GRACE & GRANDEUR

THE PORTRAITURE OF PAOLO VERONESE

JOHN GARTON
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Introduction

Paolo [Caliari] Veronese (1528-88) is one of the most fashionable, if least understood, artists of the Venetian Renaissance. He is known for his frescos, oil paintings and highly prized drawings. Visitors to the Doge’s Palace have long admired his celebratory works, especially the great ceiling painting The Triumph of Venice (c. 1585). His decorations at the Villa Barbaro at Maser and the church of San Sebastiano in Venice are also familiar masterpieces, though their subtleties of allegory and religious narrative continue to challenge historians. Far less known, but almost as important, are the influential, independent portraits by this versatile artist; of which approximately forty survive. This book examines these works, the circumstances of their creation and reception, how they chronicle Venice’s golden age of painting, and their significance to later portraitists.

As one of the Carracci (probably Agostino) noted in the margins of his copy of Giorgio Vasari’s Lives:

I have known Paulino and I have seen his beautiful works. He deserves to have a great volume written in praise of him, for his pictures prove that he is second to no other painter, and this fool passes over him in four lines just because he wasn’t a Florentine.¹

Despite his Tuscan prejudices, Vasari did admire Veronese’s now-destroyed mural for the Great Council Hall, Doge’s Palace, depicting the meeting of Federigo Barbarossa, the pope, and the doge. In particular, the Florentine was impressed by the numerous ‘figures in various poses and costumes, all of them beautiful and truly representing the court of the pope and of the emperor and a Venetian Senate, with many noblemen and senators of that Republic portrayed from life’.² Yet, the painter’s ‘great volume’ of praise would not arrive until the seventeenth century with the accounts of two writers who held Veronese in the highest esteem as a portraitist, Carlo Ridolfi and Marco Boschini.³ In the preface to Le ricche minere della pittura veneziana, Boschini begins by declaring that ‘The gods granted [Veronese] the power to insert their portraits (ritratti) in his works; and for this reason every figure by Paolo has a celestial quality’.⁴ Boschini frequently refers to Veronese as an Apollo of painting, a pun on Paolo, but also an apt sobriquet for this talented painter.⁵ The invocation of the Greek god of sunlight, the god of arts and reason, is appropriate to Paolo’s sunny, sometimes silvery tones, high-key colors, and translucent shadows. Portraits by this ‘Apollo’ display a striking control of grace and elegance.

Many members of Venice’s most powerful families sat for Veronese, including the Barbarigo, Barbaro, Contarini, Soranzo, and Venier. Such was his fame as a portraitist that when the young Sir Philip Sidney wished to have his likeness made in Venice, he turned to Veronese, as did Titian – the highest of compliments.⁶ In an unusually worldly society, Veronese provided remarkable images of finesse and fashion, poise and presence.

Despite the importance of Veronese’s likenesses, they have received no systematic study. Most monographs or exhibition catalogues (Osmond 1927; Fiocco 1928; von Hadeln 1935 (1978); Pallucchini 1939; Rosand 1972; Pignatti 1976; Badt 1981; Pallucchini 1984; Pedrocco
2004) have included samples of his portraiture, but usually with little or no attempt to form a larger concept of its role in the oeuvre. Rearick’s catalogue entries of 1988 prove an exception, and his ten-page article (1990) on some of Veronese’s early portraits presents the most sustained and detailed analysis, while addressing only a fraction of the artist’s output. Pignatti and Pedrocchi’s catalogue raisonné (1995) marks the most recent attempt to catalogue Veronese’s portraits, accepting thirty-nine as autograph, and rejecting nine as from the workshop or by followers. Addressed to issues of attribution and dating, the discussion of Veronese’s likenesses remains skeletal, the artist’s accomplishments never fully related to the portraits by his contemporaries.

In the wider sphere of art history, most scholars have remained ambivalent about Veronese’s portraits, unsure how best to reconcile this small corpus of high-quality images with larger interpretive paradigms of the painter as a ‘decorative’ or even ‘hedonistic’ artist. Since Armand Baschet’s 1867 discovery of the transcript of Veronese’s appearance before the Inquisition, in which the artist defends artistic license, most have been content to judge Veronese’s entire oeuvre on the basis of these rhetorical remarks made before a politically-charged tribunal. Often the painter’s more thoughtful responses concerning setting and decorum are overlooked in favor of quoting his lines: ‘We painters take the same license as poets and madmen take [...]’ or ‘[...] if in a picture there is extra space, I enrich it with figures according to the subject’. Roger Fry, who planned to write a monograph on Veronese, summed up the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century verdict against the artist when he judged Paolo incapable of deep sentiments (religious or otherwise), concerned only with matters of technique. Surprised by the religious pitch of Veronese’s *Baptism of Christ* (Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan), Fry admitted that the painter ‘[...] evidently visualized the story intensely and yet most of the time Veronese doesn’t care a damn about anything but his opportunities’. Upon visiting Veronese’s masterful cycle for the church of San Sebastiano, Fry declared that Titian’s late *St Nicholas of Bari* (1563), in the same nave, ‘[...] somehow knocked all Veronese’s loveliness a little silly’. Such judgments of the artist as a technician of pleasing pictorial effects allowed little room for the possibility that his portraits might prove serious studies representing the virtues, aspirations, or psychologies of his sitters. Amid such critical opinions, it was Detlev von Hadeln (1924, 1927) who rightly championed Paolo as a ‘brilliant’ portrait painter:

On the other hand, the very fact that he [Veronese] so seldom painted a portrait is associated with one of the particular merits of these rare works of his, for he escaped a pitfall into which Tintoretto with his over-great production of portraits fell – namely, the danger of following a formula. This remark may be heretical in the opinion of many, but, if we consider the enormous number of Tintoretto’s portraits as a whole, we must confess that, despite technical mastery and sure characterization, we are conscious of a somewhat wearisome underlying sameness – the immediate cause being the constant repetition of just a few poses, whose scheme, moreover, is derived from Titian. Veronese is much more varied, and, if not altogether independent of Titian’s influence, is still often notably original.
Unfortunately, Hadeln’s opinion remained a minority one, not followed in the subsequent literature.

The decorative works of Veronese and their interpretations continue to overshadow any analysis of his output as portraitist. Pope-Hennessy, in writing what would become a standard survey of Italian Renaissance portraiture, ultimately fell back upon earlier prejudices, declaring that ‘analysis was foreign to the cast of Veronese’s mind’. This remains the critical formula by which Veronese’s portraits are often interpreted. Tátrai’s 1995 assessment of Veronese’s Portrait of a Young Man in Fur (Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest), for example, focuses on the visual pleasure of the work, dismissing any possible symbolism in the ancient ruins, ivy, or pastoral setting. The analysis of this same likeness in Chapter Four of the present text reaches fundamentally different conclusions, defining the image’s significance within a visual tradition of likenesses of men contemplating antiquity. Preconceived notions about the artist and his temperament (even his ambiguous position at the end of the ‘Renaissance’ and the beginning of the ‘Baroque’) have formed something of an interpretive straightjacket that prevents a wide-ranging exploration of the compositional elements and the denotive and connotative meanings of his portraiture.

This study examines the artist’s analysis of individual sitters and their aspirations vis-à-vis the strictures of gender, class, and status. The skill of discerning social ambition lies at the heart of Veronese’s achievements. His likenesses tend to be highly sophisticated and innovative examples of how the artist could configure individual identity along ideal lines. The painter’s ‘analysis’ is nowhere more evident than when he is challenged to portray a subject’s innocence, melancholy, nuanced comportment, pretension to status, or claims of erudition. His alert-looking Woman and Her Son (Musée du Louvre, Paris), the sympathetically rendered Livia Da Porto with Her Daughter Porzia (Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore), and the commanding matron in fresco at Maser, Giustiniana Giustiniani, are all diverse female likenesses unified by a common quality of grandeur. His fashionable images of men are distinguished by a calculated dignity and nonchalance. To judge that his portraits lack psychological penetration because his sitters do not routinely appear with the severity of Titian’s or Tintoretto’s portrayals is both to overlook Veronese’s intense male portraits and to foster a narrow, modernist conception of what constitutes a ‘penetrating’ portrait (the latter term inseparable from its Freudian connotations).

Veronese has languished too long under the weight of such twenty-century conventions. The ‘outward’ and the ‘inward’ were more closely bound in Renaissance conceptions of the self; thus writers such as Baldassare Castiglione could declare that ‘[…] outward beauty is a true sign of inner goodness’. If we expand our notion of ‘psychological analysis’ to encompass both internal sentiments and external objects as indicators of personal condition, manifest desires, or even psychological insecurities, then Veronese rightly emerges as a highly perceptive portraitist of sixteenth-century Venetian society.

Stephen Greenblatt’s research has inspired many historians to examine more closely the Renaissance’s preoccupation with self-fashioning. In a more modest way, this book outlines some of the methods Veronese used to shape the image of his sitters, even as the corpus of portraits better defines the artist’s own self-fashioning. Self-fashioning is
often mediated by local or regional convention, and Veronese proved adept at pushing the boundaries of high fashion wherever he worked. Growing up a stone mason’s son in Verona, he traveled extensively in Venice’s inland empire, the *terra firma*, and quickly developed a style of portraiture that suited the quasi-regal pretensions of that region’s nobility. In the realm of governance, *terra firma* cities tended to embrace Venetian protection when threatened from abroad, but often petitioned for greater autonomy in times of peace, especially where matters of social custom and civic display were concerned. Similarly, portraiture from this region sometimes looks as if it was a stylistic extension of the Serenissima’s artists, but at other times dashes ahead, as with the use of the full-length format, an innovation Veronese helped to refine. Many *terra firma* aristocrats boasted ancient Roman bloodlines more pure than those proffered by families in Venice. In Paolo, they discovered an artist who had mastered the antique. Maturing as an artist in this geography of wealth, illusory independence, and romanità, Veronese developed a style that would soon redefine Venetian painting.

