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A Venetian Gentleman Fashioned
in Black: Redressing Titian's Early
Portrait of a Man in Copenhagen



Roughly twenty portraits securely attributed to Titian survive from the early phase of his career – before the unveiling of his *Assunta* altarpiece in 1518 attracted an expansive network of clients and signaled his unofficial *entrée* to new and wider patronage outside of Venice and northern Italy. Even fewer portraits are known today from this period of youthful activity whose sitters or patrons, largely from the patrician and citizen classes, can reliably be identified.¹ Still, Titian's early career endures as a dynamic field of inquiry consistently punctuated by new discoveries and reinvigorated by fresh interpretations, as the provocative exhibition devoted to his production clustered around the year 1508 recently demonstrated – although portraits were not examined.²

It is only relatively recently that Giorgio Tagliaferro and Antonio Mazzotta, each through meticulously documented studies, tentatively established the sitter in Titian's celebrated *Portrait of Gerolamo (?) Barbarigo* (c. 1510) [Fig. 1], perhaps completed when the artist was younger than twenty years old.³ Around the same time, Paul Joannides nominated Girolamo Cornaro as Titian's sitter in a rediscovered portrait he dated to c. 1511, previously known only through a copy at Petworth House.⁴ Spurred by these and further studies, the mostly enigmatic identities of the men featured in Titian's youthful and mid-career portraits have reemerged as fruitful subjects of scholarly attention.⁵ Recently, for instance, Giulio Dalvit speculated that Titian's bravura *Portrait of a Man in a Red Hat* (c. 1510–1511) in the Frick



1. Titian, «Portrait of Gerolamo (?) Barbarigo», c. 1510, oil on canvas, 81.2 × 66.3 cm, London, National Gallery



2. Titian, «Portrait of a Man in a Red Hat», c. 1510–1511, oil on canvas, 81.9 × 71.1 cm, New York, The Frick Collection, Henry Clay Frick Bequest. Photo: © The Frick Collection



3. Titian, «Portrait of a Man», here identified as Andrea di Nicolò Loredan, c. 1511–1513, oil on canvas, 80 × 66 cm, Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, on long-term loan to Statens Museum for Kunst. Photo: open.smk.dk, public domain

Collection could feasibly portray a teenage Federico II Gonzaga of Mantua [Fig. 2].⁶

Yet one such early portrait that persists in vexing art historians is Titian's so-called *Portrait of a Man* [Fig. 3] in the collection of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, on permanent loan to Statens Museum for Kunst in Copenhagen, typically dated on stylistic grounds to c. 1511–1512. Titian depicts an older man in half-length positioned within a darkened interior. Dressed in a sumptuous black garment and beret, his figure is dramatically illuminated by an opening in the wall – perhaps a large window or doorway – framing a sunset vista of a deep pastoral landscape; a shepherd leads a flock of sheep through a pasture rimmed by distant mountains that fade to hazy blue on the horizon in the crepuscular light. Titian arranges the man's body in *contrapposto*, with his torso oriented in three-quarter pose toward the right and his head inclined in the opposite direction toward the landscape view at the left. His gaze appears introspective but alert, his attention seemingly directed to address an unknown cue outside the picture frame. The wide, pyramidal structure of his voluminous outer garment lends a stolid gravity to his bearing. This impression is enhanced by his prominent grasping of a black stole, barely distinguishable against his dark coat, extending down from his shoulder and into his brightly lit proper right hand.

This dignified gesture, somewhat common in Italian portraiture at this time, draws conspicuous attention to the man's satiny rose-red doublet and clenched fist illusionistically projecting out from under his dark overcoat and into the viewer's space to break the picture plane, much like Titian's aforementioned Barbarigo portrait now in London, or his contemporaneous *Portrait of a Man* in the collection of the Duke of Northumberland at Alnwick Castle [Fig. 4].⁷ This engrossing *trompe l'oeil* effect is intensified by the pool of shadows concealing his opposite hand, which appears to grip his gathered robes or perhaps the pommel of a weapon fastened at his waist. While this latter action involving his proper left hand is nearly invisible at present, despite the generally good condition of the canvas, it is more legible in the newly captured infrared reflectogram (IRR) of the portrait – presented here for the first time and discussed more below.⁸



