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Giorgione

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Introduction

Giorgione was a Venetian painter who was born at Castelfranco, some fifty kilometers from Venice, in 1473/74. His life ended tragically at the age of 36 on 17 September 1510, when he died of the plague. In contemporary documents his name is given in Venetian dialect as Zorzi da Castelfranco (George from Castelfranco), or as Zorzon (Big George), in recognition of the celebrity he enjoyed during his lifetime. Baldassare Castiglione, in his “Book of the Courtier,” in 1516, recognized Giorgione as one of the greatest artists of his age, along with Leonardo da Vinci, Mantegna, Raphael, and Michelangelo. In 1548 the Venetian theorist Paolo Pino defined Giorgione as the painter of poetic brevity, as the inventor of new Venetian mode of creation. In 1550, in his *Lives of the Artists*, Giorgio Vasari endorsed this assessment and placed Giorgione as the artist who introduced the modern style of the High Renaissance to Venice. With the notable exception of some significant frescoes, only a few of which survive, and some devotional images, such as the important altarpiece in his birthplace, the *Castelfranco Altarpiece*, Giorgione is celebrated for creating cabinet paintings, such as *The Tempest*, *The Three Philosophers*, and the Dresden *Sleeping Venus*, for private patrons, which have proved to be more complex to interpret than many other works by Renaissance artists. It has also proven challenging to establish a corpus of works that may be securely attributed to him. In recent decades the scientific examination of paintings has provided new data about underdrawing, as well as the use of pigments, which may be revealing in defining new characteristics for attribution. The scientific analysis of underdrawing reveals many *pentimenti* or changes of mind when Giorgione was working out his compositions on canvas, adding additional complexity to iconographic explanations. Given these difficulties of interpretation and attribution, Giorgione has often been considered a mysterious and impossible artist to define. Following the article Anderson, et al. 2019 (cited under Earliest Sources: Documents), the bookends of Giorgione’s life are now known, unlike those for his mentor Giovanni Bellini and his pupil Titian. There is a huge investment in the scholarship of Giorgione’s work, both emotional and intellectual, so that any discovery or interpretation related to him arouses passionate argument. The evidence is so thin and contested that anything new—especially of this significance—is immediately seized upon and pored over, as has occurred in the following case. A copy of Dante’s *Commedia* (*Divine Comedy*), printed in 1497, in the library of the University of Sydney contains a previously unpublished inscription giving Giorgione’s age at his death. The accompanying drawing in red chalk reveals Giorgione’s engagement with the intricate text of Dante’s *Commedia*, a discovery that opens up a new understanding for the complexity of Giorgione’s interpretation of religious subject matter. The discovery is a fitting beginning to a new evaluation of this extraordinary period in Venetian art.

General Overviews

See the separate complementary General Overviews section in the *Oxford Bibliographies* article “Art in Renaissance Venice” by Tom Nichols and Rose King. In recent decades the writing on Venetian Renaissance art in the crucial first three decades of the 16th century has become increasingly dynamic and innovative. In this section there is the classic 19th-century study Crowe and Cavalcaselle 1871, which presents the earliest outline of the works of major and minor Venetian artists, and a summary of what is known of the documentary evidence, the best in English to date. Lucco’s volumes on painting in the Veneto, published between 1989 and 1990 (see Lucco 1989–1990 and Lucco 1996–1999), present a wider range of Italian material, handsomely illustrated, with up-to-date biographical accounts of artists according to region, as well as theoretical interpretations of art history by a distinguished cohort of experts. There is no better introduction to the painting of the period than Rosand’s classic study (Rosand 1997) of the great artists in the first half of the 16th century, about whom he writes engagingly about their style and technique. Aikema and Brown 1999 is a pioneering account of how cultures crossed between Venice and Northern Europe, published to accompany an exhibition at Palazzo Grassi, Venice. This study reveals the enduring nature of north-south synergies for Venetian and German art. The intellectual impact of printed books on artists, their patrons, and the public was

demonstrated in 2016 by the exhibition on Aldus Manutius, the legendary publisher, who made the book a work of art (see Beltramini, et al. 2016). Schulz 2017 is a remarkable survey of Venetian sculpture and sculptors, the first since the late nineteenth century, that presents up-to-date biographies of sculptors and demonstrates the affinities between sculpture, painting, and architecture. There are a number of overviews of the unique architecture of Venice, the most notable being Howard and Moretti 2009; here the authors interrogate well-known buildings with new questions about acoustics and sacred space. All these publications showcase the exceptional nature of the period in which Giorgione lived and the continual responses to the artist across centuries.

Aikema, Bernard, and Beverly Louise Brown. *Renaissance Venice and the North: Crosscurrents in the Time of Dürer, Bellini and Titian*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1999.

A critical and interdisciplinary overview of the dialogues between Venetian artists and their northern counterparts, whether painters, musicians or writers, and the art they produced. The essays include discussions of the role of printmakers, of painting techniques, of the collecting of Flemish art in Italy, and the German presence in Venice at the Fondaco dei Tedeschi.

Beltramini, Guido, Davide Gasparotto, and Giulio Manieri Elia. *Aldo Manuzio: Renaissance in Venice*. Venice: Marsilio Editori, 2016.

An enthralling account of the origins of the modern book in the form of an exhibition that conveyed how different audiences experienced literary and antiquarian culture and how this impacted the creation and reception of secular and religious art by Giorgione and his contemporaries. Among the authors are David Landau on print culture and Helen Szépe on the *Dream of Poliphilo*, whose attribution of the influential woodcuts to Benedetto Bordone has become canonical.

Crowe, Joseph Archer, and Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle. *A New History of Painting in Northern Italy*. London: John Murray, 1871.

In Volume 3 of their magisterial study, the authors give the first modern account of Giorgione's entire corpus, an ambitious undertaking for the period, with analyses and translations of documents, primary sources, restorations and collection histories (pp. 1–57). They contextualize Giorgione within the history of northern Italian art, an undertaking that is of enduring value for the history of connoisseurship and provenance.

Howard, Deborah, and Laura Moretti. *Sound and Space in Renaissance Venice*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009.

A pioneering study of the built environment that examines the relationship between architecture, design, sound, and music in twelve of the most celebrated churches of Venice, principally by the architects Mauro Codussi, Francesco Sansovino, and Andrea Palladio. The authors investigate the polyphonic and architectural theories influencing the forms of sacred spaces and analyze the successes and limitations of the acoustic effects on singers, musicians, and worshippers.

Lucco, Mauro. *La Pittura nel Veneto: Il Quattrocento*. 2 vols. Milan: Electa, 1989–1990.

A series of volumes on Italian painting, conceived by Lucco, to present the results of international scholarship in handsomely illustrated books arranged geographically and chronologically. The intention was to escape a Florentine-centric view of the Renaissance, which Vasari had created, and to privilege local schools of painting in the Veneto that had not previously been integrated into a wider narrative.

Lucco, Mauro. *La Pittura nel Veneto: Il Cinquecento*. 3 vols. Milan: Electa, 1996–1999.

An ambitious survey of art in Venice and the surrounding area, of great artists and their contemporaries. The volumes represent the most up-to-date Italian scholarship, with artists' bibliographies and contributions from Peter Humfrey, Paul Joannides, G. F. Villa, and many others.

Rosand, David. *Painting in Sixteenth-Century Venice*. 2d ed. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

A classic and inspiring text, with an excellent opening chapter, that provides an overview of the major artists of the Renaissance in Venice (e.g., Titian, Veronese, Tintoretto), suitable as an introduction for undergraduates. It is a book about the high value of looking closely at works of art and how to interpret style in context. The stylistic analysis is written with the verve of an author who delighted in abstract expressionism.

Schulz, Anne Markham. *The History of Venetian Renaissance Sculpture (c. 1400–1530)*. 2 vols. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2017.

The volumes give the most authoritative account of northern Italian sculpture to date, with an extensive analysis of newly discovered documentary evidence, allied with much new photography. Schulz has written an enduring overview of sculpture in this period, which is attentive to the relationship between sculpture and painting.

Earliest Sources: Documents

The recent discovery of the date of Giorgione's death, providing a birth date four years earlier than previously supposed by Vasari, necessitates a new understanding of the artist's chronology and his relationship with his contemporaries; see Anderson, et al. 2019. There are only a handful of archival documents from Giorgione's lifetime, conveniently edited in *Avvio documentario* with commentary (Puppi and Dal Pozzolo 2009, pp. 386–482). In 1507 Giorgione receives payment from the council of Ten for a painting in the Palazzo Ducale, Venice, now lost. In the following year he is paid for frescoes on the façade of the Fondaco dei Tedeschi (the conspicuous German Customs' House, near Rialto), which are the subject of a dispute: they now survive as fragments of frescoes or in copies. More than a month after his death, on 25 October 1510, one of the most important patrons of the Renaissance, Isabella d'Este, asks her agent Taddeo Albano to hurry to secure works by Giorgione's hand, but as her agent replies on 8 November, they are already impossible to acquire; he reports that those that have them will not sell them at any cost, as they wish to enjoy them. Unlike any other Renaissance patron, these collectors emphasize that they were made for them. We now know this exchange happened a little more than a month after Giorgione's death. The most important and earliest sources for our knowledge of Giorgione's works for Venetian patricians are the succinct notes on his friends' collections made by the patrician Marcantonio Michiel between 1521 and 1543. Without this source, Giorgione's existence would have been even more mysterious. Various editions of Michiel's notes, from 1800, chart the history of Venetian collecting. The first edition was published by the librarian of the Biblioteca Marciana, Jacopo Morelli, in 1800, at which date the author of the text was unknown. A second edition by Gustavo Frizzoni, the pupil of Giovanni Morelli, added considerably to our understanding of Michiel's connoisseurship. The only English translation was published by George Charles Williamson in 1903. Later the handwriting was recognized as that of Michiel, who describes works of art in public and private collections in Venice and towns in the Veneto. He was particularly attentive to Giorgione's works, including one he owned. Michiel's independence of judgment, and his attention to pictorial qualities, the materials and techniques of works of art, and their restorations, all make his observations of continuing fundamental importance. Many of the documents relating to Giorgione's patrons are collected in Battilotti and Franco 1978, to which Alcamo 2015 has added observations on a magistrate, Alvise Sanudo, who was responsible for ducal commissions. Renata Segre's attempt in 2011 to identify an inventory of Giorgione's possessions remains controversial. Vescovo 2019, a study of the literature on the competing biographies in documentary studies of Giorgione, Anderson 2019, and Segre 2011 review the competing biographies proposed for the artist.

