75.

<sup>94</sup> § Plate XIII.C.D, and Annex 1.1.5. (Venice, 1484 – Venice, 1552).

<sup>95</sup> § Plate VII.B (?). (Venice, 1477 – Venice, 1550).

<sup>96</sup> § Plate XIII.A. (Teruel, 1470? – Venice, 1533). *The Baptism of Christ*, in the Capitoline Museums in Rome. § Figure 33. Ram was portrayed as a patron in 1512 contemplating the scene. § Annex 1.1.7.

He cites as works by Giorgione the *Boy with an Arrow* in two versions, one in Ram 's house in 1531, and another in that of Antonio Pasqualigo <sup>97</sup> one year later.

Giorgione was born around 1474 in Castelfranco, a small town in the province of Treviso about 40 kilometers from Venice, or perhaps in the neighboring municipality of Veduggio. Our works demonstrate that he was really the authentic protagonist of the central scene of musicians in Veronese 's *The Wedding* for almost the entire time that commission lasted <sup>98</sup>. His nickname suggests that he was a tall man with dimensions above the usual.

The oldest source about his life is the inscription on the back of one of his portraits, *Laura*, which mentions the date of June 1, 1506, himself nicknamed according to the dialect of the Veneto region ("Zorzi "), the name of the patron of the commission (Giacomo), and his collaboration with Vincenzo Catena <sup>99</sup>. His name also appears as "Zorzon" in 1528, in an inventory of the collection of Marino Grimani <sup>100</sup>, probably coming from the collection of his uncle Domenico, died five years earlier <sup>101</sup>.

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<sup>97</sup> Or "Pasqualino" (Venice, ¿? – Nicosia, 1570). Treasurer and chamberlain in Nicosia (Cyprus) during the Turkish siege of the city in 1570. § Note 417.

<sup>98</sup> Lafarga & Sanz (2019a).

<sup>99</sup> § Note 74. Cited by Gentili (2001): "de man de maistro Zorzi de Chastel Fr(anco) cholega de maistro Vizenzo Chaena" (sic.). Dal Pozzolo (2009, p. 207). The inscription was deciphered in 1908 by Ludwig Justi (Marburg, 1876 – Potsdam, 1957), definitively attributing the portrait to Giorgione: cited by Uglow (2017, p. 43).

<sup>100</sup> See Note 18. Dal Pozzolo (2009, p. 208).

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.* Lafarga & Sanz (2022).

The first one to call him "maestro Giorgione" was Paolo Pino in 1548 <sup>102</sup>, although during his lifetime he was known as "Zorzi" or "Zorzo da Castelfranco". And its precise origins were also unclear for Vasari <sup>103</sup>.

His belonging to the Barbarella family (perhaps as an illegitimate son) seemed to have been denied, his paternal surname being "Gasparini". However, recent documents seem to reaffirm the traditional belief about the origin of his surname, given that problems remain in relation to who was probably his mother (Altadona) and perhaps his alleged stepmother (Alessandra) <sup>104</sup>. The notary Giovanni Barbarella (married to Altadona) had a son named Zorzi who worked in the city until 1500, when he requested tax exemption for no longer residing there <sup>105</sup>. On the other hand, a new discovery shows, together with a series of previous documents, that the notary Francesco Fisolo acted representing Altadona — in addition to in the years 1485, 1489, 1493, and in the inventory of Giorgione 's assets of March 14, 1511 (Fondo Giudici del Proprio) — also on March 20, 1511 (Fondo Giudici di Petitizioni), one week after the document that would allegedly link the painter with the Gasparini family. The finding would thus lend support to the previous suggestion that the mother 's true identity could have been wrongly transcribed in the first place as "Aleandra", inducing confusion between both families <sup>106</sup>.

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<sup>102</sup> (? , 1534 – Venice, 1565). Pino (1548).

<sup>103</sup> Zuffi (1991, p. 8).

<sup>104</sup> Married to Giovanni Casparini. Segre (2011, p. 385): Notes 133-34.

<sup>105</sup> Archives of Castelfranco. Quoted by Badaloni (2020). Puppi and Dal Pozzolo also adhered to this interpretation.

<sup>106</sup> Bortolanza (2022): this was the original proposal of Puppi (2011).



In any case, it seems that having gone to Venice at a very young age, he was arrested for unknown reasons and his mother (Altadonna) had to sell part of her assets to free him <sup>107</sup>, occasionally returning to Castelfranco before settling permanently in the capital.

There he began training as an apprentice in the workshops of Giovanni Bellini around 1490, together with Titian, Lorenzo Lotto <sup>108</sup>, and Palma the Elder <sup>109</sup>, although it has been suggested that he may have been a disciple of Vittore Carpaccio <sup>110</sup>, and, before his arrival to Venice, perhaps of artists from their local environment, such as Pier Maria Pennacchi <sup>111</sup> or Girolamo de Treviso <sup>112</sup>.

It has also been suggested that he may have worked with Francesco Bissolo, another painter native of Castelfranco and almost his contemporary <sup>113</sup>. Vasari says that he was a friend of the painter Benvenuto Garofalo <sup>114</sup>, and teacher of Giovanni of Udine during his brief stay in Venice <sup>115</sup>.

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<sup>107</sup> Chiuppani (1909), quoted by Bortolanza (2022). Puppi (2009), quoted by Nichols (2020, p. 27)

<sup>108</sup> (Venice, h. 1480 – Loreto, 1556). § Note 6.

<sup>109</sup> (Serina Alta, 1480 – Venice, 1528).

<sup>110</sup> (Venice, c.1465 – Venice, 1525/6). Disciple at the workshops of Giovanni Bellini and of Lazzaro Bastiani: § Notes 190-192.

<sup>111</sup> (Treviso, 1464 – Boulogne-sur-Mer, 1515).

<sup>112</sup> Zuffi (1991, p. 10). (Treviso, 1508 – Boulogne-sur-Mer, 1544). § Note 347. Girolamo decorated the facade of the collector Andrea Odoni: Schmitter (2007). § Note 90 and Annex 1.1.3.

<sup>113</sup> (Treviso, 1470 – Venice, 1554). Quoted by Segre (2011, p. 385).

<sup>114</sup> (Ferrara, 1481 – Ferrara, 1559). Vasari (1568, p. 552).

<sup>115</sup> (Udine, 1487 – Rome, 1564). Vasari (1568, p. 577). Vasari tells us that Domenico Grimani was a close friend of his father and that he wrote letters of recommendation for Giovanni.

His patrons in the city of canals were probably members of the Grimani family, the main protectors of the congregation of San Giorgio Maggiore also at the time of the Veronese canvas<sup>116</sup>.

Domenico Grimani, who was Patriarch of Aquileia, one of the richest patricians in Italy and owner of the largest art collection of his time, had a self-portrait of Giorgione in his gallery (which decades later would be mentioned by Vasari), and his relationship with the painter is accredited by a letter dated March 14, 1501, from the State Archive of Venice<sup>117</sup>. Two frescoes in the duomo of Montagnana — *David* and *Judith* — were made during Domenico 's ownership and could be attributed to the painter: 50 years later Veronese painted in front of them his *Transfiguration of Christ* for the main altar<sup>118</sup>.

In 1500, he had received the commission to paint the portraits of the Doge Agostino Barbarigo<sup>119</sup> and the condottiere Consalvo Ferrante<sup>120</sup>. And in 1504 that of another condottiere, Matteo Costanzo, for the Duomo of his hometown, included in his work known as *Madonna of Castelfranco*<sup>121</sup>.

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<sup>116</sup> Three of them are present in the painting, including Domenico himself, and perhaps for both reasons: Lafarga & Sanz (2022).

<sup>117</sup> Dal Pozzolo: in Badaloni (2020). Domenico may have commissioned him to paint the double portrait *Two Friends*: § Plate VIII.B.

<sup>118</sup> Badaloni (2020).

<sup>119</sup> (Venice ?, 1419 – Venice, 1501). 74th Dux of Venice.

<sup>120</sup> Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba y Enríquez de Aguilar, known as the "Great Captain" (Montilla, 1453 – Granada, 1515). Captain General of the armies of Castile and Aragon during the Granada War (1482-92), the First Italian War (1494-98) and the Naples War (1501-4). Viceroy of Naples (1504-7). § Figure 7.

<sup>121</sup> § Notes 164-166. Also known as *Pala di Castelfranco*: this oil on panel painting was commissioned in his memory by his father Tuzio



*Figure 7. Giorgione paints the portrait of Gran Capitán, by José Casado del Alisal. Galería de don Anselmo González del Valle, nº 21, photography by Fernando del Fresno, Universidad de Oviedo. Archivo-Biblioteca de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando. Madrid (FOT-02787).*

In 1506 he shared a workshop with the religious painter Vincenzo Catena, since even at this late date he did not have his own *bottega*<sup>122</sup>. And in 1507 he was offered a very relevant commission — a canvas that is now lost and of which the subject, size and conclusion are unknown — for the new Audience Hall of the Doge 's Palace, where the Council of Ten had their meetings<sup>123</sup>.

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Costanzo, also a condottiero. According to Ridolfi, he sent the finished work from Venice.

<sup>122</sup> Robertson (1954, pp. 12-14). Quoted by Gentili (2001).

<sup>123</sup> Zuffi (1991, p. 12). The Council ordered Francesco Venier, on 14 August, to pay Giorgione 20 ducats as an advance, and a further payment to

In 1508 he received another commission from Alvise di Sesti <sup>124</sup>. And it is possible that he completed other commissions, like Titian, for the Venetian patrician Andrea Loredan <sup>125</sup>, who ordered the building of Vendramin-Calergi Palace in 1500 <sup>126</sup>, and where Giorgione had painted frescoed allegories of *Diligence* and *Prudence*, on a door to the canal on the ground floor <sup>127</sup>.

Giorgione was the first painter to specialize in small-scale scenes for private collectors, and his work *The Tempest* is also the first treatment of landscape as a thematic motif in the history of Western art.

Isabella d' Este, aware of his recent death, wrote on October 25, 1510 to one of her agents in Venice, Taddeo Albano, with the intention of acquiring a well-known "night" landscape of his authorship. He responded two weeks later confirming the painter's death in the last plague of September and informing that this work was not among his belongings <sup>128</sup>.

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be made to Alvise Sanuto, the new procurator, on 24 January 1508. A document dated 23 May requesting reimbursement of the surplus funds from this commission seems to indicate that Giorgione's work was finished: in that case the work could have been destroyed in the fires of 1574 or 1577: Gentili (2001).

<sup>124</sup> It was a set of four canvases about the *Story of Daniel*. The document, now lost and dated February 13, was considered false without motivation. Molmenti (1878, pp. 6 s.); Pignatti (1969, p. 159). Quoted by Gentili (2001).

<sup>125</sup> § Plate IV.C. (Venice, 1455 – Venice, 1513). Also cited by Ridolfi. Both Vasari and Ridolfi mention a portrait of the *Doge Leonardo Loredan* by Giorgione and his *Self-portrait as David*. § Note 181.

<sup>126</sup> Kaplan (2008, p. 289). § Figure 31.

<sup>127</sup> Swartwood House (2013, p. 115)

<sup>128</sup> (Ferrara, 1474 – Mantua, 1539). Marquise of Mantua and a famous art collector. § Note 552 and Plate III.A.B.C.D.

The small canvas had been sold in two different versions, one to the patrician Taddeo Contarini <sup>129</sup> and the other to a Venetian citizen, Victorio Bechario, and neither of them wanted to lose their property since they had commissioned them for their own private enjoyment <sup>130</sup>.

Isabella had urged her agent to also locate the portrait of the musician Marcheto Cara <sup>131</sup>, who remained in the service of the Gonzaga court until his death, and that of the Venetian *luthier* Lorenzo da Pavia, who probably belonged to the musical circle of Giorgione <sup>132</sup>.

Ten years ago, the inventory of the assets that the painter left in his house upon his death appeared in the State Archive of Venice, drawn up by the magistrate of the Venetian courts Giudice del Proprio on March 14, 1511 <sup>133</sup>.

He is named there as *Giorgio*, and not as *Zorzi*: the document was requested by the notary Francesco Fisoli, and later modified on October 13 of the same year to add some more objects.

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<sup>129</sup> Luzio (1888, p. 47), quoted by Gentili (2001). § Notes 92 and 169-170 and Annex 1.1.2.

<sup>130</sup> § Anderson (1997, pp. 17-19); Nova (1998, pp. 51-52); Segre (2011, p. 383).

<sup>131</sup> (Verona, 1470 – Mantua, 1525).

<sup>132</sup> Luzio (1888, p. 47). Quoted by Segre (2011, p. 383). Lorenzo [Gusnasco] da Pavia (Pavia, ? – Mantua, 1517) had made a *virginal* for Isabelle in 1496.

<sup>133</sup> Segre (2011).

The possessions detailed, valued at just 89 ducats, include furniture (chairs, beds and a table), kitchen utensils, and some clothing (shirts and other clothing, and two women 's dresses, one of silk and the other red with fox fur trims that were added later).

The document does not specify the cause of death, and does not mention pictures or painting tools, which suggests that he had his workshops elsewhere <sup>134</sup>. Nor is mentioned the presence of instruments or his famous lute.

His age (36), earlier than assumed, and the date of his death (September 17), were confirmed in 2017 by another discovery: an inscription in ink at the library of the University of Sydney. The phrase shown in Figure 8 appeared at the top of the last page of a copy of Dante 's *Divine Comedy* <sup>135</sup>, presiding over the sketch of a *Madonna with child* at the bottom, which is assumed to be his authorship <sup>136</sup>.

Given that the age and date of death are cited, that the inscription is corrected by a different hand ("da peste" crossed out and added outside the margin), and that it is usually difficult to specify the exact age even of friends and acquaintances, the document suggests that these two people (the owner of the book and the proofreader) knew the painter well <sup>137</sup>.

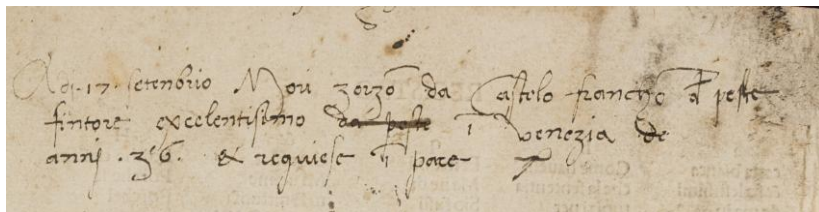
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<sup>134</sup> It has been suggested that his workshop could have been located in San Silvestro: Segre (2011, p. 384).

<sup>135</sup> Anderson *et al.* (2019). The Venetian edition is from 1497. Dante Alighieri (Florence, 1265 – Rávena, 1321)

<sup>136</sup> "A dì 17 setenbrio mori Zorzo (n) da Castelo francho d'peste fintore excelentissimo ~~da peste~~ in Venezia de anni 36 & requiese in pace" (*sic.*).

<sup>137</sup> Anderson (2019).



*Figure 8. Inscription on the last page of a copy of Dante's Divine Comedy. University of Sydney Library, Incunabula 97.1.*

Apart from what is recorded, there is no further information about his family or his early years <sup>138</sup>. However, one fact seems certain: when he arrived in Venetian lands, he was almost immediately assimilated into the cultural circles of the aristocracy, quickly demonstrating an unusual talent. Baltasar de Castiglione <sup>139</sup> mentions him in *The Courtier* along with Rafael Sanzio <sup>140</sup>, Andrea Mantegna <sup>141</sup>, Leonardo <sup>142</sup> and Miguel Ángel <sup>143</sup>.

Giorgione was the first painter to use oil on canvas: Vasari says that he did not draw <sup>144</sup>, and current technology has shown that he indeed applied color directly. His self-portrait as *David* is the first allegorical portrait of an artist within the Venetian painting tradition.

<sup>138</sup> § Segre (2011). However, see Notes 105 to 107.

<sup>139</sup> (Casatico, 1478 – Toledo, 1529). Castiglione (1528, p. 50).

<sup>140</sup> (Urbino, 1483 – Rome, 1520).

<sup>141</sup> Leonardo da Vinci (Isola di Carturo, 1431 – Mantua, 1506).

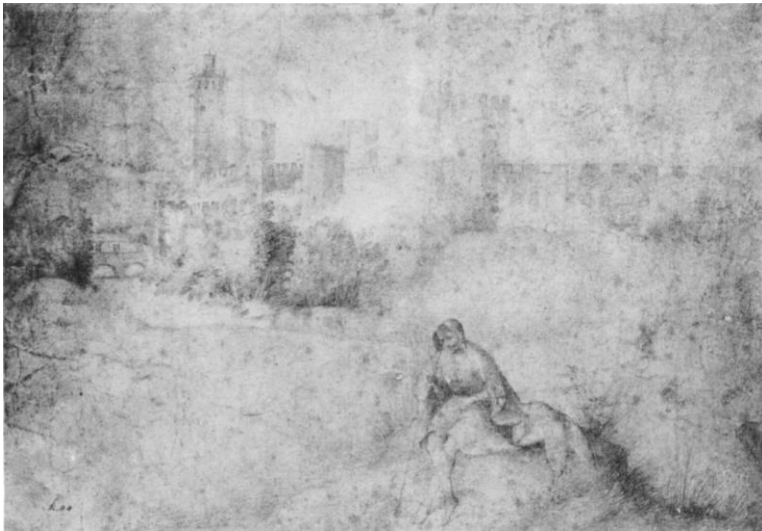
<sup>142</sup> (Anchiano, 1452 – Amboise, 1519).

<sup>143</sup> Michelangelo Buonarroti (Caprese Michelangelo, 1475 – Rome, 1564).

<sup>144</sup> Later, other painters from the Venetian environment did the same, such as Titian, a technique that Vasari disapproved of. Rosand (1997, pp. 12-14), quoted by Zarrillo (2016, p. 54).

Perhaps the most innovative thing about his own style — *maniera* — was that the pictures he painted did not apparently tell (narrate) any story or allude to any literary, religious, or commemorative passage, as was the tradition, but rather they conveyed a certain emotional and abstract atmosphere in a "romantic" sense <sup>145</sup>.

Even though some of them are inspired by literary and philosophical themes, their images continue to be a challenge for scholars today, and the meaning of many of them and the figures they contain remain shrouded in mystery.



**Figure 9.** *The only design (drawing) unanimously attributed to Giorgione, 1501-02. Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-Van Beuningen.*

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<sup>145</sup> The distinctive feature of almost all non-religious Venetian painting during the first half of the 16th century is, perhaps following in his wake, the absence of explicit literary or academic content: Hope & Martineau (1983, p. 35).



We are proposing here a new self-portrait shown in Figures 10, 11.A, and 13.B and in Plate I.D. If the canvas is indeed by Giorgione, then we believe that he represented himself in his best-known facet (lute player), in addition to as a painter.

The painting, exhibited in the National Gallery in London, probably corresponds to the work mentioned with number 43 in the 1603 inventory of the Roman collection of Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini <sup>146</sup>.

It is not clear when it arrived in England, but it is likely to be object number 15, attributed to Giorgione, in the Catalog of the sale of works owned by Alexander Day <sup>147</sup> in 1800-1801, and listed as coming from Villa Aldobrandini.

Alternately attributed to Giorgione and Raphael, the work was quickly and mostly attributed to the hand of the Castelfranco painter after its entry into the London Gallery, even though some authors point to an anonymous colleague or one from the school called *Giorgionesque* <sup>148</sup>.

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<sup>146</sup> (Rome, 1571 – Rome, 1621). De Marchi (2004). Quoted by Dal Pozzolo (2017, p. 186). The catalogue was prepared by Giovan Battista Agucchi (Bologna, 1570 – Susegana, 1632), a cleric, diplomat and art collector: he was also secretary at the Vatican, and appointed bishop, as well as nuncio in Venice.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.* (? , 1751 – London, 1841). Painter specialized in copies and miniatures, collector and art dealer, active in Rome, who had access to the prestigious Aldobrandini collection in 1798.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*

Guidoni <sup>149</sup> has recently proposed that the humanist Girolamo Campagnola <sup>150</sup> could be portrayed in the protagonist figure of the scene, while he proposes his son Giulio <sup>151</sup> in that of the lutenist who we are suggesting could be a new self-portrait of Giorgione — Figure 10.

This author, on the other hand, proposes that the painter of Castelfranco is the kneeling young man (whose face cannot be seen), and that the boy standing in front of him corresponds to Titian as a child.

The lutenist — compare his face with that of Plate I.B — plays a pulse instrument (lute) that has *at least* 8 pegs in its headstock — Plate I.D —, although in fact it may be a six-stringed lute, as has been noted <sup>152</sup>.

The musician clearly shows in his right hand the *figuetta* technique (alternating index fingers and thumb to produce the melody), as Giorgione also did in the first two *consort* that Veronese considered on the scaffolding of San Giorgio Maggiore <sup>153</sup>.

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<sup>149</sup> Guidoni (1996). Quoted by Dal Pozzolo (2017, p. 186).

<sup>150</sup> (Padua, 1435 – Venice, 1522). Notary, humanist, scholar, author, and artist.

<sup>151</sup> § Note 75. It has been suggested that this painter could have introduced Giorgione to the romantic conception of nature characteristic of the hermetic philosophers he frequented: Hartlaub (1960), quoted by Safarik (1974).

<sup>152</sup> Cristina Farnetti, quoted by Dal Pozzolo (2017, p. 186): "... il giovane seduto in primo piano suona un liuto a sei cori" (*sic.*). At this time, the (polyphonic) instrument had five courses (of double strings) plus a sixth single string, the *prima*, the highest and where the melody was played: eleven strings in total. § Dal Pozzolo (2017, p. 51).

<sup>153</sup> Lafarga & Sanz (2019b, pp. 26, 29; pp. 54, 57). Lafarga *et al.* (2021, pp. 81, 82, 87). Farnetti and Dal Pozzolo allude to this technique without naming it, historically relating it to the abandonment of the plectrum in plucked instruments. We have already specified that the Renaissance lute



*Figure 10. Phaeton before Apollo. Giorgione, 1496-98. London, National Gallery, Inv. NG 1173.*

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had courses (double strings), a polyphonic device in which playing with a plectrum is not practical or results in a very poor production.

Namely, this lutenist meets several criteria that support our thesis: a) he plays the same instrument that made Giorgione famous during his lifetime; b) he clearly resembles him; c) he shows similar technical-musical elements (*figuetta*) to those shown in *The Wedding*; and d) all these circumstances brought together in a painting that is most likely his authorship.

We therefore believe it is reasonable to postulate that the musician represented is himself, that is, a *fifth* self-portrait of Giorgione not identified until now — considering the one on Plate I.B that is in the *Kunsthistorischen Museum* in Vienna.

Giorgione was 22 or 24 years old when he painted this canvas, and his hair appears lighter and his appearance younger than in the Braunschweig self-portrait of 1508 — Plate II.A —, where he was probably ten years older, that is, about 34 years old.

Note the similarity between the new self-portrait that we are postulating (A) and two other canvases attributed to the painter: the first (B) the aforementioned self-portrait from Vienna (Plate I.B), and the second (C) the so-called *Shepherd with flute* at Windsor Castle (Plate V.D). These last two portraits are believed to have been painted from the same pattern.

The X-ray of the Vienna portrait reveals that the figure originally held a lute, before it was hidden by the attributes of *David* <sup>154</sup>. There is no agreement about which of the two known canvases that include *Goliath* 's head — the Vienna one or that incomplete in Braunschweig (Plate II.A) — is Giorgione 's authentic self-portrait.

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<sup>154</sup> Whitaker *et al* (2007, p. 187).



**Figure 11.** A. Lutenist of Phaeton before Apolo. B. Possible self-portrait of Giorgione (Vienna). C. Shepherd with flute. See the text and the cited Plates.

An attempt has also been made to link his origins, or his concerns, with Hebraism through various approaches: interpreting the frescoes attributed to him in Ca' Marta, in his hometown, considering his self-portrait as *David*, and by their relationship with Domenico Grimani, a renowned Hebraist, and with his family <sup>155</sup>. In Ca' Marta appear depicted the geometry, cartography, astrology and astronomy, arithmetic (measuring instruments), philosophy, music, painting and architecture, and all kinds of tools and devices related to the liberal arts and emerging sciences.

The self-portrait as *David* is one of the first by independent artists in Italian lands, and one of the first cases in which an Italian artist assumes the role of a historical figure from the past <sup>156</sup>. It is unknown if the canvas was his initiative or if responded to some commission.

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<sup>155</sup> Anderson (1988). Gentili (2001). Kaplan (2008). See, in the same sense, the works of Soragni (2009) and Bertling (2011).

<sup>156</sup> Kaplan (2008).

In 1528 it was owned by Marino Grimani <sup>157</sup>, who was of the right age to have commissioned it in the last years of the painter 's life. His grandfather Antonio Grimani <sup>158</sup>, also a contemporary of Giorgione, had been one of the few Venetian patricians who publicly proclaimed his support for the Jews. And we have already recorded the accredited professional relationship between the painter and one of the richest men in Italy in his time, Cardinal Domenico Grimani.

The concentration of Old Testament themes in his preserved (or reported) work has been pointed out to suggest that Jewish or crypto-Jewish origins could explain this production <sup>159</sup>, although there is no further evidence in this regard, given that many other Venetian painters also dealt with similar biblical themes at the beginning of the *Cinquecento*.

However, the painter seems to have worked outside the ecclesiastical circuits <sup>160</sup>, linked to the private activity of the rich humanist patrons of Venice.

And despite the enormous relevance he had in his time — remember the *Giorgionescos* — there is almost absolute silence about his work and his life in the preserved sources, apart from Vasari.

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<sup>157</sup> (Venice, 1489 – Venice, 1546). Bishop of Ceneda in 1508 and Patriarch of Aquileia in 1517. Appointed Cardinal in 1527. Brother of Giovanni and Girolamo, and namesake of his own nephew, the 89th Doge of Venice.

<sup>158</sup> § Note 18.

<sup>159</sup> Gentili (2001; 2004). Also cited by Kaplan (2008). His self-portrait as *David*, *Judith*, the *Judgement of Solomon*, the lost series on the story of *Daniel*, and perhaps *The Tempest*.

<sup>160</sup> Gentili (2001). Regarding the New Testament, we can mention the *Adoration of the Shepherds*, its recognized *Madonnas*, the *Christ carrying the cross*, and the *Dead Christ* of the Vendramin family.

In this sense, it could be suggested a direct relationship with his presence (in the center of the front scene) and also with his subsequent disappearance from *The Wedding*.

The successive mutations that Veronese was forced to carry out, for one reason or another, on the group of painter-musicians, slowly and progressively diminished Giorgione's prominence since they began, and relegated him to definitive oblivion, probably from the thirteenth month of the commission <sup>161</sup>.

Jewish or crypto-Jewish origins, or those linked to one of the streams considered heretical throughout the *Cinquecento*, could explain the beginning of these changes: an icon of the city outside the Church, independent and protected from the powerful, lover of worldly (sensory) pleasures, and perhaps related to some philosophical stream with non-Christian roots (e.g., the "Sol invictus") <sup>162</sup>.

In the same way, these eventual circumstances could also have a direct relationship (and in a chained manner), with the equally ominous silence that surrounds everything that happened during and after the Veronese painting, referring to the identity of the high Venetian and Italian authorities that populated it, who were persecuted, and in some cases executed, by the Roman Inquisition <sup>163</sup>.

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<sup>161</sup> Our own estimate: Lafarga & Sanz (2019a).

<sup>162</sup> Soragni (2009). Our suggestion, however, seems contradictory with the presence of numerous spirituali on the canvas, at least a dozen of them involved in inquisitorial processes: Lafarga & Sanz (in preparation).

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*

On November 23, 1562, when he had already been working on the large canvas of San Giorgio Maggiore for several months, Veronese acquired properties in the native Castelfranco of his admired Giorgione, where the family workshop had some work in progress <sup>164</sup>.

Ten years earlier, around 1551, Veronese had painted the fresco of *Time and Fame* and *Justice and Temperance* for the Duomo, as well as four cherubs on the balustrade in front of the *Pala di Giorgione* <sup>165</sup>.

The house — which no longer exists — and the land outside the walls cost a total of 500 gold ducats. In his absence, it was Francesco Barbarella who signed and carried out the transaction with the former owners, Giovanni Piacentini and his brothers, and had the Costanzos as neighbors. Both were noble families with a military tradition at the service of Venice and Caterina Cornaro in the Cyprus island <sup>166</sup>.

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<sup>164</sup> In Ca Soranza and Sant'Andrea dal Muson. Here he took the young Cesare Castagnola (1570-1630) as a disciple, who painted the frescoes that are still preserved on the façade of the old *Osteria della Spada*, shown in Figure 12.A. § Bordignon Favero (1958).

<sup>165</sup> Bordignon Favero (1974). Three painted by him and another by his workshop.

<sup>166</sup> The contract document appeared in the Archivio di Stato di Bassano dal Grappa. Giorgione had portrayed the *condottiero* Matteo Costanzo in his famous *Pala di Castelfranco*, commissioned by his father Tuzio, also a soldier, to commemorate his death in battle. § Notes 121 and 183-184. § Plate IV.A.B, respectively.





*Figure 12.A. Palace of the old Osteria della Spada in Giorgione Square, at Castelfranco. © 2021 Google Maps. B. Portrait of Matteo Costanzo as condottiere (detail of the Madonna de Castelfranco, by Giorgione).*



#### 4. GIORGIO VASARI AND THE VENETIAN LEONARDO

Giorgio Vasari, based in Florence, and famous for his biographies of contemporary artists, was the first to report Giorgione's musical concern with the lute, attributing to him a special skill among Venetian painters, whose prestige as *amateur* musicians was already legendary. A fame that led him to play for the noble families of the city at numerous private parties<sup>167</sup>, and a lute that very soon also became a legend over the years, and later over the centuries, and that did not appear among his belongings after his death<sup>168</sup>.

Settis seems to have identified some of the places in the city to which he was invited as a "professional" musician, and to which Vasari alludes without mentioning them. These were probably the palaces of two of his recognized patrons, and owners of his two most famous paintings — *The Three Philosophers* and *The Tempest* —, Taddeo Contarini and Gabriele Vendramin, respectively<sup>169</sup>.

Both, mentioned in Michiel's *Notes*, were close collaborators of the Doge, two of the richest patricians in the city, and also close political relatives (brothers-in-law). Settis has also identified the first of them, among four homonymous fellow citizens from the first decades of the century, as Taddeo Contarini, son of Nicolò<sup>170</sup>.

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<sup>167</sup> Vasari (1568, p. 299). § Note 169.

<sup>168</sup> Segre (2011). The outline that Veronese attributed to him is shown in Figure 13.A. § Section 3.

<sup>169</sup> Settis (1990, pp. 152-157). § Notes 92 and 94, and Annexes 1.1.2 and 1.1.5. § Figure 4.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*

Vasari was also the first to mention the premature disappearance of Giorgione, whom he compared to what Da Vinci himself represented for his own patrons, the Florentines<sup>171</sup>, and in fact included him after Leonardo's biography in its two editions.

On the other hand, he does not allude to any of the circumstances that we have already documented in relation to *The Wedding*, even though he had visited the city few years after the completion of the canvas<sup>172</sup>.

At this time, the memory of the missing painter and the numerous problems that the achievement of the canvas entailed were still present in the minds of many eminent contemporaries, Venetians and foreigners — including the monks of San Giorgio themselves —, who had contemplated the work during the 12 or 13 months that elapsed until the definitive disappearance of Giorgione under Diego Ortiz<sup>173</sup>.

In 1566, Vasari left his uninterrupted activity for almost a decade in the service of the Medici and undertook a new journey through Italian lands, stopping especially in Loreto, Pavia, Milan, Ferrara and Venice.

Here, it is logic and coherent to assume (in all probability) that he had news of what had happened three years earlier on the busy and uneven scaffolding installed in the refectory of San Giorgio Maggiore, undoubtedly one of the most famous in Italy.

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<sup>171</sup> Vasari (1568, p. 299).

<sup>172</sup> Cast (2014, p. 170).

<sup>173</sup> § Colbert (1865, p. 461; 1867, p. 216): Section 8. The commission occupied the Veronese's work team for 15 months: Lafarga *et al.* (2018); Lafarga & Sanz (2019a; 2019b); Lafarga *et al.* (2021a; 2021b).

Especially considering his diligent search for data related to the works of art of his time and the painters who had given them life.

However, he also did not mention what we are recounting here. A story undoubtedly hidden, forgotten, and probably persecuted, since the times of the canvas, which showed clearly and in public eyes, through the identity of the guests, the “theological” and “political” position of the Republic and its most learned order, the Benedictine congregation and its ecclesiastical friendships <sup>174</sup>.

On the other hand, and in a surprising way — and perhaps also *paradoxical* within the framework of our model for the *different moments* of the painting — he does mention the self-portrait of the city’s most emblematic painter, Giorgio de Castelfranco, in the two editions of his *Lives*. While his own engraving only appears in the second, after his visit to Venice with the canvas of San Giorgio already finished.

According to Vasari, this small self-portrait was exhibited in the art gallery of the Grimani family, it means, Girolamo and Giovanni Grimani, both also present on Veronese canvas in various locations and critical positions, as we have already noted in other works. They both were patrons of the depicted artists, the monks of the monastery, and also for the Order of Saint Benedict <sup>175</sup>.