4. Titian, «Portrait of a Man», c. 1512–1514, oil on canvas, 82.6 × 64.8 cm, Alnwick, Northumberland, Alnwick Castle. Photo: © Collection of the Duke of Northumberland/Bridgeman Images

Although the Copenhagen portrait's attribution to Titian and consensus over its dating have rarely wavered, it has attracted comparatively limited scholarly attention outside of specialist *catalogues raisonnés*.⁹ It is either absent or mentioned merely cursorily in major studies on Titian's early career, despite its fine state of conservation and pivotal place among the artist's first known portraits, as Matthias Wivel and Troels Filténborg adroitly demonstrated in their comprehensive article on the painting over a decade ago.¹⁰ However, the most influential



5. Titian, «Flight into Egypt», c. 1507, oil on canvas, 204 × 324.5 cm, St Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum. Photo: © The State Hermitage Museum/Natalia Antonova, Inna Regentova

interpretation of the portrait was advanced earlier by Jürgen Rapp, who fancifully proposed Titian's former master, Giovanni Bellini, as the sitter.¹¹ Rapp's rather circumstantial conjecture hinged upon the supposed physiognomic likeness of the figure in the Copenhagen picture to a pair of profile portraits of Bellini: Vittore Belliniano's 1505 drawing (Chantilly, Musée Condé, inv. no. DE 121) and the c. 1490–1510 portrait medal of Bellini executed by Vittore Gambello (London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no.116-1867).

Although this romanticized theory of Bellini as the Copenhagen portrait's sitter lingers in the literature, even being endorsed by curators at Statens Museum for Kunst (hereafter SMK), it is now possible to call into question this dominant yet farfetched identification. The present study instead builds upon and extends the novel hypothesis Wivel and Filtenborg introduced – but ultimately themselves discarded – shrewdly associating Titian's picture with the powerful Venetian nobleman, magistrate, and senator, Andrea di Nicolò Loredan (1450–1513). Given the

figure's crimson costuming in a preliminary, underlying version of the canvas, they rightly surmised Loredan as the only known client of Titian prior to 1513 who matched in stature and office the man's appearance: Loredan is widely – although not universally – accepted as the putative patron of Titian's youthful *Flight into Egypt* (c. 1507) [Fig. 5].¹² It is surprising not only that their proposition has failed to gain approval in scholarship on the picture, but also that Loredan's identity as the model was ultimately deemed inconclusive, too, by these authors.¹³

Nevertheless, it is now possible to adduce numerous further technical, documentary, sartorial, and biographical pieces of evidence to substantiate and – somewhat ironically – affirm the validity of Wivel and Filtenborg's initial conjecture. In contrast to their exclusion of Loredan, moreover, what follows demonstrates how the gentleman's appearance and dress perfectly match the public identity and *ethos* Loredan strove to cultivate in Venetian society and politics around the time the portrait was produced. Several major events within Loredan's professional career and

life, unmentioned until now, are also examined to explain why he likely sought a portrait of himself precisely during the years to which the picture is dated. If the man depicted is not Giovanni Bellini and instead Andrea Loredan, one of the leading public figures and government officials in Venice at this time, it would necessitate reassessment of the predominant view that Titian was largely not employed by major clients in Venetian or northern Italian politics in the first decade or so of his career.¹⁴ Additionally, probing the hitherto enigmatic identity of the Copenhagen portrait's sitter brings into sharper focus still relatively understudied sartorial customs of the nobility lying at the intersection of portraiture and politics in early modern Venice.¹⁵

Titian's Sitter & the Bellini Quandary

While the figure in Titian's SMK portrait bears a superficial likeness to aforementioned images representing Bellini, several factors cast significant doubt upon such an identification and make it highly unlikely. Chief among these is the fact that the model, as virtually every commentator on the portrait reasons, is likely too young to be Giovanni Bellini. Although his birthdate remains enormously contentious, at present the prevailing consensus among Bellini scholars places his birth around 1438/40 at the very latest. The sitter's identity as Bellini is thus implausible since he does not appear to be seventy years or older. Complicating matters further is Daniel Wallace Maze's viable theory that Giovanni could have been born earlier than believed, some time between 1424 and 1426, potentially making him even older at the time Titian's portrait was produced than hitherto accounted for in the literature.¹⁶

If the dating of c. 1512 for the Copenhagen portrait is correct, then Bellini must have advanced to his seventies or perhaps even late eighties when Titian completed it. It is worth recalling how Bellini's elderly state was already discerned in 1506 by Albrecht Dürer, who reported from Venice how, 'Er jst sehr alt'.¹⁷

In contrast, the man Titian portrays [Fig. 6], with his slightly silvery but mostly light brown hair, only marginally sunken eyes, robust complexion, and minorly creased brow appears to be at least a decade younger – perhaps around sixty or so years old.