Alcamo, Sergio. "Giorgione e I Sanudo: Un punto fermo e una rete di rapporti possibili." *Studi veneziani*, n.s., 71 (2015): 15–34.

Explores the role that Alvise Sanudo, a member of the same patrician family as the diarist Marino Sanudo, had as the official signatory to all of the documents for Giorgione's public commissions at the Palazzo Ducale and the Fondaco dei Tedeschi. Alvise was a magistrate responsible for building and may have had a role in the choice of the artist.

Anderson, Jaynie, Kim Wilson, Nerida Newbiggin, and Julie Sommerfeld. "Giorgione in Sydney." *Burlington Magazine* 161 (2019): 190–199.

The dates of Giorgione's life are revealed on the last page of an edition of Dante's *Commedia* (1497) in the University of Sydney Library, that reads in translation: "On the day of 17th September, Giorgione of Castelfranco, a very excellent artist, died of the plague in Venice at

the age of 36 and he rests in peace." It accompanies a red chalk drawing of the Virgin and Child by Giorgione.

Anderson, Jaynie. "Letter to the Editor." *Burlington Magazine* 161 (2019): 800–801.

The letter gives a more nuanced reading of the Sydney inscription, where a second hand is detected in a grammatical correction, that cancels "da peste" in the second line, to add the words "d(e) peste"; two witnesses knew the date of Giorgione's death.

Battilotti, Donata, and Maria Teresa Franco. "Registi di committenti e de primi collezionisti di Giorgione." *Antichità Viva* 18.4–5 (1978): 58–86.

An extensive account of almost all known patrons and early collectors of works by Giorgione, with a wealth of quotations about them and their collections, culled from Venetian archives.

Brown, David Alan, and Anna Pizzati. "'Meum amantissimum nepotem': A New Document concerning Giovanni Bellini." *Burlington Magazine* 156 (2014): 148–152.

The article throws light on the career of Vittore Belliniano, and his importance as the head of Giovanni Bellini's workshop. This role would have qualified him to value Giorgione's frescoes on the Fondaco, when their price was disputed.

Fletcher, Jennifer. "Marcantonio Michiel, *che ha veduto assai*." *Burlington Magazine* 123 (1981): 602–608.

An article by the leading scholar on Michiel about what can be learned from an analysis of the manuscript itself in the Marciana Library.

Lauber, Rosella. "'Et è il nudo che ho io in pittura de l'istesso Zorzi': Per Giorgione e Marcantonio Michiel." *Arte veneta* 40 (2002): 99–115.

Lauber emphasizes the biographical importance of a painting in Michiel's own collection, of a nude man in a landscape by Giorgione, for which there is a preparatory drawing in the collection of Marcantonio Contarini alla Misericordia. Lauber further discusses Giorgione's many paintings and drawings, all now lost, whose subject was a nude male figure.

Michiel, Marcantonio. *Notizia d'opere del disegno*. Edited by Gustavo Frizzoni. Bologna: Zanichelli, 1884.

An edition that comments on the attribution of works of art and contributes to our knowledge of the connoisseurship of Venetian art.

Michiel, Marcantonio. *Notizia d'opere del disegno*. Edited by C. de Benedictis. Florence: Edifir, 2000.

A recent reprint of this essential source.

Morelli, Jacopo, ed. *Notizia d'Opere di Disegno nella prima metà del secolo XVI esistenti in Padova Cremona Milano Pavia Bergamo Crema e Venezia scritta da un Anonimo da quell tempo*. Bassano, 1800.

The first publication of an important document for our understanding of Venetian art, discovered by Jacopo Morelli in the Marciana Library, Venice. In the first edition there is a valuable bibliography of those named, quoted from early sources and archival material. At this stage the author was unrecognized.

Puppi, Lionello, and Enrico Maria Dal Pozzolo, eds. *Giorgione*. Milan: Skira, 2009.

A valuable section of the catalogue, "Avvio documentario," by multiple authors (pp. 386–412), contains illustrations and transcriptions of all the known documents about Giorgione, with lively commentaries by different experts. There are valuable discoveries, such as the will of Giacomo Soranzo, who commissioned frescoes from Giorgione at San Polo, by Luca Trevisan (pp. 396–398), and a comparative account of the three inventories of the collection of Gabriel Vendramin by Rosella Lauber (pp. 401–402).

Segre, Renata. "A Rare Document on Giorgione." *Burlington Magazine* 153 (2011): 383–386.

A proposal that an inventory of goods, made after the death of a "painter" called "Giorgio," is that of Giorgione. Yet the form of the name is different from other documents, and the abject poverty of the contents of the estate, combined with the lack of evidence of the profession of painter, makes it unlikely to be a record of Giorgione's estate.

Vescovo, Piermario. "Tra Sydney e Castelfranco." *Arte veneta* 76 (2019): 188–194.

An in-depth analysis of the discovery of the inscription and red chalk drawing on the Sydney Dante (1497) as well as a detailed refutation of the suggestion made by some that it is a forgery. The author suggests parallels with works by Giorgione other than the *Adoration of the Magi* in London. Vescovo also examines the minutiae of other writers' accounts of Giorgione's life, from the early 20th century.

Williamson, George C., ed. *The Anonimo: Notes on Pictures and Works of Art in Italy Made by an Anonymous Writer in the Sixteenth Century*. Translated by Paolo Mussi. London: George Bell and Sons, 1903.

The only English translation of Michiel.

Biographies

Early sources give contradictory biographies for Giorgione. The best known and always cited, if continually criticized (as by Ruffini 2009 and Hope 2008), is Vasari's *Life of Giorgione*, first published in 1550. Here the image of Giorgione the musician, the man who enjoyed theatrical festivals, depicted love making, and whose work was influenced by Leonardo da Vinci is unforgettably presented and is constantly repeated in many accounts of the artist's life. In the second edition of Vasari's *Lives* in 1568, Giorgione's biography is enlarged and there is the first confusion about the attributions of some famous paintings, such as *Christ Carrying the Cross* in San Rocco. Carlo Ridolfi's later biography, published in 1648, has always been marginalized by art historians, unwisely dismissed as the work of a dealer (which he was not), although it is especially valuable for Giorgione's early work, his frescoes, and for information about collectors and provenance. Mariuz 2004 is the exception. Ridolfi attributes sixty-seven works of art to him—not an unreasonable number given how long he lived. The idea that Giorgione was born from the family Barbarella is not proven in any contemporary documents, as Gronau 1894 reveals. An 18th-century chronicler from Castelfranco, Nadal Melchiorre took up the suggestion that Giorgione was born at Vedelago to a peasant woman and was a member of the Barbarella family. Yet it is not possible that an artist who died on the plague island, the *Lazaretto* in Venice, could have been buried elsewhere, such as in a tomb of the Barbarella family at Castelfranco, for the fate of all those on the plague island was a common grave on an island apart from the society in which they lived. The 18th-century artist and connoisseur Anton Maria Zanetti has left a most important account of the then fast disappearing frescoes on the façades of Venetian palaces, a part of Giorgione's biography that is essential for our understanding of his oeuvre (see Zanetti 1760).

Gronau, Georg. "Zorzon da Castelfrancho. La sua origine, la sua morte e tomba." *Nuovo archivio Veneto* 7 (1894): 447–458.

An account of the legends that have grown up around Giorgione, and a ruthless examination of the earliest sources and archival documents, in which he dismisses Ridolfi's suggestion that Giorgione was born at Vedelago and was a member of the Barbarella family.

Hope, Charles. "Giorgione in Vasari's *Vite*." In *Giorgione Entmythsier*. Edited by Sylvia Ferino-Pagden, 1–37. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2008.

Hope is an eager controversialist in his account of Giorgione's biography, for whom he proposes a late birthdate, 1484, a decade later than the author of the inscription in Sydney.

Mariuz, Adriano. "Giorgione pittore di affreschi." In *Da Bellini a Veronese: Temi di Arte veneta*. Edited by Gennaro Toscano and Francesco Valconover, 299–387. Venice: Istituto Veneto, 2004.

Discussion of how Giorgione emerges as a fresco painter in the Veneto, and then contributes to the urban decoration of palaces in Venice for much of his life. The principal literary source is Ridolfi, allied with visual material, such as the copy after Giorgione's *Primavera*, glimpsed in the painting by Giuseppe Heintz of the *Bull Hunt in Campo San Polo*, Correr, Venice.