Upon moving to Venice in 1553, Veronese entered a city whose aristocracy numbered in the thousands. Here, matters of self-fashioning butted up more frequently against the concerns of republican government and peaceful confraternity. Again, the artist’s talents at retracing the bounds of decorum led to great success. Sometimes, as in the case of his group portrait of the Cuccina family, his portrayal seemed to elevate his sitters beyond their *cittadino* class, into the realm of Venetian nobility. At other moments, he canonized the elite whose names were recorded in Venice’s ‘book of gold’ by flaunting their apparel – lavish textiles and jewels – which sumptuary laws of the period attempted to restrict. Elsewhere, in images of fellow artists, he painted the semblance of high-mindedness and gravity so central to their attempts at self-fashioning. In all of these, the painter became a lens through which diverse individuals might see their respective *persona* re-cast in grander ways.

In some as portraiture claims to be closer to reality than other genres – and presumably includes the censure of the sitter – it remains perhaps the most complex and deceptive of artforms. Studies such as Angelica Dülberg’s *Privatporträts*, or the collected essays edited by Nicholas Mann and Luke Syson, entitled *The Image of the Individual: Portraits in the Renaissance*, suggest that genre to be most profitably analyzed as conditional statements whose completion lies in a complex system of knowledge, thought, and experience. In a similar vein, the chapters that follow are primarily concerned with retrieving the historical and visual evidence that might complete our understanding of Veronese’s portraits. Relevant aspects of social history and sixteenth-century aesthetic theory will define how Paolo translated his culture’s concepts of grace, beauty and virtue into likenesses.

The finished portrait is our starting point. Through close observation of the image and by the wide-ranging investigations of its historical context we shall try to recover what the likeness was to communicate, the conditions under which it was produced, how the original audience might have interpreted it, and what choices or innovations the artist may have made in the course of the picture’s creation.

Chapter One examines Veronese’s portraits produced in the villa culture of the *terra
ferma, especially the symmetrical, architectonic pendants of the Da Porto and the Villa Maser frescos featuring Marcantonio Barbaro’s family. In addition to revising the identifications of the sitters at Maser and offering a new framework for understanding the interaction between image and viewer, I suggest Veronese brought new pictorial expression to contemporaneous concepts of nonchalance, sprezzatura, and decorum. Chapter Two addresses Paolo’s images of glamorous females, examining these likenesses within the larger polemics surrounding the anonymous beauties of Giorgione, Palma il Vecchio, and Titian, especially the latter’s La bella (Pitti Palace, Florence). Chapter Three discusses military likenesses, and includes an early work omitted from previous catalogues. While building on Titian’s example, Veronese pioneered his own refined style indebted to the courtliness valued so highly in a man-at-arms by Castiglione and others. The fourth chapter explores the role of antiquity in portraits of artists and the wealthy. Veronese exploits classical architecture and statuary to serve a range of emotive purposes, but here the sustained focus is on his portrayal of melancholy as a defining leitmotif in Renaissance identity. The final chapter offers concluding remarks and an epilogue regarding subsequent portraitists as diverse as Henri Fantin-Latour, Mary Cassatt, and Henri Matisse, who profited from Veronese’s example.

I have limited my discussion to Veronese’s independent portraits (and the frescos at Maser) since his votive images and altarpieces containing patrons’ portraits represent a distinct religious genre that deserves its own investigation.7 The painter’s early training in the workshops of Antonio Badile and Giovanni Caroto are only discussed in passing since Gisolfi Pechukas’ dissertation (1976), as well as Rearick’s article (1990), admirably address this aspect of the artist’s career.8 Veronese rapidly surpassed the timid portraits of his earliest masters; my analysis focuses more heavily on what he learned from the examples of Moretto, Titian, and others. To compensate for the non-linear format, all issues of chronology (as well as connoisseurship) are addressed in the catalogue of portraits in the appendix.

NOTES
3. Carlo Ridolfi, Le maraviglie dell’arte (1648), ed. by Detlev von Hadelin (Berlin: G. Grote, 1914); Marco Boschini, La carta del navigare pittorico (1660), edizione critica con la ‘Breve Instruzione’ premessa alla ‘Ricche Minere della Pittura Venexiana’, ed. by Anna Pallucchini (Venice: Istituto per la collaborazione culturale, 1966). Boschini’s famous lines devoted to a beautiful likeness he saw in the Ca’Nani are discussed in Chapter Two of this text.
4. ‘Le supreme Deità gli hanno permesso il poter inserire nelle sue opere i ritratti loro; e per questo ogni figura di Paolo ha del Celeste’. Boschini, p. 732. The concept suggests Paolo’s audience with the gods may even lend his portraits of mortals a divine air. The Italian ritrarre, like the English verb ‘to portray’, had a broad and flexible usage, meaning to imitate or represent. It applied to more than just portraits as those have recently been defined by Richard Brilliant, namely as ‘artworks intentionally made of living or once living people by artists, in a variety of media, and for an audience’, Portraits (London: Reaktion Books, 1991), p. 8. For a few examples of the word ritratti used in a broad sense to mean figures, see Patricia Emison’s review of Jodi Cranston’s The Poetics of Portraiture in the Italian Renaissance in The Art Bulletin, 84:2 (June 2002), 391-92. Boschini’s declaration that the Gods granted Veronese the power to inset their ritratti in his works operates as a flattering concetto precisely because he uses ritratti in the narrower sense, i.e. as specific likenesses painted from particular models; in this case, resulting from Paolo’s audience with the gods.
5. Boschini, La carta del navigare pittorico (1660) ...., p. 209.
6. Veronese’s portrait of Titian was recorded in the inventory of Alessandro Vittoria’s estate in 1608, see Victoria J. Avery, ‘Documenti sulla vita e opere di Alessandro
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Vittoria (c. 1525-1608)', Studi e Ricerche di Storia della Pittura, 7:1 (1999), supplemento, 233. Another portrait of Titian is recorded in the 1682 inventory of Veronese's heirs: Gregorio Gattinoni, Inventario di una casa veneziana del secolo XVII (La casa degli Eccellenti Calzari eredi di Paolo il Veronese) (Mestre: Officine Grafiche, 1914), no. 26, p. 61. Neither work survives. Of Veronese's rapport with Titian, we have only the evidence that Titian (together with Sansovino) awarded Veronese a gold chain for the completion of his roundels for the Marciana Library ceiling; his entries judged the best among works completed by such Mannerist-inspired painters as Andrea Schiavone, Del Moro, Zelotti, Battista Franco, and the Tuscan Giuseppe Porta (Salviati). The competition is recorded in Ridolfi, pp. 305-07.

8. Baschet, 'Paul Véronèse appelé au Tribunal du Saint Office à Venise (1573)', pp. 378-82. Philip Fehl has interpreted Veronese's main defense in the proceeding as casting himself as a humble artist unwilling to debate the Tribunal on theological matters. In such a context his sometimes simplistic responses may reflect rhetorical strategy: 'Véronese and the Inquisition', Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 58 (1961), 325-54. David Rosand has noted in Veronese's comments a careful differentiation of space and pictorial structure, suggesting at least partial defense was earnest, professional self-presentation: Painting in Sixteenth-Century Venice: Titian, Veronese, and Tintoretto, rev. edn. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 120.

9. Letter to Helen Arrep, 18 March 1934, in Letters of Roger Fry, vol. 1, edited and introduced by Denys Sutton (London: Chatto & Windus, 1972), p. 688. A book by Roger Fry on Paolo Veronese was advertised as forthcoming in the Bell series edited by G. C. Williamson in 1903-05, but it was never issued and the manuscript (if written) does not survive. Unfortunately, early Italian bibliographies seem to have picked up the promotional announcement, so that even the 1976 and 1995 Veronese catalogue raisonné list this non-existent book among the bibliography. In an all-to-common error of transcription from the 1976 to the 1995 text, the surname 'Fry' becomes 'Fiy'.

CHAPTER 3:
MEN-AT-ARMS

But to come to some particulars: I hold that the principal and true profession of the Courtier must be that of arms; and I wish him to exercise with vigor; and let him be known among the others as bold, energetic, and faithful to whomever he serves. – Baldassare Castiglione, The Book of the Courtier

Titian held the field in sixteenth-century military portraiture. His heroic formats, from Charles V at Mühlberg to The Allocution of Alfonso de Avalos (Museo del Prado, Madrid), surpass the more modest designs of Veronese and his peers. Yet several of Veronese’s canvases are innovative works that generated imitation. The handful of portraits of men in military regalia attributed to Paolo or his studio have never received systematic study. One of Veronese’s earliest military portraits, now located in an obscure castle in Jaroměřice nad Rokytnou, Czech Republic, remains largely unknown, omitted from most monographs and catalogues (Pls. 14, 15, and 16). It depicts a young count from the terra ferma shown with all the cultivation and refinement of Castiglione’s ideal courtier. This work of high quality tells us much about Veronese’s early career and offers a revealing counterpart to the later somber military commemorations, of which the Agostino Barbarigo is his masterpiece (Cleveland Museum of Art, Pl. 17). Unfortunately, the latter appears cut down, perhaps a fragment of its former composition. Few have recognized its importance for Tintoretto, Palma il Giovane, and other artists commissioned in the wake of the victory at Lepanto to commemorate lost and surviving commanders. Despite the 1974 conference devoted to the battle of Lepanto, and the 1986 exhibition of artworks relating to Venice’s maritime defense, no scholar has yet defined Veronese’s contributions as a portraitist during this epoch. This chapter will better situate his military likenesses among those of his peers, particularly Titian and Tintoretto, starting with Paolo’s earliest portrait and continuing through the post-Lepanto works, including pictures executed in the 1580s by his workshop. The ideal men-at-arms in Veronese’s military likenesses are marked by an amiable gravity that finds resonance in the painter’s restrained color harmonies, and in his controlled and elegant choices of composition and pose. Except for his Votive Picture of Doge Sebastiano Venier in the Sala del Collegio of the Doge’s Palace and two lost works – a naval battle, and a study for a tapestry to commemorate Doge Vital Michele’s leading of forces against the infidel – Paolo’s armored men generally engage the viewer from a domestic space and are depicted in three-quarter or full length. The bloody strife of battle, when present, is confined to a distant, retrospective view; the tone is elegiac.