6. Titian, «Portrait of a Man» (detail of Fig. 3)

Similarly, these indications of the man's moderately aged appearance make it unlikely Titian intended an idealized portrait of Bellini akin to the artist's artificially youthful portrayal of Isabella d'Este now in Vienna.¹⁸ Further calling into question the sitter as Bellini is the portrait's divergence from conventional formulae in this period for autonomous depictions on canvas or panel of artists who, when portrayed at all, are often (although not always) represented in self-portraits – or possess conspicuously inserted artistic equipment that identify them as artists.¹⁹



7. Titian, «Portrait of a Man», here identified as Andrea di Nicolò Loredan (as in Fig. 3), X-radiograph, produced 2011, Copenhagen, National Gallery of Denmark, CC BY-SA 4.0, Statens Museum for Kunst

Rarely have scholars taken seriously the challenge to the figure's identity as Bellini advanced by Karl Schütz, repudiating Rapp's long-standing nomination, who pointed out how the relationship between Titian and his older former master was possibly quite strained and contentious at the time the portrait was produced.²⁰ Speculation concerning this resentment rests largely on a series of documents recording correspondences between Titian and the Council of Ten. They commence with Titian's 1513 letter to the doge and Council requesting the official commission to decorate the Sala del Maggior Consiglio in the Doge's Palace, as well as the first vacant *senseria* on the same terms and working conditions Bellini had previously been awarded.²¹ Some Titian specialists have inferred how this must have bristled Giovanni specifically, as well as a host of younger artists in his ambit already granted *spettative* (provisional rights to *senserie*) by the Council.²² Highly suggestive also is the subsequent 1514 document in which Titian gripes at having had his previously approved petition for this *senseria* rescinded by the Venetian *Consiglio dei Dieci*; he blames the Council's abrogation of his contract on, 'la astutia et arte de alcuni che non voleno vedermi suo concorrente'. This tantalizing yet vague accusation against competing painters is generally – although not universally – interpreted by scholars as referring to Giovanni Bellini.²³

Notwithstanding Titian's anonymous competitor, it is almost certain that some degree of professional rivalry existed between Bellini and his former pupil.²⁴ They were surely both working in close proximity to one another on *teleri* for the Sala del Maggior Consiglio from spring 1513 to autumn 1514.²⁵ This was an especially enterprising period for Titian coinciding with his nascent independence as a master; his production signals his efforts to outstrip Bellini by emulating the elder painter's established compositions, pictorial devices, and reputation. Rona Goffen dubbed Bellini Titian's 'first great rival', reminding us that their *agon* culminated (posthumously for Bellini) with Titian's bold repainting of Giovanni's *Feast of the Gods* (1514) in Ferrara in 1529.²⁶ It is especially telling, furthermore, that Titian framed his petition to the Council of Ten for a coveted *senseria* or *spettativa* upon Bellini's precedent. While unable to be definitively resolved at present, if Titian did indeed count Bellini among his competitors, as seems most probable, it is unlikely he would have endeavored to produce the type of visual homage to his teacher around this time that most critics assume the Copenhagen portrait supposedly entails.²⁷

Although several Titian specialists widely acknowledge the problematic identity of the sitter as Bellini, his name remains strongly fixed to the portrait and the curators at Statens Museum for Kunst seem reluctant to jettison this possibility entirely.²⁸ Likewise, despite virtually every exhibition and collection catalogue featuring the painting over the last three decades questioning this identification, the rather farfetched name of Bellini

persists.²⁹ Even as scholars repudiate Bellini as the model, they have – somewhat justifiably – been hard pressed to determine an alternate yet tenable identity since so little appears in the composition in the way of distinguishing visual accoutrements. The portrait lacks any inscriptions, overly distinctive costume, or other emblematic accessories – nevertheless typical of Titian's portraits from this period – that would point to a firm name for the gentleman or his family branch. The setting, with its generic pastoral vista glimpsed through the window over the man's shoulder lends little clarity to this conundrum.³⁰ While a few proposals for the gentleman have been advanced beyond Bellini, such as Pietro Bembo or various lay brothers of the confraternity of St Anthony in Padua, none of them has proven convincing or gained acceptance.³¹