Ridolfi, Carlo. *Le Maraviglie dell'arte ovvero le vite degli illustri pittori veneti e dello stato*. Edited by Von Hadeln. Berlin: De Grote, 1914–1924.

The first history of Venetian art in its entirety, told in chronological and biographical form, written as a corrective to Vasari's Florentine perspective. Baron Hadeln's 1648 edition is to date the only sustained attempt to analyze and comment on Ridolfi's text throughout. In the *Life of Giorgione*, Ridolfi records for the first time the *Castelfranco Altarpiece* and gives an account of the condottiere, Tuzio Costanzo, the patron. Ridolfi describes many works by Giorgione in a wealth of private collections in the Veneto.

Ruffini, Marco. "Sixteenth-Century Paduan Annotations to Vasari's *Vite* (1550)." *Renaissance Quarterly* 62.3 (2009): 748–808.

A fascinating and detailed reaction to Vasari's judgments about Venetian art, written by an anonymous Paduan, who regarded Domenico Campagnola as an important artist, Torbido as Giorgione's pupil, and who believed Carpaccio had been seriously undervalued.

Vasari, Giorgio. *Le Vite de' più eccellenti architetti, pittori e scultori*. Florence: Lorenzo Torrentino, 1550.

His first biographer treated Giorgione at greater length than any other Venetian artist. He is admiring of his subject, yet is also the first writer to express perplexity at understanding Giorgione's subject matter on the Fondaco dei Tedeschi and is critical of his inability to make careful preliminary drawings for his paintings, as well as defining some important paintings. He had no access to private collections, unlike Marcantonio Michiel. Available online.

Vasari, Giorgio. *Le Vite dei più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architetti*. 2d ed. Florence: Giunti, 1568.

Contains a substantially enlarged edition of Giorgione's biography, with additions in both the Lives of Giorgione and Titian, enlarging the number of Giorgione's works discussed, but sometimes introducing contradictory information about the attributions of important paintings, such as *Christ Carrying the Cross* in San Rocco, which appears in both the Lives of Giorgione and Titian, whereas it only appears as by Giorgione in the first edition. Available online.

Zanetti, Anton Maria. *Varie pitture a fresco de' principali maestri veneziani: Ora la prima volta con le stampe pubblicate*. Venice, 1760.

A beautiful book that records the vanishing frescoes as they survived in the late 18th century by major Venetian artists before they were completely destroyed. Among them, Zanetti made the only surviving copies after Giorgione's frescoes from the Fondaco dei Tedeschi and from the façade of Casa Grimani Calergi. Some of these copies were hand-colored by Zanetti himself, to give a more accurate record of the originals, now identified with examples in the Biblioteca Hertziana, Rome, and the Biblioteca Apostolica, Vatican.

Catalogue Raisonné

The task of establishing a catalogue raisonné of Giorgione's work is often thought to be one of the most complex in the history of art. There is more disagreement about attributions in relation to Giorgione than with any other major artist of the Renaissance, and more than for any other artist in any other period. There are many shades of gray between Giorgione and other artists, especially between late Giorgione and early Titian. Italian scholarship favors a more inclusive approach to Giorgione's works (see Pignatti 1971), while Anglo-American scholarship considers a more restricted catalogue. To define characteristics that determine authenticity proves to be a continually challenging task that develops with the most advanced scientific means of investigation. Anderson's monograph, Anderson 1997, privileged this kind of material as well as presenting new evidence from the archives. The occasional transformative documentary discovery can have a surprising effect on scholarship. The Sydney discovery calls for a new chronology as well as a new approach to interpretation, as it shows Giorgione reading one of the most complex texts, Dante's *Commedia* and appears to be the direct result of his engagement with the invocation to the Virgin at the end of *Paradiso*. The list of books below contains the most important catalogues and monographs that have advanced the discipline. There are surprisingly few overall attempts to come to terms with this legendary problem and that present original and lasting contributions. Justi 1926 and Richter 1937 remain valuable for the historiography of Giorgione and for tracing provenances. When Ballarin first presented his views on Giorgione at the Castelfranco Conference in 1978, his views were regarded as impossibly radical. They are now being re-evaluated, especially since the Sydney discovery (See Ballarin, et al. 2016).

Anderson, Jaynie. *Giorgione: The Painter of "Poetic Brevity."* New York and Paris: Flammarion, 1997.

The subtitle is indebted to Paolo Pino's dialogue (1548) in recognition of Giorgione's genius and poetic ability to depict unusual subject matter with a style of brevity, for Giorgione used a process of iconographic abbreviation for complex subjects, resulting in the confusion expressed by later scholars. The catalogue privileges newly discovered scientific information discovered in conservation, the history of restorations and how this affects interpretation, as well as an assessment of how conservation affects opinion, and previously unknown archival material.

Ballarin, Alessandro, in collaboration with Laura De Zuani, Sarah Ferrari, and Marialucia Menegatti. *Giorgione e l'umanesimo veneziano. 7 vols.* Verona: Edizioni dell'Aurora, 2016.

This monumental set of seven volumes is the result of forty years of work on Giorgione. Two volumes contain material that is republished from earlier articles and exhibition catalogues, conveniently reassembled in a new edition, together with unpublished essays. The other five volumes contain extensive new photography in color, much by the photographer Mauro Magliani.

Justi, Ludwig. *Giorgione.* Berlin: D. Reimer, 1926.

A remarkable, authoritative, two-volume monograph, which presents thorough and detailed analyses of the early sources, and reasoned attributions, at a period when no one looked beneath the surface. Justi limits Giorgione's works to twenty-five pictures and endorses the Vasarian view that he is the first artist of the new style (*maniera moderna*) of the High Renaissance in Venice.

Pignatti, Terisio. *Giorgione.* London: Phaidon, 1971.

Pignatti's book was the classic monograph for Venetian scholars from the time it was published in Italian in 1969. It presented no archival or conservation novelty, but a catalogue of some thirty works by Giorgione and another sixty-eight attributed to him. A later emended edition with Filippo Pedrocchi was published in New York in 1999.

Richter, George Martin. *Giorgio da Castelfranco called Giorgione.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937.

A monograph and catalogue of outstanding scholarship that contains invaluable material on early provenances, auction catalogues, and collections with works that have been attributed to Giorgione, which are continually cited. He is the first writer on Giorgione to make use of radiographic evidence in determining attribution.

Interpretations of Giorgione's Paintings

Vasari was the first of many to declare how difficult it was to understand Giorgione's subjects, when looking at the frescoes on the façade of the Fondaco dei Tedeschi, a public building on the Grand Canal in Venice. A radical theory was promoted in the influential essay Pater 1873, which proposed an essential musical understanding of Giorgione's works. Pater accepts only the *Concert* in the Palazzo Pitti as authentic. From the 1930s, Giorgione's works were X-rayed to reveal his first thoughts (*pentimenti*), in fragments of compositions underneath the surface, which introduced further complexities into the explanations. Reading the X-rays and the scientific imagery proved more complex than for other artists. The best introduction to this minefield is Settis 1978, which investigates multiple interpretations of the *Tempesta* and *Three Philosophers*, ranging from the laconic prose of Marcantonio Michiel, to hidden subject matter, or the suggestions that Giorgione is the first modern artist who does not represent a subject. In his most recent Linbury lecture (Settis 2021), Settis remarked that the attribution of the *Concert Champêtre* was almost equally divided between art historians who favored either Giorgione or Titian, while there had even been an attempt to say that *The Tempest* was by both artists. Such a situation has become absurd, but this confusion does impact on interpretation, because depending on the biography of who made the painting, the interpreters base their opinions on different preconceptions. Most believe that a meaning was intended by Giorgione, but it is hard to agree on what it was, despite the fifty or so explanations to date for any painting. In some cases, such as *The Three Philosophers*, opinion is divided as to whether it is a Christian painting, as in Settis, or about ancient philosopher and his pupils, as in Zeleny 2008. There is something about Giorgione that encourages everyone to propose a different solution. Settis proposed as his solution to *The Tempest* the biblical story of Adam and Eve leaving Paradise, a theme that has been developed in Alcamo 2019 in a compelling erudite way. Nichols 2020 proposes that Giorgione was intentionally ambiguous in his works, and that he intended to provoke different readings. It is surprising that there are so few attempts to give an analytical overview of interpretations, with the notable exceptions of Settis 1978 and Anderson 1997 (cited under Catalogue Raisonnés). There could be pages of references here, but those chosen give a historiography of interpretation and highlight outstanding interpretations of individual works by Giorgione, such as Meller's account of *La Vecchia* (Meller 1979), the only portrait of an older woman that has enjoyed persistent popularity, Giorgione's *Laura* has provoked contrary interpretations, some seeing her as a courtesan, others as a married woman—traditions that are discussed in Ferino-Pagden 2006 in relation to discoveries beneath the surface of the portrait, which allow for new conclusions. In some instances when there is agreement about an interpretation, such as when the *Sleeping Venus* was shown to have classical sources (Anderson 1980), the literature moves exclusively into attribution territory. Almost always there is the supposition that Giorgione's subjects were nontraditional, but when proved otherwise attention drifts elsewhere. More recent discussions in Alcamo 2019, Lüdemann 2013, and Schier 2019 propose new interpretations for individual works closely based on a novel interrogation of the sources for Giorgione.

Alcamo, Sergio. *La verità celata: Giorgione, la "Tempesta" e la salvezza*. Rome: Donzelli, 2019.