Castiglione, Titian, and Veronese’s ideal military leader

To be portrayed in armor evokes association with famous classical leaders whose painted effigies are recorded by ancient writers and whose likenesses survive in a number of
ancient Greek and Roman statues, coins, and cameos. The figure of Alexander the Great appears frequently in the literary and pictorial arts of Renaissance Italy. Artists were especially attuned to the story of how the general honored the painter Apelles by granting him the exclusive right to paint his portrait.\textsuperscript{5} Pliny the Elder's \textit{Natural History} lauded Apelles' likenesses of Alexander, two of which the Roman emperor Augustus displayed in the most frequented parts of his forum.\textsuperscript{6} Suetonius's biography of Julius Caesar (\textit{De Divus Iulius}, 7) tells how that Roman general on military campaigns viewed a portrait of Alexander to inspire him to virtue and victory.\textsuperscript{7} The anecdote of Caesar clinging to the painted effigy of Alexander, as if the image itself conveyed integrity and power, was well known to \textit{Cinquecento} theorists of art. The dialogue of Lodovico Dolce (Venice, 1557) and the treatises of Giovan Paolo Lomazzo (Milan, 1584) and Romano Alberti (Rome, 1585) retell the story, the last citing a chorus of antique sources from Pliny and Valerius Maximus to Sallust and Quintilian in support of its authenticity.\textsuperscript{8} The Caesar anecdote provides but one example of an ancient literary topos that praised portraits as exempla of virtue.\textsuperscript{9} As Polybius, the celebrated historian of early Rome, asked in reference to portrait collections of \textit{viri illustri}: 'Is there anyone who would not be edified by seeing these portraits of men who were renowned for their excellence, and by having them all present as if they were living and breathing? Is there any sight which would be more ennobling than this?'\textsuperscript{10} Fifteen hundred years later Petrarch could still think of nothing more ennobling, and thus he modeled his influential \textit{De viris illustribus} (1334-74) along ancient lines, recording the biographies of his exemplary subjects as if they were a sequence of portraits in a gallery.\textsuperscript{11} By the sixteenth century, a range of men from the papal physician and historian Paolo Giovio (1483-1552) to the Medici Duke Cosimo I (1519-74) were busy creating encyclopedic collections of \textit{uomini famosi}, the core of which included images of prominent men-at-arms.\textsuperscript{12}

Previous centuries had produced the occasional large-scale fresco portrait of a military leader to decorate a council hall, cathedral, or other public space as a form of civic commemoration.\textsuperscript{13} However, the sixteenth century witnessed the migration of large military portraits on canvas into a number of private \textit{palazzi}. This move from public hall to domestic interior required that artists such as Titian and Veronese adapt the sitter's comportment and expression to a more intimate, private setting. Military images were not immune to the larger trend in portraiture of this time toward a likeness that engaged the viewer in a shared moment of contemplation or communication.\textsuperscript{14}

To this end, texts such as Baldassare Castiglione's \textit{The Book of the Courtier} (1528) provide some indication of the chivalric conventions, manners, and dress appropriate to a warrior who could hold his own in courtly company.\textsuperscript{15} An episode in the beginning of the \textit{Courtier} is particularly relevant to our discussion, as it is told by one of the great noblemen of Verona, Lodovico Canossa (1476-1532) whose offspring were perhaps early patrons of Veronese:

[...we do not wish him [the courtier] to make a show of being so fierce that he is forever swaggering in his speech, declaring that he has wedded his cuirass, and glowering with such dour looks as we have often seen Berto do;
for to such as these one may rightly say what in polite society a worty lady jestingly said to a certain man (whom I do not now wish to name) whom she sought to honor by inviting him to dance, and who not only declined this but would not listen to music or take any part in the other entertainments offered him, but kept saying that such trifles were not his business. And when finally the lady said to him: 'What then is your business?' he answered with a scowl: 'Fighting'. Whereupon the lady replied at once: 'I should think it a good thing, now that you are not away at war or engaged in fighting, for you to have yourself greased all over and stowed away in a closet along with all your battle harness, so that you won't grow any rustier than you already are [...]'.

At the woman's contemptuous remark everyone burst into laughter and Count Lodovico concluded that although a man should be fierce in battle, in every other place he should be 'humane, modest, reserved, avoiding ostentation above all things [...]'. Castiglione's fictive circle of participants at the Court of Urbino included a brash, young Lombard, Pallavicino Gaspare (1486-1511), who embodied many of the defects of the rusty warrior. Gaspare refused his courtier the pleasure of music and art, and was later ridiculed for his misogynistic desire to talk only of ceremonies of arms and orders of chivalry when others wished to move on to the description of the perfect woman. In all of this polite banter, there is the rather serious criticism that a warrior who knows only arms is as useless at court as his armor.

Given this literary ambience, a man-at-arms wishing to have his portrait painted did not want a mere visual equivocation of man and armor, nor to appear too stiff or inanimate. Such situations pulled painters between competing ideals of strength and refinement. This was but a small part of a larger paradox, namely, that a portrait was praised for its life-like quality – 'it lacks only a breath' – yet the artist was also expected to capture those qualities about the sitter that were exalted and eternal. Infusing idea or concetto into a portrait involved moving away from mimesis (imitation of nature) toward a kind of visual hyperbole, in Quintilian's terms 'an elegant straining of the truth' (Institutio Oratoria VIII.6.67). At the same time, if portraiture strayed too far from verisimilitude, it seemed to lose its unique power of making the sitter present. As Vasari noted, only when portraits are both 'like and beautiful, then they may be called rare works, and their authors truly excellent craftsmen'.

Vasari's favorite, Michelangelo, occupied one end of this spectrum, rarely engaging in portraiture, professing contempt for those who aped nature, and sculpting images of Giuliano and Lorenzo de' Medici for the New Sacristy in San Lorenzo, Florence that can hardly be considered likenesses at all. On the other end stood Vasari's friend Titian, whose painterly evocations of flesh and atmosphere seemed, in the words of Pietro Aretino, to 'turn art into Nature herself'. Veronese falls closer to Titian on this scale. But the young artist from Verona's handling of color, pose, and expression suggest an approach all his own.

Titian's famous portrait Francesco Maria I della Rovere, Duke of Urbino ('Galleria degli
Uffizi, Florence, Fig. 25) set the standard for military portraiture, both for its mimetic quality and imposing character. The duke appears in dark armor before a red velvet backdrop, his hand resting confidently on his Venetian commander’s baton. Francesco’s outstretched arm, resolute face, and the dragon-clad helmet at left, form a triangle that points across the expanse of greenish-gray toward two more batons conferred during his career as commander for the Papacy and Florence. These batons flank an oak branch, symbol of the della Rovere, wrapped in the motto ‘SE SIBI’ – ‘by himself, alone’. His features are so severe as to call to mind the scowling fighter ridiculed by Lodovico, yet this very duke was a protector of Castiglione and a discriminating patron. His stern portrayal partakes of a specific portrait type, that of the fierce, battle-seasoned condottiere.

In a letter to Veronica Gambara dated 7 November 1537 (before the portrait had been delivered), Pietro Aretino praised Titian’s portrait lest its severity be misinterpreted. When he saw the duke’s image, Aretino ‘called nature to bear witness and made her confess that art was turned into herself. His [the duke’s] every wrinkle, his every hair, his every mark, and the colors painted by Titian testify to this, not for the purpose of showing the firmness of the flesh, but to reveal the virility of the soul’. The accompanying sonnet
declares Titian’s skill at rendering _ogni invisibile concetto_, including ‘frightfulness between [the duke’s] eyebrows, courage in his eyes, and pride on his forehead, in whose space Honor and Counsel sit’.28

In the spirit of Horace’s _Ul pictura poesis_, Aretino seems to covet the painter’s power to make the subject present, while also recognizing a poet’s unique authority to name, enumerate, and conjoin the virtues.29 In the guise of praising Titian’s mimetic naturalism, Aretino actually turns the viewer’s attention away from the ocular and toward the poetic, ideal, and ultimately textual. Thus, a creased brow becomes a resting point for Honor and Counsel, these qualities spelled out by philosophy, history, and poetry – the domain of a man of letters. This transference affirms Aretino’s role as poet and interpreter, and provides a model for future praise of Titian’s portraits.

Aretino died in 1556 just as Paolo began to obtain a certain renown. Unfortunately, there is no comparable sixteenth-century author whose words indicate how Veronese’s portraits were received, or what verses might have accompanied their unveiling. Just before his splendid Da Porto portraits of 1551, Veronese tried his hand at military portraiture, showing great finesse in the rendering of armor. His image of a young count from the _terra ferma_, Collatino Collalto, (Pl. 14) shares certain formal characteristics with Titian’s Francesco Maria I della Rovere, although it aspires to a different poetic ideal. Perhaps the young artist saw Titian’s original, studied a copy, or knew its general formula from later variants in Venice and the _terra firma_. Paolo’s sitter appears in three-quarter length, and the red velvet that formed such an effective backdrop to _The Duke of Urbino_ reappears as a curtain pulled back to reveal the young knight. Eliminating the credenza or shelf on which Titian placed the commander’s helmet, Paolo moved such regalia to the opposite corner of the canvas to counterbalance the sitter’s features and establish a strong diagonal axis.