Titian's Gentleman Redressed: Technical Analysis

Yet it is surprising that the name of the Venetian patrician Andrea Loredan introduced by Wivel and Filtenborg in connection to the Copenhagen canvas has not garnered more traction in the literature. These authors revealed that an underlying, initial version of the portrait existed beneath the presently visible one [Fig. 7]. Through X-radiography imaging and pigment cross-sections, they ascertained that Titian made several key alterations in finishing the portrait that mostly cancelled out this prior rendition. First, a number of *pentimenti* exist in the head and face of the sitter, who was initially shown in more of a frontal pose gazing outward directly at the viewer. Second, the landscape *veduta* visible through the opening in the rear wall was not original to the composition but added in successive stages of execution by Titian, who pierced the dim interior backdrop and gradually expanded the aperture from a window to the large doorway-like opening seen at present. Third, and perhaps most significantly, samples of the paint layers of the sitter's dark costume revealed that it was initially painted bright red, ostensibly meaning the sitter was first dressed in the robes of a high-ranking Venetian official, possibly a magistrate or senator, but were ultimately changed to black by Titian.³²

Based on this evidence, Wivel and Filtenborg incisively posited that the initial composition could plausibly depict Loredan. Although they raised serious doubts regarding Bellini as the presently visible sitter, they surmised that the evidence remained inconclusive and did not exclude him as the subject of the final version.³³ Similarly, Wivel and Filtenborg rather unsatisfyingly interpreted the initial composition as simply showing a Venetian senator or secretary, which Titian subsequently replaced with an older gentleman who appears in the finished portrait. To be fair, subtleties of execution that would enable a more precise identification are difficult to discern in



8. Titian, «Portrait of a Man», here identified as Andrea di Nicolò Loredan, Copenhagen (as in Fig. 3), infrared reflectogram, produced 2025, National Gallery of Denmark, CC-BY-SA 4.0, Statens Museum for Kunst



9. Titian, «Portrait of a Man», executed c. 1511 (?), and here identified as Vincenzo Querini (?), infrared reflectogram with reconstruction of earlier, underlying sitter, digital line drawing by Meaghan A. Dee in consultation with James R. Jewitt. Photo: © James R. Jewitt



10. Giovanni Bellini, «Portrait of Giovanni Emo», c. 1483–1500, oil on panel transferred to canvas mounted on panel, 46.9 × 32.6 cm, Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art, Samuel H. Kress Collection

the X-radiography imaging previously available. Much clarity, however, is furnished in the newly produced technical imaging of the picture.

The first infrared reflectogram of the portrait captured in April 2025 affirms, on the one hand, Wivel and Filtenborg's conjecture that Titian first portrayed an alternate model, but on the other hand, resolves conclusively neither the elusive question of this primary sitter's identity nor Andrea Loredan as the subject of the secondary version [Fig. 8]. What is revealed are several further details involving the appearance and attire of both of Titian's gentlemen, thereby sharpening our understanding of his potential clients for each iteration of the canvas. It is now possible to confirm – and reconstruct how – Titian initially portrayed a much younger man than in the final version. This first sitter appears with softer and rounder features, his face oriented in

three-quarter pose and looking directly outward at the viewer. His lips and clean-shaven cheeks were fuller, eyes less deeply set, and chin plumper [Fig. 9]. Unlike the present figure's pronouncedly aquiline features, this prior gentleman's nose was smaller and shorter. The IRR clarifies how this underlying model sported similarly long and wavy hair but of a reduced length and volume, falling just above his shoulders.