Alcamo develops the biblical interpretation proposed by Settis some forty years earlier and sees *The Tempest* as an Allegory of Redemption. The book is rich in documentation. A minuscule, winged figure crossing the bridge, first noted in 2003, is seen by Alcamo as an angelic presence, denoting an earthly paradise. The infant is identified as Seth, the third son of Adam.

Anderson, Jaynie. "Giorgione, Titian and the Sleeping Venus." In *Tiziano e Venezia: Convegno internazionale di studi, Venezia, 1976*, 337–342. Vicenza, Italy: Neri Pozza, 1980.

Before this article it was believed that the *Sleeping Venus* was a startling, unknown, and unclassical subject, a belief disproved when shown that women at rest, especially Venus, had been celebrated since antiquity in the context of marriage poetry. Cupid would traditionally awaken Venus to attend a wedding, in this case the marriage of the patron, Girolamo Marcello in 1507.

Cohen, Simona. "Virtuousness and Wisdom in the Giorgionesque Fresco of Castelfranco." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser. 6, 128 (July-August 1996): 1–20.

Cohen gives an assessment of the literature on the frieze in the house that is now considered to be the house of Giorgione. Who owned the house when it was built is not known, but it is now the seat of a museum. Cohen assesses the frieze in terms of authorship and content. Cohen defines a coherent meaning, and identifies the first artist as Giorgione when he was a young artist in 1494.

Ferino-Pagden, Sylvia. "Portrait of a Woman (Laura)." In *Bellini, Giorgione, Titian and the Renaissance of Venetian Art*. By David Alan Brown, Sylvia Ferino-Pagden, et al., 208–211. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006.

An admirable succinct summary of past opinions about this extraordinary portrait that brings to bear technical novelties of investigation that reveal laurel branches only at the top and right side of the portrait suggesting it was first conceived as a part of a double portrait, but then changed, for reasons still to be explained.

Lüdemann, Peter. "Sed tu sapientius opta: un dipinto "giorgionesco" reinterpretato" *Venezia Cinquecento* 23.45 (2013): 5–39.

A reading of the *Allegory of the Poet*, in the National Gallery, London, as a representation of Phaeton before Apollo, as told by Ovid in the *Metamorphoses*.

Meller, Peter. "La Madre di Giorgione." In *Giorgione: Atti del convegno internazionale di studio per il 5° centenario della nascita; Castelfranco Veneto, 29–31 maggio 1978*, 109–118. Venice: Venezia Spa, 1979.

La Vecchia is mentioned in the earliest 16th-century inventory of the Vendramin collection, as a portrait of Giorgione's mother. Meller explores the literary and visual traditions that explain how this speaking portrait relates to Venetian matriarchical traditions and to Dü rer, invoking a complexity of the image.

Nichols, Tom. *Giorgione's Ambiguity*. London: Reaktion Books, 2020.

An elegantly written book that is about looking at Giorgione's works and speculating. It is a good introduction to the subject, suitable for undergraduate courses. Nichols argues that ambiguity is the hallmark of Giorgione's blurry technique, and also of his approach to subject matter.

Pater, Walter. "The School of Giorgione in the Renaissance." In *The Renaissance: Studies in Art and Poetry*. By Walter Pater, 136–162. London: Macmillan, 1873.

A classic and highly influential study where Pater invents the concept that all "art aspires towards the condition of music," a condition most perfectly exemplified by the painting of Giorgione and Leonardo da Vinci. Modern Library edition available online.

Schier, Rudolf. "Is Giorgione's *Inferno with Aeneas and Anchises* Really Lost?" *Vergilius* 65 (2019): 61–98.

An attempt to suggest that the *Tramonto* in London is in fact the lost work from Taddeo Contarini's collection representing Aeneas and Anchises. His interpretation takes advantage of Dunkerton's research in conservation.

Settis, Salvatore. *La "Tempesta" interpretata: Giorgione, I Committenti, Il Soggetto*. Milan: Einaudi, 1978.

A provocative witty analysis of the many interpretations and non-interpretations of the most enigmatic painting in the world: Giorgione's *Tempesta*. A lucid account of the particular difficulties that Giorgione's iconography presents for all those who have theories about representation. The solution proposed by Settis is to identify the subject as Adam and Eve, after being chased from Paradise. *The Three Philosophers* are seen as the "conventional" Three Wise Men. Published in English as *Giorgione's "Tempest": Interpreting the Hidden Subject* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1990).

Settis, Salvatore. "Deeper Thoughts." Linbury Lecture. London: National Gallery, 2021.

A remarkable analysis of the particular nature of Venetian allegories by Bellini, Giorgione, and Titian, with an investigation of the sources for the meaning of the word *poesia* and how the term has been re-evaluated by Italian linguists.

Wind, Edgar. *Giorgione's Tempesta with Comments on Giorgione's Poetic Allegories*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969.

An interpretation that is Warburgian, where it is proposed that the meaning is an allegory of strength and charity (Fortezza e Carità). Many have seen it as an extra chapter to Wind's classic study, *Pagan Mysteries*. The text is very short, buttressed by incredible footnotes to sources for the imagery.

Zeleny, Karin. "Giorgiones drei Philosophen: Eine philologische Identifizierung." In *Giorgione entmythisiert*. Edited by Sylva Ferino-Pagden, 191–198. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2008.

Zeleny's interpretation of *The Three Philosophers* respects Michiel's title and identifies the figures as Pythagoras accompanied by his pupils, Pherecydes from Syros and Thales from Miletus. The Kunsthistorisches Museum has now captioned the painting with this identification.

Exhibition History

To curate an exhibition of Giorgione's works has always proven a formidable task. Inevitably many masterpieces are missing from each show, depending on the venue. Sometimes museums with a nucleus of works will agree to swap, such as the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, and the Accademia, Venice, in 2004. Given the difficulties, curators often choose to show Giorgione within the context of Venetian art and in relation to his followers. This solution can blur the impact of an exhibition unlike one entirely devoted to masterpieces by a single artist, which has never really occurred. Some include graphic works, others ignore drawing, inhibited by the Vasarian opinion that Venetian artists cannot draw. All of these limitations have had an impact on scholarship as exhibitions demonstrate what is known about an artist at a particular time and what is inevitably omitted is forgotten in critical literature. No exhibition on Giorgione has ever included all the canonical works, such as the Leningrad *Judith* and the *Sleeping Venus* in Dresden, while others, such as his *Self-Portrait* in Braunschweig, have rarely been shown. Many catalogues include original research from the scientific examination of paintings, such as in Washington and Vienna in 2008–2009, but do not give a comparative overview involving other institutions. Giorgione's presence in significant exhibitions began with those organized by British collectors belonging to the Burlington Fine Arts Club in early-20th-century London. The 1912 catalogue gives us a glimpse of the connoisseurship of Giorgione's works in private collections. Richter's exhibition in Baltimore, held during the Second World War, consisted in the main of works from American collections and his new attributions. The exhibition held at the Palazzo Ducale in Venice in 1955 became a point of reference for later exhibitions. Curated by Zampetti, the show exhibited 170 paintings, drawings, and prints, mostly attributed to Giorgione. By contrast, Nepi Sciré in 2003 exhibited only nine works by Giorgione. In 1978 there had been an exhibition around just one painting, the *Castelfranco Altarpiece* that had been stolen in November 1972. The intention was to celebrate its recovery. A later exhibition in the museum at Castelfranco in 2009 (see Puppi and Dal Pozzolo 2009) presented a compelling view of Giorgione's early work, constructing as his earliest paintings two landscape panels from Padova, the *Homage to a Poet* from the National Gallery, London, and the Uffizi panels, with emphasis on the stylistic similarities of the underdrawing, argued by Gianluca Poldi.

Brown, David Alan, Sylvia Ferino-Pagden, et al. *Bellini, Giorgione, Titian and the Renaissance of Venetian Painting*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

The close collaboration between two museums (the National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, and the Kunsthistorisches Museum) resulted in significant loans as these institutions pooled their resources. The exhibition differed from others in that it explored relationships between artists under the headings of Sacred Images, Sacred Stories, Allegories and Mythologies, Representation of Women, and Portraits of Men. The catalogue presents novel evidence from the scientific investigation of painting, from X-Radiography, infrared reflectography, and cross-sections of paint layers, with essays by Elke Oberthaler and Elisabeth Walmsley. The catalogue entries are exemplary in their ability to relate new technical evidence to old controversies.

Burlington Fine Arts Club. *Catalogue of a Collection of Pictures of the Early Venetian School and Other Works of Art*. London: Chiswick Press, 1912.

The exhibition, held at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, was notable for showing a small group of drawings and paintings, which we now call the Allendale group, together with some other impossible attributions.

Dal Pozzolo, Enrico Maria. *Labirinti del Cuore: Giorgione e le Stagioni del sentiment tra Venezia e Roma*. Napoli : Arte'm: 2017.

A charming exhibition at the Palazzo Venezia and the Museo nazionale di Castello Sant'Angelo in Rome that explored the iconography of melancholy and love in one late painting by Giorgione, the remarkable double portrait of two men from Palazzo Venezia, described by the curator as Giorgione's "Two Friends."

de Batz, Georges, ed. *Giorgione and His Circle*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1942.

Catalogue for a small wartime exhibition with works from American collections that were attributed to Giorgione and his followers by George Martin Richter in his 1939 monograph, and some discoveries that were stimulated by the monograph.

Facchinetti, Simone, and Arturo Galansino. *In the Age of Giorgione*. London: Royal Academy, 2016.