The helmet rests against the sitter’s leg and serves two functions: _denotative_ as heraldic device (the coat of arms plainly visible) and _connotative_ of a certain ferocity: the grotesque on its side, like Titian’s della Rovere dragon above, evokes fear (Pl. 15). On this second point, it should be noted that Veronese’s sitter holds a helmet surmounted by a _putto_.26 Whether this is the artist’s invention or the sitter’s actual possession, it acts as a classical foil to the severity of the armor. Seated above the dragon-like grotesque, this little nude _putto_ looks as if he might slide off the helmet’s dome. Perhaps alluding to Cupid, or one of the _putti_ who in depictions of Venus and Mars often make sport of playing with the god’s armor, love conquering all, this element suggests both artist and subject had a sense of wit. It is difficult to say if this element references a specific love or courtship since such visual jests occur frequently in Veronese’s oeuvre, a hallmark of his artistic temperament.27

Veronese’s _Collatino Collalto_ demonstrates that the pupil rapidly surpassed his master. If Antonio Badile was plagued by a certain stiffness and awkward anatomy in the _Portrait of a Young Man with Sword_ (Palacio Real de Madrid, Fig. 27), Paolo gives his sitter a sense of movement by placing him at a slight diagonal on the canvas, his head turned to his right – echoing the torsion in the Madrid picture, but handled here with greater subtlety. Veronese balances the trajectory from upper left to lower right with the diagonal swatch of fabric across the breastplate and the empty glove pointing to the helmet. An antique cameo of a female head in profile is at the fabric’s center.
Fig. 26 Titian, *The Allocation of Alfonso de Avalos*, 1539-41. Museo del Prado, Madrid. Photo: Erich Lessing / Art Resource, NY
Despite the dark background and predominance of metal, the portrait shows Paolo’s unerring sense of chromatic harmony. The pantaloons and the feather on the helmet echo the gold chasings of the armor. On close inspection, the convincing shimmer of metal dissolves into a series of bold whites lined with violet and cool green, complementary colors that appear naturally in tempered steel (Pl. 16). Boldly painted, the helmet and feather rise out of the dark in a series of open gold and white strokes that anticipate the painterly meditations of Rembrandt or Rubens.28

Depicting armor was not a mere formality of military portraiture, but a challenging studio topos, especially in oil painting, going back to Jan van Eyck. Italian artists recognized this illusionism as a natural field for painterly sprezzatura, a dimostazione dell’arte. Castiglione’s reference in The Courtier to the pejorative associations of armor – its obstinacy and hardness – mark a countercurrent to the prevalent respect and admiration afforded this chivalric possession. Patrons sought artists who could represent armor well, often lending such precious goods to artists for extended periods so that the equipage might be carefully recorded in portraits. Letters survive attesting to Francesco Maria I della Rovere’s eagerness to have his armor returned from Titian’s studio.29 When the Spanish Prince Philip II sent his portrait to his aunt, Mary of Hungary, he apologetically noted the haste with which Titian had painted his armor, adding that ‘if there were time it would have been done over again’.30

Armor was not just the vital attribute of a warrior; it lay at the heart of Homeric poetics, particularly as the figurative arts were concerned. Homer’s Book 18 of the iliad contains the earliest and most important ekphrasis of antiquity, recounting Vulcan’s forging of the armor and shield of Achilles – giving the warrior his great battlefield advantage. On Achilles’ shield, the Olympian god shaped a microcosm so vast and animated that Renaissance metalsmiths spent much of their energies attempting to rival this ancient literary account. Throughout the iliad, armor was a source of pride and strength. When a man was killed it became a surrogate for his identity, to be held aloft as a trophy by the victor. Representing armor in the sixteenth century was not just a paragone in the traditional sense of competing with the sculptor’s art; it was to some degree a literary paragone, a pictorial embodiment of the epic poetry of Homer and Virgil.

Painters might also be called upon to invent armor all’antica. We have no evidence, for example, that the Marquis’s son who appears in Titian’s Alculation of Alfonso de Avalos (Fig. 26) actually possessed the Roman equipage given him in the painting. Aretino says that it is ‘[...] in the style we see the Roman heroes wearing on [ancient] arches’.31 His bejeweled cuirass and leggings are at odds with the contemporary style of the armor around him. The painter seems to have fashioned the son for an allocation of his own, one that addresses the spectator directly. The fact that this classically-clad young Alexander looks at us, while the Marquis busily addresses his troops, suggests the youth is both aware of our presence and self-conscious of his ancient costume and position vis-à-vis his father, whose helmet he clutches in his long fingers. Scholars have noted the painting’s similarity in composition to ancient coins depicting the allocation of Augustus, an association strengthened by the son’s archaic attire.32 Whether a literal embodiment of the classical past, or a pictorial fiction, armor could bridge the gap between millennia; the
more artistic splendor displayed, the more easily the viewer’s imagination could accept the feigned heritage.

The *lour de force* painting of armor in Veronese’s *Collaltino Collalto* deserves slightly more formal analysis because it bolsters the image in three important ways. His sprezzatura sustains the illusion of the depiction and invites imagination, defines composition and movement, and offers the means to focus the viewer directly on the artist’s brushstroke.

As to the first point concerning illusion and imagination, the suggestion of light and color reflected onto the image from outside of the picture plane works to dissolve the spatial boundaries of subject and viewer. The light source originates in the viewer’s space somewhere off to the side, and Collalto’s armor in secondary passages seems to reflect the colors of external objects. Veronese’s portrayal also exploits a coalescence of texture, both imagined and real. Some sixteenth-century artists, notably Bronzino in his images of Cosimo I de’ Medici in armor, paint with smoothly blended brushstrokes that deny the surface of the picture plane and preserve the prevailing fiction that one has looked through a window, or that a certain distance separates subject and viewer.

Veronese, following the lead of Titian and others, does not prioritize his illusion in this way. His brushstrokes draw attention to the surface, preserving the integrity of the picture plane. Occasionally he allows the paint to catch on the twill of the canvas, scumbling his colors to reiterate patterns in the support. This particularly Venetian attention to surface impasto seems to accelerate the urgency of our viewing, as the painting emerges from and dissolves into the ground on which the pigment sits. Many Venetian artists exploit this dual reality of surface: one conceptually defined by shape and color seeming to exist at some depth from the spectator, and a second material reality adhering to the surface of the two-dimensional support. In this double play the viewer’s perception of the image becomes heightened precisely because the object seems both to exist at a distance, and to be near at hand in certain passages of tactile relief.

In this particular image, Veronese calibrates his scumbling to the texture of the represented surface in a more precise manner than did Titian in the earlier *Duke of Urbino* portrait. Broad strokes of light and dark conforming to the contours of the folds suggest the general flow and three-dimensional shape of the white fabric draped across Collalto’s armor and affixed under the cameo of his breastplate (Pl. 16). On closer inspection, a finer texture is also suggested by the canvas’ threads catching the lights over dark reserves in the deeper recesses of the cloth. Just as one discerns the weave of real fabrics at close range, so too Paolo’s painted fabric relies on the surface texture of the ground (a coarse-weave canvas) to create this effect: the physical and the fictive become one. This record of the canvas’s twill is more pronounced in the areas where the artist represents fabric, as opposed to the nearby metal of the man’s armor. Veronese represents parts of the metal with heavy impasto, and perhaps using the pointed handle of his brush scratches tiny perpendicular marks at the highlights to simulate the glint of burnished steel, creating his own texture in the impasto and obscuring the twill of the canvas. Next to a leafy pattern on the gilded edge painted with such a fine brush that the decoration appears etched onto the metal surface, the artist completes the illusion with broad strokes of violet and
green that seem to reflect from the tempered steel. Although Titian occasionally achieves a similar combination of physical and fictive reality, his paintings at mid-century are characterized by a more uniform and heavy impasto, and by the dissolution of line that comes to distinguish his late style. Veronese’s perceptive control of the impasto in the Collalto betrays the draftsman’s command of both ends of the brush; his surfaces more varied and the texture achieved with great diversity of line weight. Such bravura invites the viewer to contemplate the court’s armor while encouraging a broader consideration of the process of painting, the palpable reality of the artist’s medium, and the skilled hand that applied it. From a distance, the highlights of the armor define the diagonal movements of the composition with great clarity. On close inspection, the viewer recognizes the trace of the artist’s brush in certain open strokes loaded with pigment, insertions of painterly identity played out in minor key in an opus devoted ostensibly to the sitter’s identity.