Noticeable, too, is that this primary sitter evidently wore a different style hat. It possessed a taller silhouette and resembles a *bareta ducale*, the high-crowned cap typically worn by Venetian ambassadors. Giovanni Bellini's *Portrait of Giovanni Emo* (c. 1483–1500), who served the republic as a diplomat and ambassador, exemplifies this type of headgear [Fig. 10].³⁴ Finally, Titian omitted the customarily low neckline of the figure's *vesta* and replaced it with a high standing collar fastened at the



11. Giorgione or Titian, «Portrait of a Young Man», c. 1505, oil on canvas, 59.2 × 47 cm, Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie. Photo: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie/Jörg P. Anders, Public Domain Mark 1.0

throat by a metal clasp, above which a narrow strip of white *camicia* peeks out. All these traits, coupled with Wivel and Filtenborg's discovery that Titian originally enclosed the sitter within a windowless interior, suggest that the first version of the Copenhagen composition strikingly resembled – albeit in reverse – the *Portrait of a Young Man*, or so-called *Giustiniani Portrait*, now in Berlin, alternately attributed to the youthful Titian or Giorgione [Fig. 11].³⁵

What is clear at present is that Titian dramatically revised a previously unfinished, abandoned composition depicting

a comparatively young nobleman whose upper body, face, and hat had already been completed with a high degree of finish.³⁶ Thus his depiction of the elderly gentleman now visible was not the result of minor modifications to a preexisting likeness, but instead the wholesale recycling of the canvas. Reuse of supports periodically occurred in Titian's *botteghe*.³⁷ But the Copenhagen portrait is apparently, to the present author's knowledge, among the earliest instances of such a practice, preceded only by his alteration of the subject of the *Flight into Egypt*.³⁸ Moreover, several novel conclusions can be drawn from the younger gentleman's dress. He was apparently a *togato* and therefore at least twenty-five years old since he wears the *vesta* that Venetian citizens reaching this age were permitted to wear, along with those serving in civil magistracies; that it was crimson indicates his office as a *procuratore*, *senatore*, *avvogado*, *cancelliere grande*, or *ambasciatore*.³⁹ The tall hat ostensibly sustains his identity as the latter.

Beyond this, the IRR reveals some details largely inscrutable at present to the naked eye involving the gentleman's proper left hand [Fig. 12]. This portion of the picture surface is so darkened as to be nearly invisible, stemming perhaps from conservation issues or, more likely, Titian's curious decision to cast this gesture in deep shadow. It is difficult to discern in any of the technical imaging, and much less so without it, for example, whether the gentleman wears a glove on this left hand – as the gentleman in the Alnwick portrait does – which would further exclude *cittadini* (non-noble citizens) or artisans such as Bellini and instead signal his noble status. Titian's exceptionally subtle chromatic and textural gradations in this area of the canvas, comingling textile, shadow, and flesh, are left rather inexplicably irresolute.⁴⁰

In any case, it is possible to determine from the infrared reflectogram with reasonable certainty that the gentleman in fact sports a chunky ring on the index finger of his left hand, in addition to the one on the little finger of his right. The latter is a simple gold hoop with geometric *niello* patterning around the band and shoulders and set with two cabochon rubies; these constituted the costliest of all gemstones according to contemporary authorities such as Benvenuto Cellini. Titian's gentleman's gold ring likely serves merely as a decorative adornment. The wearing of solely one or two rings of exceptional quality was described as a uniquely Venetian fashion in Cinquecento conduct manuals for ambassadors, such



12. Titian, «Portrait of a Man», here identified as Andrea di Nicolò Loredan (as in Fig. 8), detail of infrared reflectogram showing figure's proper right hand

as the Venetian diplomat Mario Cavalli's *Informatione dell'offitio dell'ambasciatore* (1550).⁴¹ Several *pentimenti* for the ring on the gentleman's little finger are visible in the IRR and demonstrate how Titian took special care in refining its placement and appearance. Such displays of material wealth are uncommon in portraits of artisans and further discourage recognition of the gentleman as Bellini.

Conversely, it is highly probable, though impossible to prove, that the wide-banded ring on the index finger of his partially obscured left hand is a signet ring, perhaps even of the type used specifically by some magistrates. The historian and scholar Marcantonio Sabellico devotes an entire section to these implements in his influential treatise, *De praetoris officio* (*On the duties of the praetor*), written and published in Venice in 1490.⁴² Such rings stood as key administrative accessories forming Venetian magistrates' *habiliments* and signifying their administrative authority, as Sabellico underscores in his chapter, *De annulo praetoris*; it is noteworthy that Titian correspondingly accentuates it,

along with the ruby ring, in the Copenhagen portrait.⁴³ Titian's sitter also makes a grasping gesture, mirroring that of his right hand, in which his thumb and fingers curl around a small but inscrutable mass. While lending some insight, the IRR does not divulge with absolute certainty what the man holds in his left hand. Frustratingly little in the way of conclusive identifying data is visible. He possibly grips the hilt of a dagger or sword, as in Titian's Frick portrait; it could be that he merely grips a gathered section of his robes. Both were formulae Titian utilized in male portraiture throughout the early phases of his career until around 1520, as was the compositional device of partially occluding one of the sitter's hands.⁴⁴