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<sup>174</sup> Lafarga & Sanz (2022). Lafarga & Sanz (in preparation).

<sup>175</sup> Our model postulates the presence of three *Grimani* among the guests, one of them (Domenico) already deceased in the times of the canvas: Lafarga & Sanz (2022).

According to our model, it is very unlikely that Vasari would not have been informed of Giorgione's presence on the Veronese canvas, both on the island if he (most likely) visited it, and in the family gallery, where the self-portrait of the missing painter was located.

In fact, given the obvious similarity between the two, he had to contemplate it to create the engraving that he included in his own edition of the *Lives* of 1568, just two years after his visit to Venice.

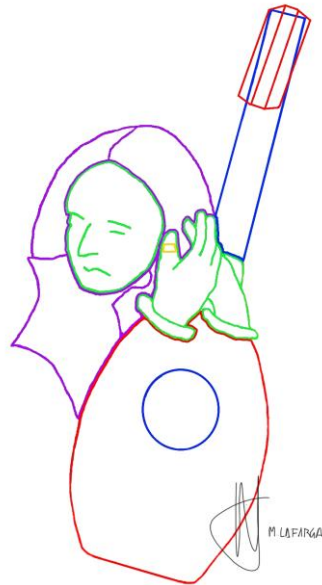
This conjecture would thus provide important additional support to our proposal, regarding the systematic concealment of stories or information related to the true protagonists of the Veronese canvas, especially because of its political-religious content, already from the very years of the commission.

We believe that this same self-portrait, exhibited in 1562 in the gallery of his own patron Girolamo, could have been the one that Veronese used *in mirror* to represent the original protagonist of *The Wedding*, during the first twelve months of the composition of canvas <sup>176</sup>.

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<sup>176</sup> Lafarga & Sanz (2022).

**Figure 13. A.** Original silhouette by Giorgione, showing the traces of the headstock that can be clearly seen in the X-ray of the canvas, currently the hand of the servant, resting without apparent function, between Mary and Jesus Christ. **B.** Self-portrait (?). Lutenist of Phaeton before Apolo (detail). The right hand (in both cases) shows the articulation technique for pulse instruments, known as “figuetta”, turned to the observer.



Giorgione also stood out and was famous in life for his portraits. And, despite the repeated criticism of Vasari regarding the exaltation of the personality and virtues of his characters, there is no doubt about the precise references he makes to the respective works of each painter, since he himself was one of them, and of comparable fame to the most renowned of his time.

Vasari was the first to mention his self-portrait as *David* <sup>177</sup>. He also says that "he made numerous portraits of various Italian princes". The market for this type of work began to grow in Italy in the second half of the 16th century, but it was already well established in northern Europe, and Giorgione was the first Italian painter to concentrate his work in this field.

The Florentine alluded to his skill in representing the color and texture of the living flesh of his characters, a trait that has been recognized to this day. And also to his fame as a portraitist of numerous nobles of his time, frequently sending his commissions to European destinations. It is accepted that he possessed a kind of "photographic" skill that allowed him to accurately characterize his contemporaries.

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<sup>177</sup> Vasari (1568, p. 300). Lafarga & Sanz (2022). The Grimani were Giorgione's protectors in Venice, and the presence of several of their members (three) at *The Wedding*, situated around the Benedictine table, points to their involvement in the choice of the funeral mass that Veronese began to represent as a tribute to the deceased painter: Lafarga & Sanz (2019a). § Figure 22.



Vasari cites as his works: one self-portrait <sup>178</sup>, the portrait of a general, and that of a child of incomparable beauty and realism, all in the house of Grimani [Giovanni], patriarch of Aquileia <sup>179</sup>; that of Giovanni Borgherini as a young man in his house in Florence, together with his tutor, on the occasion of a visit to Venice; that of a captain in armor, “one of the leaders that Consalvo Ferrante took with him to Venice when he visited the Doge Agostino Barbarigo”, also carried out in the city during this stay <sup>180</sup>; that of Leonardo Loredano when he was *dux* <sup>181</sup>; “another in Faenza, in the house of Giovanni di Castel Bolognese” <sup>182</sup>, commissioned by his father-in-law; that of Queen Catherine of Cyprus <sup>183</sup> “in the power of the most excellent Messer Giovan Cornaro” <sup>184</sup>; an oil portrait of one of the main merchants of the Fondaco de’ Tedeschi, from the German house of Fugger; and other “sketches and pen drawings by his hand”.

It is also admitted that in his paintings, the characters’ gazes do not meet each other or the viewer, except sometimes in an oblique way.

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<sup>178</sup> *David*. § Plates I.B and II.A.

<sup>179</sup> Vasari (1568, p. 300).

<sup>180</sup> *Id.*

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 301. (Venice, 1436 – Venice, 1521). 75 *Dux* of Venice. § Note 125.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.* Giovanni Bernardi, jewelry cutter and medal maker (Castel-Bolognese, 1494 – Faenza, 1553).

<sup>183</sup> Caterina Cornaro (Venice, 1454 – 1510). This portrait, now lost, depicted the queen on horseback during a hunt. § Plate XII.A.B.

<sup>184</sup> Vasari (1568, p. 303). § Plate XII.D.

And we think it is pertinent to highlight here as a "mannerist trait", that Giorgione apparently represented his singers always *with their lips closed* [Figure 14] <sup>185</sup>.



**Figure 14.** *The Three Ages of Man (Concert)*. Giorgione, c. 1510. Florence, Galleria Palatina, inv. 110.

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<sup>185</sup> Following Faillant-Dumas (1992, p. 118), we have previously pointed out the presence in the Veronese canvas of two presumed singers (perhaps painter-musicians wearing gold rings), standing behind Titian: Lafarga *et al.* (2021b, pp. 48-51). If this conjecture is true, they too kept their lips sealed, although probably for different reasons related to the Benedictine rules in their refectories. The same could be said of the original vocal quartet that accompanied the funeral mass for Giorgione in the First Consort, even though their faces (if they were ever completed) are no longer visible. Future works carried out directly on the Louvre canvas could shed light on this issue.

An important episode that reveals his prestige before the Venetian authorities of his time, being *dux* Leonardo Loredan, was the commission for the decoration of one of the most emblematic buildings of the city, next to the Rialto Bridge, the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi*, which housed the german community <sup>186</sup>.

A friend of Titian, Lodovico Dolce <sup>187</sup>, says that he painted the *Allegory of Justice* on the side portal, and that Giorgione, the director of the project, painted the nude figures on the main façade <sup>188</sup>.

The building had suffered the ravages of a terrible fire in 1504, and Vasari's "description" of Giorgione's frescoes clearly shows the freedom he had when choosing themes and figures <sup>189</sup>, since no one could capture the global meaning (historical, literary or allegorical) of the scenes.

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<sup>186</sup> Vasari (1568, p. 806-807). § Nova (2008); Swartwood House (2013).

<sup>187</sup> Dolce (1557; 1735: 284, 286): "dipingendo Giorgione la faccia del fondaco de'Tedeschi, che riguardo sopra il Canal grande, fu allogata a Titiano, come dicemmo, quell'altra, che sopra sta alla mercerie, non havendo egli allora a pena venti anni" (*sic.*), quoted by Swartwood House (2013, p. 117). (Venice, 1508 – Venice, 1568). Humanist, prolific author, translator and editor, as well as art theorist. He was friend of Pietro Aretino and Titian, for whom he frequently acted as public relations agent. His best-known work, the *Dialogue on Painting*, also entitled *L' Aretino*, was conceived as a response to Vasari, whose first edition (1550) did not include Titian. § Note 283.

<sup>188</sup> He charged 130 ducats for the commission, including materials: Dal Pozzolo (2009, pp. 20-21), quoted by Segre (2011, p. 384). § Figures 15 and 38. Vasari cites the episode in the second edition of his *Lives*.

<sup>189</sup> The meaning of the figures represented met the criterion of "absence" of concrete literary content, which we have already referred to above. Lorenzo Luzzo, as also we already indicated, collaborated with his *grotteschi* on these works.

The exterior decoration of the palace was completed on November 8, 1508. The *master*, dissatisfied with the payment, had previously transferred the work to a college of experts formed by the painters Vittore Carpaccio, Lazzaro Bastiani <sup>190</sup> and Matteo di Vittore <sup>191</sup>, under the direction by Giovanni Bellini <sup>192</sup>.

Giorgione carried out similar outdoor work in other Venetian palaces as well, including Casa Soranzo, Casa Grimani alli Servi, a house in Santo Stefano, and another on a canal in Santa Maria Giubenico <sup>193</sup>.

The presence of Leonardo in Venice in 1500, on the occasion of his skills as an engineer, has given rise to repeated speculation about a possible meeting between the two painters, in which Giorgione may have learned the new technique of *sfumatto* from the Tuscan master. However, Vasari does not explicitly mention or suggest this meeting, dating Leonardo 's influence on Giorgione around 1507, after contemplating some of his works <sup>194</sup>.

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<sup>190</sup> (Padua, 1429 – Venice, 1512).

<sup>191</sup> Called "Belliniano": (Venice, 1456 – Venice, 1529). Disciple of Giovanni Bellini 's workshop.

<sup>192</sup> Zuffi (1991, p. 12). Only a few fragmentary remains of these frescoes, known in part through 18th-century prints, while no trace has survived of other similar exterior works in the city's palaces - *Casa Soranzo*, *Casa Grimani alli Servi*, among others.

<sup>193</sup> Ridolfi (1648, p. 81).

<sup>194</sup> Vasari (1568, p. 299).



**Figure 15.** One of the few preserved frescoes (fragments) of the side facade of the Fondaco dei Tedeschi, in charge of Titian. Venice, Ca d' Oro. Zanetti the Younger made and published this design, which is shown in Figure 38.

It is believed that Leonardo visited Venice again in 1506, and it is known that on his first visit he was in contact with relatives of Cardinal Domenico Grimani, which would lead to speculation that Giorgione may have seen his works in the private chambers of who was probably his own patron <sup>195</sup>.

Already in the first edition of his *Lives*, Vasari granted them both the quality of being the founders of the modern *maniera* (style).

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<sup>195</sup> Dal Pozzolo: en Badaloni (2020).



## 5. THE END OF THE VENETIAN PAINTING SCHOOL

With his famous treatise on the Italian artists of the time, Vasari began a fruitful biographical tradition that continued with the works of our two next authors, Ridolfi and Boschini<sup>196</sup>.

We will show below their connection with the Venetian school to which Veronese belonged: Palma the Younger<sup>197</sup>, trained in the Caliarì brothers' workshop, in turn instructed Marco Boschini. While Antonio Vassilacchi<sup>198</sup>, a disciple of Veronese himself, did the same with Carlo Ridolfi<sup>199</sup>.

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<sup>196</sup> § Sections 6 and 7, respectively. Vasari was encouraged to write his *Lives* during a table conversation in the Roman palace of Alessandro Farnese (Rome, 1545 – Arras, 1592), for whom he was decorating the audience hall on the recommendation of the historian Paolo Giovio. (Como, 1483 – Florence, 1552). § Burke (2016, p. 231).

<sup>197</sup> Antonio di Jacopo Negretti, called Palma the Younger, (Venice, 1544 – Venice, 1628). A follower of Veronese and Tintoretto, in 1582 he had decorated the facade of the Alessandro Vittoria's house (Trento, 1525 – Venice, 1608), where the largest Venetian collection of portraits was exhibited at the time of *The Wedding*: Lafarga & Sanz (2022).

<sup>198</sup> Antonio Vassilacchi, nicknamed "the Alien" (Milos, 1556 – Venice, 1629). Trained in the schools of Veronese and Tintoretto, in 1592 he painted *The Apotheosis of the Benedictine Order*, commissioned by San Pietro's Abbot – Giacomo di San Felice da Salò. It was the largest oil painting on canvas in the world with a surface area of 90 square meters: Lafarga & Sanz (in preparation). His own pupil, Carlo Ridolfi, who was at his side when he died, was responsible for organising the funeral on 15 April 1629. He was buried in the Augustinian convent of San Stefano according to his last wishes.

<sup>199</sup> See the next Sections.

The "recent" invention of oil painting, of which Veronese and his contemporaries (in addition to Giorgione) were among the first to adopt, had facilitated in the middle of the century the creation of large canvases and a frenetic production at the request of the religious orders, with a profusion of large biblical scenes that also included contemporary portraits of many private patrons.

This activity was regulated within the church after the Council of Trent, and the interest in private commissions in this type of work declined thereafter.

The new restrictions affected the thematic and expressive freedom of the productions, as demonstrated by the case of Veronese himself in Venice a few years later, in relation to the Holy Office <sup>200</sup>.

Domenico Tintoretto has been noted as the last of the great painters of the Venetian school <sup>201</sup>, involved in the painting of massive canvases for the confraternities of the city, which during the following century no longer hosted the large family workshops of the *Cinquecento* <sup>202</sup>.

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<sup>200</sup> *The Feast in the House of Levy*, 1573. Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice. We maintain that *The Wedding* contains, in the same sense, a monastic reply to the Council of Trent and the religious conflicts of that time, which is reflected in the inclusion of portraits of many of those present (*spirituali*), and of which apparently no other news has reached us, not even from the Roman inquisitorial authorities: Lafarga & Sanz (2022); Lafarga & Sanz (in preparation).

<sup>201</sup> Domenico Robusti (Venice, 1560 – Venice, 1635). Loh (2008, p. 668-669).

<sup>202</sup> Pietro della Vecchia maintained a workshop of this type in Venice during the second half of the *Seicento*: § Notes 435 and 475.



The protagonists of the golden age of Venetian painting — several of them present in *The Wedding* — successively faded away towards the end of the century.



*Figure 16. Tintoretto Painting his Dead Daughter, by Léon Cogniet, 1843* <sup>203</sup>. *Musée des Beaux-Arts de Bordeaux*.

Titian and his son Orazio <sup>204</sup> died in 1576, also victims of the plague, and the following year a fire devastated the Doge 's Palace, taking with it many of the works and portraits of numerous illustrious Venetians and some of our guests.

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<sup>203</sup> (Paris, 1794 – Paris, 1880). § Plate XX.C.

<sup>204</sup> Orazio Vecellio (Venice, 1528 – Venice, 1576), was trained in his father's workshops and gained fame as a portraitist. During his last years of life, he gave up painting to devote himself to alchemy.

Paolo Caliari left in 1588, followed by Marietta Robusti in 1590<sup>205</sup> and Jacopo Bassano and his son Francesco in 1592<sup>206</sup> — his other three children died during the second decade of the *Seicento*<sup>207</sup>. And Tintoretto himself left this world two years later, in 1594.

The heirs of the Veronese workshop, his son Carletto<sup>208</sup> and his brother Benedetto, died in 1596 and 1598, and, in this decade and the next, his best painters<sup>209</sup>. While his last son, Gabriele<sup>210</sup>, died in 1631.

Palma the Younger had died three years earlier, in 1628, and Vassilacchi followed him a year later.

Domenico Tintoretto seems to have been the last painter of the Venetian school who was aware of the end of the business activity of these families, when he wrote his will during the new plague that devastated Venice at the end of October 1630.

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<sup>205</sup> Tintoretto 's natural daughter (Venice, 1560 – Venice, 1590), called "the Tintoretta".

<sup>206</sup> Francesco Bassano Da Ponte (Bassano del Grappa, 1549 – Venice, 1592).

<sup>207</sup> Giambattista (Bassano dal Grappa, 1553 – Bassano dal Grappa, 1613), Leandro (Bassano del Grappa, 1557 – Venice, 1622), and Girolamo (Bassano del Grappa, 1566 – Venice, 1621).

<sup>208</sup> Carlo Cannovaro Caliari, called "Carletto". (Venice, 1568 – Venice, 1631).

<sup>209</sup> Gian Paolo Pace, called "the Elm" (Venice, 1528 – Venice, 1560): § Plate X.B; Dario Varotari (Verona, 1539/43 – Venice, 1596); Francesco Montemezzano (Verona, 1555 – Venice, 1600-02); Luigi Benfatto, Veronese 's nephew, called "Alvise Del Friso" (Verona, 1544/51 – Venice, 1609); and Pace Pace (? , 1555? – Venice, 1617).

<sup>210</sup> Gabriele Caliari (Venice, 1568 – Venice, 1631). Also died from the plague.

His sister Ottavia married the German painter Sebastian Casser, in a last attempt to sustain the family business, but none of their children dedicated themselves to painting <sup>211</sup>.

Ridolfi <sup>212</sup> dedicated his first biography to his father, Jacopo “the Furious” <sup>213</sup>, and concluded that of his own friend Domenico in his second book, whom he himself had portrayed, alluding to the sadness that overwhelmed the city after his death, with which “the last flame of the Tintoretto family was extinguished” <sup>214</sup>.



*Figure 17. Paolo Caliari 's tomb and bust, by Mattia Carneri, 1631 <sup>215</sup>. Venice, Church of San Sebastiano.*

<sup>211</sup> Loh (2008, pp. 668-669).

<sup>212</sup> § Section 6.

<sup>213</sup> Ridolfi (1642).

<sup>214</sup> Ridolfi (1648).

<sup>215</sup> (Trent, 1592 – Trent, 1674). Based on Camilo Bazzetti's original terracotta model.

On February 29, 1630, four months after the start of a new devastating plague outbreak that left more than 70,000 victims in the city, a fire broke out in the kitchens of San Giorgio Maggiore, next to the refectory, seriously threatening the hall where the guests of *The Wedding* were immortalized <sup>216</sup>.

The fire was finally extinguished thanks to the Benedictine convert who had overseen the provisions, Teodoro de Chirignago, together with the monks who had not left the monastery and remained confined to their cells.

Surprisingly, another loose (but very critical) piece of Veronese 's fantastic puzzle also seems to have survived in this same very recent mention, from the beginning of the 20th century: the allusion to a harpsichord among the group of musicians.

The "data" can only come from some other unrecorded legend — since the original key was hidden at the beginning of the work in 1562 — and of which we have no other news than the review published almost four centuries later in *Il Gazzettino* of 11 March 1926:

"Nello splendido dipinto, curiosità storica, il Veronese nel gruppo dei sonatori che allietano il convito, ritrasse sé stesso in atto di suonare il violoncello, Tiziano il contrabasso, Bassano il flauto, e Tintoretto l'apricordo o clavicembalo, strumento di uso comune nei concerti del cinquecento" (*sic.*)

<sup>217</sup>.

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<sup>216</sup> February 28th/29th is the last day of the Venetian year. § Giovanni Malgarotto, *Il Gazzettino*, 11 de marzo de 1926.

<sup>217</sup> *Ibid.*

**SECOND PART. THE LEGEND  
OF *THE WEDDING OF CANA*  
(1563)**

*Veritas filia temporis*

Aulo Gelio, *Attic Nights*, 12, 11



## 6. CARLO RIDOLFI AND THE VENETIAN PAINTER-MUSICIANS

Carlo Ridolfi, Venetian painter, biographer of artists and collector of drawings — among them those of Giorgio Vasari — had been a disciple of Vassilacchi, nicknamed the Aliense, whom he assisted at his death. He wrote several biographies of Venetian painters, including one of Titian and one especially of Tintoretto <sup>218</sup>, one of the masters of the Aliense along with the Veronese.

He wrote his writings in an academic tone, citing numerous documents, many of which are lost today. While recognized as an important source of the Venetian Renaissance, his reliability has been criticized in terms of his numerous attributions of paintings, many of which have been rejected — especially those he assigned to Giorgione, our protagonist.

Ridolfi affirms that among the characters portrayed in *The Wedding* were some contemporary Benedictines relevant to the history of the Congregation <sup>219</sup>.

He was the first to mention the Veronese travels to Rome as a companion of Girolamo Grimani, the Venetian ambassador for the proclamation of a new pontiff <sup>220</sup>.

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<sup>218</sup> Ridolfi (1642).

<sup>219</sup> Ridolfi (1648, p. 27): “Seguono per ogni parte gli Apostoli, e numero d’ invitati di ricche vesti adorni; e tra quelli molti di quei Padri ritratti; nei quali per essersi Paolo obbligato al naturale, non corrispondono al rimanente delle idee formate di fantasia.” (*sic.*). § Lafarga & Sanz (in preparation).

<sup>220</sup> Ridolfi (1648, p. 22). See, e.g., Lavallée (1813); Cocke (2001); Segre (2011).

And his also seems to be the first mention of the true location of the alleged protagonists of the event, the bride and groom, in the lower left corner of *The Wedding* from viewer <sup>221</sup>, having been displaced from the center of the banquet by the figures of Jesus and Mary, in line with the current pictorial canon.

Our conjectures about the "true" identity of the bride differ, however, from what is currently assumed, and will be articulated in later work. In fact, there were *two different weddings*, that is, two "historical moments" for the same biblical wedding represented.

The first one was coincident with the first musical formation, the original *consort*, which was subsequently succeeded by the second (the one visible today on the canvas) during the four transformations that led to the final ensemble with violas *da gamba*, conducted by the chapelmaster of the Neapolitan court, Diego Ortiz <sup>222</sup>.

Our model proposes that, barely 80 years after the completion of the canvas, Ridolfi no longer had (or did not provide it) truthful information about what really happened during the execution of the commission. And perhaps neither in relation to the true nuptials of *The Wedding* (both the first and the second marriages), beyond their location on the guest table.

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<sup>221</sup> "In uno dei capi siede lo sposo adorno di zimarra con veste di porpora e d' oro, e la sposa bella e lieta a canto, ..." (*sic.*): Ridolfi (1648, p. 27). § Note 302.

<sup>222</sup> § Section 9. Lafarga & Sanz (in preparation).



## 7. MARCO BOSCHINI AND THE CIRCLE OF THE GOLDEN RINGS

Until the identification of Giorgione under Ortiz allowed us to value the story heard by the French minister (Colbert) in San Giorgio Maggiore, Marco Boschini, as mentioned, seemed to be the first to allude to the protagonists of central scene <sup>223</sup>, three years later than Colbert visited Venice <sup>224</sup>.

Boschini included the mention of a gold ring on the left hand of the Venetian painter-musicians — the exception is Titian, who wears two, one on his right thumb, perhaps because having been a youth companion of the absent protagonist Giorgione.

We had previously interpreted this circumstance as a clue referring to the disappearance of Giorgione in the definitive version <sup>225</sup>. And later we postulated that the artifice of distinguishing the painters with a ring could also have appeared at the end, with the arrival of Ortiz and precisely to distinguish him from the rest of the musicians, since in the previous groups, in which Giorgione was always present — 2 vocals and 3 instrumentals —, *they were all painters* <sup>226</sup>.

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<sup>223</sup> Boschini (1674, *Breve Instruzione*). § Lafarga *et al.* (2018). § Dal Pozzolo (2014).

<sup>224</sup> Lafarga *et al.* (2018). § Colbert (1865, p. 461; 1867, p. 216): Section 8.

<sup>225</sup> Lafarga *et al.* (2018).

<sup>226</sup> Lafarga & Sanz (2019a).

Boschini correctly identified (according to our model) the painter-musicians: "... the Old Man, who plays the bass, is Titian; the other who plays the flute is Giacomo da Bassano; the one who plays the violin is Tintoretto, and the fourth dressed in white, who plays the viola, is Paolo himself" (*sic.*)<sup>227</sup>. Thus, following his tradition, later authors mentioned the "violinist" as Tintoretto, as we have already shown in our first work, unlike the tradition after the second Zanetti until today<sup>228</sup>.

Furthermore, he already omitted precisely (because he did not know him) the character who "whispers" in the author's ear with a very similar instrument, and who we have identified as the Neapolitan musician Diego Ortiz<sup>229</sup>.

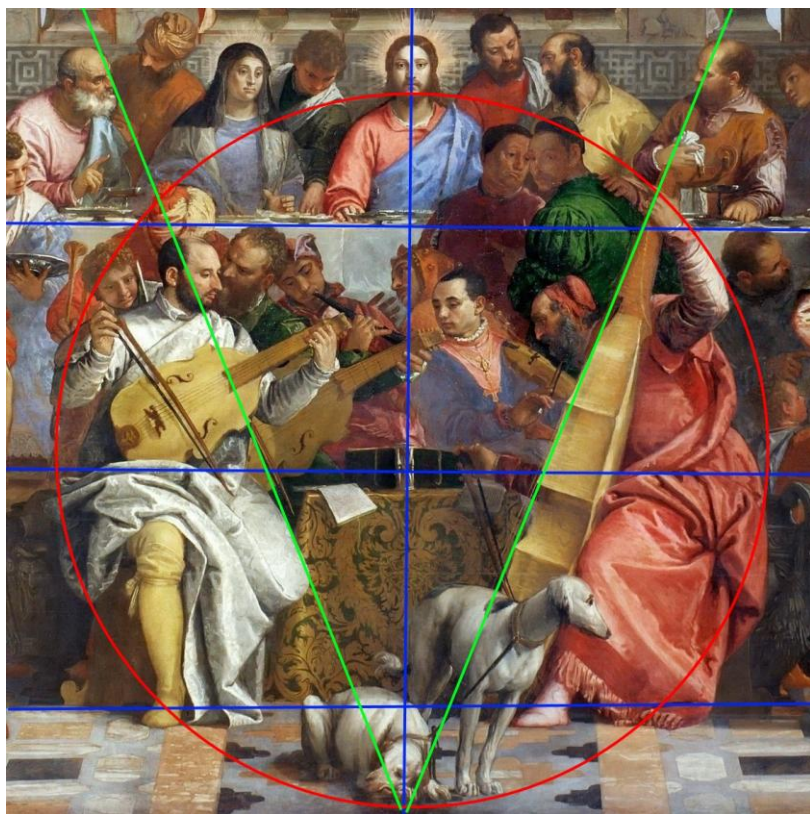
One hundred years after the painting and Vasari's subsequent visit to Venice, there seemed to be no memory of Giorgione's previous presence on the scene, even though some authority from the monastery itself still confided the secret in 1671 to the minister of the King of France, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, when he visited San Giorgio Maggiore.

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<sup>227</sup> Boschini (1674, *Breve Istruzione*). The outstanding question about the identity of the cornet player remains; perhaps he is not Jacopo Bassano the painter, as we pointed out in our first work: § Prior (1979), Bassano (1994), Rowland-Jones (1998, p. 418). In fact, this character does not correspond to the original design, since beneath his current face was a trombonist monk: Lafarga *et al.* (2021b, pp. 52-54). § Notes 55 and 472.

<sup>228</sup> Lafarga *et al.* (2018). § Section 9.

<sup>229</sup> *Ibid.* It is a *bastard* viola or *divisio*, intermediate between the author's tenor register and Titian's bass, and which did allow the melodic variations of Ortiz's treatise, unlike Titian's instrument: Lafarga *et al.* (2021b, pp. 34-38).



**Figure 18.** The Golden Circle containing the Venetian painter-musicians with gold rings on their left hands, except for Titian who wears two, one on his right thumb, according to our conjecture in memory of the deceased, and missing from the canvas, Giorgio da Castelfranco.

The two figures standing above Titian – dressed in red and green – are probably also painter-musicians (perhaps singers), and their left hands are wearing rings, as is Benedetto Caliari, the artist's brother, who is outside the Circle. Only Ortiz and the faceless turkish trumpeter behind the Veronese do not wear rings.

As a proof of the admiration that the Benedictine commission aroused throughout Europe, Boschini mentions the kings of Poland and England, who offered enormous sums of money for its acquisition, despite the Order 's refusal to part with the canvas <sup>230</sup>.

Boschini further suggested that Veronese may have portrayed himself evoking the military glories of Veneto by dressing in white with the majesty of a *Vanni*, a legendary figure representing popular heroes of previous centuries. We have previously documented that both his position and the "high-flying white cloak" that covers his bent left leg are in part the result of the successive transformations that his own figure underwent during the *eventful* making of canvas <sup>231</sup>.

Boschini also dedicated his activity to the art trade as an agent, among others, of Leopoldo de' Medici <sup>232</sup>, to the biographies of more than a hundred painters of the city, and to the detailed description of Venetian pictorial collections. Many of these pieces scattered throughout Italy, and even throughout Europe and the West, have later been located thanks to their careful cataloguing. Following in the wake of Vasari, he constitutes one of the main sources, together with Carlo Ridolfi, on Venetian painting of the *Cinquecento*.

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<sup>230</sup> Boschini (1660, p. 192). John Casimir II of Poland (Cracovia, 1609 – Nevers, 1672), and Charles I of England and of Scotland (Rosyth, 1600 – London, 1649), respectively.

<sup>231</sup> Lafarga & Sanz (2019a, p. 101); Lafarga *et al.* (2021a, pp. 18, 74, and 98). Boschini (1660, p. 192; 1664, p. 570).

<sup>232</sup> (Florence, 1617 – Florence, 1675). § Plate XVII.D and Note 466.

## 8. JEAN-BAPTISTE COLBERT IN SAN GIORGIO MAGGIORE

Jean-Baptiste Colbert was Louis XIV 's Minister of Finance and his Secretary of State from 1661, and later also Minister of the Navy of France. He was the most important figure on which the monarch relied after the death of who had been his right-hand man and *de facto* power, Cardinal Mazarin <sup>233</sup>, of whom Colbert himself had been secretary in turn.

Ten years later, he recorded a new legend about the musicians on the Veronese's canvas. According to what the monks of San Giorgio Maggiore had told him about some months before, during his visit to the monastery during one of his trips to Italy, in the central scene were present, in addition to the author, Tintoretto and Bassano, and also the missing Giorgione.

*Figure 19. Jean-Baptiste Colbert, by Antoine Coysevox. Fine Arts Museum of Lyon. IN: 1962-29.*




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<sup>233</sup> Giulio Raimondo Mazarini (Pescina, 1602 – Vincennes, 1661). § Plate XVII.B. Italian Cardinal and diplomatic, was the successor of Richelieu — Armand Jean du Plessis (Paris, 1585 – Paris, 1542) — during the regency that preceded the coronation of Louis XIV.

His writing, in which he cited the legend heard *in situ* in the monastery, did not clarify the context or the terms of the story. So, he did not place Giorgione, but placed him with a quartet of painter-musicians evidently in the center of the painting, with no mention of Titian.

Although his story was not edited until 1865, almost two centuries later, the source was 3 years prior to Boschini 's indication of the identity of the characters in the central musical *consort*. In the 1867 reissue, Giorgione 's presence was again attributed to the Benedictines <sup>234</sup>.

Such an assertion could only ultimately come from those monks who were contemporary with the canvas during the following decades. Or, in any case, of those who had directly contemplated the vicissitudes that the author and the central scene suffered during the 15 months of the completion of painting <sup>235</sup>. And it evidently lasted at least a century later, until it reached the ears of the French diplomat.

The *alleged* legend, however, reflected reality, given that Giorgione, as we have already shown in previous works, finally ended up disappearing in favor of the new and definitive guest, Diego Ortiz <sup>236</sup>.

The writings of the two related Venetian artists named Zanetti — Plate XVIII.C.D —, inform us of two other legends referring to the identities of those present on the canvas.

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<sup>234</sup> "Les autres sont le Giorgione, le Tintoret et le vieux Bassan" (*sic.*): Colbert (1865, p. 461; 1867, p. 216). § Ton (2011); Lafarga *et al.* (2018); Lafarga & Sanz (2019a; 2019b).

<sup>235</sup> Lafarga *et al.* (2018); Lafarga & Sanz (2019a; 2019b).

<sup>236</sup> *Id.*

That of the first Zanetti followed the tradition of Boschini, while his relative included *some* of the commensals at the right of Jesus Christ, along with another version, perhaps independent, about the musicians on the central scene.



**Figure 20.** Recreation of Giorgione with the second of the lutes held by Veronese, which remains in its second location as Paolo II. At the represented moment (Second Consort: lutes) he had already transferred his former left arm to his brother to hold the wine, fruit of the miracle, which can be seen today in the current canvas. While the left arm shown in the recreation will eventually be plucking strings on his current tenor viola. © Jorge Camarero Manzanero.

## 9. THE TWO ZANETTI AND THE CHARACTERS ON THE CANVAS

Count Anton Maria Zanetti was a scholar and *connoisseur*, engraver and critic of Venetian art, who maintained important international contacts because of his relationships during the *Grand Tour* with numerous European aristocrats, for whom he acted as commercial agent in the management and organization of their private art collections.

Regarding the group of musicians, he correctly identified Tintoretto as the character in blue playing the *soprano* viola, just before mentioning Titian in red playing the "double bass." While, like Boschini half a century before, he *omitted* to mention the figure of Ortiz behind Veronese <sup>237</sup>.

Some decades later, Anton Maria Zanetti the Younger — his relative, *protégé* and follower in his work — instead suggested that the identity of the character behind the author was that of Tintoretto, now omitting the mention of the "violinist".

Until his proposal, previous authors had followed in the footsteps of Boschini and the first Zanetti: Tintoretto was the violinist without mention of the bearded man who seemed *to whisper* in the author 's ear. But from then on, opinions persevered following the second Zanetti 's proposal, thus reversing the respective omissions and attributing an identity to the "whisperer" that in fact did not belong to him <sup>238</sup>.

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<sup>237</sup> § Note 27. Zanetti (1733, p. 473): Lafarga *et al.* (2018).

<sup>238</sup> Zanetti (1771, pp. 170-1). We have already previously reported the details of the attempts (so far frustrated) to correctly identify the musicians of the central scene: Lafarga *et al.* (2018); Lafarga & Sanz (2022).