A coat of arms at the sitter’s left identifies him as a member of the Collalto family, most likely Collaltino Collalto, born 22 May 1523, an aspiring diplomat and military commander remembered more for his poetry than for his accomplishments at arms.35
Collalto's brother, Vinciguerra, might also be the sitter featured in Veronese's portrait, but he was in many ways a less prominent figure, absent more frequently from the *terra ferma* during the likely years of this portrait. Gaspara Stampa’s references to Collalto’s physical appearance correspond well with the figure in Veronese’s portrait. She mentions Collalto’s fair complexion and lively color (*di pelo biondo e di vivo colore*) and his dark, shadowing head of hair (*La chioma vostra è l’ombra s’apra [...]*).\(^\text{34}\) A 1737 engraving in Milan’s Civica Raccolta delle Stampe ‘A. Bertarelli’ bears the inscription ‘Collaltinus I de Collalto comes Tarvisinhus’, and records a now-lost Titian depicting Collalto in old age with white hair. The caption declares the likeness to be taken from a copy of Titian’s original portrait, so the filters of three different artists may have reduced its verisimilitude. Although the print gives the count the ancient Roman emperor’s aquiline nose, the rest of the physiognomy matches well with the Jaroměřice picture, especially given the difference in age and the engraver’s limited skill. What remains of the Collalto archive, now largely dispersed or destroyed, contains no record of Veronese’s portrait. In 1623 the family acquired estates in Moravia, modern-day Trebic and Uhercice, Czech Republic, and Veronese’s portrait was likely transported there in the seventeenth century.\(^\text{35}\)

Collalto, like so many young nobles from Venice’s *terra ferma*, received training in arms and hoped to prove his worth on the battlefield, either in Italy or in England. His most distinguishing attributes were impeccable lineage and sensitivity to letters. When Francesco Sansovino set about writing his *Dell’origine et de’ fatti delle case illustri d’Italia* (1582), he placed the Collalto family at the beginning, their nobility conferred by none other than Charlemagne.\(^\text{36}\) He writes of Collalto’s excellent reputation in military matters, describing him as a ‘gracious and kind knight, a man of letters and a lover of the virtuous’.\(^\text{37}\) The young count established his literary presence early, publishing his *Rime* and *Lettere* in Venice in 1545, republished in 1549, around the date of Veronese's portrait.\(^\text{38}\)

Collalto left his mark on more than his poetry. One of the greatest female poets of the Renaissance, Gaspara Stampa, became enamored with the man she called *Il mio verde pregiato ed alto Colle*.\(^\text{39}\) They seem first to have met in 1548.\(^\text{40}\) In her orbit, the young count made acquaintances with most of the literati of Venice: from the Paduan humanist Sperone Speroni to the ‘scourge of princes’ Pietro Aretino, who praised Collalto in various letters.\(^\text{41}\) Though intensely felt, Gaspara’s love was not repaid in kind, and he seems to have broken off contact with her by 1551.\(^\text{42}\) She died a premature death in 1554, her *Rime* were posthumously published that year.\(^\text{43}\) Regardless of how one interprets their relationship (and this has been the source of some scholarly debate), it is clear that the young *cavalieri* portrayed by Veronese was the poet’s greatest inspiration.\(^\text{44}\) Of her two hundred and forty-five *rime d’amore*, the first two hundred and six are written for Collalto.\(^\text{45}\) While Gaspara could immortalize her beloved with god-like virtues – ‘Saturn’s intellect’, and ‘Mercury’s eloquence’\(^\text{46}\) – Veronese’s was the more pragmatic task, capturing his form in paint.

Given the literary interests of the sitter and his presumed desire to embody the perfect courtier, we should again consider the importance of Castiglione’s ideal in the case of this particular image. In a rare reference to painting, Castiglione concludes the following:
The courtier must know how to avail himself of the virtues, and sometimes set one in contrast or opposition to another in order to draw more attention to it. This is what a good painter does when by the use of shadow he distinguishes clearly the lights on his reliefs, and similarly by the use of light deepens the shadows of plane surfaces and brings different colours together in such a way that each one is brought out more sharply through the contrast; and the placing of figures in opposition to each other assists the painter in his purpose. In the same way, gentleness is most impressive in a man who is a capable and courageous warrior; and just as his boldness is magnified by his modesty, so his modesty is enhanced and more apparent on account of his boldness. 47

Whether conscious of such literary works, Veronese shares a similar sense of counterpoint, a conception of grace as a series of harmonic contrasts. In the active pose, elevated gaze, and splendid parade armor, we perceive the self-assured qualities of the courtier. The elements of the upper half of the composition, the soft expression, refined cameo, and surprised pose speak of the count’s agility, while those of the lower half, the clenched gauntlet, codpiece, and helmet attest to his virility. The choice of a female head for the breast plate cameo, centered in the composition, is significant, since Titian’s Giovanni Battista Castaldo (Becker Collection, Dortmund) of 1548 shows the more conventional use of a medallion of an ancient warrior – one military commander inspiring another. 48 Is Veronese’s cameo an allusion to a particular woman, a goddess of war or wisdom, or simply the artist’s decorative invention? Does this element, together with the putto on his helmet, suggest an image more likely intended for an intimate acquaintance than for a monarch or foreign dignitary? The cameo may be an allegorical reference to fortune or honor since a similar object appears in both Juno Showering Riches on Venice in the Sala dei Dieci (c. 1555) and the roundel representing Honor in the Marciana Library (1556). Lodovico Domenichi singled out the young Collaltino as honorable and divinely graceful, ‘d’amore, anzi del ciel vaghezza’. 49 It is precisely the ciel vaghezza, of both artist and sitter, that distinguishes this youthful portrait from the prototype set by Titian. While Collaltino chose to be shown in armor because arms were his upbringing and the means by which he hoped to acquire fame and greater fortune, his choice of artist betrays his intellectual refinement. The portrait balances his personae: battlefield leader and cultivated man of letters.

Perhaps owing to a high rate of attrition, no portraits of men-at-arms by Veronese survive from the late 1550s and 1560s. The Pase Guarienii (Museo di Castelvecchio, Verona, Fig. 28), dated 1556, was once attributed to Paolo, and perhaps owes its full-length format to the regal examples of Titian, including his 1551 armor-clad Philip II (Museo del Prado, Madrid). The Pase Guarienii is now generally accepted as a work of Battista Angolo del Moro (1515 - c. 1573), its dark setting, opaque shadows, and pools of light characteristic of that artist’s brush. 50

During the 1550s and 1560s, Veronese was occupied with painting other likenesses, decorating the church of San Sebastiano, the Villa Barbaro at Maser, and fulfilling several
altarpiece commissions. Although not a military portrait per se, there is one work from this period that warrants inclusion in our discussion of the painter’s ideal man-at-arms. Painted to decorate one of the organ shutters of Venice’s church of St Geminiano, Veronese’s *St Menna* (c. 1560, Galleria Estense, Modena, Fig. 29) bears such a penetrating countenance that it has been suggested to be a portrait from life. Of Egyptian origin, the saint served in the Roman army, converted to the Christian faith and lived as a hermit until his beheading c. 304 AD. Nothing of St Menna’s hermetic life appears in Paolo’s painting. Only his expressive gaze as he scans the horizon, absently clutching his halberd, suggests his conversion is at hand. Rearick proposed the saint’s visage to be a self-portrait
of the artist. Paolo would be thirty-two, and the curved eyebrows, slightly hooked nose, and receding hairline are at least somewhat suggestive of Veronese’s self-portrait copied by Palma Giovane, now in the Uffizi (Fig. 13). Ridolfi (1648) mentions another ‘effigie del Veronese “armato”, dipinta da lui stesso, con ogni verosimiglianza’ but it is unclear if this is a portrait within a larger composition or a now-lost independent portrait.54

Whether an image of the artist or not, St Menna brims with psychological tension. His confident pose stands in contrast to the searching probity of his gaze. While he considers his calling, the blade hovers over his shadow, foretelling the manner of his execution. This unique figure was immediately copied in a pen drawing by Federico Zuccaro (c. 1540-1609) who visited Venice in 1563 (Fig. 30).55 The pose was also later used by Paolo in the grand tableau of The Family of Darius before Alexander the Great (National Gallery, London, Fig. 31) notably for Hephaestion whom Darius’ family mistook for Alexander. Although not a literal quotation (Hephaestion is seen from the side), the wide stance,
Fig. 31 Veronese, *The Family of Darius before Alexander the Great*, c. 1571. Photo: National Gallery Picture Library, London.

Fig. 32 Jacopo Tintoretto, *Portrait of a Thirty year-old Man in Armor*, c. 1555-60. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. Photo: Erich Lessing / Art Resource, NY
balanced comportment, and billowing cape suggest St Menna was the prototype for the later theatrical characterization. The self-assured balance Paolo struggled to achieve in the earlier Collalto now comes naturally, just as the artist’s brush moves with a quicker, more confident stroke.

Military likenesses formed an important part of family portrait collections. In a few exceptional cases they were displayed in groups of uomini famosi where owners might tour a visitor through the collection, identifying the sitters and offering additional biographical information. In the case of Paolo Giovio’s famous collection, most portraits were accompanied by cartellini that described the deeds of the sitter, so that persons could visit the works unaccompanied.

Venetian military portraits of this period frequently expand their narrative by means of an open window looking onto a distant scene. For example, Tintoretto painted his Thirty year-old Man in Armor (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Fig. 32) at approximately the same time as Veronese’s St Menna. The sitter, whose age is inscribed on the portrait, stands before an open window letting onto a distant sea view, by this time a common pictorial device. But Tintoretto uses it to great narrative effect, drawing the
viewer's gaze from the young noble in the foreground to his distant galley, setting sail to aid in the Republic's maritime defense. Tintoretto reused the motif of the open window in his Portrait of Andrea Barbarigo of 1568-69 (Museum of Art, Richmond, Fig. 33). The sitter rests confidently on his left arm, as if proffering his empty cuirass to the viewer to be admired. At the same time his gentlemanly pose seems to acknowledge that 'arms do not make the man.' Short-lived, Andrea became one of three members of the Barbarigo family to lose their lives during the battle of Lepanto.  

Veronese, Tintoretto, and the Battle of Lepanto

The victory at Lepanto on 7 October 1571 marks a milestone in the self-image of Venice and her commanders, even if the object of the battle, Cyprus, was ultimately lost. Lane noted that more than a decade was spent preparing for this offensive in which Venice provided just over half of the flotilla, the rest coming from Naples, Sicily, Genoa, Spain, Malta, and the Papal States. This Lega Santa, or Holy League, was led by Charles V's son, Don Juan of Austria. He sailed under a standard of the Redeemer blessed by Pope Pius V, the pontiff also offering indulgences to all crewmen serving in the galleys. The Venetian troops were under the general command of Sebastiano Venier, whose forces took up a central position alongside those of Don Juan of Austria and the Papacy. Heavier fighting, however, was sustained by the men under Venice's second in command, Agostino Barbarigo, himself fatally wounded in battle. He and approximately twenty other Venetian commanders perished along with more than 9,000 troops of the Holy League. Such an epic struggle, uniting Christendom and fortified above all by the Serenissima, merited civic commemoration. By 9 November 1571 an istoria of the battle was commissioned for the Sala dello Scrutinio of the Palazzo Ducale. Sometime between 1571-73, Veronese painted a votive image of the battle for the church of S. Pietro Martire on Murano, perhaps commissioned by Pietro Giustiniani who commanded several galleys.