It should be noted, however, that the IRR does clarify that the action performed by the left hand and whatever it grasps are not *pentimenti* within the earlier composition. They belong instead to the upper final layers of paint laid in and are articulated by Titian with a relatively high degree of finish – if not lucidity. It is worth pointing out that Titian's dramatic revision of the composition,



13. Sebastiano del Piombo, «Judgment of Solomon», c. 1506–1509, oil on canvas, 208 × 315 cm, Kingston Lacy, Dorset, Bankes Collection, The National Trust. Photo: © National Trust Images/Derrick E. Witty

moreover, accords with canvases now also believed to have been owned by Loredan in which numerous reworkings of the composition are evident, including Titian's aforementioned *Flight into Egypt*, but also Sebastiano del Piombo's imposing *Judgment of Solomon* (c. 1506–1509), subject to at least three successive phases of adjustments [Fig. 13].⁴⁵ Both pictures are recorded at different times in the collection of the Ca' Loredan.⁴⁶

In sum, the technical imaging sustains in sufficient detail and clarity Wivel and Filtenborg's suspicion that the figure presently visible possesses an altogether different physiognomy than the sitter originally represented. Based upon his garb, this earlier figure possibly represented a Venetian ambassador, who at present is unrecorded among Titian's clientele.⁴⁷ The possibility that he wears a ring and headgear typical for diplomats enhances this theory. Yet it is not possible to conclude, as these authors do, that the crimson senatorial or magisterial costume was intended solely for the younger sitter of the earlier composition. Pigment analysis merely attests that red attire underlies the present older gentleman's garb; it is quite feasible that this elderly figure was initially dressed in red robes of the Venetian oligarchy as well, and that Titian's switching of his *vesta* to black occurred at a phase during the second composition's reworking.⁴⁸ Regardless, this overpainting of the gentleman's robes does not obviate Andrea Loredan as the sitter but, as we shall see, instead strengthens his likelihood as

Titian's model. It furthermore reveals that Titian produced two separate portraits of high-ranking patrician officials at an early stage in his career.

Locating Titian's Portrait & Ca' Loredan, Venice

One enticing clue further supporting Wivel and Filtenborg's identification of Loredan as the model of the Copenhagen portrait, unmentioned by them or anywhere else in the literature on the picture, is Giorgio Vasari's brief notation that Titian painted a renowned portrait of a member of the Loredan family. In his biography of the artist, Vasari mentions how Titian, 'portrayed from life prince Grimani and Loredan, which were considered marvels'.⁴⁹ This assertion is vague, but plausibly refers to the Loredan who constructed the palace Vasari mentions elsewhere in the same *vita* in connection with Titian's *Flight into Egypt*; this was the most prominent Loredan member of his family's branch, namely Andrea di Nicolò, as Charles Hope has also tentatively suggested.⁵⁰ Vasari's information about Venetian art can be unreliable, but here he evidently refers to an acclaimed image, one that, until now, has never been linked to an existing portrait. Vasari visited Venice three times, last in 1566, when he reported spending considerable time in Titian's studio; if he did see an image of a member of the Loredan family, it was most plausibly

during his stay in Venice in 1541–1542, when he almost certainly visited the collection of the Ca' Loredan at San Marcuola in Cannaregio (now known as the Ca' Vendramin Calergi), since he describes in precise detail Titian's *Flight into Egypt* that he must have seen on display there [Fig. 14].⁵¹ However, Vasari's mention of a member of the Loredan family is too laconic on its own to connect precisely to an extant artwork.

Fortunately, it is now possible to corroborate – albeit tentatively – Hope's hypothesis that Titian's untraced portrait presumably depicted Andrea Loredan through fresh attention to inventories involving the distinguished Ca' Loredan. It is here that a picture conforming to Titian's now in Copenhagen is consistently recorded. Loredan's legacy rests chiefly on this magnificent *palazzo*, designed by Mauro Codussi and constructed on the Grand Canal. Francesco Sansovino extolled it in *Venetia città nobilissima* (1581) as one of the four finest in the city. Its conspicuous grandeur, built during the turbulent period when Venice was embroiled in the War of the League of Cambrai (1508–1517), was tempered by an inscription on the façade: *non nobis d[omine] non nobis* – 'Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us'. This line from Psalm 115 is completed by the corollary, 'but unto Thy name give glory'. The motto succeeded in legitimizing such overtly public displays of *magnificenza* by rededicating them, at least in appearance, to the public good.