The figure omitted by Zanetti the Elder was precisely that of Ortiz, who had replaced the original protagonist (Giorgione), and for some reason his presence had disappeared from the legend that he cited in his time and whose documents (sources) he did not mention <sup>239</sup>.

On the other hand, the figure omitted by the second Zanetti could have no other explanation, in our opinion, than the desire to express his own theory, it means, the *re-formulation* of the legend that his relative cited. So, consequently and given that he was missing a musician already from origin, he stopped mentioning the violinist — in addition to Bassano on the *cornetto*.

Until our works, the identification of some egregious guests to the Jesus Christ 's right, in addition to the musicians, comes from the description of Zanetti the Younger, and seems to enjoy a broad consensus to this day:

“Nella figura dello sposo ch'è il primo a federe con barba nera è ritratto D. Alfonso d'Avalò, famoso Marchese del Vasto; e la illustre Marchesana di Pescara Vittoria Colonna sua moglie, è quella che poco lontana sta in atto di stuzzicarsi i denti. Nella sposa è ritratta la moglie di Francesco Primo Re di Francia, e il Re istesso bizzarramente vestito le fiede a canto. L'altra donna vicina è Maria la Regina d'Inghilterra, moglie di Arrigo VIII. Dopo un'incognita figura che parla ad un servo si vede Acmet II. Imp. de' Turchi; e in capo a questa prima tavola sta il ritratto di Carlo V. Imp. in proffilo col tosone al collo. Dall'altro lato del quadro fonovi dipinti due Cardinali ch'erano in Venezia quando Paolo quí dipingeva; e vicini stanno alcuni Monaci, effigiati nell'abito loro. Nel concerto di

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<sup>239</sup> § Notes 27 and 228-229.

Musica, che per compimento di magnificenza introdusse Paolo nel mezzo di questa rappresentazione, si riconoscono agevolmente i ritratti di alcuni principali Pittori di quella età. Tiziano è il suonatore di contrabbasso. Paolo ritrasse sè stesso nella figura che suona il violoncello, in abito bianco; e si crede che quegli che sta in piedi, vestito di drappo a fiori, con un bicchiere in mano ripieno del miracoloso vino, sta il ritratto di Benedetto, fratello del medesimo Paolo. Nell'altro suonatore ch'è accanto a esso Paolo parimente con un violoncello o altro simile istrumento; e che mostra di suonare a concerto; si crede con ragione che sia dipinto Jacopo Tintoretto." (sic.)<sup>240</sup>.

Zanetti, however, attributes to Vittoria Colonna a relationship with Alfonso D'Avalos that does not correspond to him but to his uncle <sup>241</sup>. He also says that the woman who sits next to him is the wife of the king of France, that is, the sister of the emperor.

Thus, he *literally* and *paradoxically* states that the bride at Veronese 's wedding is the wife of the French monarch in the real world, and while that of Alfonso d'Ávalos on the canvas in the presence of her own husband (!). While he attributes to the Marquis of Vasto a non-existent "real" marriage with his own aunt, in addition to the one represented on the canvas.

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<sup>240</sup> Zanetti (1771, pp. 170-1). This sequence would later be taken up, expanded and improved, by the author of the *Gentleman's Magazine*. § Section 9.

<sup>241</sup> Fernando Francisco de Ávalos Aquino y Cardona, V Marquis of Pescara (Naples, 1489 – Milán, 1525). Alfonso de Ávalos y de Aquino, also called "de San Severino" (Isquia, 1502 – Vigevano, 1546), VI Marquis of Pescara and II Marquis of Vasto. § Plate XXVI.A.

This obvious “double” contradiction has endured to this day in literature, without deserving more attention than what we are pointing out here. Zanetti the Younger was the first to allude to the identity of the guests seated to the right of Charles V, although he did not cite his sources.

We believe that Ridolfi was correct in placing the bride and groom at the end of the table, although there were two *weddings*. The one currently visible on the canvas is actually the second of them, where the woman accompanying the Marquis del Vasto is in fact his own wife, whom he married in 1523 <sup>242</sup>.

At this time all the guests were still alive, except for Giorgio de Castelfranco and his patron, Domenico Grimani, who died that same year.

However, the first wedding (during the first months of the commission) had been that which effectively linked the king of France with the emperor ‘s sister <sup>243</sup>. This was the ceremony originally performed in the presence of the pending funeral mass for Giorgione, it means, the First (vocal) Consort, with the harpsichord in the middle of the scene.

We believe that Zanetti ‘s mention of Eleanor of Austria as the bride of the banquet must *necessarily* come from this original “historical” circumstance, that is, from someone who had contemplated the commission directly during the first months.

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<sup>242</sup> María d’ Aragona (Ischia, 1503 – Naples, 1568). Number 4 in Figure 21 and in Annex 3.4. § Plate IX.C.D. Lafarga & Sanz (*in preparation*).

<sup>243</sup> (Lovania, 1498 – Talavera la Real, 1558). Granddaughter of the Catholic Monarchs and sister of Charles V, Queen of Portugal, and later consort of the King of France. § Section 9. Lafarga & Sanz (*in preparation*).

Eleonor, thus anticipating Giorgione 's soon destiny on the canvas, in effect disappeared under the wife of the Marquis of Vasto, most likely at time the original *consort* was transformed into the first formation of an instrumental nature, the *lute consort* <sup>244</sup>.

Zanetti does correctly identify Benedetto Caliari as holding the "new" wine of the miracle, contrary to the repeated allusions to this figure in literature such as that of Pietro Aretino. The latter is a conjecture that is revealed to be inconsistent simply by comparing their respective portraits with both characters on the Veronese canvas: Benedetto and his mirror figure on the scene, that of "master of ceremonies" <sup>245</sup>.

Zanetti also mentions the presence of "two cardinals" among the commensals, as does Lavallée later — one of whom we have shown to be most likely Alessandro Vittoria <sup>246</sup>. While we are proposing the identification of exactly "twelve" <sup>247</sup>.

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<sup>244</sup> Lafarga *et al.* (2021a). Lafarga *et al.* (in preparation).

<sup>245</sup> Lafarga & Sanz (2022). § Figures 21 and 22 We have previously documented that during the time the First Consort was on the canvas, Benedetto was painting with his left hand a *modello* for the Benedictines, and that his current left arm with the wine was originally his brother's left arm for his first lute: Lafarga *et al.* (2021a, p. 56).

<sup>246</sup> § Figures 22 and 26 and Notes 20, 306 and 307, and 392. Louis-Joseph Lavallée, marquis of Boisrobert, known as Joseph Lavallée (Dieppe, 1747 – London, 1816). § Lafarga & Sanz (2022). Lavallée (1813) does indicate his position "at the end" of the table of Jesus Christ.

<sup>247</sup> Lafarga & Sanz (in preparation). Hitherto, we have only revealed the identity of three of them, two Grimani (Domenico and Giovanni VI) and one of the Barbaro (Daniele), the three Patriarchs of Aquileia: Lafarga & Sanz (2022). And Gasparo Contarini was also mentioned (§ Note 254).

For the rest, and as we have previously documented, Zanetti the Younger does not allude to the Barbaro brothers, Giulia Gonzaga, nor Reginald Pole, also frequently cited in current literature as guests, although with no mention of sources <sup>248</sup>.

Regarding the identity of the two Turkish authorities (presumably Suleiman and one of his grand viziers), we will refer here to the same work in progress dedicated to the enumeration of the second Zanetti, to the two weddings, and to the international friendships of the emperor. Not without first specifying that the vizier who proposes — “Acmet II. Imp. De’Turchi” (*sic.*) — actually lived a century after commission <sup>249</sup>.

This impossible new attribution, added to the erroneous relationship between D’ Avalos and his own aunt, allows us to question his proposal, at least in part, as we had previously done also with respect to the true Tintoretto and Diego Ortiz <sup>250</sup>.

The rest of his characters, however — the author’s brother, three of the four grooms at the two weddings represented, the queen of England <sup>251</sup>, Vittoria Colonna, and her friend the emperor — seem to point to the veracity (equally partial) of their sources.

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<sup>248</sup> Lafarga & Sanz (2022). Holt (1867) is who mentions them: § Section 10.

<sup>249</sup> Lafarga & Sanz (in preparation).

<sup>250</sup> Lafarga *et al.* (2018). Lafarga & Sanz (2022).

<sup>251</sup> Mary I of England (London, 1516 – London, 1558). Daughter of Henry VIII (London, 1491 – London, 1547) and Caterina de Aragón (Alcalá de Henares, 1485 – Kimbolton, 1536), and therefore granddaughter of the Catholic Monarchs.

In Figures 21 and 22 and in Annexes 3.3 and 3.4, all of these guests can be identified along with those mentioned in the unsigned romantic story by an English author, appeared in the late 1860s <sup>252</sup>, in addition to those who are the fruit of our own research — among them Alessandro Vittoria and the musicians of the central scene, along with Ortiz and Giorgione <sup>253</sup>.

In the same sense, we want to reiterate at this point that our model *postulates* the presence of two members of the Contarini family, as we already advanced in another of our previous publications: the influential Cardinal Gasparo, and his nephew Giulio, who finally had repatriated his uncle 's body to Venice two decades later, the same year that the Veronese canvas was painted <sup>254</sup>.

Giulio thus finally gave him the burial that his illustrious relative deserved, a diplomat as influential as he was controversial in international politics that involved the Empire, the Republic, and the Roman authorities of the *Cinquecento*.

His remains rest next to those of Tintoretto, since both families, this branch of the Contarini and that of Tintoretto, shared a crypt in the church of the Madonna dell' Orto.

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<sup>252</sup> Holt (1867).

<sup>253</sup> Lafarga *et al.* (2018); Lafarga & Sanz (2019a; 2019b; 2022a); Lafarga *et al.* (2021a; 2021b).

<sup>254</sup> Lafarga & Sanz (2022, p. 23, pp. 80-82). § Lafarga & Sanz (in preparation). For Gasparo: § Notes 64-65. Giulio Contarini (Venice, 1519 – Belluno, 1575).

## 10. HENRY F. HOLT: A ROMANTIC LEGEND

In 1867 an essay on *The Wedding* was published in England, in two parts and without signature. Even though it is an informed work, it only contains biographical notes without references, and seems to partially adhere to true facts along with some personal interpretations <sup>255</sup>.

There it is reported the existence of a similar small painting by Veronese, presumably prior to the Benedictine commission.

Its author says that the patron of the canvas of San Giorgio Maggiore was Girolamo Grimani <sup>256</sup>, procurator of San Marco at this moment. And, that three years earlier, the abbot of the monastery would have seen a previous version of a reduced size in the art gallery that his family owned, thus becoming fascinated with the work — creating a small canvas or model was in fact a common practice of painters to promote their future paintings to potential patrons.

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<sup>255</sup> *Gentleman Magazine*. Prieuer & Chaudonneret (1992, pp. 302-303) He is identified as the English art collector Henry F. Holt. § Bibliography. We contacted the leading academic specialist in this publication at our time, but she has not been able to obtain precise information about this specific year or about the editors, beyond their names (DeMontluzin, personal comunicación). § Lafarga & Sanz (*in preparation*).

<sup>256</sup> § Note 19. Girolamo was a protector of the monastery of San Giorgio and patron of Veronese, Alessandro Vittoria, as well as of others represented in the canvas.

He also says that the painting had a note attached to the back mentioning the year 1559 along with two inscriptions in Latin <sup>257</sup>, as well as precise indications about the identity of some of the characters.

This first version of the canvas would have arrived in England in 1798 — the same year in which the monumental work had arrived in France brought by Napoleon 's troops.

Holt 's story, until now also ignored and discredited like the other recorded legends, had already given rise in one of our previous publications to the proposal of identification of three of the characters, Reginald Pole, the patron Girolamo himself, and Alvise Priuli, together with our *de nuovo* proposal for three other guests <sup>258</sup>: Alessandro Vittoria, who worked with the author and with Palladio in San Giorgio Maggiore in the years of the canvas; Domenico Grimani, who had promoted the development of the family art gallery at the beginning of the century, in the time of Giorgione <sup>259</sup>; and the also Patriarch of Aquileia (disqualified due to accusations from the Roman Inquisition) Giovanni Battista Grimani <sup>260</sup>.

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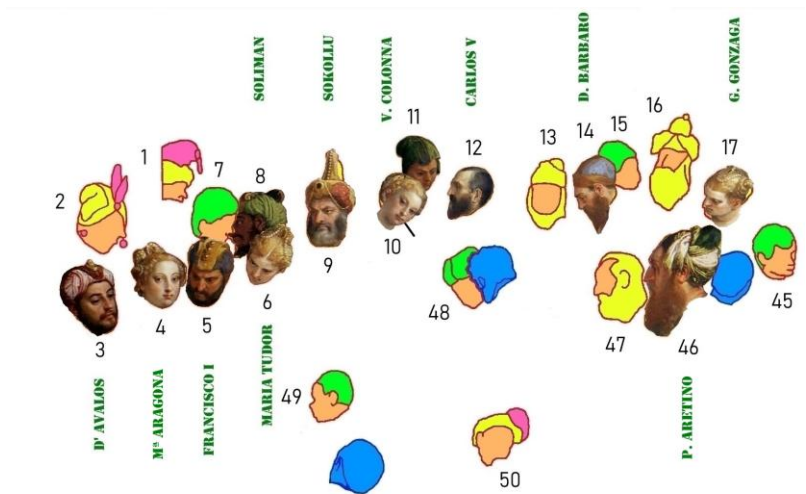
<sup>257</sup> "Gloria in altissimis Deo, et in terra pax, hominibus bonae voluntatis". — "Hoc fecit initium signorum Jesus in Cana, Galileae, et manifestavit gloriam suam". (*sic.*)

<sup>258</sup> Lafarga & Sanz (2022). § Notes 528-529.

<sup>259</sup> *Id.* Domenico was one of the richest patricians of his time, and his family was Giorgione's protector upon his arrival in Venice around 1500.

<sup>260</sup> § Notes 19, 45, and 306.





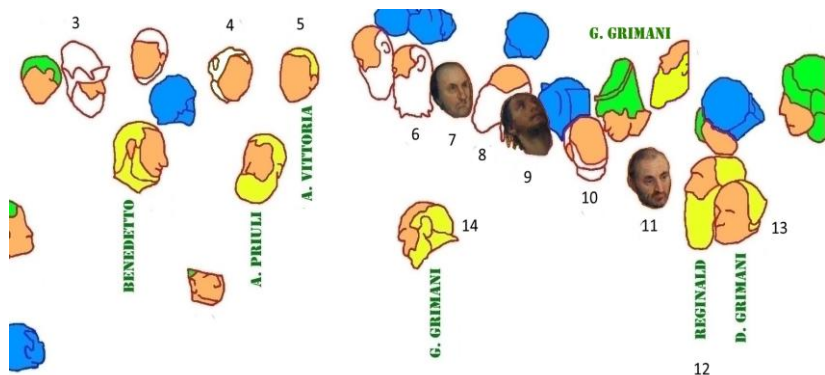
**Figure 21.** *The figures to the right of Jesus Christ (except Mary, the commensal to her right, and two servants standing between them). The identity of numbers 13, 16, and 47, which correspond to future works, is omitted. Servants are probably indicated in green, and characters whose faces are not shown in blue. Three of the jesters in the painting appear in purple. Holt's account identifies number 13 (our numbering) with Marc-Antonio Barbaro, erroneously in our opinion. We have added the accepted face of Pietro Aretino to the silhouette (46).*

Regarding those present to the left of Jesus Christ [from the observer], the story cites, in an apparently orderly manner, the tradition started by Zanetti the Younger, including what was the "first bride", the emperor's sister.

Although it expands the number of guests to a total of twenty-two: 14 characters including some *commensals*, 5 musicians (here includes Benedetto Caliori), and the 3 characters already mentioned *on the right*.

**Figure 22.** *In yellow the characters mentioned in our previous publication. The numbers indicate the position of the commensals ("apostles") to the left of Jesus Christ: Andrea Pampuro (7), Benedetto Guidi (9), Girolamo Scroguero (11). Reginald Pole is the 12th commensal. Domenico (13) and Girolamo Grimani (14) have no counterparts to the right of Jesus Christ, where, apart from Mary, there are only 12 characters sitting at the table. At the top right, without a number and peeking out from behind the column, is Giovanni VI Grimani.*

GIORGIO DE CASTELFRANCO AND THE LEGEND OF THE WEDDING AT CANA



The author states that these names were written in the note that accompanied the painting, along with the coat of arms of the Grimani family <sup>261</sup>:

*"On the Left. — 1. Avalos (3). 2. His Jester (2). 3. Eleanor of Austria (4). 4. Francis I (5). 5. Triboulet (1). 6. Mohammed Bassa (9). 7. Mary Tudor (6). 8. Solyman (8). 9. Vittoria Colonna (10). 10. Charles V (12). 11. Perico (11). 12. Marc Antony Barbaro (13). 13. Daniel Barbaro (14). 14. Giulia Gonzaga (17). In the Centre. — 15. Paul Veronés. 16. Tintoretto. 17. Bassano. 18. Titian. 19. Benedetto Cagliari. On the Right. — 20. Cardinal Pole. 21. Girolamus Grimanus. 22. Aloysius Priulus."* (sic.)

As can be seen, it includes 3 characters who are not commensals — the jester of Avalos, that of Francisco I <sup>262</sup> (Triboulet), and that of Charles V (Perico) — citing everyone present up to Giulia Gonzaga.

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<sup>261</sup> Note how he reverses the respective positions of Suleiman and his Grand Vizier: Lafarga & Sanz (in preparation). However, he does not offer any new information regarding the identity of the musicians, of whom, like Zanetti, he "identifies" the viola da gamba player behind the author (Ortiz) as Tintoretto, also omitting the violinist. He adds, however, Veronese's brother holding the miraculous cup. Those in the first group are shown in Figure 21 according to our own numbering, in parentheses in the citation.

<sup>262</sup> Francis I, King of France (Cognac, 1494 – Rambouillet, 1547). § Plate XXVI.C.

But it does not mention the standing figure that the lady has behind her (number 16 in Figure 21) <sup>263</sup>, wearing a unique cap and conversing with a black servant — we have inferred his identity, both from our model and his own portrait, as that of a high ecclesiastic who was very relevant at the Council of Trent <sup>264</sup>.

It seems reasonable to assume that the information Holt knew covered the side table of international authorities including Charles V and Giulia Gonzaga. And also, that he had news of the presence of the Barbaro brothers, although he seems to place them between the last two figures “to the left”, a conjecture that we believe is partially wrong <sup>265</sup>.

The possibility that the small canvas was a later copy, and even a forgery, does not affect, in our opinion, the “veracity” of the only three characters that Holt mentions to the right of Jesus Christ [from the observer] — numbers 20, 21, and 22, in their own numbering: “20. Cardinal Pole. 21. Girolamus Grimanus. 22. Aloysius Priulus.” (*Sic.*) — since, as we have already shown, they can be identified in their correct position on the current canvas <sup>266</sup>.

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<sup>263</sup> The identity attributions of Zanetti the Younger and Holt appear to be *linear* starting from the presumed groom at the bottom left of the canvas from the observer's point of view. Lafarga & Sanz (in preparation).

<sup>264</sup> Lafarga & Sanz (in preparation).

<sup>265</sup> We have already argued in a previous work how the position attributed to Marcantonio Barbaro (number 13 in Figure 21) cannot be correct: Lafarga & Sanz (2022). § Lafarga & Sanz (in preparation).

<sup>266</sup> *Ibid.*

Even though Holt ‘s story cannot be true as a whole <sup>267</sup>, we believe that (with our work) we have managed to attribute a sufficient degree of veracity to it — alike the rest of the legends mentioned in our favor.

And therefore we consider that it can be a reliable source at least regarding the identity of some of his 22 characters <sup>268</sup>, to whom we have added, in addition to Giorgione, also Diego Ortiz, Tintoretto, the sculptor Alessandro Vittoria and, probably, two other Grimani (Domenico and Giovanni), along with a certain number of ecclesiastics and Benedictines linked to the ultimate motivation of the canvas <sup>269</sup>.

Furthermore, Holt ‘s mention of this previous *modello* related to the Grimani — even though it was attributed to the family gallery three years before the commission and not to the final Veronese canvas — provides additional evidence to the veracity of the source he used. Because *in fact*, in the original vocal *consort*, Benedetto Caliari had his left arm extended, painting a small table — located in the position occupied today by Girolamo Grimani <sup>270</sup> — in front of the Benedictines, as can be seen in the X-rays of the canvas <sup>271</sup>.

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<sup>267</sup> It is extremely unlikely that 3 years before the painting was made the musicians in the central scene occupied the same current position (if it indeed reflected the composition intended for the refectory), since the *original consort* was of a *different* (vocal) nature and spatial arrangement: Lafarga & Sanz (2019a; 2019b); Lafarga *et al.* (2021a; 2021b).

<sup>268</sup> Girolamo Grimani, Alvise Priuli, Reginald Pole, Giulia Gonzaga, Daniele Barbaro.

<sup>269</sup> Lafarga & Sanz (2022). Lafarga & Sanz (in preparation).

<sup>270</sup> Lafarga & Sanz (2022).

<sup>271</sup> *Id.* Lafarga & Sanz (in preparation). § Faillant-Dumas (1992, p. 118).



*Figure 23. Veronese shows the “modello” for The Wedding to the Benedictines of San Giorgio. Otto Gottfried Wichmann. Berlin Nationalgalerie, Staatliche Museen, Nr.: W.S. 260. Painted in Rome in 1856. We have added a photograph of the Veronese canvas to the scene of Wichmann’s canvas as a artistic license.*

And it is obvious that this fact could not be known until four centuries later, when the X-rays of the painting were published in 1992, one hundred and twenty-five years after Holt’s publication. As was the case with Colbert’s mention of Giorgione’s presence, the allusion to the small *modello* could only come from those who had contemplated the great work during its realization.

That is, before being completed and delivered to the Order as we can observe it today — actually in *its beginnings*, since Benedetto incorporated the wine of the miracle in his left hand already from the first instrumental *consort*, that of lutes <sup>272</sup>.

For the rest, the following are undoubted facts: a) that Holt 's painting existed, regardless of whether it was a copy or not; b) that it was his property; c) that he repeatedly presented it to the international artistic community, along with the list of characters allegedly attached to its back; d) that it was exhibited for a year at the prestigious Leeds' exhibition; and e) that it remained with him until his death, when his private collection was dispersed through public auctions <sup>273</sup>.

As for the historical interpretation he offered, in the sense that the scene represented the Peace of Cambrai, we believe that here he was also correct regarding the "political moment" of the *first wedding* represented, that of Eleanor of Austria with Francis I of France <sup>274</sup>.

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<sup>272</sup> Lafarga *et al.* (2021a; 2021b, p. 56).

<sup>273</sup> Lafarga & Sanz (in preparation).

<sup>274</sup> § Section 9 and Note 243. Lafarga & Sanz (in preparation).



## 11. BENEDETTO GUIDI: AN EDITOR, HISTORIAN, AND POET MONK

In 1565, Benedetto Guidi, a Benedictine monk from San Giorgio Maggiore who was fond of poetry, glossed the glories of the assignment he contemplated for almost a year and a half at mealtimes, with a legendary poem that alluded to “a thousand sweet errors” <sup>275</sup>.

He had taken his vows in the same monastery 14 years earlier, on March 21, 1551, and was a fairly young monk among the Benedictine authorities who commissioned the painting: in 1562 he was 29 years old, and 32 when he wrote his poem, three years later <sup>276</sup>.

Consequently, we are proposing that it could be the central character who looks up — the youngest and the *only one* with a coherent age — among the commensals who occupy the left perpendicular table of the banquet from Jesus Christ, some of them ecclesiastical authorities linked to the Venetian monastery <sup>277</sup>.

Benedetto was also devoted to publishing, following the example of the Benedictine tradition <sup>278</sup>.

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<sup>275</sup> Guidi (1565, p. 23): “mille dolci errori” (*sic.*).

<sup>276</sup> Cooper (1991, p. 277). After 1570 he was prior at the monastery of San Benedetto Po, also dealing with artistic commissions, while Asolo had been abbot here from 1557 until early 1562, just before the commission of The Wedding, when he moved to San Giorgio Maggiore as prior: Lafarga & Sanz (2022).

<sup>277</sup> Number 9 in Figure 22, and number 35 in Annex 3.4. The exceptions are the numbers 31, 32, and 34: Lafarga & Sanz (in preparation).

<sup>278</sup> During the *Cinquecento*, San Giorgio, Montecassino, and many other Benedictine manasteries, became centres of intellectual and literary reference in contemporary Italy, especially regarding printing and dissemination of books. For an exhaustive detail of their activity in the

His poem appeared in Venice in a publication by Dionigi Atanagi <sup>279</sup> two years after the canvas was completed. Dedicated to the sweet and subtle deception that painting generates by recreating the appearance of the world, he sublimely synthesized both sides of the conflict that unfolded "over" the canvas of San Giorgio Maggiore.

On the one hand, the innumerable and multiple misadventures or "errors" that occurred during its preparation and that we are documenting with our work — deviations from the original design <sup>280</sup>, either from the *consort*, or from the eventual previous canvas, either with respect to the guests present, or from both three aspects.

And, on the other hand, the undoubted ability of the painters to solve the problems they faced, wrapping everything with their poetic and paradoxical expression: "dolci errori".

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theological debates of the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation: see Collett (1985). Benedetto's publishing activity — also musical — together with the problems that it brought him with the Roman authorities, will be reviewed in an ongoing work: Lafarga & Sanz (in preparation).

<sup>279</sup> (Cagli, 1503 – Venice, 1573). He was Secretary of the Accademia Veneziana, known as *Accademia della Fama*, from 1559. Founded in Venice in 1558 by Federico Badoer (Venice, 1519 – Venice, 1593), the institution remained active until he was imprisoned in 1561. It included a hundred patricians from the city, artists, humanists, and scientists, and developed a wide editorial activity under the direction of Paolo Manuzio (Venice, 1512 – Rome, 1574). Among our guests at the Wedding and their friends, among others, were members of this academy Tintoretto — and in relation to him Gioseffo Zarlino and Andrea Gabrieli —, Alessandro Vittoria, Pietro Bembo, Alvise Priuli, and Daniele Barbaro.

<sup>280</sup> Lafarga & Sanz (2019a).

We believe, however, as Adriano Prosperi suggests, that he could also be referring *even to other types of errors*, different from the deception of the senses, and only accessible to the well-informed <sup>281</sup>.

Namely, those referring to the conflict that occurred “outside” the canvas of the Benedictines: the identities of the guests in relation to the political-religious background of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation that we are documenting, and that we postulate underlies the ultimate motivation of work <sup>282</sup>.

The gardens of San Giorgio, together with its library, were long a meeting oasis for Venetian intellectual elites, and Benedetto maintained frequent literary contacts with the city’s editors and polygraphers, among them Atanagi and Ludovico Dolce — the friend of Titian, to whom he also dedicated a poem —, both also linked to *Accademia della Fama* <sup>283</sup>.

We believe that it is not coherent, nor reasonable, to assume that the numerous intellectuals, humanists, ecclesiastics, artists, academics and patrons, who visited the monastery during these years could be ignorant of everything that happened, and we are narrating here, on the busy scaffolding of the Veronese.

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<sup>281</sup> Our *italics*. “Ma forse c’erano altri tipi di inganni, percepibili solo ai bene informati” (*sic.*): Prosperi (2011, p. 377). We will return to this topic in a forthcoming work (in preparation). In the context of our interpretation, it is logical to consider what was already pointed out at the beginning, in the sense that the memory of the *spirituali* on the canvas was consequently “silenced” from then on in literary sources (even in “oral” ones) until our days.

<sup>282</sup> Lafarga & Sanz (in preparation).

<sup>283</sup> Cooper (1991).

In 1766, the Encyclopedia contributor Pierre Jean Grosley<sup>284</sup>, mentioned an "idyl" between one of the guests, a Benedictine monk, and the red-haired lady who dropped flowers from the upper right balcony of the canvas from the observer.

Among the commensals, there are three adjacent people looking up, almost vertical to the flowers: an old man with a white beard, a "ghost" head with a yellow turban<sup>285</sup>, and a young man, probably a monk from the monastery itself.

Regardless of the veracity of the story that reached Grosley's ears, or even whether it was his own interpretation (invention) of the scene — given that the lady in effect throws white roses on the table occupied by the Benedictines —, we believe that the features of the monk looking up (although not directly at the lady), with a red shirt and a small blue cloak on his shoulders, could indeed be those of Dom Benedetto.

This character is the only young monk among those present. Benedetto witnessed daily all the incidents surrounding the making of the painting. And his apparent age, as already mentioned, is consistent with that of the character portrayed on the canvas by Veronese.

Also, although love is ageless, if any monk of San Giorgio among those present had a romance of this nature, the one we are pointing out must have in fact more chances than his elderly "competitors" of being the lucky one.

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<sup>284</sup> (Troyes, 1718 – Troyes, 1785). § Annex 1.2.7, and Plate XIX.C.

<sup>285</sup> Lafarga & Sanz (2022, pp. 60-61).

Questa superba mole, o spettatori,  
 Che piramidi avanza, & mausolei,  
 Et mostra intagli, vive forme in lei;  
 Dotta man finse con ombre, & colori.  
 Vengan pur gli scultori tutti, e i pittori:  
 Et mirinla tra volte, & quattro, & sei:  
 che l'alto bel, ch'abbaglia gli occhi miei;  
 Trarà anchor essi in mille dolci errori.  
 Egli hora gli archi, & le colonne al cielo  
 Gran Prospettiva: & PAOLO in ogni parte  
 Rendi per fama di tue laudi eterno.  
 Che s'augelli uve finte, & finto velo  
 Un pittor ingannaro; io te discerno  
 Ingannar la Natura, e i Dei de l'arte.  
 MENTRE sue meraviglie la Natura  
 Sen van mirando in questa, e 'n quella parte;  
 L'apparve in vista sì ben finita l'Arte,  
 Che 'l mio gran PAOLO adorna ogni misura;  
 Ch'ella la crede sua propria fattura,  
 Vedendo le sue forme in lei cosparte:  
 Et del materno amor a parte a parte  
 Sente nel cor per lei dolce puntura.  
 Così se stessa inganna: così resta  
 Allhor delusa, quando men sel crede:  
 Né però ne divien dolente, & mesta.  
 Poiche quella, che 'l fa, rimara & vede,  
 Ch'anco al finto da se credenza presta:  
 Tanta i vivi color s'acquistan fede.<sup>286</sup>

Figure 24. Benedetto Guidi (down), and  
 Andrea de Asolo (up), according to our model.



<sup>286</sup> Guidi (1565).

Around the 16th century, the tradition of honoring the most worthy and notable monks, with portraits and epigraphs like those used for state dignitaries, began to be established.

The portrait of Benedetto Guidi was exhibited in the School of Philosophy of San Giorgio until 1718 <sup>287</sup>.

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<sup>287</sup> Armellini (1731, p. 98); Cicogna (1834, p. 340). Quoted by Cooper (1991).

## 12. A PORTRAIT GALLERY FOR THE REFORMATION

The scholarly tradition that explicitly attributes the presence of “real characters”<sup>288</sup> portrayed on the canvas, dates back to the middle of the 19th century, and has been repeatedly questioned to the present day.

On the contrary, we believe we are documenting truthfully that *The Wedding* largely represents a response of the Benedictine Order to the Council of Trent, through a kind of “portrait gallery for the Reformation”, with a large number of Venetian and Italian ecclesiastical authorities, belonging to the circle known as the *spirituali*<sup>289</sup>.

Until our work, the admitted figures included (from left to right of the observer), Alfonso D’ Ávalos y Aquino, “Eleonor of Austria” (?) (sister of the emperor)<sup>290</sup>, Francis I of France, Mary Tudor (queen of England), Suleiman the Magnificent and one of his grand viziers, Vittoria Colonna (personal friend of the emperor), and Charles V himself.

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<sup>288</sup> E.g. Cochin (1758, III, pp. 136 and 156): “hommes veritables”. Quoted by Prieuer (1997, p. 139). Charles Nicolas Cochin (Paris, 1715 – Paris, 1790). § Plate XXII.A.B.

<sup>289</sup> Lafarga & Sanz (2022); Lafarga & Sanz (in preparation).

<sup>290</sup> § Plate IX.A. We have already specified that the “current” bride is Maria d’ Aragona: § Plate IX. C.D. and Note 242. For the presumed groom, Alfonso D’ Ávalos, see Note 241.

From this point on the guest table, also are frequently cited in the current literature (in addition to those attributed by the second Zanetti at the end of 18<sup>th</sup> century): the Barbaro brothers — Daniele and Marcantonio —, Giulia Gonzaga and Reginald Pole, all equally included in the accepted tradition, and in the latter cases *without mention of the sources*.

However, Zanetti does not name any of them <sup>291</sup>, alluding only to the identity of those who occupy the side table to the right of Jesus Christ up to Charles V — in red and speaking with his alleged page, Perico according to Henry F. Holt <sup>292</sup>.

We have already presented our previous conjectures about these characters except Marcantonio, of whom we also expressed some of our considerations <sup>293</sup>.