An exhibition that concentrated on the influence of Giorgione and his followers, notably Giovanni Cariani from Bergamo, who may have studied with Giorgione in 1509, with the inevitable result that the main protagonist was only glimpsed in three portraits, whereas Cariani was much better represented.

Ferino-Pagden, Silvia. *Giorgione: Mythos und Enigma*. Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 2004.

An exhibition that gained enormous strength from being integrated into the outstanding permanent collection at the Kunsthistorisches Museum, which was in the main collected by the 17th century. New discoveries from the scientific examination of painting by Elke Oberthaler were privileged in original ways so that the public could interrogate the results.

Jodidio, Philip, ed. *Le Siècle de Titien: L'âge de l'or de la peinture à Venise*. 2d ed. Paris: Éditions de la Réunion, 1993.

In contrast to the *Genius of Venice*, this exhibition, which marked the retirement of Michel Laclotte, was dedicated to painting and graphic culture. Giorgione played an important role in an exhibition that contained three hundred works by thirty Venetian artists. Alessandro Ballarin curated the paintings by Giorgione, while Konrad Oberhuber was responsible for drawings and prints. They held contradictory views. Oberhuber's contribution defined the Arcadian vision of Giorgione in a series of landscape drawings (some previously attributed to Giulio Campagnola) that led to the *Concert Champêtre*. See pages 281–294, 357–366.

Lazzarini, Lorenzo, ed. *Giorgione: La Pala di Castelfranco Veneto 29 May to 30 September 1978*. Milan: Electa Editrice, 1978.

A small exhibition around one painting, with a catalogue that concentrated on the restoration history of the altarpiece, with sophisticated scientific examinations of pigments by Lorenzo Lazzarini.

Martineau, Jane, and Charles Hope, eds. *The Genius of Venice 1500–1600*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1983.

A legendary exhibition at the Royal Academy of Arts in 1983–1984 of almost a thousand works of art that introduced Venetian artists to the British public. The intention was to propose Venetian art as being as important as that of Florence. Giorgione had only a liminal presence in a room called "The Circle of Giorgione, attributed to Titian," containing the Glasgow *Adulteress* and the Prado *Altarpiece with St. Anthony and St. Roch*. The catalogue was judged by reviewers to be unscholarly, which in no way inhibited the success of the exhibition.

Maschio, Ruggero, ed. *I tempi di Giorgione*. Rome: Gangemi Editore, 1994.

An exhibition at Castelfranco in 1993–1994 that placed Giorgione within the society and culture of the Veneto, but without many original works of art. The accompanying volume of twenty-seven essays contains much valuable material about culture in the Veneto by leading scholars, such as Carlo Pedretti on Leonardo da Vinci in Venice.

Nepi Sciré, Giovanna, and Sandra Rossi, eds. *Giorgione: “Le meraviglie dell’arte.” Venice: Gallerie dell’Accademia, 2003.*

An important exhibition that presented new Italian research on the collection of the Accademia, taking its title from Ridolfi. Nepi Sciré’s catalogue entries on the paintings in the Accademia, *The Tempest*, and *La Vecchia*, are exemplary. There are essays by Bernard Aikema, Augusto Gentile, and Sandra Rossi, among others.

Puppi, Lionello, and Enrico Maria Dal Pozzolo, eds. *Giorgione*. Milan: Skira, 2009.

An exhibition that concentrated on showing early work attributed to Giorgione within the context of the house museum, the Casa Marta-Pellizzari, which is believed to be where Giorgione lived. The building is datable to Giorgione’s lifetime and has become a significant exhibition center. The accompanying catalogue contains a new edition of all known documents relating to Giorgione, essays by Lionello Puppi, Giacinto Cecchetto, Charles Hope, Rosella Lauber, and others, and a complete catalogue of Giorgione’s works, rather than just those exhibited.

Zampetti, Pietro, and Palazzo Ducale. *Giorgione e i Giorgioneschi*. Venice, 1955.

The aim was for a panoramic exhibition, to include all possible works by Giorgione and his followers that could be lent, which led to the criticism that the followers overwhelmed the master. There were many significant exclusions, such as the entire Allendale group. In these exhibitions after the Second World War, Giorgione and before him Bellini held a position that was about reviving war-torn Italy by celebrating its great masters.

Giorgione and Drawings

The exhibition history of Giorgione as a draughtsman presents a rollercoaster ride between those who believed the artist only produced one drawing in Rotterdam that many accept as autograph, and an artist who produced a considerable number of works on paper, which were later given to other artists, depending on the curator of the exhibition. Among the early sources there are those who praised Giorgione’s drawing (Marcantonio Michiel and Carlo Ridolfi) and those who denigrated him as a draughtsman, but also owned drawings by him (Giorgio Vasari). Historically, the Florentine naysayers have dominated art-historical opinion, even though Vasari owned a drawing by Giorgione in his *Libro dei disegni*. Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944 has never been surpassed as an overview of the subject. Written without prejudice, the authors introduced the field of Venetian drawing to a broad audience. Wethey 1987 modernized that part of the Tietze catalogue relating to Titian, and Giorgione was included incidentally. Faietti 2015 discusses the theoretical concerns of Venetian drawing. In 1993 Konrad Oberhuber bravely rethought Giorgione’s contribution to Venetian drawing in his section of the Louvre exhibition catalogue on Titian’s century (see Oberhuber 1993). To date it is the only attempt to understand Giorgione’s contribution to drawing in Venice in the context of an exhibition or in print.

Faietti, Marzia. “Giorgio Vasari’s Life of Titian: Critical Misinterpretations and Preconceptions concerning Venetian Drawing.” In *Drawing in Venice: Titian to Canaletto*. Edited by Catherine Whistler, 39–49. Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 2015.

Discusses the theoretical differences between drawing in Venice and Florence, or the debate about color and design, as seen by Vasari and his contemporaries.

Oberhuber, Konrad. “Le message de Giorgione et du jeune Titien dessinateurs.” In *Le Siècle de Titien: L’âge de l’or de la peinture à Venise*. 2d ed. Edited by Philip Jodidio, 431–486. Paris: Éditions de la Réunion, 1993.

Oberhuber argues that Giorgione invented landscape drawing as a genre, later defined by Domenico Campagnola in 1517–1518, with his first signed landscapes. Giulio Campagnola is dismissed as a cultivated amateur, who modeled himself on Giorgione. Oberhuber persuasively argues for a group of drawings around the *Concert Champêtre* as all by Giorgione's hand.

Tietze, Hans, and Erica Tietze-Conrat. *The Drawings of the Venetian Painters in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*. New York: J. J. Augustin, 1944.

An extraordinary overview of drawing in the Venetian Renaissance that is still unsurpassed for the breadth of the authors' knowledge and the range of artists, whose techniques and collections are analyzed in detail. Minor and major artists are represented. Nine drawings by Giorgione are given autograph status.

Wethey, Harold. *Titian and His Drawings with Reference to Giorgione and Some Close Contemporaries*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987.

A catalogue of Titian's works on paper, arranged according to genre, portraiture, and landscape, in which Giorgione plays a minor role, given some four drawings.

Attribution History and Scientific Conservation

The principal account of the realities and myths created by the scientific analyses of paintings remains Jaynie Anderson's chapter in her monograph on Giorgione, Anderson 1997. Anderson argues that technical examinations require a kind of connoisseurship and also a knowledge of earlier conservation histories. Technical analyses can reveal extraordinary images beneath the surface, but they can also create modern myths. Conclusions reached during conservation are often accepted uncritically as certain, but the data should be subject to reassessment continually. Giorgione's paintings were among the first Venetian paintings to be X-rayed, with Hans Posse in Dresden in 1931, and with Johannes Wilde on *The Three Philosophers* in 1932 (see Posse 1931 and Wilde 1932). Wilde revealed that the eldest philosopher wore a solar crown, painted over in the final version of the work. Wilde was also famous for misreading the radiograph when he stated that the middle philosopher was a man of color, and the picture represented the three Magi. Wilde was mistaken, as X-rays cannot tell us about underlying colors. Antonio Morassi published the first radiographs of *The Tempest* in Morassi 1939, which showed another nude woman beneath the man/shepherd on the left. Multiple interpretations resulted, such as that Giorgione had changed his mind because the picture had no subject. The examples chosen present new material of different kinds that has emerged. Mucchi 1978 is a catalogue of a novel scientific exhibition that Mucchi arranged, in the house of Giorgione at Castelfranco, to display radiographs of paintings to size. Brown 2013 presents a case for attribution of the Borgherini double portrait to Giorgione on account of the underdrawing. Müller-Hofstede 1957–1959 presents an intriguing composition under Giorgione's *Self-Portrait* in Braunschweig, which is said to be Catena's invention. Giebe's excellent account of her restoration of the Dresden Venus is rarely cited in the attribution literature, with the exception of Anderson (see Giebe 1995). There are a number of individual case studies of great interest, including Dunkerton 2010 and Greer and Penny 2010, which examine the surface of the *Tramonto*, the most problematic painting as regards condition. The task is to re-evaluate technical evidence so that it relates to art-historical questions.

Anderson, Jaynie. "Myths and Realities Created by the Scientific Analyses of Paintings." In *Giorgione: The Painter of Poetic Brevity*. By Jaynie Anderson, 83–125. New York: Flammarion, 1997.

The only detailed analysis to date of how art-historical opinion is influenced and sometimes created by scientific evidence that may be read or misread. Newly published images of the works in Washington are evaluated with earlier studies of European paintings.