Several portraits of admirals were painted in the wake of Lepanto, none securely dated. Art historians have tended to label them c. 1571-72, assuming that they were made immediately after the conflict. As a result, their sequence remains unclear. Images of Sebastiano Venier and Agostino Barbarigo are given the same date without concern for how the new portrait formula they embody came into existence, nor for its probable author. Tintoretto, in particular, has held a mercurial position: his full-length Sebastiano Venier with a Page, now in a private collection in Turin (Pl. 19) has been variously dated 1571 by Rossi or as late as 1578 by Pallucchini and Mason Rinaldi. Portraits in this format are rare in Tintoretto's oeuvre, and he may have looked to the many examples by Veronese and Moroni.

Close examination of Tintoretto's Sebastiano Venier with a Page, with its view of the Battle of Lepanto in the background, suggests it dates to 1578, as Pallucchini and Mason Rinaldi proposed. In 1932, Fiocco proposed that the page in Tintoretto's picture hands Venier his commission to lead the troops into battle as Captain General, an interpretation rejected by Kelly (1933) who sketched the historical circumstances of the battle and pointed out that
Venier received the nomination as Captain General much earlier on Corfu. Rossi (1974) suggested that the note may contain news of victory sent from Venier to Venice. But there is little about the admiral’s posture that suggests his sending news of victory. Would he not be handing something to the page, instead of the reverse? Pallucchini (1974) and Mason Rinaldi (1986) offer the most convincing interpretation of the scene: namely, that the page brings word to the illustrious war hero of his nomination to the dogeship (1576-77), just reward for his earlier service to the Republic (commemorated in the background). The date of 1577 fits well stylistically with other of Tintoretto’s portraits, and accords with Venier’s elderly appearance. Pallucchini noted the similarity between Tintoretto’s canvas and Veronese’s votive portrait of Venier for the Sala del Collegio in Palazzo Ducale (1576-77). Not only did Veronese’s votive set an example for Tintoretto’s portrayals of Venier, but Paolo’s Agostino Barbarigo (Pl. 17) brought a new standard of expression and pathos to post-Lepanto naval portraiture.

That Veronese’s Agostino Barbarigo may once have been larger, perhaps even full-length, is suggested by its odd cropping, the larger dimensions of a copy in Washington, D.C. (Fig. 34), a full-length copy (from the hand of a minor artist) now preserved in the castle of Archduke Ferdinand II of Austria at Ambras, and other full-length portraits by Paolo. Rearick correctly observes that the artist ‘would not have cut the architecture at such odd places, nor would he have omitted the horizon line’. Scientific examination of the canvas suggests all edges have been reduced. In its original format, the Cleveland Barbarigo probably depicted a naval battle at the lower right. If only three-quarters length,
the portrait may have been similar to the Admiral Girolamo Contarini (Johnson Collection, Philadelphia Museum of Art) which contains a low seascape with naval battle (Pl. 20). Works such as Veronese's Portrait of a Man (J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, Pl. 34), Youth with a Greyhound (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Pl. 35), and Man in Armor (Private Collection, Pl. 21), leave open the possibility that the Barbarigo may once have been full-length with a low horizon. The column and base profile in the Getty picture are especially similar to the Cleveland image.

Barbarigo served as a moderator in the Holy League between the acerbic Venier and other commanders. Differing personalities of the two men are even evidenced by their respective postures in Tintoretto’s and Veronese’s portraits (Pl. 19, Fig. 35, Pl. 17). Tintoretto’s images of Venier show him with hand extended, clutching his battle baton, literally keeping the viewer at arm’s length, just as his austere gaze creates a psychological distance. By contrast, the posture of Barbarigo is more open, his near arm lowered and head slightly inclined, as if focusing on a viewer close at hand. Standing to the side, he serves almost as interlocutor to our viewing the distant spectacle. In fact, his position – to the side before a column and curtain – follows that of narrators for theatrical performances
or passion plays who introduced scenes and mediated between viewer and stage. In this scene, Barbarigo acts as both detached guide and chief protagonist. His particular fate in the battle was a brutal, if heroic, one. He led his galley against six Turkish ships, took an arrow in his left eye, and died from the wound two days later. So, while he invites us to look upon the historic scene, his extended hand guiding us in that direction, we remain nonetheless aware that he holds the attribute of his own ocular and corporeal destruction, this hovering arrow giving piquancy to our own viewing experience. One is reminded of Veronese’s earlier fresco in the gallery of the church of San Sebastiano where the saint reappears before Diocletian holding one of the arrows from the failed execution attempt. There, as in the above-mentioned portraits in the Cleveland Museum, the Getty, and the Metropolitan, the central protagonist occupies a shallow stage space before a background whose perspective is characterized by a low vanishing point.

In the Barbarigo portrait, the muted grays of the veined marble and burnished armor, and the crimson of the curtain beside the pale blue sky combine in an understated chromatic harmony appropriate for the portrait’s commemorative tone. The luminescent treatment of flesh and armor give a spectral cast, heightening the elegiac mood. Here, the poetry of pain, death, and human valor find pictorial form in one of the great painterly requiems of the day. It is revealing of both the artist’s decorum and perhaps the commissioner’s wishes that a man whose career ended in such self-sacrifice can appear before us with such humble self-possession.

The posthumously-painted Cleveland picture appears to be based on an earlier study from life now in the Szépműveszeti Museum in Budapest (Pl. 18). Both works are by Veronese’s hand; Agostino Barbarigo likely sat for the Budapest study shortly before the Holy League’s departure for battle. This small canvas seems quite literally a ricordo – a record made for future use – and the armor is not finished. Barbaro’s features, however, are more life-like than in the Cleveland version and the brushwork is more rapidly and boldly executed. The much earlier Giuseppe and Adriano Da Porto proves that Veronese could arrange figures in costume in a sketch before bothering to insert the faces of his sitters in the final canvas. Here, he seems to have reversed the process, capturing a quick painted likeness of Barbarigo for future insertion into a three-quarter or full-length portrait.

Veronese probably completed the larger Cleveland version in late 1571 or early 1572 soon after the battle. Stylistic comparisons affirm this date; for example, the portrait appears similar to certain figures in the 1572 Feast of Saint Gregory the Great (Monte Berico, Vicenza), particularly the tonalities of the abbot in front of the left column. It seems logical that the most senior admiral to lose his life in the conflict would be among the first to be commemorated, and also that such an effective portrait would give rise to imitations. Tintoretto’s Sebastiano Venier with a Page (Pl. 19) reflects Paolo’s prototype, but lacks the subtle, light brushwork and tonal control, rendered less heroic by the awkward introduction of the page. Whether Tintoretto’s half-length Sebastiano Venier (Vienna, Fig. 35) comes after his Sebastiano Venier with a Page as most have claimed, it too responds to the precedent of the Barbarigo.

Other portrait commissions followed the Barbarigo, including the Contarini Admiral (Johnson Collection, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Pl. 20), a portrait executed mostly by
Fig. 36 Palma il Giovane, Portrait of Nicolò Cappello. Devonshire Collection. Reproduced by permission of the Duke of Devonshire and the Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement. Photograph: Photographic Survey, Courtauld Institute of Art.
workshop assistants. The sitter’s features appear to be copied from the Dresden Contarini Man in Fur (Pl. 22), a figure Martin has plausibly identified as the procurator Girolamo Contarini. In the Philadelphia picture, Girolamo’s attentive gaze has become fixed and bored, the expression almost feline. The composition is also less certain: the admiral has the sea at his back, his left arm rests unnaturally against the helmet. This portrait suggests that Paolo, in the years after Lepanto, came increasingly to rely on his workshop to meet the rising demand for likenesses of commanders.

Veronese’s military portraiture also inspired Palma il Giovane. The latter’s Nicolò Cappello (Collection of the Duke of Devonshire, Chatsworth, Fig. 36) c. 1582 owes certain debts to Veronese, though the higher horizon line follows the example of Tintoretto. In some ways this likeness updates Titian’s Vincenzo Cappello (National Gallery of Art, Washington), completed for the same family, by presenting this younger member according to the post-Lepanto portrait formula. Likenesses are relatively rare in Palma’s oeuvre, so it is not surprising that, having entered the fray of military portraiture a bit late, he should take his lead from what Veronese and Tintoretto had made fashionable. Palma experiments with giving motion to the subject’s legs and arms, but this merely underscores the empty, rhetorical gesture of the baton to the helmet. One senses the artist’s wish to contribute something new to what had by then become a well-known composition.

The previous discussion of prototypes and variants suggests a deeper conceptual difference between Veronese’s and Tintoretto’s approaches to military portraits. The latter assimilated the pose and composition of the Agostino Barbarigo without capturing the original’s pathos or expression. Tintoretto’s bold, sharp strokes of gray, white and violet in the armor of his portraits of Venier are impressive dashes of illusionism that on close inspection become abstract lines. Their chaotic energy provides an analogue to the real fireworks of battle in the background. While dwelling on the marks of the surface, Tintoretto achieves monumentality and holds the viewer’s interest through the interplay of his own expressive brushwork as it dissolves into the image and then reasserts itself on the canvas. Yet, the deeper resonance between sitter and viewer often receives less attention than in Veronese’s work. Tintoretto’s approach to the military portrait draws heavily on balancing the metal of the costume with an equally grave and resolute portrayal.