For our part, we believe we have previously documented and accredited, in a consistent manner, the identities of:

- a) the musicians of the central scene, identifying Diego Ortiz and thus returning to Tintoretto, implicitly and reciprocally, his lost identity since Zanetti the Younger;
- b) the sculptor and architect Alessandro Vittoria, colleague and collaborator of those present on the canvas, both artists and patrons;

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<sup>291</sup> Zanetti (1771, pp. 170-171). The only reference we have been able to locate regarding the presence of these five characters (including Perico, the page of Charles V) is, again, that of the collector and antiquarian H.F. Holt. § Figures 21 and 22.

<sup>292</sup> § Section 10.

<sup>293</sup> Lafarga & Sanz (2022, pp. 51-58).



c) the main patron of the commission, probably Girolamo Grimani, along with two other members of his family (Domenico and Giovanni), the first of them already deceased at the time of the canvas, and having been patron of Giorgione himself;

d) two Patriarchs of Aquileia contemporaries of the painting — Daniele Barbaro and his uncle Giovanni Grimani —; in addition to confirm that of the abbot of San Giorgio — Scroguerro, because he is located inserted in the triangle that the three Grimani make up —, and also that of the prior Pampuro considering the plot, which links the Order with the inquisitorial processes contemporary of the canvas;

e) Giulia Gonzaga, Reginald Pole, and Alvise Priuli;

f) Benedetto Guidi and the authentic bride, in this same work, in addition to postulating the hidden presence of the first bride, Eleonor of Austria;

g) we have also suggested that the two Benedictine signatories of the contract representing the Order, Dom Maurizio and Dom Alessandro, both from Bergamo, could be portrayed in green on the upper floor of the scene, to the left of the observer, making notes on a table with a white tablecloth

<sup>294</sup>.

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<sup>294</sup> *Ibid.* § Plate XXX.A.B (?).

The first to refer to the portraiture veracity of the guests at the banquet seems to have been Pietro de Cortona in 1652 with the expression "personaggi nobilmente figurati"<sup>295</sup>. And, at least as regards the identity of the musicians and Veronese himself, there have been numerous the authors who have mentioned this topic<sup>296</sup>.

In addition to insisting on the authenticity of the portraits, the first to mention the 324 gold ducats that the commission cost, and also the inclusion in the contract of the famous wine barrel, was instead Joachim C. Nemeitz in 1726<sup>297</sup>, whose source was undoubtedly equally truthful, since the original document that actually corresponded to these data was not published until much later<sup>298</sup>.

Other stories during the following centuries, perhaps the result of the business desire of copyists, collectors, forgers, and *connoisseurs*, mention some "data" which are at least curious. Nemeitz, for example, says that Paolo painted the canvas during his confinement in San Giorgio due to an unexplained murder committed in city<sup>299</sup>.

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<sup>295</sup> Ottonelli & Berrettini (1652, S. 85 f.). Quoted by Prierer (1997, p. 141). Pietro Berrettini (Cortona, 1596 – Rome, 1669) was an architect and painter active mainly in Rome and Florence, famous for his interior decorations, including those of the Roman Palace of the Barberini.

<sup>296</sup> On the mention of musicians to this day, see Lafarga *et al.* (2918). We identify Diego Ortiz there, thus responding to the "displaced" trend of the authentic Tintoretto, which had been in force since Zanetti the Younger based on his never proven proposal: Hagen & Hagen (2003, p. 157).

<sup>297</sup> (Wismar, 1679 – Estrasburg, 1753). Prierer (1997, p. 138).

<sup>298</sup> Cicogna (1834, Iv, p. 233). *Ibid.*

<sup>299</sup> Nemeitz (1726, 5,54). *Ibid.*

Although Veronese remained single at the time of the painting, and did not marry until 1566 <sup>300</sup>, the inclusion of his future wife as the bride of the banquet was mentioned on several occasions during the 18th century, the first of which also features Benedetto Caliari tasting the wine of miracle <sup>301</sup>.

This presumption could be related to the fact that Alfonso D' Avalos' wife in the lower left corner is *the only figure that looks directly at the viewer*, apart from Jesus Christ <sup>302</sup>. In this sense, we do believe it is possible that if not her traits, at least the "gesture" and the role of this character, could point to his future wife as a new Veronese artifice.

Also looking out of the canvas are Domenico Grimani (although in a slanted manner), one of the two alleged painter-singers (dressed in green), a servant who appears just under the arm of the emperor, and the first two characters on the balustrade from the right of the observer, whose probable identity we will keep hidden for the moment <sup>303</sup>.

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<sup>300</sup> Cocke (2001) has suggested that his future wife could be represented in the portrait *La Bella Nani*. § Plate XIV.C.

<sup>301</sup> Edward Wright (1730, p. 62), in Köhler (1765, IV, p. 52, p. 67), both quoted by Ton (2012, p. 55). Grosley (1766, S. 327), quoted by Prierer (1997, pp. 138-140).

<sup>302</sup> Our observation. § Notes 221-222. Lafarga & Sanz (in preparation).

<sup>303</sup> *Ibid.* Five characters in total.

Lavallée <sup>304</sup> reports that the emperor, seated sideways next to Vittoria Colonna (with a toothpick between her teeth), wears the distinctive pendant of the Order of the Golden Fleece, a jewel that is not clearly visible on the current canvas, but whose traces are still noticeable after the restoration that was carried out in 1992 <sup>305</sup>.



*Figure 25.A. Vittoria Colonna, Perico and Charles V, before the restoration of 1992. On his chest we can still see the remains of a pendant, probably the Golden Fleece mentioned by Lavallée. B. Below: detail of the engraving by G.B. Vanni published in Rome by G.G. De Rossi in 1637, in which the Golden Fleece can be seen.*

The same author alludes to the presence of two possible cardinals dressed in red “at the other end of the table” (*sic.*), one of whom suggests that could be a member of the Grimani, protectors of Veronese <sup>306</sup>.

<sup>304</sup> Lavallée (1813). § Note 246.

<sup>305</sup> Habert *et al.* eds. (1992). § Figure 25.

<sup>306</sup> Numbers 4 and 5 in Figure 22. The reference to “cardinal” must refer to Giovanni VI Grimani, Bishop of Ceneda and Patriarch of Aquileia, who



**Figure 26.** The two guests in red referred to by Lavallée as “cardinals”. The figure on the right holding the napkin over his chest is the sculptor, painter, and architect Alessandro Vittoria.

Lavallée thus resumed Ridolfi’s mention of Paolo Caliari’s trip to Rome accompanying Girolamo Grimani, as proof of the family’s relations with the painter.

We have already shown, in a previous work, how one of them is instead Alessandro Vittoria (with a white napkin on his chest)<sup>307</sup>.

While Girolamo Grimani is most likely the commensal with his back turned, dressed in blue, in front of these same two “cardinals”<sup>308</sup>.

was named cardinal *in pectore* (in secret) on 26 April 1561, one year before the commission of the canvas. We have already shown that the Grimani were also patrons of Giorgione, including his own contemporary Domenico Grimani — § Notes 19, 45, and 259, y Section 3. Lafarga & Sanz (2022).

<sup>307</sup> *Ibid.* The character to his right, dressed in red and wearing a headdress, unlike Vittoria himself, was probably a cardinal, according to our model: Lafarga & Sanz (in preparation). § Notes 20, 246 and 392.

<sup>308</sup> Regarding the identity of Giovanni Grimani, we have proposed the character who appears behind the column behind the Benedictine table – above number 11 (Scroguero) in Figure 22; number 63 in Annex 3.4: Lafarga & Sanz (2022). In this same work we had already explicitly formulated our theses for the political-religious motivation of the Benedictine Order together with the presence of the powerful international circle of *spirituali* who protected it during the decades preceding the conclusion of the Council of Trent.

So, it is evident that Lavallée also had at his disposal some veridical information about the presence of at least one Grimani.

The tradition of authors who made explicit mention of the identities of the Venetian painter-musicians was already reviewed in our first work, to show that they all omitted precisely the fifth and only musician who was not a painter, Diego Ortiz <sup>309</sup>.

Among the Illustrated scholars who alluded to the presence of the painter-musicians without specifying their identity, in addition to those reviewed there and in the present text, there are also Blainville <sup>310</sup> (with explicit mention of Paolo and his brother Benedetto), Saiter <sup>311</sup> (self-portrait of Paolo Caliari in the *Banquet at Levi's House*), and La Landes <sup>312</sup>.

Volkman and Tischbein affirmed that the faces on the Veronese's canvases were portraits <sup>313</sup>, and Waagen affirmed that the guests at *The Wedding* were portraits of kings, emperors, and other eminent contemporary figures <sup>314</sup>.

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<sup>309</sup> The violagambist who finally relegated Giorgione to oblivion once again: Lafarga *et al.* (2018).

<sup>310</sup> Sr. von Blainville (1707). Quoted by Prierer (1997, p. 138).

<sup>311</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 136. Johann Gottfried Saiter (Augsburg, 1717 – Augsburg, 1800). Saiter (1743).

<sup>312</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 147-8. La Landes (1769).

<sup>313</sup> *Ibid.* Volkman (1770). Johann Jakob Volkman (Hamburg, 1732 – Zschortau, 1803): § Plate XXIII.C. Tischbein (1779). Johann Heinrich Wilhelm Tischbein (Hessen, 1751 – Eutin, 1829): § Plate XXII.C.D.

<sup>314</sup> *Ibid.* Waagen (1803). Gustav Friedrich Waagen (Hamburg, 1794 – Copenhagen, 1868): § Plate XXIII.A.B.

## **ANNEXES**

## **ANNEX 1. BIOGRAPHICAL REGISTERS**

### **1.1. Giorgione: patrons, commissioners, collectors**

**1.1.1. Marcantonio Michiel**

**1.1.2. Taddeo Contarini**

**1.1.3. Andrea Odoni**

**1.1.4. Gerolamo Marcello**

**1.1.5. Gabriele Vendramin**

**1.1.6. Giovanni Antonio Venier**

**1.1.7. Giovanni Ram**

### **1.2. *The Wedding at Cana*: authors and legends**

**1.2.1. Carlo Ridolfi: the Venetian “Vasari”**

**1.2.2. Marco Boschini**

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**1.2.4. Anton Maria Zanetti the Elder**

**1.2.5. Anton Maria Zanetti the Younger**

**1.2.6. Henry F. Holt: a prestigious collector**

**1.2.7. Chronological table of legends**



## 1.1. Giorgione: patrons, commissioners, collectors

### 1.1.1. *Marcantonio Michiel*<sup>315</sup>

Marcantonio was born and died in the same years as Gabriele Vendramín. Son of Vittore di Michiel and Paola di Silvestro Pessina, whose relatives were not patricians of the city, he had three brothers: Giacomo (1480-1539), Francesco (born in 1483) and Alvise (1489-1546), who fought in galleys during the Cambrai War, and who was later a counselor, senator, and censor for the Republic.

His two sisters, Cipriana and Excelsa, took ecclesiastical habits. The first was a nun and abbess at the Benedictine convent of San Lorenzo, where the remains of Michiel and his wife lie. Excelsa was instead abbess at the convent of Santa Clara in Murano, where Domenico Grimani housed his famous collection of classical statues<sup>316</sup>.

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<sup>315</sup> § Note 84. The information in this Section comes largely from Benzoni (2010). But see Fletcher (1981), for a detailed account of Michiel's relations with Bembo and the Venetian patricians reviewed here.

<sup>316</sup> Fletcher (1981, p. 454). The convent is one of the oldest buildings in Murano, originally known as San Nicolo della Torre. It was first inhabited by Augustinian monks from 1231 until the end of the following century, when they abandoned it for unknown reasons. Later it was given to a group of Benedictine nuns who were expelled in 1439 by Pope Eugene IV (Venice, 1383 – Rome, 1487) accused of scandalous conduct, and replaced by Franciscan nuns of Santa Clara, from which the convent takes its current name. [<https://santachiaramurano.com>]

Married in 1528 to Maffea Soranzo, from a powerful Venetian family, he had five sons, becoming a widower in 1577: Vittore (born 1529), rector in Clusone in 1560-61 and portrayed by Moroni <sup>317</sup>; Aurelio (1531-1576), lawyer and judge; Giulio (1532-1598), judge and rector at Bassano in 1564-66, and also senator; Alvise (1535-1589), who achieved political relevance in the capital; and Valerio.

His friend Pietro Bembo describes him, in a letter from 1531 to Jacopo Sadoletto <sup>318</sup>, as a satisfied and pleased man, married to a beautiful woman, with a prolific family, and with real estate income in the capital.

And although he held relevant positions in the Venetian administration <sup>319</sup>, his prestige was mostly recognized as a critic, scholar, chronicler and art historian, to whom Sebastiano Serlio <sup>320</sup> and Aretino himself recognized a "professional" competence also in relation to classical antiquity <sup>321</sup>.

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<sup>317</sup> Giovanni Battista Moroni (Albino, 1520 – Bérghamo, 1578).

<sup>318</sup> (Módena, 1477 – Rome, 1547). Both corresponding to Michiel.

<sup>319</sup> His father, despite not being Venetian, did achieve a certain political relevance: He was a senator, executor of the Senate's orders, Superintendent for Maritime Affairs also in Bergamo (where he also served as mayor), and one of the Superintendents of the Navy, the officers responsible for the maintenance and provision of warships. In May 1523 he was one of the 41 electors of the Doge Andrea Gritti (Bardolino, 1455 – Venice, 1538), being one of the 14 who stubbornly opposed his appointment.

<sup>320</sup> Architect (Bologna, 1475 – Fontainebleau, 1554). Lauber (2005, p. 1).

<sup>321</sup> Letter from Aretino to Michiel: november 1545. Quoted by Lauber (2005, p. 2, p. 5) and by Benzoni (2010).

He learned Greek and Latin with Egnazio at the Santa Marina school <sup>322</sup>, and music and philosophy. He was presented to the Balla d 'Oro on October 26, 1504, eager to begin his political career in the environment of the ducal palace. Impatient to learn while traveling, he sailed from Venice to Dalmatia on March 30, 1510, visiting Istria and Zara, where he frequented intellectual circles, and Corfu.

However, a shipwreck near the island of Cerigo soon returned him to the capital, where he was again on August 10. His diaries between 1512 and 1518 place him with his father in Bergamo, in Bassano in 1513 and three weeks in Florence the following year, where his passion for art began.

In December 1512, he was elected officer of the Old Ternaria, the financial department in charge of controlling imports and exports. On October 2, 1513, he was part of Cristoforo Moro 's entourage on his accession to the position of superintendent of Padua.

In August 1515 he was appointed vice-mayor of Bassano due to the illness of the rector Alessandro Boer, but he did not assume the position after his death, which was granted in his place to Pietro Antonio Morosini. He was again in Bergamo with his father when he was superintendent and mayor in 1516 and 1517.

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<sup>322</sup> Giovanni Battista Cipelli, called "Egnazio" (Venice, 1478 – Venice, 1553).

And between July and September 1518, he began a sort of search for artistic objects in Crema, Cremona, Parma, and Milan, which he later took with him to Rome as *famigliare* of Cardinal Francesco Pisani <sup>323</sup>, according to the Venetian historian Sanuto <sup>324</sup>.

There, he frequented the court of Leo X <sup>325</sup> and was recognized among the best artists and writers, including Bembo and Sadoleto. In addition to following with interest the works of Sebastiano del Piombo and Michelangelo, he recorded in his letters the canonization of Francisco de Paula <sup>326</sup>, the aversion of Roman literati towards Bembo 's *protégé*, Christophe de Longueil <sup>327</sup>, the Roman carnivals, the death of the banker Agostino Chigi <sup>328</sup> — the patron who had welcomed Aretino two years earlier —, and the death of Raphael in April 1520.

Some months later, on November 7, he left the capital and (after a brief stay in Florence) settled in Venice, where he would write an *Itinerary* between both cities on the Jubilee of 1525, according to Francesco Sansovino <sup>329</sup>.

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<sup>323</sup> (Venice, 1494 – Rome, 1570). An ecclesiastic far from exemplary behaviour: quoted by Fletcher (1981).

<sup>324</sup> Marino Sanudo (Venice, 1466 – Venice, 1536).

<sup>325</sup> Giovanni di Lorenzo de' Medici (Florence, 1475 – Rome, 1521), Pope 217. He was briefly in Naples between 3 and 18 March 1519, where he met two members of the *Accademia Pontaniana*: the painter Jacopo Sannazaro (Naples, 1458 – Naples, 1530), and the humanist Pietro Summonte (Naples, 1463 – Naples, 1526), who took special care to preserve his correspondence.

<sup>326</sup> (Paula, 1416 – Tours, 1507).

<sup>327</sup> (Malinas, 1488 – Padua, 1522).

<sup>328</sup> Called "the Magnificent" (Siena, 1466 – Rome, 1520).

<sup>329</sup> Sansovino (1583). (Rome, 1521 – Venice, 1586). Son of Jacopo Sansovino: § Note 69.

His political career, however, was not favored by the violent confrontation with his cousin Andrea Pessina, over the inheritance of a maternal uncle who died in February of this same year, and which had been divided by the will between Marcantonio and his younger brother Alvise on the one hand, and his cousin on the other: Marcantonio snatched a chest with money and documents from his hand, and was finally sentenced to its return and a fine of 200 ducats, and exhorted not to bother in the future to Andrea, the complainant.

He became part of the Senate in 1527, after making a loan of 500 ducats, without the right to vote at the beginning, a position he held until 1533. The previous year he was among those invited to the Doge 's flagship, the *Bucintoro*, in the reception offered to the Duke of Urbino during his visit to the city <sup>330</sup>. The Duke, who would die of poisoning five years later, was married to the daughter of Isabella d' Este <sup>331</sup> and had been portrayed as a young man, around 12 years, by Giorgione. Michiel 's highest political goals were thus limited to his presence at the lavish reception ceremonies that the *Serenissima* offered for high international authorities.

His former activity as an artistic observer of his time continued during these years and covered all types of objects, techniques, themes, genres, and contexts, preparing a contemporary census of many of the works exhibited in churches, palaces, and private residences in Bergamo, Padua, Milan, Crema, Cremona, Pavia, and Venice.

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<sup>330</sup> Francesco Maria I Della Rovere (Senigallia, 1490 – Pesaro, 1538). He died poisoned: § Plate VII.A.

<sup>331</sup> Eleonora Gonzaga (Mantua, 1493 – Urbino, 1550). § Notes 128-132 and 552.

The handwritten notes, which were not intended for publishing, consist of approximately one hundred folios, written over more than twenty years between 1521 and 1543, and were published anonymously in the first decades of the 19th century by Jacopo Morelli in Bassano in 1800, with the title of *Notizia d'opere di disegno*, and later in Venice in 1820, one year after his death, in a compilation of his own work.

The notes were finally edited under the authorship of Michiel in Bologna at the end of the century<sup>332</sup>, although some translations and later editions until the 60s continued to publish it anonymously. The work almost immediately became an obligatory point of reference for artistic research on Venetian collecting of the *Cinquecento*.

His annotations are concise but precise and dense in informative content, also in terms of geographical location relative to cities, houses and collections. His own was a small one: about twenty paintings and a similar number of sculptures in bronze, another five in marble, various reliefs, and also drawings, a pictorial category that was more accessible and manageable for collectors.

Michiel operated in an intellectual environment in which the figure of Pietro Bembo stood out, an enormously influential character who we believe is also present in canvas<sup>333</sup>, a friend of many of the guests at *The Wedding* by Veronese, as well as numerous artists and collectors.

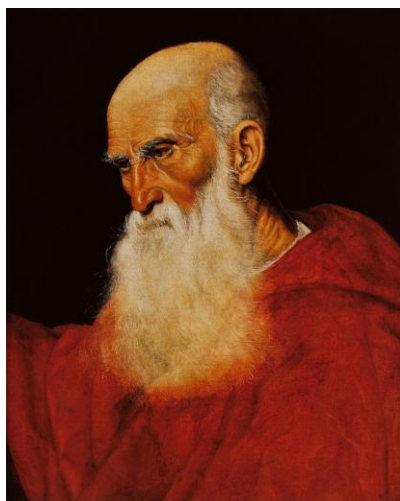
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<sup>332</sup> Michiel (1884).

<sup>333</sup> Lafarga & Sanz (in preparation).

Bembo had a select collection of works displayed in his villa at Paluello <sup>334</sup>, in Strá (Padua area), which has not been identified among his many properties, to which he personally invited by letter to Michiel. It is possible that Bembo himself guided him during his visit to the capital, where he met the small circuit of Venetian patricians who were friends and collectors of Giorgione, all of whom belonged to his own intellectual circle <sup>335</sup>.

*Figure 27. Portrait of Pietro Bembo, by Jacopo Bassano, ca. 1542-5. Budapest Szépművészeti Múzeum.*



Treviso, Castelfranco, Padua, and Venice, are located at the vertices of a “square” whose projection towards the West is the city of Vicenza, where Palladio, the person responsible for the works in the refectory of San Giorgio in the times of the great canvas of Veronese, came from.

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<sup>334</sup> Benzoni (2010). Michiel's family also had their favourite villa in the same area.

<sup>335</sup> Fletcher (1981, p. 462). Brooke (2018, p. 224).

Marcantonio left no will, and it was not until the death of his wife in 1576 that his property was inherited by his still living children (Alvise, Giulio, Vettore) and by a grandson (Marcantonio) in equal shares <sup>336</sup>: the detailed inventory of its artistic objects indicates a refined taste within the Venetian tradition.

Their properties included a villa in Favro, near Mestre, and land in Verona, as well as another villa in Paluello, near Strá, the family 's favorite and where their art collection would be housed from this moment <sup>337</sup>.

He died in his Venetian chambers near Santa Maria Formosa in 1552, and was buried in the Benedictine church of San Lorenzo, where his sister Cipriana had been abbess, accompanied by his companions from the *Scuola di San Teodoro*. His death, honored with lavish ceremonial apparatus, coincided with the confraternity 's promotion to *Scuola Grande* status, and his was the first funeral to adhere to the protocol of the new rank <sup>338</sup>.

Shortly after, Tintoretto included his portrait in *The Excommunication of Barbarossa*, exhibited in the Great Council Room in the Doge 's Palace, a work that ended up being lost in the fire of 1577. Although it is possible that he is portrayed dressed in red on a canvas that still remains in the old chapel of the *Scuola* in San Salvador, which shows the members of the confraternity around their patron saint <sup>339</sup>.

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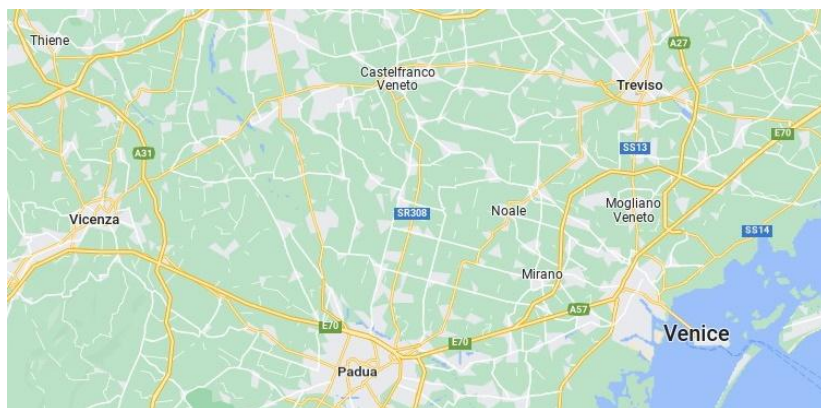
<sup>336</sup> Fletcher (1981, p. 462).

<sup>337</sup> *Id.*, p. 454. The villa was divided between Michiel's two sons, Alvise and Giulio. Fletcher has not been able to locate it.

<sup>338</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>339</sup> *Id.* The picture is attributed to Bonifazio Veronés (Verona, 1487 – Venice, 1553).





*Figure 28. Source Google Maps. Down: View of Palazzo Bembo tol Palazzo Grimani. John Ruskin, 1870. WA RS REF 066-a-L.*



### 1.1.2. *Taddeo Contarini* <sup>340</sup>

Taddeo was the son of Nicolò, and grandson of Andrea Contarini *dal naso*, nicknamed "the rich one" [Andrea] in a document from 1525. Born around 1466 and died on October 11, 1540.

Although his will has not reached us, the location of his tomb is known from the one drawn up by his own son Darius: the church of the Madonna Santa Maria dei Miracoli, where Taddeo had commissioned an altar and the remains of both lay (currently, neither the altar nor the tombs exist).

Taddeo Contarini had married Gabriele Vendramin 's sister in 1495. Thus, both owners of Giorgione 's two most famous works — *The Three Philosophers* and *The Tempest*, respectively — were not only among the richest nobles in Venice and powerful friends of the Doge but were also closely related.

It is known from a local tax document from 1514, that Taddeo lived until his death in the vicinity of Santa Fosca, it means, that he lived in the Contarini Palace on Strada Nuova (Cannaregio 2217).

On the other side of the canal, which was reached by crossing the bridge that still bears the name "Vendramin", was located the palace of Gabriele 's family (Cannaregio 2400) — Palazzo Vendramin-Calergi, Figure 31 — and the church of Santa Maria dei Servi where his remains lie.

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<sup>340</sup> § Notes 92 and 169-170. Settis (1990, pp. 152-157). Settis (2019); Alcamo (2019).

Thus, in addition to the relationship of both patricians and their spatial proximity (brothers-in-law and neighbors), the two aforementioned works by Giorgione were probably very close in their respective rooms: this is the scenario in which Settis (and we with him) believes to recognize the environment mentioned by Vasari, a noble, humanist, and private environment, which hosted the parties enlivened by Giorgione and his legendary lute <sup>341</sup>.

Taddeo was *Procurator of Animal Feed* in Padua in 1497, member of the Council of the Venetian Senate in 1510, *Administrator of Commerce* in 1517, and in 1527 he participated in the election of the three “wise men” to the Board Council. It is known that he was part of the *Maggior Consiglio* from the mention of the Venetian historian Sanudo <sup>342</sup>, who twice alluded to this circumstance because he frequently did not attend the sessions.

Cited among the four richest Contarini in the city, his fortune came from trade with Syracuse, Corfu, Cyprus, Jaffa and Syria, from where he imported wood and expensive fabrics embroidered with gold and silver. His ships also transported pilgrims to the Holy Land, as well as supplies of wheat and meat, and his name appears repeatedly in the records of mandatory loans to the Venetian state related to very large sums.

Between 1511 and 1519 he was one of the groups of noble guarantors of the rich banker and patron Agostino Chigi, for the auction in favor of the Republic of a huge shipment of “alum”, the salt (*alum*) from which aluminum is obtained, coming from of Tolfa in Roman Lazio.

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<sup>341</sup> (Settis, 1990).

<sup>342</sup> § Note 324.

In 1514 he immediately alerted the Republic after receiving a letter at the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi*, brought by a transalpine merchant with details about the movements of the imperial troops. Likewise, in 1524 he also warned of the advance of the Turks towards Wallona after receiving another letter from Syracuse.

At the investiture ceremony of the new Doge Andrea Gritti in 1523 <sup>343</sup>, which also included Gabriele Vendramin, he appeared in dresses made of silver, velvets, and scarlet damasks, a public and visible proof of his immense wealth and high social rank.

However, Taddeo 's personal relationship with the new ruler must have been closer than that of his brother-in-law, given that he was removed from the list of citizens eligible for office by a commission that sought to "humiliate" Gritti.

One of the entries in the *Registri delle Terminazioni della Procuratia de Supra*, dated August 1, 1524, indicates that Taddeo borrowed four manuscripts from the Biblioteca Marciana (two by Galen, one by Philo of Judea, and the *History of Appian*), collected by his son Pietro Francesco, who would later be a *reformer* at the University of Padua and Patriarch of Venice for a single year, between 1554 and 1555.

A letter from 1517 from Pietro Bembo to the person in charge of the Library, Andrea Navagero <sup>344</sup>, reported that a book of Homer, annotated and old, but of good paper, had been lent to "Jerome, son of Tadeo Contarini" (*sic.*).

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<sup>343</sup> § Note 319. As already mentioned, this is the year of the second wedding, the one currently depicted on the canvas.. § Section 6.

<sup>344</sup> § Notes 87-88.

It has also been suggested that Titian may have visited his house and taken as a model for his altar in Pesaro between 1529 and 1526, the Giovanni Bellini 's painting of *Saint Francis* that was displayed there.

According to Michiel 's notes, Taddeo owned three works by Giorgione in his private collection — *The Three Philosophers*, a *Birth of Paris* and an *Inferno with Aeneas and Anchises*, which is currently lost <sup>345</sup>.



**Figure 29.** *The Three Philosophers*. Giorgione, 1508-1509. Vienna, Kunsthistorischen Museum, GG 111. Attributed by Michiel, who says that Sebastiano del Piombo finished it.

<sup>345</sup> Nova (1998); Brooke (2018, p. 221).

### 1.1.3. *Andrea Odoni*<sup>346</sup>

Andrea Odoni was an art collector who held important bureaucratic positions in Venice, although he did not reach the highest rank in his *Scuola* nor a prestigious position in the chancellery.

His fame has come to us instead through the image he offered of himself in the city, through the design of the façade of his house and the art collection that he housed inside.

Andrea appears to be both a Venetian and an outsider in the social structure, even though her maternal family was well established in the city.

Son of a foreign Milanese merchant, he obtained a certain status and also economic privileges, as a wealthy citizen, but his non-noble origin probably kept him away from politics and excluded from the local social elites.

He was the first Venetian male in his paternal family (as he was the eldest of three brothers), and perhaps the means he chose to overcome these social restrictions was the design of his façade and his house, whose rooms seem to have constituted an authentic garden of works of art for his contemporaries.

His epitaph in the church of Santa Maria Maggiore read: "Andrea Odoni, a citizen noted for the splendor of his spirit, his liberality, and his elegance, which went beyond his civil status".

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<sup>346</sup> § Note 90. The information in this Section comes almost entirely from Schmitter (2007).

Aretino spoke publicly in favor of the collector's character in one of his letters, published in 1542: he used an analogy of the owner with his own house to also allude to his character.

Girolamo de Treviso el Joven <sup>347</sup>, a mutual friend of both, had decorated the façade with frescoes around 1531, and Aretino says that both the façade and the layout of the house (its rooms) were a product of his "mood", and therefore reflected his character.



**Figure 30.** *Portrait of Andrea Odoni, by Lorenzo Lotto, 1527. London, Royal Collection. RCIN 405776.*

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<sup>347</sup> § Note 112.

It is significant that the polygraph used this metaphor between the house (and its facade) and whoever lived in it, since there is sufficient evidence that the power of a house to create distinction (along with what it contained and the activities it housed in its interior) worried Odoni (who was not the son of a Venetian) even more than his own image.

In 1527, he commissioned his portrait from Lorenzo Lotto, surrounded by antiques and art objects that showed him as a collector and lover of refined objects. This picture allowed his identification thanks again to the mention of Marcantonio Michiel in 1532, who, in addition to describing his tastes and artistic possessions, and unlike the rest of the descriptions he makes of the private collections he visited, in this case he did so in a very detailed way for each room, in the manner of an art tour.

Michiel 's list could be compared to another inventory of family properties, also organized by room, carried out by a notary twenty years later, in 1555, after the death of his brother Alvise.

The frescoes on the facade were also described by various historians and art experts over the following centuries until Romantic times, when the paintings finally disappeared completely.



Andrea was born in 1488, son of Rinaldo Odoni and Marieta Zio, from one of the traditional families of Venice. Being his father a rich Milanese established in the city, it was his uncle Francesco Zio who introduced him to the political and social environment, which entailed access to the offices that governed the destinies of the *Serenissima*, and also the possibility of being part of some of the *Scuole*, the religious organizations made up of patricians and citizens.

These two rights — in addition to the *sung* funeral mass — were inherent to anyone who had been registered in the civil registries of Venice.

In addition to inheriting land and artistic objects, it is possible that his uncle also passed on his love of art to him, given that he himself was a well-known collector.

He began his bureaucratic career as his assistant in the state's central accounting office, and in 1523 he obtained one of the best paid positions a citizen could achieve — 400 ducats per year —, that of accountant of the wine tax section, *Dazio dil Vin*.

It is difficult to assess their “real” wealth, given that the difference between the official salary of some positions and the expectation of increasing it in derived activities was sometimes multiplied by 200 <sup>348</sup>.

In 1532, his protector Piero Orio and himself were appointed director and co-director of the Dazio — a position that was renewed in the following two years, and in which he was succeeded by his two brothers.

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<sup>348</sup> Schmitter (2007, p. 311).

Thus, both patron and *protégé* oversaw the management of all taxes, obtaining considerable profits during these years, a wealth that was also attributed to dark businesses, even when the section of the state they directed was not an exception in matters of corruption <sup>349</sup>.

Through his position as a collector (and perhaps also as a merchant) he had the opportunity to manage deals and businesses with a broad sector of Venetian society at all levels.

Married to Isabeta Taiapiera — probably before 1538, when Andrea declared himself the owner of lands that belonged to the dowry of his wife, widow of her previous marriage —, they had no children, but the dowries his nieces received, although adequate, were clearly below usual.

The value of his lands does not indicate great prosperity either: in addition to his house, he had some properties in the city and in Terraferma, but his overall apparent wealth was not high even for a citizen without noble origins.

However, his funeral was attended with large subsidies from many of the members of his *Scuola*, which was undoubtedly an indicator of his wealth and relevance <sup>350</sup>. It is possible that much of the income he obtained was invested in his own home and in their art collections.