Brown, David Alan. "Art and Espionage: Michael Straight's Giorgione." *Artibus et Historiae* 34 (2013): 101–116.

A revealing and nuanced study of the Borgherini double portrait (National Gallery, Washington), noted by Vasari, which examines the radiographic evidence in relation to the attribution, suggesting that Giorgione began the composition, brought to completion by another artist.

Dunkerton, Jill. "Giorgione and Not Giorgione: The Conservation History and Technical Examination of *Il Tramonto*." *National Gallery Technical Bulletin* 31 (2010): 42–63.

An exemplary case study of a painting, the *Tramonto*, that is highly problematic from the point of view of its condition and imagery but is nonetheless in part attributable to Giorgione. Dunkerton reveals that many significant details are later additions by restorers, including St. George, his horse, the dragon, and St. Anthony's pig, thus invalidating many previous interpretations.

Giebe, Marlies. "Die 'Schlummernde Venus' von Giorgione und Tizian: Bestandaufnahme und Konservierung—neue Ergebnisse der Röntgenanalyse." *Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen Dresden* 23.1992 (1995): 91–108.

Giebe's research in conservation documents the parts of the painting that have been "restored" by Titian, over the initial work by Giorgione. Her findings support the identification of the painting as being that described by Michiel.

Greer, Elena, and Nicholas Penny. "Giorgione and the National Gallery." *Burlington Magazine* 152 (2010): 364–375.

An account of how successive directors of the National Gallery, London, principally Frederic Burton, Kenneth Clark, and Philip Pouncey, evaluated their acquisitions of works thought to be by Giorgione for the British national collection and the changing fortunes of these attributions.

Morassi, Antonio. "Esame radiografico delle *Tempesta di Giorgione*." *Le Arti* 1 (1939): 567–570.

Morassi published the first radiographic images of the underdrawing on Giorgione's *Tempest* to reveal a second seated woman on the left-hand side beneath the male figure. The article contained a painted reconstruction of the first version of the painting, the first of its kind, which was frequently reproduced as conveying Giorgione's original intention.

Mucchi, Ludovico. *Caratteri radiografici della pittura di Giorgione*. Florence: Alinari, 1978.

A very first attempt to systematically and comparatively analyze many paintings by Giorgione by radiography to see if it was possible to find similar characteristics, ways of preparing a canvas, between the underdrawings of various works. Mucchi defines three periods in Giorgione's development with different radiographic characteristics. The book supports every attribution made by Pignatti.

Müller-Hofstede, Cornelius. "Untersuchungen über Giorgiones Selbstbildnis in Braunschweig." *Mitteilungen des kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz* 8 (1957–1959): 13–34.

The X-radiograph of Giorgione's self-portrait revealed that an old canvas had been reused, and that underneath was a composition of a Madonna and Child associated with Vincenzo Catena, where Christ leans away from his mother while supporting himself by holding her neck. Catena's version is in the National Gallery, London.

Posse, Hans. "Die Rekonstruktion der Venus mit dem Cupido von Giorgione." *Jahrbuch der Preu Bischen Sammlungen* 52 (1931): 29–35.

The first publication of the underdrawing on the Dresden Venus, which reconstructed the missing Cupid who was said to be squeezing a bird. Recent conservators do not think it is possible to reconstruct what the putto is holding. Posse argued in favor of the identification of the picture as being the work by Giorgione that Michiel described in the collection of Girolamo Marcello.

Wilde, Johannes. "Roenttgenaufnahmen der 'Drei Philosophen' Giorgiones und der Zigeunermadonna Tizians." *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 6 (1932): 141–154.

In this much-quoted article Wilde published for the first time the underdrawings of *The Three Philosophers* and also those for Titian's *Gypsy Madonna*. The eldest philosopher was shown to have originally had a sun headdress. Wilde argued that the painting represented the Magi, because the middle figure had black skin. In this case he misread the X-ray, as radiographic evidence gives no indication of color.

Copies after Giorgione: Inventories of 17th-Century Collections

During the 18th century, certain works by Giorgione went missing, lent by the Empress Maria Theresa to decorate her daughters' castles in Bratislava and Budapest. A number of significant illustrated inventories of the Habsburg collection record these works, the first from the Habsburg court artist and curator, David Teniers, convincingly attributed to Giorgione (see Teniers 1658). What is known of the provenances and collecting history of the Vienna collection is given in some detail in Wood 2018. Nothing appears to remain from the 17th-century picture gallery of Andrea Vendramin, published by Tancred Borenius, but it is essential to study these copies, recorded as being after works by Giorgione, as it is unlikely that the originals will ever be found. These studies will always be about hypotheses concerning lost works. Marcantonio Michiel only recorded the tip of the iceberg in Venetian patrician collections, the richness of which we can glimpse in these inventories. Ferino-Pagden and Deiters 2004 document comparatively what is known of Giorgione's paintings, including the 18th-century inventory by Storffer, that also contains painted reproductions of the lost works.

Borenius, Tancred. *The Picture Gallery of Andrea Vendramin*. London: Medici Society, 1927.

The publication of an illustrated inventory of a 17th-century Vendramin collection from a Sloane MSS 4404–7, in the British Museum. It contains a number of lost works by Giorgione. The collection was said to have been sold in Amsterdam in the 17th century.

Ferino-Pagden, Sylvia, and Wencke Deiters. "Zur Sammlungsgeschichte der Wiener Gemäldegalerie." In *Giorgione: Mythos und Enigma*. Edited by Sylvia Ferino-Pagden, 277–287. Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum 2004.

A comparative analysis of all the inventories of the Kunsthistorisches Museum where Giorgione's works are described both verbally and visually. Colored copies in the Storffer inventory are reproduced for the first time. In the main the old attributions to Giorgione in these early inventories are maintained in the current catalogue of the museum.

Teniers, David. *Theatrum Pictorium*. Brussels, 1658.

The first illustrated printed catalogue of the Habsburg collection (formed in the 17th century), by the court artist to Archduke Leopold Wilhelm. Teniers records a number of important works by Giorgione, now lost, such as Giorgione's *Self-Portrait as Orpheus*. The engravings show the original format of paintings that were cut to fit a new system of framing in Vienna in the 17th century.

Wood, Jeremy. "Buying and Selling Art in Venice, London and Antwerp: The Collection of Bartolomeo della Nave and the dealings of James, Third Marquis of Hamilton, Anthony van Dyck, and Jan and Jacob van Veerle, c. 1637–50." *The Walpole Society* 80 (2018): 1–200.

Wood gives a meticulous account of the Venetian paintings in the collection of the merchant/dealer Bartolomeo della Nave, including many important works by Giorgione, that entered 17th-century English collections and were later acquired by the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, through whom they entered the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

Conference Proceedings

Conferences represent the state of scholarship at the time of mistaken quincenary celebrations, or research inspired by major exhibitions, that emerged too late to be included in catalogues. Given the new birthdate there are more opportunities to celebrate anniversaries. In 1978, fifty art historians from all over the world gathered at Castelfranco Veneto to present a very different Giorgione from that of the Venice exhibition of 1955 (see Pallucchini 1979). In 1978 Terisio Pignatti had just published his monograph, with a catalogue of Giorgione's works, and Salvatore Settis had surprised everyone with his book on the interpretations of Giorgione's *Tempesta*. There was an accompanying exhibition about the *Castelfranco Altarpiece*, which presented scientific material from conservation, and an exhibition that presented radiographic evidence arranged by Mucchi. In the acts published the following year the importance of Leonardo was constantly reiterated, as was the investigation of underdrawing documented during restoration and new archival discoveries, principally inventories. In 1978 the Fondazione Cini, Venice, held a series of lectures in Venice where distinguished scholars presented on aspects of Venetian culture in the sixteenth century, the results appear in Pallucchini 1981. A related conference, curated by Michelangelo Muraro, concentrated on the contexts of Venetian humanism; see Muraro 1987. In 2003 Dal Pozzolo held a conference at Montagnana, which focused on the attribution of frescoes in the Cathedral to Giorgione, which remain a controversial attribution.

Dal Pozzolo, Enrico Maria, ed. *Giorgione a Montagnana: Atti del convegno di studi (Montagnana 2003)*. Padua: Il Prato, 2004.

A conference based around the attribution of two frescoes to Giorgione in Montagnana, and a drawing in Rotterdam, said to represent a shepherd seated before the castle walls. Bernard Aikema's essay, "Certezze ed ipotesi riguardanti il disegno di Rotterdam" (pp. 39–48), questions the attribution of the drawing.

Ferino-Pagden, Sylvia, ed. *Giorgione entmythisiert*. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2008.

The bold claim of the title appears inevitably naïve given the continuing development of iconographic studies interpreting Giorgione's paintings, particularly among Viennese art historians; with contributions from Alexander Nova, Salvatore Settis, Karen Zeleny, and others.

Muraro, Michelangelo. *La letteratura, la rappresentazione, la musca al tempo e nei luoghi di Giorgione*. Rome: Juvence, 1987.

Seven essays on literature and music, including Carlo Dionisotti on literature in courts in the Veneto, Arnaldo Balduino and M. Pastore Stocchi on Giovanni Aurelio Augurelli, and many on Poliphilo.

Pallucchini, Rodolfo, ed. *Atti del convegno internazionale di studio per il quinto centenario della nascita (Castelfranco Veneto 1978)*. Castelfranco Veneto, Italy: Stamperia di Venezia, 1979.