With Veronese, the outward signs of force do not overwhelm the indications of inward virtue and intellect. As the poet Giovanni Battista Pigna observed in 1554 while defending Ariosto’s Orlando Furioso ‘[…] all the poetry of battles is divided into two parts, the interior and the exterior […]’. This literary exposition on the dual nature of representations of warriors may also be extended to their painted commemorations. Off the battlefield, cultivated men-at-arms frequently wanted their gallantry balanced by inner grace and composure. Veronese was particularly gifted at providing such images.

When praising Count Collaltino Collalto (presumably the man rather than his portrait), Giuseppe Betussi (c. 1512 – c. 1573) observed that ‘[…] his interior refinements are no less beautiful than his exterior, and it can well be said of him that just as he is well-formed in face and body, more beautiful still is his soul’. If the poet’s trope is a common one, the count’s portrait remains exceptional (Pl. 14). Veronese adjusted the pose, colors, countenance, and equipage to suggest the sensibilities that lay beyond the count’s military calling.
With later works, such as St Menna, the artist realized new levels of pathos and tension. His many versions of Mars and Venus and the often-copied Family of Darius before Alexander the Great allowed Paolo to experiment with presenting warriors as *dramatis personae*, in various states of repose, jest, and graceful elegance. In the well-known London picture (Fig. 31), Alexander extends one hand to the family of Darius while raising the other to Hephaestion, assuaging the family’s embarrassment with magnanimity unmatched in pictorial form until, perhaps Velazquez’s equally grand tableau, the Surrender at Breda. The martial composure and eloquence of the Darius is too elaborate to translate directly into a single military portrait; without the graceful cast of Persians and Greeks assembled in such curving and energetic line, a solitary Alexander would seem overplayed indeed. Yet, Veronese’s mature portrait, Agostino Barbarigo, does not lack for theatrics, even if the subject appears more earthbound and real. The posthumously-painted admiral stands before us in the dusty light of his civic martyrdom, having lost none of his commanding spirit or self-possession. In his military portraits, Veronese manages to depict a refinement, graceful counterpoint, and civility conceptually close to Castiglione’s observation that ‘gentleness is most impressive in a man who is a capable and courageous warrior’.

NOTES


2. I would like to thank Radim Petr, kastelán at Jaroměřice nad Rokytnou, for showing me the picture and sharing its most recent conservation report. The portrait was first published in verse form in 1990 by Safarik, who never actually mentions Veronese by name, but makes it clear through allusion and illustration that the portrait is from the master’s hand. Acknowledging the coat-of-arms with a pun on ‘del colle alto’, Safarik nonetheless presents the work as a self-portrait of Paolo. Although there is truth in the maxim ‘every artist paints himself’, this author remains unconvinced that this or the other illustrations offered by Safarik are portraits of Veronese. Nor is it clear why the artist would assume the coat of arms of the Collalto. Rearick in 1997 was the first to attribute the portrait to Paolo’s early career, dating it to 1546, and identifying the sitter as Collalto di Collalto. Eduard Safarik, ‘Questo è il mio vero ritratto,’ in *Scritti in onore di Giuliano Briganti* (Milan: Longanesi, 1990), pp. 123-33; W. R. Rearick, ‘Paolo Veronese’s Earliest Works’, *Arteibus et Historiae*, 35 (1997), 147-59.


4. The large canvas showing a naval battle is recorded in the 1682 inventory of Veronese’s heirs: Gregorio Gattinoni, *Inventario di una casa veneziana del secolo XVII (La casa degli Eccellenti Callari eredi di Paolo il Veronese)* (Mestre: Officine Grafiche, 1914), Inv. no. 13, p. 2. The *istoria* with Vital Michel, or a copy, is number 15 in the inventory above, mentioned by Ridolfi, *Le narrazioni dell’arte* (1648), ed. by Detlev von Hadeln (Berlin: G. Grove, 1914), vol. 1, p. 344.

5. Treatise writers from Alberti onwards repeat the anecdote, and Giorgio Vasari even frescoed an image of Apelles painting Alexander’s portrait on the wall of his house at Arezzo as part of a larger decorative scheme in which his talents as artist were recast in classical guise.


8. Paola Barocchi, *Trattati d’arte del Cinquecento fra Manierismo e Controriforma* (Bari: Laterza, 1962), vol. 1, 162 (Dolce); *Scritti d’arte del Cinquecento*, ed. by Paola Barocchi (Turin: Einaudi, 1977) vol. 1, pp. 374-75 (Lomazzo); and quoting directly from Romano Alberti, ‘[…] ad imitar le lor virtù, come riferisce Polibio, Cornelio Tacito, Plinio, Valerio Massimo, confermandoci di queste quelle parole di Q. Massimo, P. Scipione et altri, come riferisce Salustio: “Materiam imaginum cum intueretur, velenen-
tissine anuum sibi ad virtutem accendit", cioè "Quando riguardavano le imagini dei maggiori, l'animò se gli accendeva grandemente alla virtù"; e quello che racconta Quintiliano di sé stesso: "Et que aliquando tibi depictam tubulam supra locum in imaginem rei, cutus atrocetam index ei commoveret..." Barocchi, Trattati, vol. 3, pp. 216-17.


13. One well-known example is Uccello's Sir John Hawkwood (1437) frescoed on the wall of Florence Cathedral, or such portraits might appear in groups: Altichiero's Sala Vironum Illustrium (Hall of Famous Men) completed in the palace of the ruling Carrara in Verona in 1379 included ancient and modern heroes. Andrea del Castagno painted nine portraits of famous men and women at Villa Carducci in Legnaia, and his fresco of an equestrian monument in Niccolò da Tolentino (Florence Cathedral, 1455-56) followed Uccello's example.


15. The text was known in manuscript form in Rome, Naples, and Spain years before its first printing at Venice's Aldine Press in April of 1528. It circulated widely in Europe and was translated into English as early as 1561. A sketch of the book's history is offered in the introduction by George Bull, see note 1. Regarding Castiglione and arms, see J.R. Hale, 'Castiglione's Military Career', in Castiglione: The Ideal and the Real in Renaissance Culture, ed. by Robert W. Hanning and David Rosand (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 143-64.


17. Castiglione, Singleton translation, p. 34.


19. '[...] nè prima nè poi di nessuno fece il ritratto, perché abbronzò il fare somigliare il viso, se non era d’infinita bellezza'. Vasari, vol. 7, p. 272.


21. As Wethey has noted, the dragon serves as a heraldic device alluding to ties with the house of Aragon. A. Sunderland-Wethey and Harold Wethey, 'Two Portraits of Noblemen in Armor and their Heraldry', The Art Bulletin, 62 (March 1980), 76-89. As a piece of military regalia, it was also intended to strike fear in the hearts of the enemy, although here the dragon is notably shown in profile, as if pulling back from the severe visage of the duke.

22. See the extensive catalogue entry by Fausta Paola Squelletti in Tiziano nelle Gallerie fiorentine, ed. by Mina Gregori (Florence: Centro Di, 1978), Cat. 28, pp. 116-21.


26. Reckert has noted the similarity of the putto to the child in Veronese's Yale Mystic Marriage, another early work in the artist's career. Reckert, 'Paolo Veronese's Earliest Works', p. 156.

27. In the Sala Olipamo at the Villa Barbaro, Maso, for example, a sullen Neptune appears with a putto that plays with a large shell, Vulcan has one of his arrows snatched by Cupid, and a putto plays with a bird on a string next to Juno.

28. This youthful tour de force in painting military regalia may be one of the reasons an anonymous compiler of an inventory in the 1940s at Jaroměřice nad Rokytou mistook the portrait for a seventeenth-century work.


31. '[...] gli scopre le braccia e le gambe nel modo che negli archi vellutino avrò ai romanii eroi'. Pietro Aretino, Il secondo
32. See the updated account by Miguel Falomir Faus, “Felixissimi e destrissimi ruffiani in simil caso” Alfonso de Ávalos, Hurtado de Mendoza i alguns aspectes de l’activitat artística veneciana entre 1539 i 1545, in De Titiano a Bassano: Mestres Venecians del Museu del Prado, ed. by Fernando Checa and Miguel Falomir Faus (Madrid: Museo del Prado, 1997), p. 17.

33. This identification first advanced by Rearick, ‘Paolo Veronese’s Earliest Works’, p. 156. The count’s name is variously spelled Collatino or Collatino di Collalto. The most extensive history of this noble family is offered by Pier Angelo Passolunghi, I Collalto: Linee, documenti, genealogie per una storia del casato (Villorba: Grafiche Marini, 1987). I owe Dr Passolunghi a special thanks for meeting with me in his home in Susegana to discuss the family archives. For Collatino’s biography, see Antonio Rambaldo di Collalto, ‘Intorno alla vita di Gasparo Stampa e intorno a Collatino, e Vinciguerra II’, in Rime di Madonna Gaspara Stampa: con alcune altre di Collatino, e di Vinciguerra conti di Collalto: e di Baldassarre Stampa, ed. by Luisa Bergalli (Venice: Piacentini, 1738), xxi-xxiii.

34. Rime di Madonna Gaspara Stampa: con alcune altre di Collatino, e di Vinciguerra conti di Collalto: e di Baldassarre Stampa, ed. by Luisa Bergalli (Venice: Piacentini, 1738), p. 6. Occasionally the ‘pelo biondo e di vivo colore’ has been mistranslated as blond-haired, but this is contradicted by later reference to his dark head of hair.

35. Rambaldo XIII Collalto was given these feudal estates for military service to the Holy Roman Emperor in Hungary and Transylvania. Passolunghi, p. 89.


37. ‘Collatino figliuolo di Manfredo, di ottimo nome nelle cose della militia: si trovò per lo Re di Francia con pietro Strozzi alla guerra della Mitridate. Miliot periforme per i Francesi nell’impresa di Siena con condotta di 200 cavalli. Fu gratoissimo e gentilissimo autore delle lettere, e amato de’ virtuosi. Lasciò di Giulia Torella sua donna piro, e Fulvio Camillo.’ Sansovino, Dell’origine, p. 4.