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<sup>349</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 310. Marino Sanudo wrote in 1533 that Piero had a bad reputation and that he abused the collection of taxes.

<sup>350</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 311.

It has not been possible to prove their private commercial activity: the inventory of family documents includes accounting data and receipts from Dazio and other merchants in the industry, but it does not allow to clarify whether they come from their own businesses or from the positions held by their members, given that families usually dedicated themselves to the same issues that were the subject of their own bureaucratic offices.

His own family was probably also dedicated to the textile trade: the inventory of goods mentions a considerable amount of clothing in warehouses, while the inventory of documents refers to dealings with dyers, tailors and other trades related to clothing.

Four-page entry details operations of the workshop (store) that his brother Alvise had with Francesco Moranzon. Thus, it is likely that Andrea also participated in the business with him, given that in Venice it was common for brothers to form family businesses called “fraterna”.

There is also no evidence of humanist training in his career, although there were in some members of his family (his maternal uncle and his nephew Rinaldo, son of his other brother Girolamo). His writing seems more like that of a merchant, and the family inventory mentions by title only two books he owned: one on history and one on medicine <sup>351</sup>.

His portrait — Figure 30 — hung in his room, where Vasari also placed it years after Michiel ‘s visit in 1532. Aretino, in a letter of 1538, praised his house in Fondamenta del Gaffero, saying that he had recreated Rome in Venice. According to Michiel, he owned a copy of Giorgione ‘s *Saint Jerome*.

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<sup>351</sup> *Id.*

#### 1.1.4. *Gerolamo Marcello*

It is possible that Gerolamo, nicknamed "Pirola", was portrayed by Giorgione, although there is no agreement about who is depicted in the portrait of a young man in profile with armor showing his back, attributed to Giorgione, which is in the *Kunsthistorisches Museum* in Vienna <sup>352</sup>, and whose identity has also been attributed to Giovanni Antonio Venier.

Born of Antonio di Giacomo (captain general of Sea) and Ginevra Emo, married in 1475, Gerolamo was the firstborn of his three siblings, Cristoforo <sup>353</sup>, María, and Giacomo <sup>354</sup>. The father's death came prematurely in 1484, when Gerolamo was only 8 years old and his younger brother was just born, and on April 30 of the following year the Venetian Senate granted each of his children an annual pension of 100 ducats.

He was presented to the Balla d' Oro at the age of 18, in 1494, sponsored by two of the most renowned intellectuals of the city, Bernardo Bembo <sup>355</sup> and Girolamo Donà <sup>356</sup>, linked to the most advanced humanist circles around the figure of Ermolao Barbarian <sup>357</sup>.

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<sup>352</sup> § Plate VII.B and Notes 91 and 396.

<sup>353</sup> (Venice, 1480 – Rome, 1527).

<sup>354</sup> (Venice, 1484 – Venice, 1544). Giacomo joined the Grand Council at the age of just 20, and subsequently held numerous positions for the Republic. Maria married Francesco Longo di Francesco in 1499: see Dal Borgo (2007).

<sup>355</sup> (Venice, 1433 – Venice, 1519). Humanist, diplomatic, and statesman. Father of Pietro Bembo.

<sup>356</sup> Girolamo Donato, also called Donati, Donado, or Donà (Venice, 1456 – Venice, 1511). Humanist and diplomatic. § Note 362.

<sup>357</sup> (Venice, 1454 – Rome, 1493).

In August 1507 he married a daughter of Antonio Pisani, from whom he had an only son who would also be his heir. And two years later, between 1509 and 1510, he participated in the defense of Padua, according to Sanudo <sup>358</sup>.

It is possible that he was portrayed by Giorgione in these years as a soldier, and that his portrait was the one shown on Plate VII.B <sup>359</sup>. And, consequently, that he was his direct client and not just a collector of his canvases, of which he owned, in addition to his own portrait, a *nude Venus* (possibly the one finished by Titian, now in the Dresden gallery), and a painting representing *Saint Jerome reading*.

**Figure 31.** *Palacio Vendramin-Calergi, designed by Mauro Codussi in 1481. Wagner worked here on his Parsifal in 1882, until his death in February 1883. License: Creative Commons.*




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<sup>358</sup> Franco (1994).

<sup>359</sup> If the attribution is correct, Girolamo would have been around 30 years old at the time of the painting.

His family enjoyed great intellectual prestige, and Gerolamo was part of the small circle of young art-loving aristocrats, along with Gabriele Vendramin and Taddeo Contarini, in the environment of the Doge Andrea Gritti <sup>360</sup>.

Being a prototype of a Venetian patrician, he held various public positions during his life. He was one of the *Five wise men on trade* (*Cinque savi alla mercanzia*) in 1520, in charge of supervising the laws on exports and imports of the Republic.

In 1521 he was appointed Superintendent of Health, and on two occasions also master of the *Ragioni Vecchie* <sup>361</sup>, in addition to being part of the *Pregadi* in 1525 — both positions were chosen by the Doge from among the Senate to advise the Great Council on urgent matters.

In 1527 he was *magistrate for the waters* (*magistrato alle acque*), and later also a censor. In 1545, he was one of the 41 electors of Doge Francesco Doná <sup>362</sup>.

He died on October 9, 1547, having written his will just three weeks earlier, on September 16. He lived with his brother Giacomo in their father's house in Santo Tomás, where the family owned six warehouses.

His brother Cristoforo enjoyed a certain relevance in the papal courts <sup>363</sup>.

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<sup>360</sup> Sanudo, quoted by Franco (1994). § Notes 319 and 343.

<sup>361</sup> Judicial institution in charge of auditing any public administration, managing donations to the state, collecting outstanding taxes, updating inventories, maintaining public buildings and those from military campaigns, as well as repressing corruption among officials.

<sup>362</sup> (Venice, 1468 – Venice, 1553). 80th *Dux* of Venice. § Franco (1994).

<sup>363</sup> Palumbo (2007).

Doctor of Arts from the University of Padua in 1501, he was appointed apostolic prothonotary by Julius II <sup>364</sup> seven years later, in 1508, and took part in the Fifth Lateran Council in 1512 <sup>365</sup>.

In Rome, he became a Medici *famigliare*, at the service of two future popes: the then cardinals Giovanni and Giulio, the first of them being elevated to the papal throne in 1513, with the name of Leo X <sup>366</sup>. While Giulio was elected also pontiff ten years later in 1523, with the name of Clement VII <sup>367</sup>.

Cristoforo was appointed archbishop of Corfu in 1514, trying unsuccessfully not to renounce the income of 400 ducats that he enjoyed, coming from the priory of Santa Croce: in 1516 he was assigned a new pension of only 100 ducats, despite the pressure of the Venetian Senate <sup>368</sup>.

In 1521 he published in Florence a work praised by Gasparo Contarini, then the Venetian ambassador to Germany, in a letter addressed to himself, and known to Luther himself <sup>369</sup>.

In 1524 he obtained the provost of the church of Saints Giacomo and Filippo in Crema, and a few months later also the benefit of the monastery of the Trinity in Verona and was one of the main candidates for the Patriarchate of Venice <sup>370</sup>.

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<sup>364</sup> § Note 18.

<sup>365</sup> Palumbo (2007).

<sup>366</sup> Who was recommended by the Venetian Senate. § Note 325.

<sup>367</sup> Julio de Médici (Florence, 1478 – Rome, 1534), Pope 219.

<sup>368</sup> Palumbo (2007).

<sup>369</sup> *Id. De autoritate summi pontificis et his quae ad illam pertinent.* Martin Luther (Eisleben, 1483 – Eisleben, 1546).

<sup>370</sup> Franco (1994).

His erudition and advice were highly appreciated at the Roman court, where he led meetings dedicated to philosophical and theological questions <sup>371</sup>.

At the end of 1526, in the context of hostilities between the papal court and the imperial forces, his Roman residence was razed by the soldiers of Cardinal Pompeo Colonna <sup>372</sup>. At the end of 1526, in the context of hostilities between the papal court and the imperial forces, his Roman residence was razed by the soldiers of Cardinal Pompeo Colonna.

Transferred to the fortress of Gaeta, he wrote a letter to his brother Gerolamo asking for the delivery of 6,000 ducats in exchange for his release. However, he was undoubtedly tortured or mistreated, since the news of his death reached Venice just two months later, in August 1527 <sup>373</sup>.

During his Roman period, and due to his positions, Cristoforo maintained close relations with Cardinal Domenico Grimani, with whom he also had strong ties of friendship <sup>374</sup>, and who is believed to be the first possessor of Giorgione 's self-portrait as *David* — Domenico is the character who closes the Benedictine table in *The Wedding* by Veronese.

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<sup>371</sup> Foscari (1526, 1846, p. 135). Quoted by Palumbo (2007).

<sup>372</sup> (Rome, 1479 – Naples, 1532).

<sup>373</sup> Palumbo (2007).

<sup>374</sup> *Id.* Dal Pozzolo (2017, p. 57).



### 1.1.5. *Gabriele Vendramin*

Gabriele Vendramín <sup>375</sup> was born and died in the same years as Marcantonio Michiel. The family palace at Cannaregio 2400 — Figure 31 —, and the church of Santa Maria dei Servi where his remains lie, were in front of Taddeo Contarini 's residence, which could be reached by crossing the bridge that still preserves his family name.

Gabriele was one of the richest and most influential patricians among the most advanced artistic and cultural circuits of Venice in the first half of the *Cinquecento*.

He was the owner of Giorgione 's best-known canvas today, *The Tempest*, and of his third known self-portrait, shown on Plate II.C.

He was the second cousin of Ermolao Barbaro, one of the most renowned humanists in Italian lands. And his godfather in the Balla d' Oro, as in the case of Girolamo Marcello, was again Bernardo Bembo, on November 13, 1504, when he was twenty years old <sup>376</sup>.

Unlike his brother-in-law Taddeo, who had a long academic tradition among his ancestors, Gabriele 's philological or literary interests are not known.

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<sup>375</sup> § Note 94. See also: Anderson (1979).

<sup>376</sup> Battilotti (1994).

He was a bachelor all his life <sup>377</sup>, and hosted meetings of numerous artists, nobles and scholars, in the hall he maintained in his Venetian residence, the palace of Santa Fosca. In his will he urged his nephews to continue their studies in navigation and naval strategy without abandoning literary studies.

His private collection contained five other works by his friend and *protégé* Giorgione, who had been the most emblematic painter of Venice, among them *The Education of Marcus Aurelius*, which some authors identify with the painting shown in Figure 14. And also, some more by his companion Titian, among many others by contemporary Italian and transalpine authors.

His collection was one of the most renowned in the city, famous for its antiques and valuable coins, and his house and studio were mentioned and praised by numerous humanists, including Sansovino <sup>378</sup>, Doni <sup>379</sup>, Enea Vico <sup>380</sup>, Scamozzi <sup>381</sup>, Serlio, who considered him an authority in classical architecture and one of the most prepared to understand the work of Vitruvius <sup>382</sup>, and Sanudo, who called him "the great" <sup>383</sup>.

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<sup>377</sup> Stefaniak (2008). Many noble men remained at Renaissance universities without obtaining their bachelor's or doctoral degrees, studying in an eclectic manner the knowledge and disciplines that were of interest to them. Maintained themselves as bachelor for years, organizing circles and salons in their private quarters.

<sup>378</sup> § Note 329.

<sup>379</sup> Anton Francesco Doni (Florence, 1513 – Monselice, 1574).

<sup>380</sup> Enea Giovanni Vico (Parma, 1523 – Ferrara, 1567).

<sup>381</sup> Vincenzo Scamozzi (Vicenza, 1548 – Venice, 1616).

<sup>382</sup> Serlio (1540). § Note 320. Quoted by Campbell (2003, p. 304) and Stefaniak (2008, p. 123). The correct interpretation of the preserved texts of

Her family 's wealth came from the soap trade with the Levant: they had been admitted to the patriciate in 1381, thanks to the financial support provided to the Republic during the Chioggia War <sup>384</sup>. One century later, one of its members, a great-uncle of Gabriele, was elected Doge of Venice in 1476 <sup>385</sup>.

His sister Marietta, as we have already mentioned, had married in 1495 Taddeo Contarini, one of the eighty richest men in Venice <sup>386</sup> and patron and friend of Giorgione, whose family was one of the *venerable* — the twenty-four who according to tradition had founded the city in 421. The couple settled in a palace built for Taddeo next to the Vendramín Palace in Santa Fosca <sup>387</sup>.

Gabriele continued the business of the lucrative soap shop, located next to the family palace. They protected the integrity of their products and their brand, manufacturing small green bars of soap marked with a crescent for marketing in Venice, and other white ones with the silhouette of a Moor for export <sup>388</sup>.

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the Roman architect was the problem faced by his contemporary colleagues of the canvas, and whose resolution was finally completed thanks to the joint work of Daniele Barbaro and Palladio himself.

<sup>383</sup> Battilotti (1994). § Note 324.

<sup>384</sup> Stefaniak (2008).

<sup>385</sup> Andrea Vendramin (Venice, 1393 – Venice, 1478).

<sup>386</sup> § Note 92 and Annex 1.1.2.

<sup>387</sup> Stefaniak (2008).

<sup>388</sup> *Id.*

The family also owned land in Terraferma, in addition to its properties in the city, especially around Padua.

In his later years, he held several important political positions for the *Serenissima*, including Censor and *Provveditore alle Biade*. He was present at the inauguration ceremony of Doge Andrea Gritti in 1523, along with his brother-in-law Taddeo Contarini. In 1545 he was one of the 41 electors of Doge Donato <sup>389</sup>, and in 1550 was elected Councilor in the capital <sup>390</sup>.

He died on March 15, 1552, and was buried in the church of Santa Maria dei Servi, very close to his palace. The inventory of his assets was carried out fifteen years later, between 1567 and 1569, when one of his heirs (Federico) noticed that his brother Luca, whose part of the house contained the antiquities room, was selling some medals and drawings of value.

Among the experts who valued his artistic possessions were the sculptors Tommaso de Lugano <sup>391</sup>, Alessandro Vittoria <sup>392</sup> and Sansovino. And Tintoretto and Tiziano, together with their son Orazio <sup>393</sup>, among the painters <sup>394</sup>.

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<sup>389</sup> Francesco Donato or Doná (Venice, 1468 – Venice, 1553).

<sup>390</sup> Battilotti (1994).

<sup>391</sup> Tommaso Lombardo (Tommaso da Lugano): sculptor. The dates and places of birth and death are unknown. His activity is documented in Venice from the mid-1530s until the time of the canvas, initially in collaboration with Sansovino and later independently. Vasari mentions as his work a bust of Charles V that was greatly admired by the emperor.

<sup>392</sup> § Notes 20, 246 and 307.

<sup>393</sup> § Note 203.

<sup>394</sup> Battilotti (1994).



*Figure 32. Gabriele Vendramin (in profile, standing in the center, dressed in red) and his brother Andrea (along with his seven children) venerating a relic of the Holy Cross. Titian, 1543-1547. London, National Gallery, NG4452.*

### 1.1.6. Giovanni Antonio Venier<sup>395</sup>

It is possible that Giovanni was portrayed by Giorgione, although there is no agreement about who is represented by the portrait of a young man in profile with armor showing his back, attributed to Giorgione (*Kunsthistorisches Museum*, Vienna), and whose identity has been also related to Gerolamo Marcello<sup>396</sup>.

Giovanni was a renowned and brilliant lawyer for decades for different institutions of the Republic and also for private clients, and feared by his rival colleagues, although he lacked the title of doctor. He was the only son of Giacomo Alvisé and Samaritana Arimondo di Pietro, a family of modest means, leaving fatherless at the age of 18.

At the age of 22 he was elected weigher of the *Argento*, the section in charge of controlling the trade in precious metals that took place in the capital, and at the age of 26, in 1503, he was already a lawyer at the Cortes of Rialto.

He was appointed *Auditor Vecchio* in 1510, and two years later *sindaco* (mayor) in Terraferma, with the task of supervising the administration of the rectors during the war of the League of Cambrai, still in progress, which had ruined the administrative apparatus of the Republic.

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<sup>395</sup> § Note 95. The information in this section comes from Gullino (2020).

<sup>396</sup> § Plate VII.B. and Notes 91 and 352.

However, in 1513, shortly after unsuccessfully investigating the looting of the house of the Nuncio of Schia in Venice, he was ordered to return to the capital, where he denounced the embezzlement of some rectors and requested their imprisonment before the *Quarantia criminale*.

He spent the second half of 1515 in the Holy Land, on a pilgrimage trip perhaps out of devotion and perhaps also to atone for some event in his past in relation to these events.

In 1516 he lent 1000 ducats to the *Avogaria di Comun* <sup>397</sup> and married Pierina Michiel di Tommaso, with whom he had several children who, however, left no descendants, thus extinguishing this branch of the family.

Shortly after, in February 1517 he was lawyer for the *Quarantia criminale*, in July for the German community in the city, and in November he was extraordinary lawyer of the Courts. In the middle of the following year, on July 3, the same day he failed to be elected ambassador to Hungary, he was appointed lawyer of the *Dieci Offici*.

He again unsuccessfully sought the embassy in Verona three months later, and was finally elected mayor in Levante in February 1519, although he resigned from the position, dedicating himself to law on his own for the following two years.

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<sup>397</sup> The *Avogadori di Comun*, literally “public prosecutors”, their role was akin to that of a modern State Attorney, oversaw, looking after and safeguarding the interests of the Commune Veneciarum, that is, the noble families that formed the Government of the Republic.

On this occasion, he refused the English embassy at the end of 1522, to remain in Venice as one of the *dieci savi alle Decime* (Ten wise men of the *Decima*)<sup>398</sup>.

And in September of the following year, he was elected to the *Avogaria di Comun*, when he was already a paid lawyer for the *Procuratia de ultra*, for the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi*, in addition to the monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore, being forced to renounce these incomes with great reluctance.

The forced resignation led to his political marginalization until the end of 1529, some time after the second loan he made in March of this same year to the Treasury of the Republic during the War of the Cognac League — the first had been in May of the previous year.

Thus, he was elected ambassador to France along with Giovanni Pisani, to participate in the liberation of the children of King Francis I, imprisoned in Madrid, and in the negotiation of his marriage to Eleonora de Austria, imposed as a condition by the emperor with his own sister<sup>399</sup>.

He remained as the only ambassador at the French court until the end of 1532, later returning to Venice with the insignia of *knighthood* and seeing his positions renewed: he was *Savi di Terraferma* (Wise Men of the Mainland) in 1533, mayor and captain in Crema in 1534 and 1535, and again *Savii*, to join the extraordinary embassy of the Republic at the end of this year to receive the emperor after his campaign in Tunisia.

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<sup>398</sup> Tax instituted in 1463 by the Venetian Senate to finance military expenses: it was equivalent to 10% of real estate, wherever it was located, and later also included the rents received.

<sup>399</sup> § Notes 243 and 274. We have already mentioned that this was the wedding represented in its beginnings: Lafarga & Sanz (in preparation).



After moving to Naples with his colleagues, he accompanied Charles V to Spain and on his travels for two years: in 1538 he was with him in Barcelona when the *Serenissima* required him for the meetings that were going to be held in Nice, and that pursued the alliance of the emperor with the Vatican and with the king of France to confront the Turkish threat to Venice.

Returning to the capital in August, he was ambassador this time to the Duke of Ferrara, and again *Savi di Terraferma* until the end of this year, to be part of the inquisitors over the late Doge Andrea Gritti at the beginning of 1539 <sup>400</sup>.

Some months later, on August 28, he was elected lieutenant in Udine until March 1541. And in July of this year, he was appointed member of the Venetian delegation that would accompany the emperor in Venetian lands, on his way to Lucca from the German territories, to meet with the pope <sup>401</sup>.

In November, the papal nuncio in Venice was asked for information about four tapestries by Raphael from the Sistine Chapel, which had been stolen during the sack of Rome in 1527, and which had finally been sold by Giovanni himself to Cesare Fregoso <sup>402</sup>.

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<sup>400</sup> § Notes 319 and 343.

<sup>401</sup> The other three members of the delegation were Vincenzo Grimani (Venice, 1491 – Venice, 1546), Nicolò Tiepolo (Venice, 1477 – Venice, 1551), and the duque of Candia Marcantonio Contarini, called “the philosopher” (Venice, 1485 – Candia, 1546).

<sup>402</sup> (Rome, 1500 – Pavía, 1541). Although of Venetian origin, he was one of Francis I's agents in Venice, appointed to buy the support of the senators of the Republic to favour the French king's rapprochement with Turkish interests. He was eventually assassinated by men in the service of Alfonso d'Avalos, probably under the orders of Charles V, causing this incident serious diplomatic conflicts.

Once again, he is *Savi di Terraferma* in 1542, he was appointed extraordinary ambassador at the court of the French king to face of the probable resumption of hostilities between Francis I and the emperor, accompanying and then replacing Matteo Dandolo <sup>403</sup>, until the summer of 1544.

A few months later he was sent as an ambassador to Rome on the prompt convocation of the Council of Trent, where he was responsible for reestablishing some ecclesiastical tithes to compensate for the large expenses caused by the *uscocci* — pirates who had been plundering the properties of the *Serenissima* after the Turkish conquest of the Balkans in 1526, partly also thanks to Austrian subsidies.

Upon his return to Venice at the beginnings of 1547 <sup>404</sup>, he was appointed *Savi di Terraferma* of the Council until June of this year. He became part of the same Council in September, and then, was again appointed *Savii* of the Council until the end of the following year.

The last position he held before his death was that of censor until October 1549. In his will he recommended that his wife and children sell some of their most expensive clothes and furniture because they were excessively refined, alluding to the modest origins of his family and fortune.

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<sup>403</sup> (Venice, 1498 – Venice, 1570).

<sup>404</sup> He was replaced by Nicolò da Ponte (Venice, 1491 – Venice, 1585), who later become the 87th Doge of the Republic, from 1578 until his death.

**1.1.7. Giovanni Ram** <sup>405</sup>

The Sardinian branch of the Ram family, of Aragonese origin, seems to have settled in Sardinia at the end of the 1400s as royal administrators, although the sporadic mentions of their surname do not allow the tracing of an entirely reliable genealogy <sup>406</sup>.

The first of whom there is any detailed information is Francesco, tax lawyer and later Regent of the Chancellery of the Kingdom in 1496, whose wife Francesca was involved in 1516, along with her son Girolamo <sup>407</sup>, in a case of the city of Cagliari against his vicar.

The family undoubtedly had important links with the Spanish crown, given that while the case was still open almost twenty years later, it was closed in 1534 by personal order of the emperor to the viceroy of Sardinia <sup>408</sup>.

Among his ancestors could be found a certain Domenico, named cardinal by Marinus V <sup>409</sup>.

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<sup>405</sup> § Note 96. § Plate XIII.A.

<sup>406</sup> [<http://www.araldicasardegna.org>]

<sup>407</sup> *Id.* Doctor of Laws, Regent currently like his father, and Co-Regent since 1514.

<sup>408</sup> *Ibid.* Antonio de Cardona y Enríquez. Viceroy of Sardinia (1534 - 1549). His mother was the aunt of Ferdinand II of Aragon, called "the Catholic" (Sos del Rey Católico, 1452 - Madrigalejo, 1516). He received Charles V when he went to the campaign of Tunis in 1535.

<sup>409</sup> Battilotti (1994, p. 213). Civil name Oddone Colonna (Genazzano, 1369 – Rome, 1431). During his tenure, the so-called Western Schism involving the anti-popes residing in Avignon was closed. He was also who began the construction of the Colonna family palace in Rome, where Diego Ortiz ended his days as a *famigliare* in the service of Marcantonio Colonna. (Lanuvinio, 1535 – Medinaceli, 1584).

Already into the *Seicento*, Nicolò Antonio mentions two other Rams as writers, Domenico and Gasparo, in his *Biblioteca Spagnola Nuova* <sup>410</sup>.

Giovanni Ram, born in Teruel as he himself reports in his will, became a "bailiff" in Venice, where his presence seems to date back to 1497, around the age of 27, as a merchant, an activity that his children also continued <sup>411</sup>. While in 1530, just a year before his death, he is mentioned as Consul of the Catalans in the city.

In the will, written 20 years earlier, in 1511, he left his properties, including some jewels, to his three children, Michele Girolamo, Pietro Lorenzo and Alvisè Maria. His deceased wife Isabella is mentioned there, but Sanudo reports a dispute between his heirs the year of his death, citing also to Caterina Zaplana, which could indicate that he had remarried <sup>412</sup>.

Similarly, his house at Santa Maria Nova <sup>413</sup>, is mentioned in the 1511 document, while Michiel visited him instead near the church of Saint Stephen in 1531, which would also indicate a change of residence during the twenty-year interval that mediates between both sources.

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<sup>410</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>411</sup> *Id.*

<sup>412</sup> Battilotti (1994, p. 214).

<sup>413</sup> "Joannes Ram, antes D. Bilingerius de Tervel, en el reino de Aragón, habitante de Venecia, en la linde con Santa María Nueva". (*sic.*)

It seems that he was an important collector, and his contact with Titian in the first decades of the *Cinquecento* suggests that the painter may have already been known in Spain before dealing with Charles V, whom he portrayed for the first time in 1533, when the emperor was 33 years old.

He owned a certain number of ancient marbles and bronzes, as well as works by contemporary painters <sup>414</sup>. Michiel 's description does not inform about the location of the pieces of his collection, but he mentions a large number of marble busts and heads, terracotta vessels, medals of gold, silver, and other metals, all classified as "ancient works" <sup>415</sup>.

According to the Venetian, he also possessed the "head of a boy holding an arrow", which has been identified as one of Giorgione 's canvases <sup>416</sup>, and which Ram had given to another collector named Antonio Pasqualigo <sup>417</sup>. Giovanni would have preserved another version believing be the original, when, in fact, it was a copy <sup>418</sup>.

This would prove that copies of Giorgione 's works were already circulating in the Venetian market <sup>419</sup>.

Michiel also mentions another possible "portrait" of a shepherd with a piece of fruit, which would have also been copied several times shortly after its creation <sup>420</sup>.

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<sup>414</sup> Rogier van der Weyden (Tourmai, 1400 – Bruselas, 1464), Jan van Scorel (Schoorl, 1495 – Utrecht, 1562), and Vincenzo Catena (Note 99). Battilotti (1994, p. 213).

<sup>415</sup> The inventory carried out in 1592 by his descendants places them in the entrance room, or vestibule, of the house: "Heads, arms, legs, hands and various marble things, 73 pieces". Quoted by Schmitter (2021).

<sup>416</sup> § Plate V.C. *Young with arrow*, c. 1505. Lauber (2005); Perry (2008).

<sup>417</sup> § Note 97. Lauber (2005). Lauber (2008), quoted by Ferrari (2018, p. 304).

<sup>418</sup> Ferrari (2018, p. 304).

<sup>419</sup> Lauber (2005, pp. 84-85). *Ibid.*

Giovanni died on May 8, 1533, shortly after this meeting, as reported by Sanudo in his *Diaries*. He was buried according to his will along with the remains of his wife and his father-in-law, in the church of S. Pietro Martir in Murano.

The collector of Spanish origin was identified in a painting by Titian thanks to Marcantonio Michiel 's notebook <sup>421</sup>. Around 1520, he had commissioned an oil on panel with a biblical scene in which he appears portrayed as the only spectator, an unpublished fact until then in European painting.

The panel was undoubtedly intended for private use, and the portrait of Ram is *realistic* and not idealized: he participates in the sacred scene as a spectator, contemplating it from the lower right corner while reaching out his hand towards the garments that Christ has set aside to receive his baptism in the Jordan. In the distance there are three birds that do not appear to be aquatic — perhaps vultures considering a human figure standing somewhat further away, and whose posture indicates that it is about to throw some type of object at them.

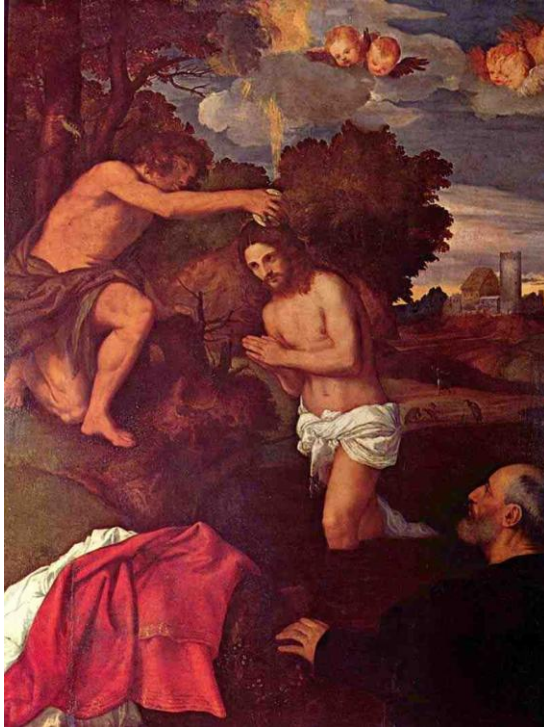
Including a realistic representation of the miracle in the middle of the field was not the only daring thing that Titian undertook in this portrait.

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<sup>420</sup> Ballarin (1979). *Ibid.*

<sup>421</sup> § Figure 33: *Baptism of Christ*, c. 1512. § Plate XIII.A.

Although the presence of patrons and donors was not uncommon in Nordic lands, albeit in small groups, the painter had already established, in a previous canvas, a more intimate relationship between them and the biblical characters represented <sup>422</sup>.



*Figure 33. Baptism of Christ with the donor Giovanni Ram. Titian, 1511-12. Capitoline Museums, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Room III, PC 41.*

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<sup>422</sup> Joannides (2001, p. 170). *Sacra Conversazione: Madonna con il Bambino e i Santi Caterina e Domenico con il donatore*, c. 1513. Parma, Fondazione Magnani-Rocca.

But to include him alone along with the two protagonists of the religious event, and so prominently, it was a unprecedented daring innovation<sup>423</sup>.

However, a few years later, the procedure was applied by other prestigious authors, and when Michiel visited Ram 's house it could have already been a common one <sup>424</sup>. The three birds and the human figure that tries to scare them away were also unprecedented in Italian representations of Baptism.

These various circumstances seem to confirm that their articulation was intentional (on the part of the painter, of the donor, or both), and that both the iconography and its arrangement were unusual.

Ram's desire to appear for private purposes in an environment "close" to the act represented — both in a spatial (physical) and temporal (historical) sense — could indicate a personal religious connection or experience in relation to the blessing or conversion, considering his "real" presence and his aspect of mystical contemplation at the moment of the scene. Or even the experience of a revelation that occurred during a vision or in dreams <sup>425</sup>.

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<sup>423</sup> *Ibid.* In a possible precedent by Andrea Mantegna (Isola Mantegna, 1431 – Mantua, 1506), dated 1499, the donor appears in a similar position but smaller than the saint represented.

<sup>424</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>425</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 170.



## 1.2. *The Wedding at Cana: authors and legends*

### 1.2.1. *Carlo Ridolfi: the Venetian “Vasari”*

Born Carlo Sartor, surname Boschetto, we do not know why he changed it, but it was not uncommon at the time to use a different name (Ridolfi) than the native one, to distance himself from humble origins <sup>426</sup>. We know the details of his life through the biographies he wrote of other painters.

Son of merchants of German origin who settled in Veneto at the beginning of the *Seicento*, he tells us that business guaranteed his family relative prosperity. From the paternal will it appears that they owned a house in the “Piazza district”, in the center of the leonicean village <sup>427</sup>.

Following the death of his father (Marco) in 1602, and after the remarriage of his mother (Angela), he was sent to Venice to Vassilacchi ‘s workshop, after showing early talent for painting <sup>428</sup>.

Later, returning to Venice in 1612, after a brief trip to his homeland in neighboring Vicenza, he studied rhetoric, logic and philosophy, in his words “under erudite mastery”, without neglecting perspective and architecture.

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<sup>426</sup> Vitaliani (1911, p. 272). Polati (2016). § Note 22.

<sup>427</sup> Vitaliani (1911, pp. 266-269).

<sup>428</sup> *Id.*, p. 277.

In these years he began to write "thoughts" and love poems, and in 1620 he gave to the printer his *Novella di Madonna Isotta de Pisa* <sup>429</sup>, a work that has not yet been identified.

His first important commissions came from San Giorgio in Alga di Lonigo in 1622, with two large canvases that are preserved in the San Fermo church, and which he mentions as "mistakes of [his] youth" <sup>430</sup>.

As he tells us, his career achieved a certain credit among the Venetian patricians, increasing his commissions for decorations and friezes, which allowed him to frequently visit the Vicenza area.

The Barbarigo della Terrazza commissioned him the frescoes of some rooms for their palace on the Grand Canal and for their Villa in Merlara (Padua). In 1628 he was in Verona, where he copied the *Supper in the house of Simon* by Veronese for "a great character", a work that finally went to the church of Saints Nazarus and Celso <sup>431</sup>.

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<sup>429</sup> Moreni (1805, p. 251).

<sup>430</sup> Depicting *Saint Lorenzo Giustiniani and Saint George and the Dragon*. Ridolfi (1648, pp. 297 et seq.).