An important conference with outstanding presentations by international scholars, where Alessandro Ballarin presented his first ideas for the early dating of Giorgione's portraiture. There were significant contributions by André Chastel on Giorgione's critical fortunes or misfortunes, and by Craig Hugh Smythe on how Michelangelo may have been inspired by the Fondaco frescoes, which Florentine experts resist.

Pallucchini, Rodolfo, ed. *Giorgione e l'umanesimo veneziano*. 2 vols. Florence: L.S. Olschki, 1981.

Contains significant contributions by Vittore Branca, André Chastel, Jan Bialostocki, and many others. It was intended to give a contextual analysis to Giorgione's achievements, to move to his cultural milieu.

Giorgionismo

Despite his short life, Giorgione's style proved long-lasting and influential throughout the first half of the 16th century in Venice and the Veneto in different media. Vasari, in the Life of Paris Bordone, suggests that Giorgione's style was fashionable in the 1520s. Bordone left Titian's workshop, finding him disinterested in teaching, in contrast to Giorgione, who was known to have loved working with pupils. At that point the Trevisan Paris revived Giorgione's manner (see Canova 1964, cited under Paris Bordone, 1500–1571). There is a form of subject

in the 1520s that is associated with this movement, comprising portraits of beautiful women, shepherd boys, musicians, and lovers in the landscape. Giorgione is known to have had pupils, including Sebastiano del Piombo, Titian, Catena, an assistant on the Fondaco, Morto da Feltre, as well as many later followers, such as Paris Bordone and Savoldo, who imitated his style after his death. In all instances the pupil/master relationship appears unconventional from the terms used. Vasari calls Titian and Sebastiano del Piombo "Giorgione's creatures" (*creati*), while Catena is described as a "colleague" in a contemporary inscription. Morto da Feltre, or Lorenzo Luzzo, was a different kind of assistant on the Fondaco, one who had already had a career elsewhere; see Hülsen 1916 and Claut 1996, cited under Lorenzo Luzzo, known as Morto da Feltre, 1480–1527. Titian took possession of the modernism of Giorgione, while others borrowed motifs and techniques. The word *pan-Titianesque* was invented to describe Hourticq's method in 1919.

Lionello Venturi's Concept of *Giorgionismo*

In 1913 Lionello Venturi, an Italian expert on impressionism and contemporary art, was the first to coin the term *Giorgionismo*, which he considered to be not only a 16th-century revival, but a movement that extended to Caravaggio and Manet. It was not just about pupils and followers, but the creation of a new way of making art, a new form of subject matter with a liberating style, like impressionism, that privileged color and tone above drawing. Venturi 1931, a lively review of Hourticq's book on Titian, revealed the inaccuracies of Hourticq's book, and argued that the great defining characteristic of Giorgione's work was his "intensity," an intensity that envelops form and vibrates even when figures are immobile. Venturi was a brilliant polemicist, equally at home in Renaissance art and as in the politics of the Venice Biennale. Decades later, in the Bampton Lectures, Venturi designated Giorgione as the first "modern" artist (see Venturi 1956). *Giorgionismo* is now used frequently, and is meaningful not only in relation to painting but also to the neo-Hellenic style of sculpture of Tullio and Antonio Lombardo and Giovanni Maria Mosca. The artists chosen to represent the Giorgioneschi are only an important selection of multiple possibilities. Most of those chosen are said in the contemporary sources to have worked with him, such as Titian, Sebastiano del Piombo, Morto da Feltre, and Catena. Paris Bordone represents a later generation of artists who were influenced by Giorgione posthumously. Giorgione's impact on contemporary artists was most influential in printmaking, with inventions around the pastoral.

Venturi, Lionello. *Giorgione e il Giorgionismo*. Milan: Hoepli, 1913.

An extensive overview of many artists in 16th-century Italy who were influenced by Giorgione and created paintings in his style. Venturi argues that there was a continual Giorgionesque revolution in terms of the freedom of invention and style, with an enduring influence, until the early 20th century.

Venturi, Lionello. "Chroniques: Le Problème de Giorgione." *Revue de l'art* 35.2 (1931): 169–178.

A brilliant review of Hourticq's monograph on Titian (1919), in which he demonstrates that the Dresden Venus has a provenance that confirms it is the painting that was described by Michiel in Gerolamo Marcello's collection, as well as revealing the fog of hatred that surrounded Hourticq's characterizations of Giovanni Bellini and Giorgione, or any other artist apart from Titian.

Venturi, Lionello. *Four Steps towards Modern Art: Giorgione, Caravaggio, Manet, Cezanne*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1956.

Giorgione is envisaged as the first artist of significance for the modern world. It was at this time that Venturi was the first to attribute the *Tramonto* to Giorgione.

Titian

Titian was born in the mountains at Cadore outside Venice, to a family of lawyers, the Verelli. There is no documentary evidence of his birth, nor for his early career in Venice, until the three frescoes of the Life of St. Anthony in the Scuola del Santo at Padua, documented in the last three months of 1511. Nothing is known about him until the time of the Assunta in 1516. Later biographers, Vasari (1568) and Ludovico Dolce (1557), give accounts of his beginnings, with an apprenticeship with the mosaicist Zuccati, then with Bellini, followed by Giorgione. They are presumably repeating information from Titian, who at the end of his life could not recall how old he was. Giorgione's

association with Titian began with the Fondaco dei Tedeschi, when these later sources claim he was responsible for frescoes on one side of the building and that Giorgione became jealous of Titian. Otherwise, details of an actual apprenticeship with Giorgione are unknown. A group of paintings that were traditionally thought to be by Giorgione, such as the *Concert Champêtre* in the Louvre, according to the earliest evidence has gradually been attributed to Titian, without documentary proof or scientific evidence. This hemorrhaging began dramatically with Hourticq 1919, and was then the subject of considerable controversy, which has continued to grow in strength ever since. Joannides 2002 is a successor to Hourticq. According to Vasari, contemporaries were unable to distinguish works by Giorgione from Titian, as more than any other artist among Giorgione's followers, Titian appropriated his master's style, and profited from his early death. When compared with Sebastiano del Piombo, Titian's style was undifferentiated at an early age.

Hourticq, Louis. *La Jeunesse de Titien*. Paris: Hachette, 1919.

The first radical attempt to analyze works first attributed to Giorgione as being in part or wholly by the young Titian, such as his introduction of Titian in the attribution of the Louvre *Concert Champêtre*. Hourticq, unencumbered by documentary analysis or scientific proof, reduces the number of Giorgione's works to six. The author had unrivaled opportunities to study the paintings in conservation but did not produce any documentary or technical evidence for attribution.

Joannides, Paul. *Titian to 1518: The Assumption of Genius*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002.

An in-depth analysis of Titian's earliest years, from a pan-Titian perspective. The study is beautifully illustrated and contains translations of the sources and interpretations of classical stories in Titian's work. Joannides defines his method as "descriptive" and his assumption that a group of works are by Titian is not proven by documentary or scientific evidence.

Sebastiano del Piombo

Sebastiano began his career as a lute player, then moved to take up painting with Bellini and later Giorgione. Sebastiano went to Rome in 1511, shortly after Giorgione's death. There he remained for the rest of his life, leaving Titian to be the leading "Giorgionesque" painter in Venice. Even in his earliest works, which are considered Giorgionesque, such as the *Salome* in the National Gallery of London and the *Judgment of Solomon* at Kingston Lacy (both in Wivel's exhibition of 2017), Sebastiano always has a much more developed personal style of appropriation than Titian. There are not the same possibilities for confusion. Sebastiano's technique remains always Venetian in his improvisation, as shown in Wivel, et al. 2017. The London exhibition in 2017 successfully challenged Vasari's negative view of Sebastiano, inevitably taken by Vasari from Michelangelo or perhaps from Sebastiano himself, whom Vasari knew in Rome and could have informed his view on Venetian art.

Barbieri, Costanza. "Il problema critica del giudizio vasariano e i suoi risvolti moderni." *Studiolo 12* (2015): 180–209.

A punctilious analysis of the critical reception of Vasari's statement that Sebastiano's lunettes in the Palazzo Farnesina, created just after his arrival in Rome from Venice, in the autumn of 1511, were Venetian *poesie*. Vasari recognized that Sebastiano had invented violent and dramatic interpretations of Ovid's myths, combined with a *sfumato* style, an absolute technical novelty in terms of Roman frescoes and indebted to Giorgione's activities as a fresco painter.

Wivel, Matthias, Costanza Barbieri, Piers Baker-Bates, et al. *Michelangelo and Sebastiano*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2017.

Wivel's exhibition catalogue is primarily about the fraught creative partnership of Sebastiano with Michelangelo, but it does show how Sebastiano's drawing style remains stubbornly Venetian or Giorgionesque throughout his career, unlike his painting style which responds constantly to Roman innovations by his contemporaries.

Catena

Catena is an unusual artist, in that his personality is engagingly documented in the various wills he made. His testament was known to contemporaries, as it is mentioned in Ridolfi's *Life of Catena* in the *Maravigliie*, perhaps because of his bequests to the Painters' Guild. Catena is a wealthy bachelor and a friend to distinguished humanists, including Pietro Bembo, Marcantonio Michiel, and many others. He is associated permanently with Giorgione because in an inscription on the reverse of the Laura portrait, Catena is described as Giorgione's colleague. Robertson 1954 defines him as a painter, rigorously assessing attributions made in his name, to produce a catalogue of an artist who was not nearly as Giorgionesque as either Titian or Sebastiano, except on some rare occasions, such as the *Holy Family with a Warrior Adoring the Infant Christ* in the National Gallery, London, and *Judith with the Head of Salome* in the gallery of the Querini Stampalia, Venice. Catena was a collector and owned works such as Bellini's allegories in the Accademia, Venice, said to have once decorated a mirror for Bellini's own bedroom. Waldeck 2016 argues that the relationship between Giorgione and Catena was a business one, but it would be intriguing to define it further.