38. Il primo libro delle rime was published in Rime diverse di molti eccellentissimi autori (Venice, 1545, and reprinted 1549), and Lettere appeared in Lettere de’ più vecchi autori (Venice, 1545).


41. The letters referring to Collatino are collected and reproduced in Collalto, Rime di Madonna Gaspara..., xxxi-xxxiii; and cited in Longo, ‘Collalto, Collatino’, p. 781.


44. Her literary achievements languished in obscurity until being republished in 1738 by a Collalto descendant who recast her as a romantic victim of love (cited above, Antonio Rambaldo di Collalto, ‘Intorno alla vita di Gasparo Stampa...’), a role she would play in various biographies and dramas until the early twentieth century. At the hands of these authors, she usually alternated between saintly heroine or shunned courteous. In the last three decades she has been the subject of much feminist inquiry, of which Zancan’s study (1989) is perhaps the most successful at placing this free-spirited poet within the intellectual climate of sixteenth-century Venice. Marina Zancan, ‘L’intellettuale femminile nel primo Cinquecento: Maria Savorgnan e Gaspara Stampa’, Annali d’italianistica, 7 (1989), 42-65. For the recent literature on Gaspara Stampa, see Flora A. Bassanese, ‘Gaspara Stampa (1523-1554)’, in Italian Women Writers: A Bio-Bibliographical Sourcebook, ed. by Rinaldina Russell (Westport, Connecticut and London: Greenwood Press, 1994), pp. 404-13.


46. Bergalli, Rime di Madonna Gaspara..., p. 3.


48. The helmet is in an ancient style and the sitter in profile appears to be a Roman emperor. Wetley, The Portraits, cat. 18, p. 84.


50. Marinelli has convincingly linked the physiognomy of this portrait with Battista’s Poli Alighieri In the Church of S. Fermo, Verona, Sergio Marinelli, Verone e Verona (Verona: Museo di Castelvecchio, 1988), cat. 42, pp. 307-08.

51. It was painted to decorate the inside of the right organ shutter for the church of San Ceminiano that once fronted on the piazza opposite San Marco in Venice. Insightful commentary on the organ shutters can be found in Rearick, The Art of Paolo Veronese, cat. 29, pp. 30, 31.

52. Gaetano Moroni Rcmano, Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica (Venice: Tipografia Emiliana, 1847), vol. 43, p. 205.


55. The drawing is reproduced in Andreas Prierer, Paolo Caliari, called Veronese 1528-1588, trans. by Paul Aston and Fiona Hulse (Cologne: Könemann, 2000), p. 54.


57. His two-volume Elégie (Venice, 1546, and Florence, 1551) also provided a companion to the portraits, reproduced in 1575 and in 1577 with woodcut illustrations by Tobias Stimmer. Linda Kliger Aled, ‘Images of Identity...’, pp. 68-69; Paolo Giovio, An Italian Portrait Gal-


63. On Venier’s role see Pompeo Molmenti, Sebastiano Veniero e la battaglia di Lepanto (Florence: G. Barbera, 1889).

64. Lane, Venice: A Maritime Republic, p. 431.

65. For the Palazzo Ducale commission originally given to Titian with the assistance of Giuseppe Porta, and completed by Tintoretto in 1572, five years before the canvas would be destroyed in the fire of 1577, see Stefania Mason Rinaldi, ‘Le virtù della repubblica e le gesta dei capitanì dipinti votivi, ritratti, pietà’, in Venezia e la difesa del Levante: da Lepanto a Candia 1570-1670 (Venice: Arsenale, 1986), pp. 13-18.

66. That this work (Venice, Gallerie dell’Accademia, inv. no. 284) represents an ex-voto of Pietro Giustiniani was first advanced by Zanotto (1833), but remains unverified. See the catalogue entry by Mason Rinaldi, ‘Le virtù della repubblica’, pp. 29-30.

67. Rossi (1974) follows Fiocco (1932) in dating the canvas to late 1571, while Anna Pallucchini (1974) and Mason Rinaldi (1986) favor dating it to the period of Venier’s dogeship (1577-78). Rossi, Jacopo Tintoretto: I Ritratti, pp. 130, 134; Giuseppe Fiocco, ‘Tintoretto’s Sebastiano Veniero’, The Burlington Magazine, 61 (1932), 196-201; Pallucchini, ‘Echi della battaglia di Lepanto…’, p. 284; Mason Rinaldi, Venezia e la difesa del Levante…, p. 27. Rossi and Mason Rinaldi agree that the second portrait of the same sitter, the Sebastiano Venier in Vienna (Fig. 35), derives from the Turin image, as do other workshop versions, including the copy in Schwein, Germany (Stažtisches Museum).


71. I owe a special thanks to Conservator Larry Sisson, Mellon Fellow in Objects Conservation at the Cleveland Museum of Art, for providing me with the conservation files.

72. On the role of Barbarigo as moderator, see Mason Rinaldi, Venezia e la difesa del Levante…, p. 28.

73. As Michelangelo Muraro has noted, Vittore Carpaccio’s Reception of the Ambassadors from the St Ursula cycle also uses a theatrical narrator, the man standing at the far left of the arcade: ‘Vittore Carpaccio ovile teatro in pittura’, in Studi sul teatro veneto fra rinascimento ed età barocca, ed. by Maria Teresa Muraro (Florence: Olschki, 1971), pp. 9-10. Earlier examples appear in art north of the Alps: Mâle, for example, outlines the importance of mystery plays in Claus Slater’s program for the Well of Moses at the Charterhouse of Champmol, noting among other correspondences, the fact that between acts a prophet would appear on stage and read the Old Testament prophecy of the New Testament event about to be acted out. Émile Mâle, L’art religieux de la fin du Moyen Age en France (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1908), p. 57. Written accounts of Renaissance theatrical performances also support this reading, for example, from his position at the side in the salotti of Anna Sforza, Francesco da Bagnacavallo on 6 May 1492 narrated the comedie d’Hippolito et Lionara, beginning the performance by introducing each of the characters. Recorded in a letter of Bernardino Prosperi to Isabella d’Este cited in Fabrizio Cruciani, Teatro nel Rinascimento. Rome 1450-1550 (Rome: Bulzoni editore, 1983), p. 36.

74. Gombosi (1928) was the first to recognize the sitter as Barbarigo on the basis of comparison with other works, including the Venier votive in Palazzo Ducale. György Gombosi, ‘Veronese’ Magyar Művészettörténeti 4 (1928), 724-725. For the circumstances of his death, see Girolamo Diedo, Lettera all’ill.mo Sig. Marcantonio Barbaro (Venice, 1588); cited in Mason Rinaldi, Venezia e la difesa del Levante…, p. 28.


76. The attribution of the Vienna picture is disputed, with some giving it entirely to workshop assistants. See the catalogue entry in Rossi, Nepi Scirié, et al., Jacopo Tintoretto: Ritratti, p. 144.


80. 'Conte Collaltino da Collalto: il quale non è meno dotato di perfettissime bellezze interiori di quello, che sia d’esteriori. Et ben si può dir di lui, che si come è ben formato di viso, e di corpo, che men bella anchora non sia la sua anima: perciòche effettualmente l’uno e l’altro si conosce.' And then Raverti responds, 'Tutto il mondo è di questo parere.' Giuseppe Bertucci, Il manerto: Diologo di Messer Giuseppe Bertucci, nel quale si ragiona d’amore, et de gli effetti suoi (Venice: Giolito, 1545), p. 81.


82. Only Veronese’s Votive picture of Doge Sebastiano Venier in the Sala del Collegio of the Doge’s Palace allowed the artist to assemble a large cast arranged along a horizontal axis, including Agostino Barbarigo holding a standard in the background. Similar to the London picture in its shallow stage space and frieze-like arrangement of figures, the Venier votive supplants the curling arabesque line in favor of an ‘X’ or ‘Chi’ shaped composition that seems to reiterate the centrality of Christ who holds the orb and raises his right hand in blessing over Venier. I have foregone a lengthy analysis of this votive portrait even while discussing the two admirals it portrays, because it relates to similar ducal images of its genre, more so than to the independent portraits of this chapter. Votive pictures in the Doge’s Palace are discussed in: Sinding-Larsen, Staale, Christ in the Council Hall: Studies in the Religious Iconography of the Venetian Republic, Institutum Romanum in Norvegiae, Acta ad archeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia, 5 (Rome: L’Erma’ di Breuachneider, 1974); Wolfgang Wolters, ‘Der Programmtwurf zur Dekoration des Dogenpalastes nach dem Brand vom 20. Dezember 1577’, Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz, 12 (1966), 271-318; ibid., Der Bilderschmuck des Dogenpalastes: Untersuchungen zur Selbstdarstellung der Republik Venedig im 16. Jahrhundert (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1983); Italian translation: Storia e politica nei dipinti di Palazzo Ducale: Aspetti dell’autorelazione della Repubblica di Venezia nel Cinquecento (Venice: Arsenal Editrice, 1987).

Pl. 14 Veronese, Collalto Collaio, c. 1550. Jaroměřice nad Rokytnou, Czech Republic. Photo: National Heritage Institute, Brno

Pl. 15 detail of Pl. 14

Pl. 16 detail of Pl. 14
Pl. 17 Veronese, Agostino Barbarigo, c. 1571-72. Photo: ©Cleveland Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. L.E. Holden, Mr. and Mrs. Guerdon S. Holden and the L.E. Holden Fund 1928.16.
Pl. 18 Veronese, Agostino Barbarigo, c. 1570-71. Photo: Szépművészet múzeum, Budapest
Pl. 19 Jacopo Tintoretto, Sebastiano Venier with a Page, c. 1577-78. Private collection, Italy. Photo: Sotheby's