<sup>431</sup> *Ibid.*



*Figure 34. The Feast in the House of Simon the Pharisee, by Paolo Caliari, 1567-70. Milan, Pinacoteca di Brera.*

During the plague of 1630 he took refuge in a field near Treviso until the end of the following year, in the company of a “friend of the Stefani house” in Spinea <sup>432</sup>, where he made an altarpiece with *Virgin and Saints* for the parish church at the request of a certain Andrea Doria, and another for the nearby commune of Mirano, both now lost.

Upon returning to Venice, he took up residence in the San Samuele neighborhood <sup>433</sup>, and due to the loss of a good part of his clients, some victims of the plague and others seduced by Caravaggio <sup>434</sup>, he was forced to look for new orders in the peripheral circuits, where his painting in the 16th century masters style still found admirers.

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<sup>432</sup> Ridolfi (1648, p. 299) miscites the town of Spineda di Riese, as was accepted until very recently: Polati (2010. pp. 21 et seq.).

<sup>433</sup> Tassini (1915, p. 580).

<sup>434</sup> Michelangelo Merisi de Caravaggio (Milan, 1571 – Porto Ercole, 1610).

It seems that his social status did not allow him to be part of the Academies, but he claims to have attended a select group of aristocrats — “virtuosi ridotti” — of the *Accademia degli Incogniti*, who occasionally hired him as a portrait painter and designer of book covers <sup>435</sup>.

A Veronese merchant, Giovanni Azzolini, commissioned a copy of Titian’s *Assumption* for the Cathedral of the city of Scaliger in 1632. There are also a series of altarpieces for various churches from this period, of which no trace has been left other than the mentions in some travel books <sup>436</sup>.

He decided to dedicate himself to literature and the genre of biography after the refusal of the Venetian authorities to grant him a *gratia* for the services provided to the illustrious of the Republic, which would guarantee his livelihood in old age, and in 1642 he published his biography of Tintoretto, dedicated to the Venetian Senate <sup>437</sup>.

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<sup>435</sup> Polati (2010, pp. 49-53). Pietro della Vecchia also maintained relations with them: § Notes 202 and 475.

<sup>436</sup> *Adoration of the Magi*, in Saint Giacomo a Battaglia Terme (Padua); *Madonna and Child with Saints Peter, Rocco and Sebastian*, in Parre (Bergamo); *Assumption with Saints Valentine and Philip Neri*, in Galzignano Terme (Padua): cited by Pallucchini (1981, p. 79). His *Adoration of the Magi* is preserved in Saint Giovanni Elemosinario (c. 1640). And his *Flight into Egypt*, in Saint Matteo in Murano; *Saint Philip Neri* and *Beheading of Saint John the Baptist* in Saint Giovanni Decollato; and *The Annunciation* at the School of Carpenters. Cited by Boschini (1664).

<sup>437</sup> Ridolfi (1642). To whom he corresponded by making him Knight of San Marcos.

His pictorial production increased again in these years <sup>438</sup>, and he affirms that, in 1645, the intercession of Giovanni Querini <sup>439</sup>, brought him the title of golden pontifical knight from the hands of Pope Innocent X <sup>440</sup>.

One year later his biography of Paolo Caliari the Veronese came to light <sup>441</sup>.

His most recognized work appeared two years later <sup>442</sup>, published in two large volumes that trace the history of Venetian painting through a total of 150 artistic biographies over three centuries — from Guariento until almost his own time <sup>443</sup>.

The work was conceived as a response to Vasari 's *Lives*, which were mainly focused on the authors of the Florentine school of Tuscany.

His mention of the Venetian collections shows that he participated in them as an expert and agent, and his data, many of them obtained first-hand, have turned his work a source of *direct* information and an unavoidable reference to this day <sup>444</sup>.

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<sup>438</sup> Prijatelj (1968). *Saint Bonaventura* and *Saint Luigi*, for the Riformati di Vicenza; *Virgin offering the habit to Blessed Filippo Benizi*, Church of the Franciscans of Zogno (Bergamo); *Madonna of the Rosary* for the parish church of Boloventa (Padua); *Our Lady of Mount Carmel*, Morter Island; among others.

<sup>439</sup> Archbishop of Candia from November 19, 1644, until his death, probably in 1669.

<sup>440</sup> Ridolfi (1648, II, p. 304). Giovanni Battista Pamphili (Rome, 1574 – Rome, 1655). Latin Patriarch of Aquileia and 236th Pope of the Catholic Church.

<sup>441</sup> Ridolfi (1646).

<sup>442</sup> Ridolfi (1648).

<sup>443</sup> Guariento de Arpo (Arpo, 1310 – Padua, 1370).

<sup>444</sup> Schlosser (1964, pp. 531-539).

Well into the 1950s, he continued to receive important commissions, of which only four canvases have survived <sup>445</sup>. Some of his last paintings, dated around 1656, are preserved in the *Gallery of the Venetian Academy* and in the Dominican church of San Niccolò in Treviso <sup>446</sup>. That same year he married Pasquetta Vidali <sup>447</sup> whom he named his heir. He died (without children) in 1658 due to a typical malaria fever <sup>448</sup>.

In his will, he bequeathed his painting supplies to his only student, Tommaso Renier <sup>449</sup>. According to himself, he also copied Tintoretto's canvas *Christ washing the feet of his disciples* <sup>450</sup> to replace the original, removed in the mid-17th century <sup>451</sup>, and which had been commissioned in 1549 by the church of San Marcuola in Venice — Figure 35.

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<sup>445</sup> Omacini (1974, p. 79): *Flagellation; Crowning with Thorns; The Way to Calvary; and Crucifixion*.

<sup>446</sup> Moschini (1970, pp. 90 and ff.).

<sup>447</sup> Vitaliani (1911, pp. 290 and ff.).

<sup>448</sup> Polati (2016).

<sup>449</sup> *Ibid.* We have not been able to locate his life details.

<sup>450</sup> Tintoretto made a second version of the same subject with a different design, commissioned by the church of San Trovaso around 1575-80, and now in the *National Gallery* in London.

<sup>451</sup> Now in the Prado Museum in Madrid. There is another version of the same work, in addition to Ridolfi's copy, in the *Shipley Art Gallery* in Gateshead (UK), although it differs from the Prado painting in many small details: There is no complete consensus about which of the two versions could be the authentic original.



*Figure 35. Christ washing the feet of his disciples, by Tintoretto, 1548-49. Madrid, Museo del Prado.*

### 1.2.2. *Marco Boschini*

Thanks to the discovery of the baptismal record document, dated October 5, 1602,<sup>452</sup> we know today that he came into the world 40 years after the commission of *The Wedding*, although until very recently 1613 was cited as his date of birth. He was the son of a family of merchants, to whose activities he also devoted his time (in addition to his role as writer and engraver)<sup>453</sup>, until he left them completely in 1647, when he became administrator of the family assets and businesses<sup>454</sup>.

From this moment on he concentrated only on writing and engraving. In 1629, he settled in a house on Carrer del Figher in San Marcuola — in the Cannaregio neighborhood –, property of the *Scuola di San Rocco*, to convert it into a painting studio<sup>455</sup>. In the rental contract he identified himself as “painter”<sup>456</sup>. Given its poor condition, he began the reforms by investing in it as a usufruct, in agreement with the fraternity, and established his permanent residence there<sup>457</sup>, along with his father, his children and his servants<sup>458</sup>.

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<sup>452</sup> Moretti (2014, p. 7).

<sup>453</sup> In 1642 he appears registered as a “citizen” and “pearl merchant”: Cecchini (2014, p. 42).

<sup>454</sup> Moretti (2014, p. 7). Including pearling, the trade in fake pearls and glass beads, and the sale of blown glass pieces.

<sup>455</sup> Pallucchini (1966, p. XI); Maschio (1976, pp. 126-127, p. 138 doc. 111); Moretti (2014, p. 7). Quoted by Bertelli (2014).

<sup>456</sup> Cecchini (2014, p. 43).

<sup>457</sup> He spent some periods in Padua, Vicenza and Treviso (cities where he owned properties), and also in Bassano, Trieste, Modena, Parma, Cremona and Bologna, to cultivate his relationships and attend to various jobs.

<sup>458</sup> He married in 1636 Felice Bocchi, daughter of Girolamo, of the parish of San Marcuola, with whom he had several children, two of them boys.



It is possible that he trained in the workshop of Palma the Younger <sup>459</sup>, and as an engraver in that of Odoardo Fialetti <sup>460</sup> — although it is also possible that he mentioned them in order to ennoble his *curriculum*. His relationships with important figures included Archduke Leopold William, to whom he dedicated his best-known work <sup>461</sup>, Emperor Ferdinand III <sup>462</sup>, Eleonora Gonzaga Nevers <sup>463</sup>, Carlo II Gonzaga Nevers <sup>464</sup>, Alfonso IV d' Este <sup>465</sup>, and Leopold of Medici, in whose service he remained until the end of his life <sup>466</sup>.

During the years he dedicated to the art market he frequently dealt with the works of Veronese. In 1663 he negotiated the purchase of one of his canvases with the Servant Fathers of Venice, on behalf of the Duke of Mantua Carlo II, whose acquisition was finally prohibited by the Venetian authorities, and which was later donated to the King of France <sup>467</sup>.

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<sup>459</sup> Pallucchini (1966, p. X); Melchiori (1968, p. 96); Muraro (1971, p. 199); Moretti (2014, p. 9). Quoted by Bertelli (2014).

<sup>460</sup> (Bologna, 1573 – Venice, 1638). Muraro (1965, p. 69); Pallucchini (1966, p. X); Muraro (1971, p. 199); Cecchini (2014, p. 37, 45). Quoted by Bertelli (2014).

<sup>461</sup> Boschini (1660): *La carta del navegar pitoresco*. He received a gold necklace with a medal from the Archduke as a reward, and two similar ones from the Emperor and the Duke of Modena. Bertelli (2014).

<sup>462</sup> (Graz, 1608 – Vienna, 1657). Son and successor of Emperor Ferdinand II.

<sup>463</sup> (Mantua, 1630 – Vienna, 1686). Empress and wife of Ferdinand III.

<sup>464</sup> (Mantua, 1629 – Mantua, 1665). Duke of Mantua and of Montferrat.

<sup>465</sup> (Módona, 1634 – Módona, 1662). Duke of Modena and of Reggio.

<sup>466</sup> § Note 232 and Plate XVII.D.

<sup>467</sup> Procacci & Procacci (1965, p. 111).

In 1666, this time on behalf of Leopold of Medici, he brokered the acquisition of the *Rape of Europe* by Veronese <sup>468</sup>. And it was the following year when he entered his service through Alessandro Segni <sup>469</sup>.

The new cardinal was a capable administrator and very attentive to commercial development <sup>470</sup>, and paid special attention to science and literature in addition to being a great collector of rare books, paintings, drawings, miniatures, statues, coins and self-portraits.

Thus, Boschini became his trusted man in Venice, henceforth identifying numerous works for the Florentine collections.

In 1673, he again met Leopold 's agent, who was passing through Venice and returning to Vienna after attending the emperor 's wedding.

Among the topics they discussed was the possibility of acquiring a self-portrait by Paolo Caliari that remained in the possession of his heirs, and in which Cosimo III de Medici was also interested until the '80s <sup>471</sup>.

In 1674 he negotiated for Leopoldo the purchase of self-portraits of the Bassano family.

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<sup>468</sup> *Id.*, p. 90. A copy of the painting was sent to Florence at the request of the Duke of Mantua himself.

<sup>469</sup> (Florence, 1633 – Florence, 1697).

<sup>470</sup> Leopoldo was made a cardinal a month after meeting Boschini, in December 1667.

<sup>471</sup> (Florence, 1642 – Florence, 1723). Grand Duke of Toscana, older brother of Ferdinand II. § Alfonsi (2014, pp. 66-67).

One of these was perhaps that of the father of them all, Jacopo <sup>472</sup> — then owned by Giovan Battista Recanati <sup>473</sup> —, of whom Boschini had intended to make a copy in pencil, and whose identity had at that time been assigned instead to one of his sons (Girolamo). The portrait was purchased on March 24, 1674, for 85 ducats and sent to Florence, and later he also had the opportunity to acquire the self-portraits of two other of his sons, Francesco and Leandro <sup>474</sup>.

At the end of 1675, in collaboration with Pietro della Vecchia <sup>475</sup>, who usually turned to him for these works, he mediated the acquisition of portraits from the collection of the knight Francesco Fontana <sup>476</sup>, then property of the Duke of Parma <sup>477</sup>. And among them, some closely related to the object of our research: self-portraits by Tintoretto and his daughter Marietta Robusti (Tintoretta), by Titian, and also by Giorgione <sup>478</sup>.

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<sup>472</sup> The alleged *cornettist* of *The Wedding*. Lafarga *et al.* (2021b, pp. 52-54). § Notes 55 and 227.

<sup>473</sup> Alfonsi (2014, p. 68).

<sup>474</sup> § Alfonsi (2014, p. 68). The presence of both brothers at *The Wedding* was proposed by Vivant Denon: § Note 509. Its alleged identification was never questioned and was tirelessly repeated and adapted in the descriptions of romantic travelers. We think they are not present on the canvas

<sup>475</sup> (Vincenza, 1603 – Venice, 1678). Erroneously surnamed “Muttoni” until the end of the last century, Pietro is known for his portraits, genre scenes (everyday life) and “grotesques”. § Plate X.D, and Notes 202 and 435.

<sup>476</sup> (Chiari, 1435 – Milán, 1504). Procacci & Procacci (1965, pp. 98-108). Quoted by Bertelli (2014).

<sup>477</sup> Ranuccio II Farnesio (Parma, 1630 – Parma, 1694). Duke of Parma and Piacenza, and later of Castro.

<sup>478</sup> Procacci & Procacci (1965, pp. 106-108). Quoted by Bertelli (2014).

That same year he also participated in the appraisal of the collection of Paolo del Sera <sup>479</sup>, Leopold of Medici 's Venetian agent — which included a *Ratto di Europa* by Veronese, previously requested by Charles II Gonzaga for his collection, and a *portrait* of Jacopo Tintoretto, among other pieces <sup>480</sup> — and also in the Ruzzini collection <sup>481</sup>.

And in 1680 he intervened in a new revaluation of that of Paolo del Sera, which included a detailed list of some 39 paintings made by Boschini between 1664 and 1680 <sup>482</sup>.

According to a contemporary source, "... his paintings are scattered throughout the city, in churches and in private homes. (...) He also works wonders with a pen that deceives the eyes. (...) The miniature is excellent, having still been able to see *matricole* and commissions from his hand" <sup>483</sup>.

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<sup>479</sup> (Florence, 1617 – Venice, 1672). Painter, collector and *connoisseur* specialized in Venetian art.

<sup>480</sup> Procacci & Procacci (1965, pp. 106-108). Quoted by Bertelli (2014).

<sup>481</sup> *Id.* The collection contained gold and silver medals, cameos, joys and stones, natural curiosities, paintings (which were not for sale), and sculptures.

<sup>482</sup> Cecchini (2014, p. 51). Bertelli (2014). Collectors and owners attended these types of sales and appraisals at the request of their potential clients.

<sup>483</sup> Martinioni (1663, p. 22): *Quinto catalogo degli pittori di nome che al presente vivono in Venetia*. Quoted by Bertelli (2014).



*Figure 36. The Casino of Spirits (Palace Contarini del Zaffo), by Francesco Guardi, end of 1770. Art Institute of Chicago.*

### 1.2.3. *Jean-Baptiste Colbert*

Colbert was the artistic patron of the French court since he was appointed Superintendent of of Finances. The patronage of the Royal House in the time of his predecessor, Cardinal Mazarin <sup>484</sup>, had been eclipsed by being in the hands of his former *protégé* <sup>485</sup>, and Colbert set out to recover this role for the Crown.

To this end, it reorganized the cultural fabric of the country, creating a network of specialized official organizations and "academies" directed by writers, artists and scholars, which extended their headquarters from the capital to the provinces, all of them aimed at extolling the role of cultural patronage of the monarchy <sup>486</sup>.

In addition to literary and academic works and those of plastic art (paintings and sculptures), he included other genres such as medals, tapestries, or different types of monuments.

And even though he did not personally sponsor artistic projects of musicians, painters, or writers, he was the person who managed to gather the largest number of artists and intellectuals around the Crown.

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<sup>484</sup> § Note 233.

<sup>485</sup> Burke (1992, p. 61). The "protégé" was Nicolas Fouquet (Paris, 1615 – Pinerolo, 1680), Viscount of Melun, Viscount of Vaux and Marquis of Belle-Ile. He was deposed after Mazarin's death, probably with the collaboration of Colbert, tried and imprisoned for maladministration of the state's funds until his death, although his death certificate is not recorded.

<sup>486</sup> Burke (1992, pp. 61-62).

Writers, scientists, historians, philosophers, mathematicians and essayists also succumbed to state subsidy: the benefits were very diverse, and included subsidies, pensions, guarantees, royalties, lucrative contracts as a royal artist, tax exemptions, and even protection against creditors <sup>487</sup>.

He wrote personally to his ambassadors and diplomats abroad about how to seek and negotiate the purchase of Renaissance art objects, giving them instructions on how to obtain better prices, the preference for more affordable casts or copies, and even about political pressures they could exercise over their owners, whether they were people or institutions, as was the case with the acquisition of *The Last Supper* by Veronese, from the monastery of I Servi in Venice <sup>488</sup>.

He expropriated the French Academy from their founders and granted it the right to promote the language; he granted the monopoly of artistic instruction to the Academy of Painting and Sculpture, founded by Mazarin, and that of the production of musical performances to the Academy of French Opera. He created the Academy of French Comedy by ordering the merger of the two great theaters of Paris; and also the Royal Academy of Sciences, which was located in the building of the future Museum of the Republic (today the Louvre Museum) from 1699, by order of Louis XIV.

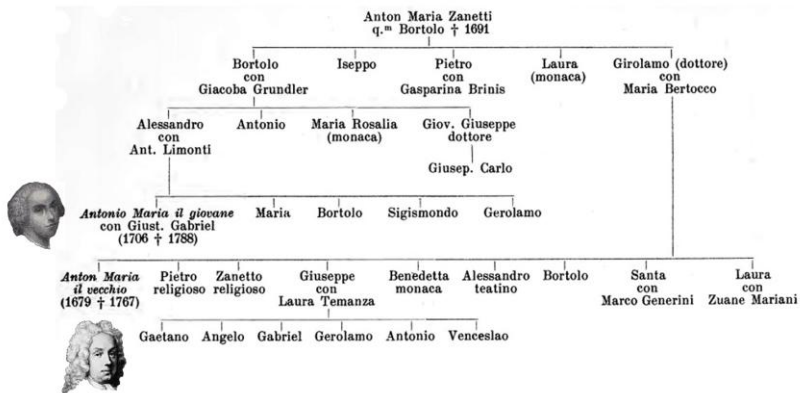
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<sup>487</sup> Rothbard (2006, p. 248).

<sup>488</sup> Burke (1992, p. 67).

He also reorganized the control of State finances through a diversified network of superintendents thanks to the hiring of spies <sup>489</sup>, who controlled the correct application of monopolies and quality standards in the production or acquisition of all types of goods, especially those referring to products deluxe. Sanctions could include confiscation or destruction of lower quality products, and even loss of licenses for affected businesses <sup>490</sup>.

His fame endures as that of an austere and hard-working character who hated wasting state money on unnecessary companies <sup>491</sup>.



*Figure 37. Genealogical tree Zanetti family, after the Contrada de S. Maria Mater Domini. Taken from Lorenzetti (1917, p. 93).*

<sup>489</sup> Soll (2009).

<sup>490</sup> Rothbard (2006, p. 218).

<sup>491</sup> Burke (1992, p. 61). The acquisitions of Renaissance works at this time were to anticipate the appropriations later made by Napoleon for the benefit of France.



### 1.2.4. *Anton Maria Zanetti the Elder (1679 – 1767)*

The degree of kinship between the two Zanettis, being homonymous contemporary relatives, has remained unclear in the literature even until recent times, despite studies that have clarified this issue <sup>492</sup>.

According to our naming, the first Zanetti (“the Elder”) was the son of Girolamo, and grandson of Antón M<sup>a</sup> Zanetti formerly called Bortolo, the patriarch of the family who died in 1691. While the second (“the Younger”) was the son of Alessandro, a nephew of Girolamo, thus being himself the great-grandson of the patriarch Bortolo <sup>493</sup>.

The confusion — they are referred to either as *cousins* or as *uncle* and *nephew* <sup>494</sup> — is related to the fact that both used the nickname “the Younger” at different times. The count, our *first* Zanetti, did it first, to distinguish himself from his grandfather Bortolo.

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<sup>492</sup> § Figure 37. See, e.g. Lorenzetti (1917), Bettagno (1969) or Bortoluzzi (2014).

<sup>493</sup> “Moriva l’anno 1691 in Venezia un Anton Maria Zanetti qm. Bortolo, il capostipite della famiglia, e veniva sepolto nella chiesa di S. Maria Mater Domini, dove ancor oggi esiste la lapide che ricorda il suo nome. Lasciò questi alquanti figli fra cui Bortolo e Gerolamo i soli che ebbero discendenza: da questi discesero i due rami principali della famiglia, a cui appartennero i due personaggi omonimi, il cui nome risuonò celebre, come fu detto, in Venezia nel settecento. Da Gerolamo Zanetti nacque infatti Anton Maria che fu detto il vecchio, da Bortolo Zanetti, Alessandro, insignito di poi del titolo di nobiltà dall’ imperator d’ Austria, padre questi del secondo Anton Maria, che fu chiamato junior.” (*sic.*). Lorenzetti (1917, pp. 4-6).

<sup>494</sup> It is their respective parents who are uncle and nephew, and not themselves.

And later the *second*, who assumed the adjective from now on to distinguish himself from his own relative <sup>495</sup>, and also from the first Bortolo, who had been, in his case, his great-grandfather. Although both usually signed their documents adding the names of their respective parents <sup>496</sup>.

It seems that our Antón Maria the Elder began his training in the workshop of Niccolò Bambini <sup>497</sup>, and later in that of the veronese Antonio Balestra <sup>498</sup>, a friend of the family and also like them, an art dealer, where he began to learn the rudiments of engraving. He later joined Sebastiano Ricci's workshop in Venice. <sup>499</sup>. And in 1707 his name appears as an insurer, a profession that he later took up from an uncle, after the death of his father.

The following year, in 1708, he met Stefano Nicola Edelinck <sup>500</sup>, who had arrived in the city from Monaco, and under his direction he began to work on engraving with burin from one of the canvases that Tintoretto had painted for the Venetian congregations. <sup>501</sup>.

The death of his father in 1711 forced him to concentrate his activity on the family businesses, which from then on remained under his responsibility, at the same time inheriting his uncle 's insurance company that had provided them with a certain solvency.

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<sup>495</sup> Bortoluzzi (2014, pp. 8-9). Piva (2014, pp. 83-84).

<sup>496</sup> Lorenzetti (1917, p. 6).

<sup>497</sup> (Venice, 1651 – Venice, 1736).

<sup>498</sup> (Verona, 1666 – Verona, 1740).

<sup>499</sup> (Belluno, 1659 – Venice, 1734). Ricci painted many copies of Veronese's canvases, both complete scenes and individual heads.

<sup>500</sup> Nicolás-Étienne Edelinck (Paris, 1681 – Paris, 1767). Eighth child of a renowned family of engravers. § Plate XIX.A.

<sup>501</sup> *San Pietro che adora la Croce*, in the Madonna dell' Orto.

In 1713, both family branches granted him a portion of the inheritance to settle outstanding debts, and, in the attached inventory, a certain number of canvases are mentioned, more relatable with contemporary painters than with the venetian “classics” of the *Seicento* <sup>502</sup>.

There is still a gap in information between 1713 and 1720, the year in which he undertook his first important trip to some of the main European capitals. Nevertheless, during this time he established two of his most important contacts in the field of art collecting, when they visited the city — Crozat in 1715 <sup>503</sup>, and Mariette at the end of 1718 <sup>504</sup>. They opened the doors of international circuits to him.

From then on, he maintained a close correspondence with both until their respective deaths. Crozat gave him access to numerous royal and private galleries and collections, and to a significant number of major European collectors, for whom he also worked <sup>505</sup>.

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<sup>502</sup> Magrini (2009, p. 317). Quoted by Bartoluzzi (2014).

<sup>503</sup> Pierre Crozat (Toulouse, 1665 – Paris, 1740). § Plate XIX.D. Banker and art collector: his collection of engravings reached 19,000 copies. Treasurer of the King of France since 1704, he was commercial agent of Philip II, Duke of Orleans, between 1714 and 1721. He and his brother Antoine became the richest businessmen in France.

<sup>504</sup> Pierre-Jean Mariette (Paris, 1694 – Paris, 1774). § Plate XXI.A.B.

<sup>505</sup> E.g. Philippe Charles II d'Orleans (Saint-Cloud, 1674 – Versailles, 1723). § Plate XIX.B. Duke of Orleans, Chartres, Valois, Nemours, and Montpensier, and regent of France until the accession to the throne of his nephew, Louis XV the *Beloved* (Versailles, 1710 – Versailles, 1774). He was a great collector of paintings and turned Paris into an open and liberal city in contrast to the intellectual atmosphere of the previous era, in the time of Colbert: § Section 8. The Orleans Collection is considered the largest collection assembled by a European patron who was not a king.

One of their most relevant agreements culminated in the purchase of Callot 's large collection of engravings, one of the most important at the time, and which after his death was returned to Paris — today in the National Library of France <sup>506</sup>.

In May 1721, he left Paris for London, where he visited and treated the best collectors of the time, to go to Holland in October, and meet Zomer <sup>507</sup>, from whom he obtained the famous collection of Rembrandt engravings <sup>508</sup>, which he kept in his own home until his death. The engravings were later acquired by Dominique Vivant Denon <sup>509</sup>, who would be the first president of the Museum of the Republic (now the Louvre Museum) and were presented in Paris as the most precious work in his own collection.

In 1736 he was recalled to Vienna to reorganize the art collections of the Sovereign Prince of Lichtenstein <sup>510</sup>, with whom he maintained close correspondence for the next two years.

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<sup>506</sup> Lorenzetti (1917, p. 14); Magrini (2009, p. 319). Quoted by Bortoluzzi (2014). Jacques Callot (Nancy, 1592 – Nancy, 1635). § Cover and Plate XVII.C.

<sup>507</sup> Jan Pietersz Zomer (Amsterdam, 1641 – Amsterdam, 1724). § Plate XX.A.B.

<sup>508</sup> Rembrandt Harmenszoon van Rijn (Leiden, 1606 – Amsterdam, 1669).

<sup>509</sup> Dominique Vivant, Barón Denon (Chalon-sur-Saone, 1747 – Paris, 1825). § Plate XX.D. Vivant was the person in charge of artistic affairs in France during Napoleon's campaigns and managed many of the works of art brought to France from other countries as war spoils, including the painting in question.

<sup>510</sup> Josef Wenzel Lorenz von Liechtenstein (Praga, 1696 – Bohemia, 1772). § Plate XXI.C.

The collaboration between the “two Zanetti” had begun in 1721 with the count’s best-known work, which included the printing of one hundred marbles from the Venetian Public Statuary with explanatory comments, and which was published in two volumes twenty years later, in 1740 and 1743, respectively <sup>511</sup>.

Zanetti (the count) had begun working on this project to relaunch the technique of wood engraving, which had fallen into disuse centuries before <sup>512</sup>. However, the higher quality achieved by other reproduction techniques in vogue of his time, compared with woodcut engraving, was unfavorable to his enterprise.

His last publication appeared in 1750, containing a detailed and annotated catalog of his precious collection of gems, with each of its plates illustrated by an anonymous engraver <sup>513</sup>. His publishing activity was set aside for the remaining years until his death in 1767.

He was buried in the church of Santa Maria Mater Domini with a simple tombstone, and his prestigious collection served as encouragement and a point of reference and promotion for many of the painters he helped, and for the artists and *connoisseurs* who visited the city for decades.

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<sup>511</sup> *Delle antiche statue Greche e Romene che nell'antisala della Libreria di San Marco, e in altri luoghi pubblici di Venezia si trovano.*

<sup>512</sup> *Raccolta di varie stampe a chiaroscuro dai disegni originali di Francesco Mazzola detto il Parmigianino e d'altri insigni autori da Antonio Maria Zanetti, q.m Gir, che gli stessi disegni possiede.* The work appeared in four successive editions in 1731, 1739, 1743, and 1749, respectively.

<sup>513</sup> *Dactyliotheca Zannettiana.*

The collection, contained in the family 's annex palace, was already sold and dispersed three decades later, around 1804.

Anton M<sup>a</sup> Zanetti the Elder also enjoyed recognition to this day for his famous caricatures, with which he immortalized his friends and acquaintances <sup>514</sup>.



**Figure 38.** Anton María Zanetti the Younger, after a Titian 's frescoe in the lateral facade of Fondaco dei Tedeschi, which is shown in Figure 15. In: *Varie pitture a fresco de' principali maestri veneziani*, 1760. London, The British Museum.

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<sup>514</sup> *Album Cini*, Venice, Fundación Cini, 1969.

### 1.2.5. *Anton Maria Zanetti the Younger (1706 – 1778)*

Antonio was born in Venice in the early years of *Settecento*, son of Alessandro Zanetti and Antonia Limonti <sup>515</sup>. He trained as a painter and engraver in the workshop of Nicolo Bambini <sup>516</sup>, and later received scientific and scholarly training with the Jesuits.

As curator of the San Marco Library and until his death <sup>517</sup>, he dedicated himself to the study of Venetian painting, following in the wake and previous work of Ridolfi and Boschini. He was more oriented towards dealing with specialists who advocated applying the historical method to the study of art, and not so much to the social relations that brought international renown to his homonymous relative.

In 1736, and thanks to the collaboration with Zanetti the Elder, he was commissioned by the administrator of the Library, Lorenzo Tiepolo <sup>518</sup>, to compile the inventories of antiquities of the city Statuary. It was an enormous task that required a strong investment on the part of both relatives <sup>519</sup>, in addition to causing numerous problems along the way: the work involved many of the best engravers of the time, and one of them even tried to murder him, being sentenced to a penalty of one year in prison <sup>520</sup>.

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<sup>515</sup> § Figure 37.

<sup>516</sup> (Venice, 1651 – Venice, 1736).

<sup>517</sup> He was succeeded by Jacopo Morelli: § Note 86.

<sup>518</sup> (Venice, 1736 – Somosaguas, 1776). Painter and engraver, son of Giambattista Tiepolo.

<sup>519</sup> Over 1,300 gold coins in 15 years: Bortoluzzi (2014, p. 23).

<sup>520</sup> Giovanni Antonio Faldoni. § Lorenzetti (1917, p. 67); Sacconi (1994); Sacconi (1996, p. 164). Quoted by Bartoluzzi (2014).

Antonio obtained the position of curator of the Marciana Library the following year, in 1737, upon the recommendation of its administrator. Here, both Zanetti collaborated on the aforementioned edition of the library's catalog of statues — *Delle antiche statue greche e romane* —, and later with Antonio Bongiovanni <sup>521</sup> on the inventory of Greek and Latin manuscripts, completed in 1738 for the former, and in 1740 for the latter, and published by the Venetian Senate this same year and the following (respectively) with immediate editorial success.

In his best-known work, *Della pittura veneziana e delle opere pubbliche de' veneziani maestri*, he dedicated the second book to our protagonists Giorgione, Paolo Caliari, Bassano, Tintoretto, and Tiziano — that is, to the members of the successive *consort* which was designed by Veronese in *The Wedding* —, as the greatest exponents of the triumph of the Venetian school of painting in the *Cinquecento*.

The third was dedicated to his direct disciples. And the fourth to their mannerist imitators of the *Seicento*.

The first book is dedicated to Giovanni Bellini and Vittore Carpaccio, two of Giorgione 's teachers. And the fifth to the painting of his own time <sup>522</sup>.

Their testimony is a primary source for many lost works of art, and especially for the frescoes painted by Giorgione and Titian on the façade of the building that housed the community of German merchants in Venice, the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi*.

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<sup>521</sup> (Perarolo (Vicenza), 1712 - Venice?, 1762?).

<sup>522</sup> Zanetti (1771).



Carlo Goldoni dedicated one of his most famous comedies to him, *Il ricco insidiato* <sup>523</sup>. And the leading role in his comedy *La Bottega del Caffè* <sup>524</sup>.

His younger brother, Girolamo <sup>525</sup>, was also a scholar dedicated to ancient languages, archeology and numismatics, and edited a small treatise dedicated to sculpture, goldsmithing, and Venetian civil and military architecture <sup>526</sup>.

**Figure 39.** Anton Maria Zanetti the Younger, after a Giorgione 's fresco in the main facade of Fondaco dei Tedeschi. Engraving printed in paper, ni: *Varie pitture a fresco de' principali maestri veneziani*, 1760. London, The British Museum. MN: 1879,0809.218.



<sup>523</sup> (Venice, 1707 – Paris, 1793). Playwright considered one of the fathers of Italian comedy, with more than 200 plays.

<sup>524</sup> Coffee had become a cult object in Europe, and the first Venetian establishment dedicated to this imported product was opened in Venice in 1748.

<sup>525</sup> Girolamo Francesco Zanetti (Venice, 1713 – Padua, 1872). § Figure 37.

<sup>526</sup> Zanetti (1758).