Robertson, Giles. *Vincenzo Catena*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1954.

A scholarly monograph on an artist with an oeuvre of small-scale devotional works and portraits, who is described as Giorgione's colleague on the reverse of the Laura Portrait in Vienna. Catena, a wealthy bachelor, has left works of different styles, some Giorgionesque, but his real relationship with Giorgione, either that of a pupil/master and/or a business colleague, is much debated.

Waldeck, Anik. "Vincenzo Catena and Giorgione, Reconsidered." *Artibus et Historiae* 74.37 (2016): 59–71.

Their relationship is envisaged as a business one, such as a shared studio, in which Catena promotes Giorgione to his humanist friends. Catena's style cannot be defined as Giorgionesque, except in rare works such as the *Judith* (Querini Stampalia, Venice).

Lorenzo Luzzo, known as Morto da Feltre, 1480–1527

The artist whom Vasari called Morto da Feltre, is now known to have been Lorenzo Luzzo. The Luzzo family lived between Feltre and Zara in Dalmatia. There has been surprisingly little speculation about what Morto da Feltre might have contributed to the decoration of the frescoes on the Fondaco dei Tedeschi, except to state that it was decorative details, *groteschi*, in the style that he had learned in Rome from imitating ancient frescoes. On the reverse of the Pala di Caupo, representing the unusual iconography of the Resurrected Christ with the Madonna and Christ Child, between St. Vito and St. Modesto, in the Accademia, Venice, there are numerous drawings. Among them are several female nudes very like those by Giorgione on the Fondaco. In Ridolfi's *Life of Morto*, he states that the lady who infected Giorgione with the plague, provoking his fatal illness, then ran away with Morto da Feltre. In 1511 Lorenzo Luzzo is documented as having married Lisabetta de Linguacis at Zara, hypothetically the same woman, if one can believe Ridolfi.

Claut, Sergio. "La Pala di Lorenzo Luzzo per la Chiesa di S. Stefano a Feltre." *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 38 (1996): 33–40.

An account of a rare signed and dated (1511) altarpiece, which is the most Giorgionesque painting by Morto.

Hülßen, Christian. "Morto da Feltre." *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 2 (1916): 81–89.

The classic account of this eccentric and peripatetic artist, who worked in Venice for a few years at the end of Giorgione's life, from 1507 to 1510, during which time he was an assistant on the Fondaco dei Tedeschi.

Paris Bordone, 1500–1571

Bordone was born in Treviso in 1500, not far from Giorgione's birthplace, and moved to Venice in 1518, where he spent his life, with the exception of a visit to the court of Francis II in Paris in 1559. Bordone almost always signed his works, which has led to the establishment of a large corpus of paintings, many of which represent *la dolce vita veneziana*. Bordone worked for many patrons outside Venice, who

liked his representation of Venetian life. Giorgione's influence on Bordone was exceptionally strong in almost all of his works, manifesting itself in the subject matter rather than the style of his painting.

Canova, Giordano. *Paris Bordone*. Venice: Fantoni, 1964.

Bordone is shown to have had a short Titianesque period, before becoming a follower of Giorgione in the 1520s. The influence is expressed in Bordone's soft style of painting, and in a range of characteristic subjects: an altarpiece at Lovere (1525–1526), portraits of men in berets, images of courtesans in amorous groups, such as the Brera *Lovers*, and reclining female figures in landscapes.

Giorgione and the Printmakers

The impact of Giorgione's subjects and style on contemporary printmakers was immediately fashionable during the first decade of the 16th century. An exhibition in Washington, curated by Konrad Oberhuber in 1973, presented the most complete overview of printmaking in the Veneto. The most intriguing figure was Giulio Campagnola, who has left a small number of pastoral prints that reflect the subjects of Giorgione's paintings, reclining nudes, seen from behind in landscapes, that relate to the *Dresden Venus*, and shepherds in the countryside, akin to the *Allendale Adoration*. Giulio was a polymath, a poet, and a singer, who knew ancient languages, took religious orders, and was the friend of humanists such as Pietro Bembo and Aldus Manutius. As Oberhuber remarked, most intriguingly, Giulio invented a Giorgionesque technique of stippling as a means of shadowing in his engraving, which mirrored the soft sfumato of Giorgione's brushwork. Irene Brook in several articles (Brook 2018, Brook 2020) gives a judicious outline of his career and the problems of defining it. Recently there have been attempts to attribute paintings to Giulio, but none have proved enduring. Several key images by Marcantonio Raimondi—his engravings of *Grammar*, and the *Dream*—interpret Giorgione's imagery more radically than Raimondi ever considered when he reconfigured Raphael's images. According to the 16th-century humanist Augurelli, an image may be enjoyed as a stimulus for discourse in a debate where various interpretations are proposed; see Nova 1998. Raimondi may have been in Venice in 1507–1508, when he could have met Giorgione.

Brook, Irene. "Tratta da Zorzi: Giulio Campagnola's Copies after Other Artists and His Use of Models." In *Making Copies in European Art 1400–1600: Shifting Tastes, Modes of Transmission and Changing Contexts*. Edited by Madaleine Bellavitis, 212–260. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2018.

An article that challenges the view that an artist who primarily copies other artists, such as Campagnola, cannot be original.

Brook, Irene. "New Evidence for the Life and Career of Giulio Campagnola." *Print Quarterly* 37.4 (2020): 1–14.

Brook gives a judicious account of scholarship about Giulio Campagnola, his biography, and the attributions that have been made in his name. Brook publishes a reference to Giulio in a letter of 1517, which shows he was still alive on that date, allowing for a reconsideration of his later career.

Carradore, Antonio. "Catalogue Entries on Giulio Campagnola's Drawings and Prints." In *Giorgione*. Edited by Lionello Puppi and Enrico Maria Dal Pozzolo, 451–455. Milan: Skira, 2009.

Carradore gives an authoritative account of the attribution history of the key prints associated with Campagnola and Raimondi (pp. 455–457).

Nova, Alessandro. "Giorgione's *Inferno with Aeneas and Anchises* for Taddeo Contarini." In *Dosso's Fate: Painting and Court Culture in Renaissance Italy*. Edited by Luisa Ciammitti, Steven F. Ostrow, and Salvatore Settis, 41–62. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 1998.

A demonstration that Marcantonio Raimondi's two prints, *The Dream* and *Gramatica*, always associated with Giorgione, were revolutionary in technique and radically ambitious in subject matter, and intentionally made to challenge a humanist viewer's ingenuity.

Oberhuber, Conrad, and Jay A. Levenson. *Early Italian Engravings from the National Gallery of Art, Washington*. Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1973.

Oberhuber and Levenson describe Venetian printmakers influenced by Giorgione with reference to fine impressions by Giulio Campagnola, Jacopo dei Barbari, and Marcantonio Raimondi. Oberhuber attributes the landscape in the drawing of St. John the Baptist (Louvre) to Giorgione, an opinion that is frequently quoted. Levenson's account of Jacopo dei Barbari is unsurpassed.

Terverant, Guy de. "Instances of Italian Influence in Italian Art." *Burlington Magazine* 85 (1944): 290–294.

The article argues what may be the most believable interpretation of Raimondi's *The Dream*, after Giorgione, referring to a passage in the *Thebaid*, by Statius: "Vague dreams with innumerable faces are seen all around, the truthful ones mingled with untruthful ones and rivers with flames."

Venetian Periodicals

All three periodicals cited here are publications of the Fondazione Giorgio Cini, and all contain important material about Giorgione and his contemporaries. The foundation is located on the Isola San Giorgio, in a magical Palladian building, across the water from St. Mark's Square. The Cini Foundation contains an extraordinary library, the *Nuova Manica Lunga*, specializing in Venetian art, with much rare material, manuscripts, incunabula, the best photographic archive for Venetian art, and archives of Venetian art historians, such as Giuseppe Fiocco, Rodolfo Gallo, and Raymond von Marle. Among the various research centers is one for art historians, the Istituto di Storia dell'Arte. There is a residential center at the Cini for scholars who wish to use the library, the Vittore Branca Center for the Study of Italian Culture.

***Arte veneta*.**

The outstanding and longest-serving periodical for Venetian art history. An annual that began publication in 1947, and which from 1998 has been edited by the Cini Foundation. It is the unmissable periodical for Venetian art historians containing a wealth of important material, such as the recent article by Piermario Vescovo, 2019.

***Saggi e Memorie*.**

Founded in 1957, by Giuseppe Fiocco, the journal publishes lengthy scholarly articles on important subjects in Venetian art history, often of an archival or documentary nature, such as the conference *Giorgione e l'umanesimo veneziano*, 27 (1981).

***Studi veneziani*.**

This journal began publishing in 1959. It is edited by the Institute for the History of Venetian Art and Society, located at the Cini. It is not purely an art-historical periodical, although there is significant art-historical content, such as Renate Segre's expanded version of her article on Giorgione in the *Burlington*, "Una rilettura della vita di Giorgione: Nuovi documenti d'archivio" (2012–2013).

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