### 1.2.6. Henry F. Holt: a prestigious collector

As we noted in Section 10, in 1867 an essay was published in the (in its time) prestigious journal *Gentleman Magazine*, in two parts, but without notes or references <sup>527</sup>.

In our opinion, the essay does indeed contain true facts, and others that are not, probably the result of the author ‘s own interpretation, or the inaccuracy of his sources.

However, we believe that the fact that it has allowed us to identify five guests — and consequently propose up to a total of three members of the Grimani family <sup>528</sup> —, lends (if not in its whole) a high degree of veracity to his story in relation to the identity of the *six new guests* he mentions.

Among them the patron of the commission and the author, and three very relevant figures from the circle of *spirituali*: Giulia Gonzaga, Alvise Priuli, and Reginald Pole <sup>529</sup>.

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<sup>527</sup> Holt (1867).

<sup>528</sup> Two of them are our original proposal, thanks to the three characters he added to what was in effect Zanetti's enumeration, apart from the “displaced” Tintoretto, who had wrongly attributed it to the second *tenor* violist, that is, Diego Ortiz. § Lafarga & Sanz (2019a).

<sup>529</sup> To which we must add the Barbaro brothers. Holt is the first source to mention them, although he confuses Marcantonio with a commensal who is not him: Lafarga & Sanz (2022). § Note 258.

It also increases the possibility that the Grimani were the main civil promoters of the commission, given their patronage of some of the artists of the central scene (along with the architect responsible for the works in the refectory, Palladio), of Giorgione himself in his time, and about the Benedictine Order itself, and especially the monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore.

The essay reports on the existence of a *modello* of the monumental commission, a previous reduced version of the work, exhibited in the house of the patrician and senator Girolamo Grimani.

According to the author — who at this point does not cite any source other than his own story —, the contemplation of this small canvas was what motivated the desire of Scroguerro, the abbot of San Giorgio, to immortalize it in a gigantic work for his congregation.

The author of the repeatedly discredited essay (until our work) did not sign his writing, but in the famous and prestigious publication of the Louvre Museum in 1992, on the restoration of Veronese canvas, he was identified as the antiquarian and collector Henry F. Holt <sup>530</sup>, without further mention of his identity.

The data on his life are indeed very scarce, beyond the events related to the work he owned and the circumstances surrounding his attempt to assert it before the international community, including his own story.

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<sup>530</sup> Priever & Chaudonneret (1992, pp. 302-303).

And the work of the greatest specialist in this publication (De Montluzin) has also not been able to offer relevant information, either about this specific year or about the editors, beyond their names <sup>531</sup>.

Henry, resident in London, was an active member of several of the most prestigious cultural associations: the Numismatic Society, the Society of Antiquaries, and also the Archaeological Association, in which he held various consecutive positions on the Council in charge of organizing its *Biannual Meetings*.

During the documentable period, thanks to his numerous printed contributions, he appears with the title of *Esquire*, which, although not a noble title, is illustrative of the respectful treatment that was granted to him during his lifetime <sup>532</sup>.

The exact date of his birth is unknown, around 1813, but the date of his death on April 15, 1871, is known, based on the auction date of his valuable private collection and the expressions of condolence from other members of the aforementioned societies, published in subsequent volumes.

The auction was held shortly after, between June 19 and 21, by *Christie, Manson & Woods*.

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<sup>531</sup> Emily Lorraine de Montluzin, personal communication. § Lafarga & Sanz (in preparation).

<sup>532</sup> The acronym Esq. (*Esquire*) was a general form of respect in England during the 19th century. Although it was originally applied to landowners who could live of their rents, it gradually came to be used to distinguish a certain social status just above the title of *Gentleman* and below that of *Knight*.

The inventory included, among other objects, ancient utensils and containers, medieval ivories, medallions, chests, metal and wood carvings, exotic objects, and some paintings, including the reduced version of *The Wedding* by Veronese<sup>533</sup>.

As already mentioned, we believe that his interpretation of the actual moment of the wedding depicted — the Peace of Cambrai — is accurate<sup>534</sup>.

It should be remembered that the small canvas existed regardless of whether it was a copy or not and that it was his property, that it was publicly exhibited on several occasions and the note on its back shown and disclosed, that it was hosted at the prestigious *Leeds International Exhibition* in 1868<sup>535</sup>, and that it remained with him until his death.

Priever argues that the fact that Holt based the authenticity of his property on the list of portraits he found on its back, and that this was only a “modified” version of Zanetti’s enumeration, is enough to qualify his claims as “more than doubtful”<sup>536</sup>.

He states that his consideration of the theme represented as the celebration of the ceremony that involved the signing of the Peace of Cambrai is “allegorical” and cannot be considered for the modern interpretation of *The Wedding*.

<sup>533</sup> “*Catalogue of a highly interesting collection of antiquities & works of art, formed by the late Henry F. Holt, Esq. ...*”, Printer William Clowes and Sons. (1871) <<http://hdl.handle.net/10079/bibid/14953212>>

<sup>534</sup> We have already mentioned that there were “two weddings”, the first of which represented the marriage between Francis I and the Emperor's sister, which places this first “historical moment” precisely on the dates proposed by Holt. § Notes 242-244. Lafarga & Sanz (in preparation).

<sup>535</sup> Object number 154: *National Exhibition of Works of Art at Leeds, 1868: Official Catalogue*, Leeds, Edward Baines & Sons (1869, p. 20).

<sup>536</sup> Priever & Chaudonneret (1992, p. 302). In our opinion, the appropriate definition is *expanded*, not *modified*.

Obviously, our opinion is exactly the opposite: that the story he left us contains *true* and *critical* elements, both with respect to his own statements and the modern interpretation postulated by our model, given that his *six new characters* (6) added to the list of Zanetti, are identifiable on the canvas in addition to providing support for the identification of others — e.g., Domenico Grimani and his descendant Giovanni VI, the Patriarch of Aquileia at the time of commission<sup>537</sup>.

In the same sense, we believe that the “real” existence of this previous *modello* in its own time — regardless of whether Holt’s painting was authentic or not — sufficiently justifies the inclusion of what appears to be an observable “artifact” in the X-ray of the canvas, but which was actually the small painting that Benedetto Caliari, with his left arm extended, painted for the Benedictines in the original design (Consort 1).

This object could in no way be known before 1989, when the X-rays that revealed its presence were obtained<sup>538</sup>.

So Holt’s allusion to a similar object owned by the Grimani family, which would have captivated the abbot of the monastery for his monumental commission, must come from a contemporary source of the canvas and *necessarily* truthful, based on the story of someone who had contemplated the work already during its beginnings.

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<sup>537</sup> Lafarga & Sanz (2022).

<sup>538</sup> *Id.* Lafarga *et al* (2022, Section 4).



**Figure 40.** *Gallery of Contemporary British Painters, Leeds Exhibition.* Anonymous drawing for *The Illustrated London News*, June 27, 1868.

The observation of this *critical* circumstance — the *physical* impossibility of knowing its existence — is exactly the same that affects the poem by Benedetto Guidi, the confidence revealed to Colbert in the monastery itself one century later, and the mention of Zanetti the Younger of emperor 's sister as the bride at the end of the following century.

The four sources must come, ultimately, from eyewitnesses of what we are mentioning regarding the fifteen months that the commission lasted. It means, before Giorgione was definitively hidden under the face of Ortiz, when the musician arrived at the end of the summer from 1563 to San Giorgio Maggiore, probably on the way to the conclusion of the Council of Trent <sup>539</sup>.

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<sup>539</sup> Lafarga & Sanz (2019).





*1.2.7. Chronological table of legends*

<i>Attribution</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Author</i>	<i>Source</i>
"mille dolci errori"	1565	B. Guidi	<i>De le rime di diversi nobili poeti toscani ...</i>
Giorgione accomplished lutenist	1568	G. Vasari	<i>Vidas ...</i>
Veronese's Journey to Rome with the Venetian ambassador Girolamo Grimani. Presence of numerous Benedictine monks	1648	C. Ridolfi	<i>Le maraviglie dee' arte</i>
"personaggi nobilmente figurati"	1652	P. da Cortona	
Giorgione's presence at <i>The Wedding</i> , along with Paolo, Tintoretto and Bassano	1671	J-B. Colbert	(Journey to Italy: visit to San Giorgio)
Painter-musicians: Tintoretto playing the violin. Gold rings on his left hands.	1674	M. Boschini	<i>Breve Instruzione</i>
(Sequence of copies)		S. Ricci	"Character heads"
Paolo, Benedetto Caliari, and several painters	1707	Sr. von Blainville	Priever (1997)
Paolo and his wife, Benedetto Caliari, Bassano, Tiziano	1722	E. Wright	(Travel diary)
Paolo takes refuge in San Giorgio for a murder in Venice / 300 ducats / barrel of wine	1726	J.C. Nemeitz	Priever (1997)
Painters-musicians: Tintoretto on the violin	1733	Zanetti el Viejo	<i>Wedding at Cana</i>
Self-Portrait of Paolo Caliari	1743	J.G. Saiter	<i>The Feast in the House of Levi</i>
Portraits: Francesco and Leandro Bassano, Andrea Schiavone, and Paolo		D. Vivant Denon	(From the Uffizi Gallery copies of <i>The Wedding at Cana</i> )
"hommes veritables"	1758	C.N. Cochin	<i>Wedding at Cana</i>

Portraits in <i>The Wedding</i>	1769	La Landes	Priever (1997)
Mention of “portraits” in Veronese’s works	1779	J.H.W. Tischbein	<i>The Wedding at Cana</i> <i>The Family of Darius</i> <i>Before Alexander...</i>
Mention of “portraits” and of the bride as the wife of Veronese	1764	P.J. Grosley	<i>Nouveaux mémoires ou observations sur l’Italie par deux gentilhommes ...</i>
Mention of the “idyll” between a Benedictine monk and the Lady of the Flowers. Intention to also paint the ceiling.	1766	P.J. Grosley	Priever (1997)
Most of the faces in Veronese’s paintings are authentic portraits.	1770	J.J. Volkmann	Priever (1997)
Enumeration of the characters from Alfonso d’Avalos to Charles V, including Eleanor of Austria / Benedetto Caliari  Five errors noted: relationship of the groom, omission of Maria of Aragona and of Suleiman, nonexistence of the Grand Vizier and reattribution of Tintoretto by Ortiz (without reference to the violinist or Bassano)	1771	Zanetti el Joven	<i>Della pittura veneziana</i>  Lafarga <i>et al</i> (2018) / Lafarga & Sanz (2023a)
Charles V with the Golden Fleece / Two cardinals (Grimani?)	1813	J. Lavallée	<i>Galerie du Musée Napoléon, Vol. 9</i>
Portraits of kings, emperors, and other eminent figures	1803	G.F. Waagen	Priever (1997)
Paolo Caliari shows his previous model to the monks of San Giorgio Maggiore (oil painting)	1856	O.G. Wichmann	<i>Berlin Nationalgalerie, Staatliche Museen,</i> Nr.: W.S. 260.
Mention of the 1559 model in the Grimani gallery: family seal and list / Numbered description: Perico, Barbaro brothers, Giulia Gonzaga, Girolamo Grimani, Reginald Pole, Alvise Priuli	1867	H.F. Holt	<i>The Marriage at Cana</i> ... <i>The Gentleman’s Magazine</i> , 223

## **ANNEX 2. GIORGIO DE CASTELFRANCO: PORTRAITS AND SELF-PORTRAITS**



## 2.1. Eight (?) portraits of Giorgione in the Cinquecento

Firstly (A), the most accepted face of Giorgione is shown, which we present in [Figure 3] and in [Plate II.A].

Vasari says that this famous canvas known as *David* was said to be his self-portrait, which was found in the house of “the very Reverend Grimani, patriarch of Aquileia”, who protected his arm and chest with armor, and that “in his hand he holds the head of Goliath”.

It is probably a damaged original after being cut off at the bottom and has been identified based on ancient descriptions by Vasari and others <sup>540</sup>.

Below (B) is shown the second self-portrait accepted among the scientific community, which we also present in [Figure 3] and in [Plate II.B].

Several identity attributions have been offered regarding its authorship: from a 16th century imitator <sup>541</sup>, to a version of the first self-portrait made after 1568 <sup>542</sup>.

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<sup>540</sup> Vasari (1568, p. 300). Zuffi (1991, p. 50). The removed part featured the severed head of Goliath; there is no agreement as to which of the two known canvases that include this head is the self-portrait or original: the one in the *Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum*, Braunschweig, Germany (Plate II.A) or the one in the *Kunsthistorischen Museum*, Vienna (Plate I.B).

<sup>541</sup> Pigler (1967, pp. 263-266).

<sup>542</sup> Zampetti (1968, p. 93); Czobor (1968, pp. 59-60), number 44; Ballarin (1968, pp. 244-246).

In addition to someone from the so-called "Giorgione Circle"<sup>543</sup>, a copy by the hand of Palma the Elder<sup>544</sup>, and even a study by Giorgione himself for the self-portrait in the Brunschweig Museum<sup>545</sup>.

In the center (C) appears Vasari's posthumous engraving portraying the painter<sup>546</sup>, probably copied from the self-portrait as *David*.

Below (D) is shown the silhouette of Giorgione's face as it appears in the X-ray images from *The Wedding of Cana* by Veronese, inverted respect his two known self-portraits, with the same orientation depicted by Vasari, who was coeval to Veronese, probably due to the engraving technique.

Finally (E), a new self-portrait admitted as his, was previously interpreted as "Samson ridiculed" by the two characters who laugh behind his figure [Plate II.C].

The restoration of the painting showed that what he was holding was a kind of lute or viola upside down and pointing to the ground, of which only the base of the instrument can be seen, and that the person represented is Giorgione himself.

The painting was owned by Gabriele Vendramin<sup>547</sup>.

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<sup>543</sup> Pignatti (1969, p. 142, no. C 2); Pignatti (1978, p. 148).

<sup>544</sup> Freedberg (1971, p. 476, note 27).

<sup>545</sup> Garas (1981, number 6). Dal Pozzolo (2009, p. 209).

<sup>546</sup> Vasari (1568, p. 12).

<sup>547</sup> § Annex 1.1.5 and Plate XIII.C.D.

**Figure 41.** *Giorgione 's two self-portraits and portrait (engraving) by Vasari. Down: Giorgione 's silhouette in the X-ray images, and the third self-portrait.*



As we have already specified regarding Figure 11 and given that there is no agreement about which of the two versions of *David with the head of Goliath* — the one from Braunschweig or the one from Vienna — is the authentic self-portrait of Giorgione. Our original proposal is that the three faces shown again in Figure 42, all attributed to Giorgione, represent the same character.

The X-rays of the Vienna portrait, as we have already specified, showed that the painting originally contained a lute, hidden under the current designs.

**Figure 42.** *Left is our original proposal for a possible coded new self-portrait, corresponding to one of the characters depicted in "Phaethon before Apollo" (Plate I.D). Note the resemblance to the Vienna portrait (Plate I.B) in the centre, and to the "Shepherd with a flute" (Plate V.D), right.*



To conclude, we show here the two portraits that David Teniers the Younger <sup>548</sup>, reproduced more than a century later, in the service of Archduke Leopold William of Austria, governor of the Spanish Netherlands between 1647 and 1656.

Many of the paintings that appear in Teniers' "meta-paintings" came from Venice, purchased by the English collector James Hamilton <sup>549</sup>, the year of the death of their former owner, the Venetian collector Bartolomeo della Nave <sup>550</sup>, when his collection passed at the hands of Leopold.

Portraits of Giorgione appear in two of them.

**Figure 43.** *The Archduke Leopold Wilhelm in his Painting Gallery in Brussels, 1647-51. Museo del Prado, Madrid, P001813.*

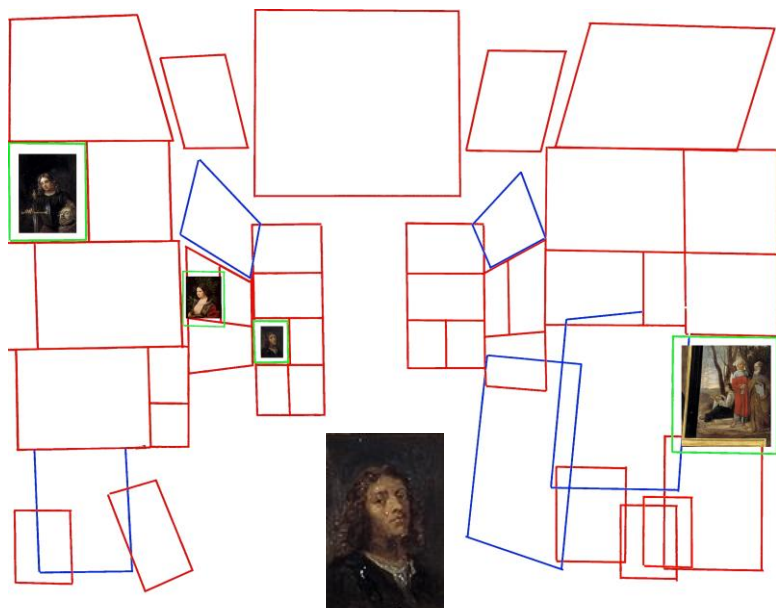
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<sup>548</sup> § Note 53.

<sup>549</sup> (London, 1606 – London, 1649).

<sup>550</sup> Primer Duque de Hamilton (Venice, ? – Venice, 1636).





The one shown in the center in Figure 43 seems to recall the armor from his self-portrait as *David*. It is in the Prado Museum in Madrid — which has about 40 works by this author — and contains a good number of paintings by the painters represented on the canvas.

The diagram (on the right) shows three canvases by Giorgione and the copy of his self-portrait in the center of the scene (highlighted in green). The one in Figure 44 contains the other three.

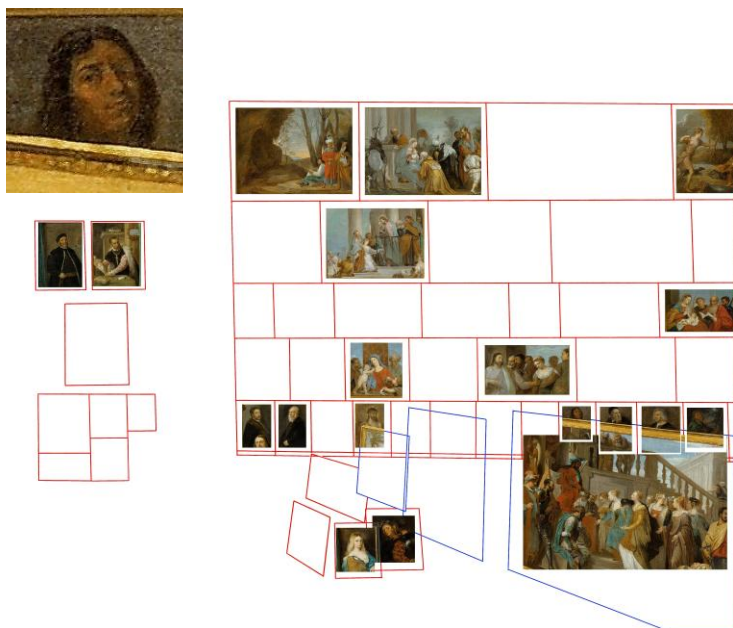
Although almost all the pictures depicted contain an inscription at the base of the frame that identifies their authors, the current attribution differs in many cases from that which appears in his works.

Teniers left us the details of many of these paintings in his catalog *Teatrum pictorium* (1673). He employed 12 engravers to reproduce the 243 canvases included in his paintings and in the catalogue and produced small oil copies of each one (17x25 cm), currently distributed in different public and private collections.

The partial portrait shown in Figure 44 became, along with many of these canvases, the property of the *Kunsthistorisches Museum* in Vienna. Giorgione appears looming above a large painting with Veronese stairs, reproduced in the lower right corner from the observer.

**Figure 44.** *Archduke Leopold Wilhelm in His Gallery at Brussels, ca. 1651. Kunsthistorisches Museum de Vienna GG 739.*

# GIORGIO DE CASTELFRANCO AND THE LEGEND OF THE WEDDING AT CANA



This "gallery" contains at least 19 representations of works from the Venetian School (the components of the *consort* that concerns us here), in addition to others by also Venetian painters <sup>551</sup>.

The first painting on the right above the stairs is the nocturne with violin shown on Plate III.C, perhaps the lost canvas by Giorgione that Isabella d' Este was looking for <sup>552</sup>.

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<sup>551</sup> There is a second version by Teniers himself of *The Brussels Picture Gallery of the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm of Austria* (1614-1662), ca. 1651, in Petworth House and Park, West Sussex, England, NT 486159.

<sup>552</sup> § Notes 128-132.

## 2.2. Twenty posthumous portraits of Giorgione

	<i>Canvas</i>	<i>Author</i>	<i>Current location</i>
<b>G1</b>	Ideal portrait of Giorgione	Tiberio Tinelli (1586-1638)	Svizzera, private collection
<b>G2</b>	Giorgione with an equine skull	Pietro della Vecchia "simia di Zorzo"	Ciliverghe di Mazzano, Pinacoteca Giuseppe Alessandra-Musei Mazzucchelli
<b>G3</b>	Warrior (Giorgione ?)	Pietro della Vecchia	Padua, Collection Carlo Bressan
<b>G4</b>	Warrior (Giorgione ?)	Pietro della Vecchia	NY, Galería Erlich
<b>G5</b>	Bearded man	Anonymous mitad s. XVI	Firenze, Galleria degli Uffizi
<b>G6</b>	Self-portrait (David)	Venetian painter Mitad s. XVI	Vicenza, private collection
<b>G7</b>	Self-portrait (David)	Venetian painter(?) final. s. XVI	Hampton Court, Royal Collection
<b>G8</b>	Vero ritratto di G. di Castelfranco	Wenceslaus Hollar (1607-1677)	
<b>G9</b>		Giovanni Georgi	<i>Ridolfi: Le maraviglie dell' arte</i>
<b>G10</b>		Giuseppe Dala	
<b>G11</b>	Portrait of Giorgione	Joachim von Sandrart 1675-79	<i>Teutsche Akademie</i> (1675)
<b>G12</b>	Portrait of Giorgione	David Teniers el Joven	Museo del Prado de Madrid, P001813.
<b>G13</b>	Portrait of Giorgione	David Teniers el Joven	Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna, GG739
<b>G14</b>	Giorgione (bearded man)	Anonymous (?) 1750-1850	<i>I tempi di Giorgione</i> , M. Manzato 1994, 283-284
<b>G15</b>	Ideal portrait of Giorgione	Giuseppe Macpherson ca. 1780	
<b>G16</b>		A. Canova, 1792	
<b>G17</b>	Portrait of a warrior	A. Canova, 1793	Ciudad del Vaticano, Archivo Histórico
<b>G18</b>	Crusader 's head	A. Canova, 1793	Nantes, Fine Arts Museum
<b>G19</b>	Grabado	John Corner, 1816/1825	
<b>G20</b>	Statue of Giorgione	Augusto Benvenuti 1878	Castelfranco



## 2.3. Biographical data about Giorgione in the *Cinquecento*

1474	Was born in Castelfranco.	Anderson <i>et al.</i> (2019)
1480	Training in his local environment with Pier Maria Pennacchi or with Girolamo de Treviso (?).	Zuffi (1991)
	Possible collaboration with Francesco Bissolo, painter from Castelfranco who was almost a contemporary of his.	Segre (2011)
1489	"Georgium". Arrested in Venice for unknown reasons, his widowed stepmother acting as his supporter. Age: 15 or 16.	Puppi (2009)
1490	He began his training in Venice in the workshops of Giovanni Bellini, with Titian, Lorenzo Lotto and Palma the Elder.	Ridolfi (1648)
	Maybe a disciple of Vittore Carpaccio, also a Bellini's disciple. (?).	
1496	New self-portrait (?) playing the lute in <i>Phaeton before Apollo</i> . Giorgione, 1496-98. Age: 22 or 24 years.	London, NG 1173.
1498	Giorgione and Girolamo Campagnola on canvas <i>Phaeton before Apollo</i> . Attributed to Giorgione, 1496-98. London, National Gallery, Inv. NG 1173.	Guidoni (1996)
1500	"Zorzi", son of the notary Giovanni Barbarella, requests tax exemption for no longer residing in the city (Castelfranco).	Badaloni (2020)
	Portrait of Doge Agostino Barbarigo.	
	Portrait of the condottiere Consalvo Ferrante, called the "Great Captain".	
	Fresco allegories of <i>Diligence</i> and <i>Prudence</i> , on the door facing the canal on the ground floor of the Vendramin-Calergi Palace.	
	Leonardo Da Vinci visits Venice and meets relatives of Cardinal Domenico Grimani.	
1501	Letter from Domenico Grimani, dated March 14, 1501.	State Archives. Venice
?	Frescoes in the cathedral of Montagnana — <i>David</i> and <i>Judith</i> — during Domenico's tenure as <i>duomo</i> .	Badaloni (2020)
1504	Portrait of Condottiero Matteo Costanzo — <i>Madonna di Castelfranco</i> . Contract document.	State Archives. Bassano dal Grappa

<b>1506</b>	Reverse of the portrait known as <i>Laura</i> : "de man de maistro Zorzi de Chastel Fr(anco) cholega de maistro Vizenzo Chaena" ( <i>sic.</i> ).	
	Leonardo visits Venice again.	
<b>1507</b>	Directs the outdoor decoration of the Fondaco dei Tedeschi: hires Tiziano and Lorenzo Luzzo.	
	August 14 – Francesco Venier pays Giorgione 20 ducats as a advance payment for a canvas (now lost) for the new Audience Hall in the Doge's Palace, where the Council of Ten met. The subject, size and time of its completion are unknown. It may have been destroyed in the fires of 1574 or 1577.	
<b>1508</b>	January 24: New payment for the lost canvas, by the new attorney Alvise Sanuto.	
	May 23: Document to reimburse the commission's surplus funds.	
	Alvise di Sesti Commission.	
	Self-portrait as "David". It is unknown whether the canvas was his initiative or was due to some commission.	Braunschweig. Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum. Inv. GG 454.
	November 8: completion of the outdoor decoration of the Fondaco. Dissatisfied with the payment, he had previously transferred the work to a college of experts led by G. Bellini: V. Carpaccio, L. Bastiani and M. di Vittore.	
	He also participated in outdoor works in other Venetian palaces, including Casa Soranzo, Casa Grimani alli Servi, a house in Santo Stefano, and another on a canal in Santa Maria Giubenico.	Ridolfi (1648, p. 81)
<b>1510</b>	Self-portrait of <i>David with the head of Goliath</i> . X-ray of the canvas has shown that the figure was originally holding a lute.	Vienna, Kunsthistorisc hen Museum, AN: GG 74.
	Ca' Marta Frescoes. Attributed.	
	September 17. Death of Giorgione during the plague.	Anderson <i>et al.</i> (2019)



	October 25: Letter from Isabella d'Este to her agent in Venice, Taddeo Albano, to purchase a well-known "nocturnal" landscape. Two specimens of this theme: one owned by Taddeo Contarini, another by Victorio Bechario.	
	Isabella also asks her agent to locate the portrait of the Venetian <i>luthier</i> Lorenzo da Pavia, who probably belonged to Giorgione's musical circle, and had built a virginal for her in 1496.	
	Inscription at the top of the last page of a copy of Dante's <i>Divine Comedy</i> , including a sketch of a <i>Madonna and Child</i> , believed to be his work.	Anderson <i>et al.</i> (2019). Venetian edition: 1497
1511	March 14: paternal surname "Gasparini" (?). Inventory of the assets of his home, written by Venetian magistrate of the Giudice del Proprio. He is mentioned as <i>Giorgio</i> . The document had been requested by Francesco Fisoli, natural heir of his stepmother Alessandra (who is also cited together with his father).	Segre (2011). State Archives, Venice
	Later modified on October 13 to add some more objects. The document does not specify the cause of death, and does not mention paintings or painting tools, suggesting that he had his workshops elsewhere. There is also no mention of the presence of musical instruments or of his famous lute.	Segre (2011). State Archives, Venice
1528	"Zorzon". Inventory of the collection of Marino Grimani, probably from that of his uncle Domenico, who died five years earlier.	
	Self-portrait as "David" belonging to Marino Grimani, who was the right age to have been commissioned during the last years of the painter's life.	Dal Pozzolo (2009)
	Mentioned alongside Raphael Sanzio, Andrea Mantegna, Leonardo da Vinci, and Michelangelo.	<i>The Courtier</i> . Balthasar of Castiglione
1531	14 paintings by Giorgione in the possession of 10 Venetian patricians (including Bembo and Michiel himself).	Marc Antonio Michiel

1548	Paolo Pino mentions him as "maestro Giorgione" in his <i>Dialogo di pittura nuovamente dato in luce</i> .	Venetian edition of Paulo Gherardo.
1550	Reports on Giorgione's mastery of the lute and the parties of his noble friends.	Giorgio Vasari (1550)
	He compares Giorgione to Leonardo for the Florentines and includes their successive biographies in the two editions of the <i>Vite</i> .	Giorgio Vasari (1550)
	He mentions the self-portrait as David exhibited in the Grimani family art gallery, together with the portrait of Doge Leonardo Loredan.	Giorgio Vasari (1550)
1562	In June, The Veronese includes his posthumous homage to Giorgione in <i>The Wedding</i> : present at his own sung mass, his Venetian right pending since his premature death at the Lazzaretto. Giorgione would <i>survive</i> 4 transformations of the original vocal consort with harpsichord.	Lafarga et al. (2019a; b)
1563	During the summer (perhaps even at the end), Giorgione disappears from <i>The Wedding</i> under the figure of Ortiz, who arrived at the monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore probably on the way to the conclusion of the Council of Trent.	Lafarga et al. (2019a; b)
	November 23: Veronese buys a house and land in Castelfranco for 500 gold ducats: the family workshop had work underway there at Ca Soranza and Sant' Andrea del Muson. In his absence, Francesco Barbarella signed and negotiated. His neighbors were the Costanzos.	Bordignon Favero (1958)
1568	Vasari ignores what happened in the refectory of San Giorgio Maggiore during the preparation of <i>The Wedding</i> , including the presence of Giorgione.	Vasari (1568)
	Vasari again mentions the self-portrait as <i>David</i> exhibited in the art gallery of the Grimani family, together with the portrait of the Doge Leonardo Loredan.	Vasari (1568)

## **2.4. Giorgione's self-portraits and portraits by Giorgione (attributed)**

A. Giorgio de Castelfranco, called Giorgione (Castelfranco, 1474 – Venice, 1510): *silhouette under Diego Ortiz in The Wedding canvas*. © Manuel Lafarga.

B. *David with the head of Goliath*. Giorgione 's self-portrait, 1510. Vienna, Kunsthistorischen Museum, AN: GG 74. Provenience: 1638-49, Hamilton Collection; 1659, Leopold Wilhelm Collection <sup>553</sup>.

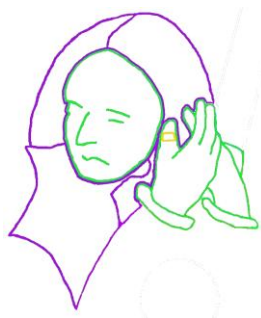
C. Giorgione 's whole silhouette in *The Wedding*, holding his legendary lute, whose box was hidden behind Veronese 's head leaned over the original harpsichord. © Manuel Lafarga.

D. *Phaeton before Apollo*. Giorgione. London, The National Gallery (detail of the lutenist).

## PLATE I

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<sup>553</sup> There is no agreement about which of the two known canvases that include Goliath's head is the authentic self-portrait: this one (which included a lute visible in the X-rays) or the one (incomplete) in the Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum in Braunschweig (Plate II.A).



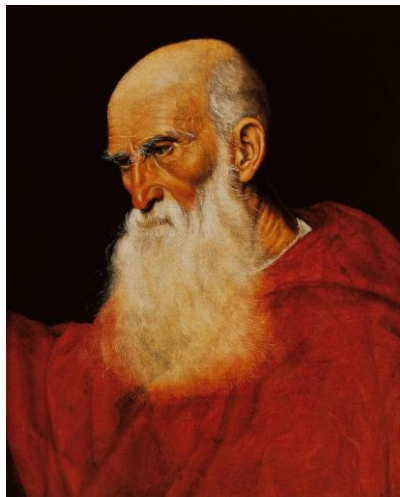
*A. Giorgione 's self-portrait as "David". Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum, Braunschweig, Germany, ca. 1508. Inv. GG 454.*

*B. Giorgione 's self-portrait, ca. 1508. Fine Arts Museum of Budapest, Inv. N° 86.*

*C. Giorgione. Self-portrait, 1508-10. Private collection Mattioli (Milan).*

*D. Portrait of Pietro Bembo (?). Jacopo Bassano Da Ponte, ca 1542-5. Budapest Szépművészeti Múzeum.*

## PLATE II



*A. Isabella d' Este. Leonardo da Vinci, 1499-1500. Paris, Louvre Museum, Joconde Batabase, 50350111146.*

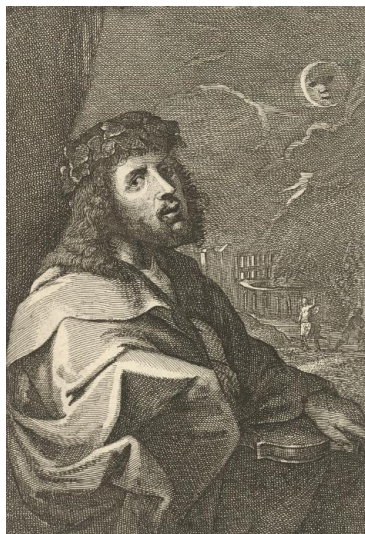
*B. Isabella d' Este. Titian, ca. 1534-36. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, GG 83.*

*C. Orpheo, by David Teniers the Younger, c. 1670, after a lost canvas by Giorgione of 1508-09. London, National Gallery. The instrument resembles a violin.*

*D. Engraving by Lucas Vorsterman II in "Teatrum Pictorium", after Giorgione (mediatory D. Teniers). SVK-SNG.G 11965-17. British Museum A, 8-15. The instrument resembles a violin.*

### PLATE III





*A. Matteo Costanzo (detail of the Pala de Castelfranco). Giorgione, 1503-1504. Duomo de Castelfranco Veneto.*

*B. Tuzio Costanzo. (detail of the Pala de Castelfranco). Giorgione, 1503-1504. Duomo de Castelfranco Veneto.*

*C. Bust of Andrea Loredan. Antonio Rizzo. Venice, Museo Correr.*

*D. Dux Leonardo Loredan. Gentile Bellini, d. 1501. London, National Gallery, NG 189.*

#### PLATE IV



*A. Laura. Giorgione, 1506. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, GG 31.*

*B. Portrait of an old woman. Giorgione, 1506. Venice, Galleria dell'Accademia.*

*C. Ypung with arrow. Giorgione, c. 1505. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, GG 323,*

*D. Shepherd with flute. Attributed to Giorgione by Mary Berenson, c. 1510. Royal Collection, Windsor Castle. RCIN 405767.*

## PLATE V



*A. Antonio Brocardo. Giorgione, c. 1510. Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts.*

*B. Retrato de varón (Giustiniani). Giorgione, c. 1505. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerei.*

*C. Musician with flute. Giorgione, 1510. Rome, Borghese Museum.*

*D. The passionate singer, attributed to Giorgione, or to Domenico Capriolo (1494-1528). Rome, Borghese Museum.*

## PLATE VI





*A. Francesco Maria della Rovere. Giorgione, ca. 1502. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. Nr. Gemäldegalerie, 10.*

*B. Warrior (Girolamo Marcello? / Giovanni Antonio Venier?). Giorgione, ca. 1505-10. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. Nr. Gemäldegalerie, 1526.*

*C. Portrait of "Terriers". Giorgione, 1506. San Diego Museum of Art, AN 1941.100*

*D. Portrait of a young man. Giorgione, ca. 1510. Alte Pinakothek Munich, Inv. Nr. 524.*

## PLATE VII





*A. Venetian patrice. Giovanni Cariani, 1510-15. Washington, National Gallery of Art, AN 1939.1.258.*

*B. Two friends (perhaps commissioned by Domenico Grimani). Giorgione., Palazzo Venezia (Palazzo Barbo), Sala Altoviti.*

*C. Giovanni Borgherini and his teacher. Giorgione, 1505 (his first oil painting on canvas). Washington, National Gallery of Art, AN 1974.87.1.*

*D. Portrait of an archer. Giorgione (attributed). Edinburgh, Scottish National gallery NG690.*

## PLATE VIII

GIORGIO DE CASTELFRANCO AND THE LEGEND OF THE WEDDING AT CANA



### **ANNEX 3. THE WEDDING AT CANA. DRAMATIS PERSONAE**

### **3.1. Other characters related the legends**

*A. Eleonora de Austria. Joos van Cleve, 1530 (?). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, GG 6079.*

*B. Eleonora de Austria. Joos van Cleve, h. 1530. Lisboa, National Museum of Ancient Art, 1981 Pint.*

*C. María d' Aragona. Leoni, Leone. París, Louvre Museum OA 2911. Département des Objets d'art du Moyen Age, de la Renaissance et des temps modernes.*

*D María d' Aragona (engraving). Lettura di Girolamo Ruscelli sopra un sonetto dell illustriss signor marchese della Terza alla divina signora marchesa del Vasto, Venetia 1552, Giovan Griffio impresor, p. 74.*

## PLATE IX



*A. Warrior with his squire. Paolo Morando Cavazzola, 1518-22. Previously attributed to Giorgione in 1509. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, NI 00286703.*

*B. Giovanni (Medici) of the Black Bands. Gian Paolo Pace, 1545. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, NI 00129465.*

*C. Dux Sebastiano Venier, victorious in Lepanto. Jacopo Tintoretto, c. 1571. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. Nr. Gemäldegalerie, 32.*

*D. The Red Warrior. Pietro della Vecchia. Praga, National Gallery.*

## PLATE X





*A. Titian 's self-portrait, 1550. Berlin, Gemaldegalerie, AN 163.*

*B. Titian 's self-portrait, c. 1562. Madrid, Museo del Prado, AN P00407.*

*C. Imaginary self-portrait of Titian. Pietro della Vecchia. Washington, National Gallery of Art, Timken Collection, AN 1960.6.39.*

*D. Lavinia Vecellio (Titian 's daughter). Titian, c. 1565. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, GG 3379.*

**PLATE XI. Tiziano**



*A. Caterina Cornaro. Titian, 1524. Florence, Galleria Uffizi, Ins. 1890: 909; N. Cat. 00131826.*

*B. Caterina Cornaro (queen of Chipre). Gentile Bellini, ca. 1500. Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum, Inv. Nr. 101.*

*C. Alwise (Luigi) Cornaro. Jacopo Tintoretto. Florence, Galleria Palatina, Appartamenti Reali, Inv. Nr. Palatina, 83 (1912).*

*D. Giovanni Paolo Cornaro. Jacopo Tintoretto, 1561. GSK Ghent Museum of Fine Arts, Inv. Nr. 1914-CL.*

**PLATE XII. Family Cornaro**



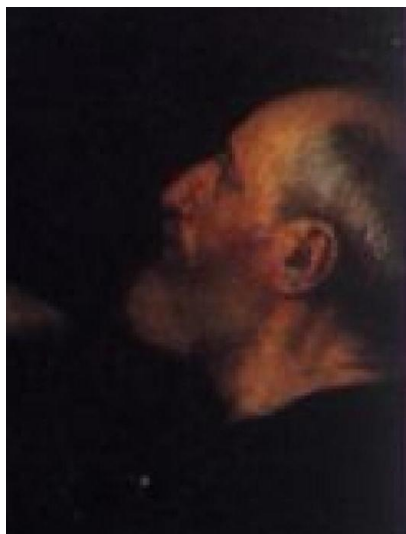
*A. Baptism of Christ with the donor (detail). Titian, 1511-12. Rome, Capitoline Museums, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Room III, PC 41..*

*B. Alvise Vendramin. Tintoretto 's workshop, 1580 (?). Hearst San Simeon State Park (SHM), California, ON 529-9-6188.*

*C. Gabriele Vendramin. Giovanni Cariani, c. 1517. Venice, Gallerie dell' Accademia, Sala XIII, 299.*

*D. Gabrielle Vendramin: detail of the family venerating a relic of the Holy Cross. Titian, 1543-1547. London, National Gallery, NG4452.*

**PLATE XIII. Family Vendramin**



*A. Vittoria Colonna. Michelangelo Buonarroti, h. 1550. London, British Museum.*

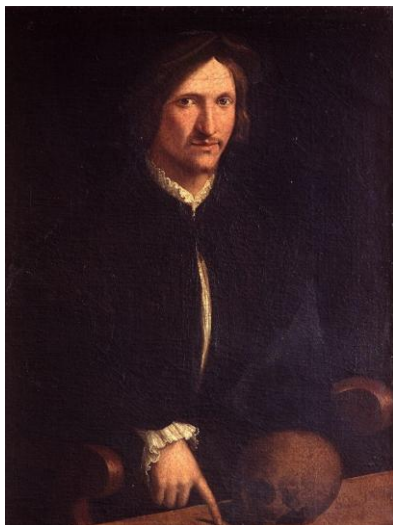
*B. Lorenzo Luzzo. Self-portrait (?), ca. 1505. Florence, Piazzale degli Uffizi, CN 0900294376*

*C. La Bella Nani. Paolo Caliari, c. 1560. Salle des États, Museo del Louvre, RF 2111.*

*D. Giorgio Vasari. Attributed to Jacopo Zucchi (1542-1596), c. 1571-74. Museo Uffizi, Inv. 1890: 1709.*

## PLATE XIV





*A. Il Veronese (engraving). Carlo Ridolfi, before 1648. In his book Le Maraviglie dell' arte (1648, p. 282).*

*B. Carlo Ridolfi. Giacomo Piccini, a. 1648. In his book Le Maraviglie dell' arte (1648, p. 282).*

*C. Carlo Ridolfi. Tiberio Tinelli, ca. 1638. Bergamo, Accademia Carrara, Inv. Nr. 58AC00285.*

*D. Carlo Ridolfi. Matteo Ponzzone. The State Hermitage Museum. Inv. ΓΘ 383.*

**PLATE XV. Carlo Ridolfi**



*A. Jean-Baptiste Colbert. Seguidor de Philippe de Champaigne, s. XVII. Unknown location, sold in 2001 and in 2002. (Detail)*

*B. Jean-Baptiste Colbert. Philippe de Champaigne, 1655. The MET Museum, 51.34.*

*C. Jean-Baptiste Colbert, with gala dress of the Order of the Holy Spirit. Claude Lefèvre, ca. 1666, Château de Versailles, dist. RMN, Inv. Nr. 4377. (Detail)*

*D. Jean-Baptiste Colbert. Follower of Pierre Mignard, s. XVII. Unknown location, sold in Christie (Sale 6359) en 2011.*

**PLATE XVI. Jean-Baptiste Colbert**



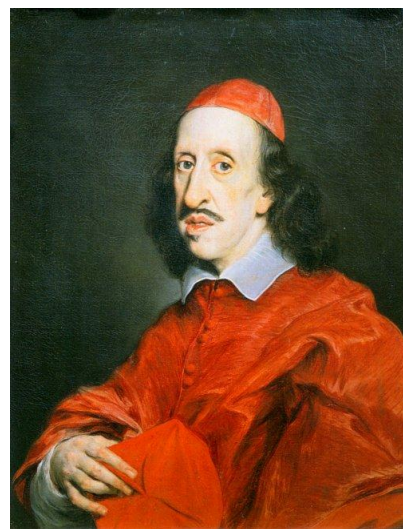
*A. Marco Boschini. Pietro Belloti, b. 1660, in his book La carta del navegar pitoresco (1660).*

*B. Cardinal Mazarino. Pierre Mignard, 1659-60. Chantilly, Musée Condé, PE 314.*

*C. Jacques Callot. Lucas Vorsterman the Elder, 1630, after a portrait by A. van Dyck.*

*D. Cardinal Leopoldo de Médici. Giovanni Battista Gaulli, c. 1667. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi.*

**PLATE XVII**



*A. Philippe de Champaigne, self-portrait, 1625-50. Museum of Grenoble.*

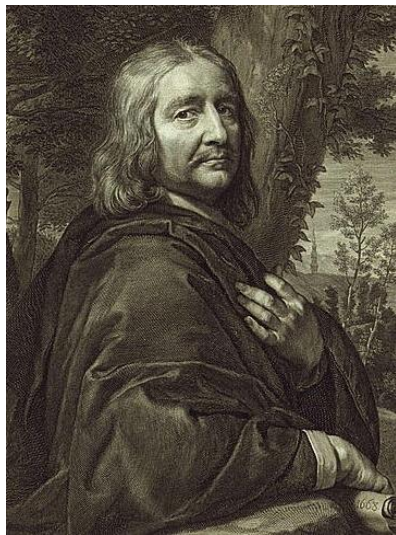
*B. Engraving after a self-portrait of Philippe de Champaigne, 1668. Gérard Edelinck, 1676. The Library of Congress, Digital ID cph.3f06407.*

*C. Anton M<sup>a</sup> Zanetti the Elder. Anonymous engraving.*

*D. Anton M<sup>a</sup> Zanetti the Younger. Self-portrait in his gravestone. Church of Sta. Maria Mater Domini.*

**PLATE XVIII**





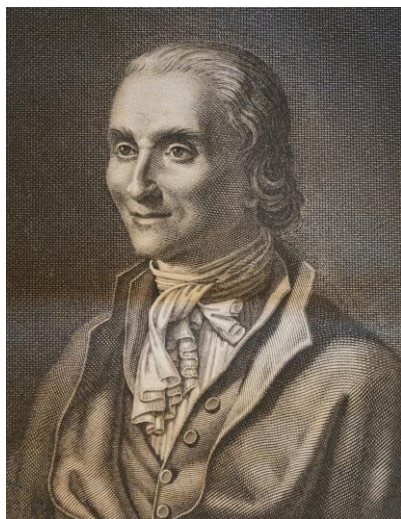
*A. The printer Gérard Edelinck (1640-1707). Nicolas-Étienne Edelinck after a portrait by Jean Torteбат. RIJKS Museum, RP-P-OB-50.194. (Detail).*

*B. Felipe II, Duque de Orléans, future Regent of France. Jean-Baptiste Santerre, 1715. Madrid, Museo del Prado, P002344. (Detail)*

*C. Pierre-Jean Grosley. Arnaud del Ulmer, 1764. Ilustración en la Biblioteca de Troyes, a partir de un busto hallado en la Villa de Troyes.*

*D. Pierre Crozat. Rosalba Carriera, h. 1720. Private collection.*

## PLATE XIX



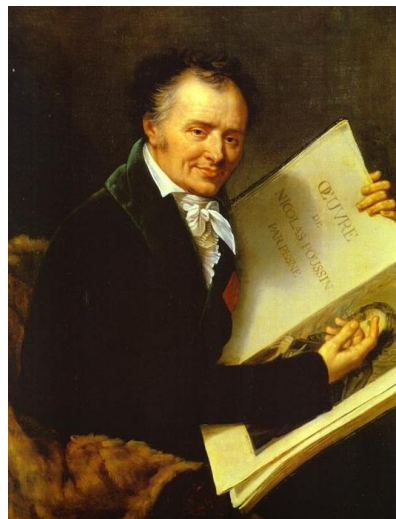
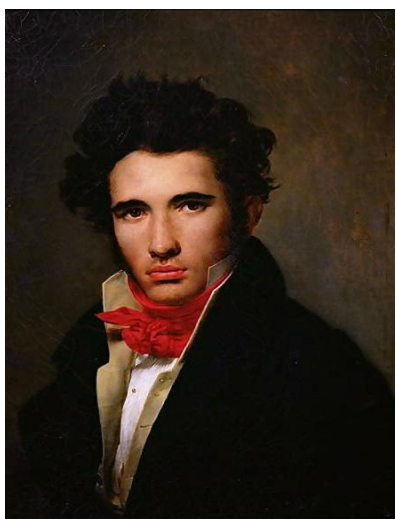
*A. Jan Pietersz Zomer. Nicolaas Verkolje, 1717. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.*

*B. Jan Pietersz Zomer, art seller. Norbert van Bloemen, ca.1700-24. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. AN: SK-A-786.*

*C. León Cogniet, self-portrait, 1817-18. Orleans, Fine Arts Museum, M0286.*

*D. Dominique Vivant, Barón Denon. Robert Lefèvre, 1808. Paris, Versailles Palace. MV 1692, INV 4430, LP 6629.*

**PLATE XX**



*A. Pierre-Jean Mariette. Antoine Pesne, 1723. Paris, Musée Carnavalet, AN: P257. (Detail)*

*B. Pierre-Jean Mariette. Jean-Baptiste Massé, 1735. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum. In: The Dictionary of Art Vol. 20, J. Turner ed., New York, Grove, 1998, p. 417.*

*C. Joseph Wenzel von Liechtenstein. Hyacinthe Rigaud, 1740. Liechtenstein Museum, No. GE1496. (Detail)*

*D. Pietro Aldobrandini. Ottavio Leoni, 1593. Villa Aldobrandini, or Bellvedere, Frascati (Roma).*

## PLATE XXI





*A. Charles-Nicolas Cochin. Alexander Roslin, 1774. Paris, Versailles Palace, MV 4486.*

*B. Charles-Nicolas Cochin II. Augustin de Saint-Aubin, 1771, (etching and engraving). MET Museum, AN 53.600.4878.*

*C. Johann Heinrich Wilhelm Tischbein. Self-portrait, ca. 1810. Hamburg, Hamburger Kunsthalle, BD/Digital Collection img.nr.1001453494.*

*D. Johann Heinrich Wilhelm Tischbein. Johann Heinrich Lips, 1817. Düsseldorf, Goethe-Museum, Anton-und-Katharina-Kippenberg-Stiftung, Inv.Nr. KK 5275.*

**PLATE XXII**





*A. Gustav Friedrich Waagen. Ludwig Knaus, 1855. Berlin, Alte Nationalgalerie, A I 1094.*

*B. Gustav Friedrich Waagen, Erster Direktor der Berliner Gemaldegalerie.*

*C. Johann Jakob Volkmann. In: Dyck, Johan Gottfried (Ed.) 1793. Neue Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste. Vol. 51, parte I. (Frontispice). Leipzig: Dyck'sche Buchhandlung. Schreyer, Johann Friedrich Moritz & Schultze, Christian Gottfried (grabadores)*

**PLATE XXIII**



### 3.2. Proposed characters in *The Wedding*, according to our model

	<i>Attribution</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Author</i>	<i>Source</i>
1	Giorgio de Castelfranco, Diego Ortiz, P. Caliarì, B. Caliarì, J. Bassano (?), J. Robusti, Tiziano Vecellio	2018	Lafarga <i>et al</i>	<i>El Veronés y Giorgione en concierto ...</i>
2	Girolamo Scroguerro, Andrea Pampuro, (Alessandro Vittoria)	2019a	Lafarga & Sanz	<i>Las Bodas de Caná: la historia olvidada ...</i>
3	Andrea Meldolla	2019b	Lafarga & Sanz	<i>Veronese y Diego Ortiz en San Giorgio Maggiore ...</i>
4		2021a	Lafarga <i>et al</i>	<i>Giorgio de Castelfranco y el Veronés en Las ...</i>
5		2021b	Lafarga <i>et al</i>	<i>Diego Ortiz: Un maestro de capilla español ...</i>
6	A. Vittoria, D. Barbaro, D. Grimani, G. Grimani VI, R. Pole, A. Priuli, G. Gonzaga, Dom Benedetto, Dom Alessandro, P. Aretino	2022	Lafarga & Sanz	<i>Tintoretto, Grimani, y Alessandro Vittoria: Artistas y patronos ...)</i>
7	Eleonor de Austria, Francisco I, María d' Aragona, Alfonso d' Avalos, B. Guidi, V. Colonna, Carlos V, Perico, Solimán, M. Tudor (?)	2023a	Lafarga & Sanz	<i>“Mile dolci errori”: Giorgio de Castelfranco y la leyenda ...</i>
8			Lafarga <i>et al</i>	<i>Una misa fúnebre para Giorgione en Las Bodas de Caná ...</i>
9			Lafarga & Sanz	<i>Artes, oficios, y beneficios en ...</i>
10			Lafarga & Sanz	<i>Antón M<sup>a</sup> Zanetti el Joven y Las Bodas de Caná ...</i>

### 3.3. Portraits by Veronese in *The Wedding*, according to our model



A. Paolo Caliari (Verona 1528 – Venice 1588), nicknamed “the Veronese”, born Spezzapedra. Described as “the Etruscan demon of mannerism”.

B. Jacopo Bassano Dal Ponte (?) (Bassano dal Grappa, 1510 – Bassano dal Grappa, 1592).

C. Jacopo Comin, nicknamed Tintoretto, called “the furious” (Venice, 1519 – Venice, 1594). Singer in the original vocal consort of *The Wedding*.

D. Tiziano Vecellio (Pierre di Cadore, 1488-90 – Venice, 1576). Known as “the prince of painters” and “the painter of princes”. Official painter of Venice and of the Spanish Crown. Close friend of Giorgione, the Aretino, and Charles V. Singer in the original vocal consort of *The Wedding*.

#### PLATE XXIV - The Venetian *musician-painters* I



**A.** Benedetto Caliari (Verona 1538 – Venice 1598). *Bottega* geometer and brother of Veronese.

**B.** Andrea Meldolla, "Schiavone" (lit. Slovenian, in Old Venetian) (Zara, 1510 – Venice, 1563). Collaborator of the painters and architects represented in *The Wedding*. Youth friend of Tintoretto.

**C.** Diego Ortiz (Toledo ¿?, 1510 – Rome, 1576). Violagambist and chapel master of the Viceregal Court of Naples. His portrait eventually hid Giorgione, who was present until almost the completion of the canvas.

**D.** Pietro Aretino (Arezzo, 1492 – Venice, 1556), known as the "scourge of princes". Polygraph, close friend of Bembo, Titian, Sansovino and Charles V. He kept up correspondence with many of those represented at *The Wedding*.

## PLATE XXV - The Venetian musician-painters II





**A.** Alfonso d' Avalos and Aquino, also called Alfonso Davalos San Severino (Ischia, 1502 – Vigevano, 1546), 6th Marquis of Pescara and 2nd Marquis of Vasto. General of Charles V's armies.

**B.** María d' Aragona (Ischia, 1503 – Nápoles, 1568). Married to Alfonso d'Avalos in 1523.

**C.** Francis I of France (Cognac, 1494 – Rambouillet, 1547). The authentic husband of *The Weddings*.

**D.** Mary I of England (18 February 1516 – 17 November 1558). She was the first queen to rule England (1553–58) in her own right and the last of her dynasty. She died 12 hours before her cousin Reginald Pole, both from "fevers".



A. Suleiman the Magnificent (Trabzon, 1494 – Szigetvár, 1566), according to our model. Zanetti the Younger says that he is “un’ incognita figura che parla ad un servo” (*sic.*).

B. (?). Zanetti the Younger says that he is “Acmet II. Imp. de’ Turchi” (*sic.*) — a character who lived a century after the commissioning of *The Wedding*. We have not been able to locate the origin of the frequent attribution of this character to Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, one of the Grand Viziers of Suleiman.

C. Vittoria Colonna (Marino, 1492 – Rome, 1547). Close friend of the emperor. Protector of Juan de Valdés and the *spirituali*.

D. Charles I of Spain and V of the Holy Roman Empire, called “The Emperor” or “The Caesar” (Prinsenhof, 1500 – Yuste, 1558). Protector of Juan de Valdés and the *spirituali*.

## PLATE XXVII - International Authorities II



A. Daniele Matteo Alvise Barbaro (Venice, 1514 – Venice, 1570). Architect and polymath. Patriarch of Aquileia replacing his uncle Giovanni Grimani, who was involved in inquisitorial proceedings.

B. Giulia Gonzaga (Gazzuolo, 1513 – Naples, 1566). Cousin of the powerful Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga, and the most fervent disciple of Juan de Valdés.

C. Alvise Priuli (?) (Venice, ? – Padova, 1560). Lifelong friend of Reginald Pole, investigated by the Inquisition, died before being tried: it is he (and Pole) who look to the new wine of miracle.

D. Reginald Pole (Stourton, 1500 – Londres, 1558). Second leader of the *spirituali*. Protector of the Benedictine Order. Died 12 hours after his cousin Maria Tudor, both from "fevers".





**A.** Domenico Grimani (Venice, 1461 – Roma, 1523). Protonotary and apostolic secretary of the Vatican. Patriarch of Constantinople. Patriarch of Aquileia. Patron of Giorgione and the wealthiest patron in Italy.

**B.** Giovanni VI Grimani (Venice, 1506 – Venice, 1593). Patriarch of Aquileia disqualified: involved in two inquisitorial processes until a very old age.

**C.** Girolamo Grimani, Patron of *The Wedding* (Venice, 1496 – Venice, 1570). Protector of the Benedictine Order. Portrayed in stone by Alessandro Vittoria in the same year of the commission.

**D.** Alessandro Vittoria, according to our model. birth name Alessandro di Viglio della Volpa (Trent, 1524-5 – Venice, 1608). Architect, painter, and sculptor, a regular collaborator of Veronese and Andrea Palladio. Protégé of the Grimani.

**PLATE XXIX - I Grimani / Vittoria**





A. (?) Dom Maurizio of Bergamo (?). Cellarer or bursar, in charge of the monastery's expenses. Prior of San Giorgio Maggiore with Andrea da Asolo the year after the delivery of the canvas. His name appears on the payment document upon delivery of the canvas.

B. (?) Dom Alessandro de Bérghamo (?). Dean as attorney for the proper use of community funds.

C. Andrea (Pampuro) da Asolo (Asolo, ? – ?, ? ). Prior of San Giorgio during his commission. President of the Congregation of Montecassino after his commission: tried by the Inquisition and dismissed in 1568.

D. Dom Girolamo de Piacenza, civil name Girolamo Scloceto, Scrocchetto, or Scroguerro ( ? – ? ). Abbot of San Giorgio, for the second time, during the commission.

**PLATE XXX. A/B. - Benedictines**



E. Benedetto Guidi (?, 1533 – San Benedetto Po?, 1591). Editor, historian and poet: "mile dolci errori". The five monks witnessed the vicissitudes of *The Wedding* every day during its execution.



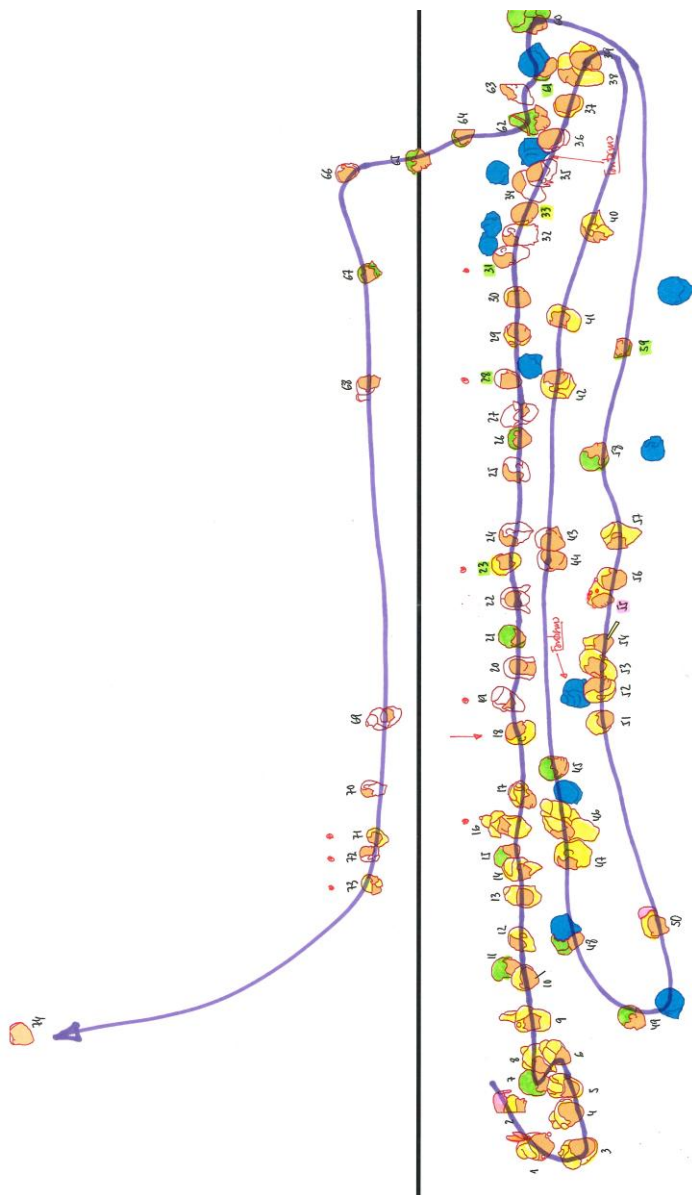
**PLATE XXXI.** *The Wedding at Cana, 1563, by Paolo Caliari. Louvre Museum.*

**PLATE XXXII.** *Order numbering for the guests, according to our model.*

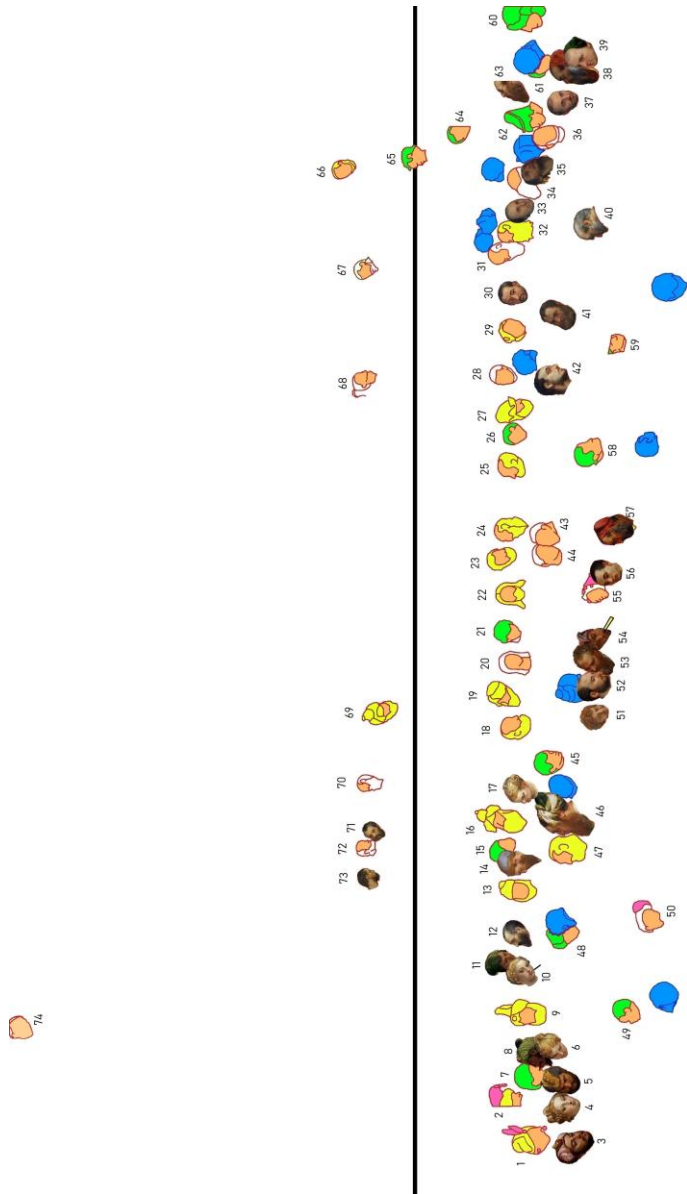
**PLATE XXXIII.** *Identified characters in The Wedding at Cana, 1563, by Paolo Caliari, according to our model, except Giorgione. Others still not published are pointed in yellow. Those in green are probably servants. The two jesters who begin the series (1 and 2, in dark pink) are probably those of Francis I and Suleyman. 3. Alfonso d' Avalos. 4. María d' Aragona. 5. Francis I of France. 6. Mary Tudor (?). 8. Suleyman the Magnificent. 10. Vittoria Colonna. 11. Perico, page of the emperador. 12. Charles V. 14. Daniele Barbaro. 17. Giulia Gonzaga. 30. Alessandro Vittoria. 33. Andrea Pampuro. 35. Benedetto Guidi. 37. Girolamo Scroguerro. 38. Reginald Pole. 39. Domenico Grimani. 40. Girolamo Grimani. 41. Alvoise Priuli. 42. Benedetto Caliari. 46. Pietro Aretino. 51. Andrea Schiavone. 52. Paolo Caliari. 53. Diego Ortiz. 54. Jacopo Bassano Da Ponte (?). 56. Jacopo Robusti (Tintoretto). 57. Tiziano Vecelio. 63. Giovanni VI Grimani. 71. Dom Maurizio. 73. Dom Benedetto.*













### 3.4. Characters identified in *The Wedding*

(In **blue**, our original contributions)



**1.** (Jester of Francis I)



**2.** (Suleiman's Jester)



**3.** Alfonso d'Avalos



**4b.** María  
d'Aragona



**4a.** [Eleanor of  
Austria]



**5.** Francis I of France



**6.** Mary Tudor



**8.** Suleiman the Magnificent



**10.** Vittoria Colonna



**11.** Perico



**12.** Charles V



**14.** Daniele Barbaro



**17.** Giulia Gonzaga



**30.** Alessandro Vittoria



**33.** Andrea Pampuro



**35.** Benedetto Guidi



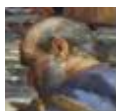
**37.** Girolamo Scroggero



**38. Reginald Pole**



**39. Domenico Grimani**



**40. Girolamo Grimani**



**41. Alvise Priuli**



**42. Benedetto Caliari**



**46. Pietro Aretino**



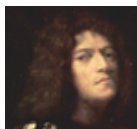
**51. Andrea Schiavone**



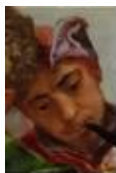
**52. Paolo Caliari**



**53b. Diego Ortiz**



**53a. [Giorgione]**



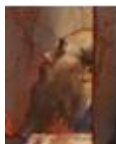
**54.** Jacopo Bassano Da Ponte (?)



**56.** Jacopo Robusti "Tintoretto"



**57.** Titian Vecellio



**63.** Giovanni Grimani



**71.** Dom Alessandro da Bergamo



**73.** Dom Maurizio da Bergamo

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