The provenance of SMK's portrait has until now been undocumented before 1828, when it was first mentioned among the twenty paintings sold in Vienna from the collection of the Triestino court painter and miniaturist Domenico Bossi (1767–1853).⁵² Its earlier ownership history, including its possible display in the Ca' Loredan, has thus remained unexplored. Virtually no documentation of the collections of the Loredan palace survives from the sixteenth century to confirm Vasari's or Hope's assertions.⁵³ However, renewed examination of a series of inventories made in the seventeenth century, when the palace was owned by the Grimani family, reveals compelling clues that now possibly fill our gap in knowledge of the picture's provenance. These inventories successively record a portrait by Titian reasonably matching his Copenhagen canvas.

The posthumous inventory of Vincenzo Grimani Calergi of 4 June 1647 lists, 'un retratto de un vecchio vestito di negro de mano de Titian'.⁵⁴ This inventory was based on a slightly earlier document made the year before on 4 February 1646, where the same painting is listed in the 'Gallaria' [sic] as, 'Un'altro mezan con un ritratto di mano di Titian, che figura un'huomo Vecchio et Sbarbato con sua cornice di noghera e con pochi fogliami dorati'.⁵⁵ A subsequent 1664 inventory of Giovanni Grimani Calergi similarly, and quite tellingly, mentions 'two pictures with two heads from Ca' Calergi with two Senators by Titian', that is, descending from the collection of one of several earlier owners of the palace, the Calergi, who had purchased the Ca' Loredan at auction in 1589.⁵⁶ Many of the other *quadri* displayed



14. Mauro Codussi (completed by Domenico Codussi?), façade of the Ca' Vendramin Calergi (formerly Ca' Loredan), c. 1502–1509, Venice, San Marcuola, Cannaregio. Photo: Didier Descouens/CC BY-SA 4.0

in the gallery are likewise specified as descending from earlier Grimani progenitors, suggesting that the paintings assembled in this space constituted a sort of legacy collection connected with the heritage of the palace.

If this series of Grimani inventory entries above does in fact refer to the same portrait across roughly twenty years, cumulatively they suggest that Titian's Copenhagen portrait, or one nearly identical to it, remained in the collection of the former Loredan palace. The details involving the sitter wearing black attire as well as being older and beardless are particularly revealing: none of Titian's known portraits from this early phase of his career depicts such a hitherto unidentified man shown in this manner – except that in Copenhagen.⁵⁷ More than a casual observation, the 1646 Grimani inventory relies upon the distinctive trait of Titian's gentleman being clean-shaven as a key characteristic distinguishing between likenesses of various sitters in portraits within the collection. It was customary and fashionable for men in northern Italy, particularly the younger nobles amongst Titian's early clientele, to cultivate at least some facial hair; therefore, it is somewhat anomalous that the gentleman in Titian's SMK portrait does not.⁵⁸

Yet it is specifically this lack of facial hair that makes the Copenhagen portrait readily traceable through the inventories above. It is unique among Titian's extant but heretofore unidentified portraits made prior to 1520, since it singularly portrays a sitter who is both older and beardless. Thus it is almost certainly

also the Copenhagen picture that Carlo Ridolfi reports seeing in the Grimani collection in his 1648 *vita* of Titian where, ‘another [portrait] of an old smoothly shaven Senator of the Grimani family, is in the house of Signor Vincenzo Grimani of San Marcuola, truly singular’.⁵⁹ Ridolfi must have been mistaken in identifying the gentleman as a member of the Grimani clan, since no senator from the Santa Maria Formosa branch associated with the palace is known to have been painted by Titian; it should be noted, too, that there is considerable variation in the accuracy of Ridolfi’s identifications of figures in Titian’s paintings from this time.⁶⁰ It is more likely that his supposition about the sitter is merely a disingenuous way to suggest to his audience the age and prestige of the portrait, implying, as the compiler of the 1664 Grimani inventory had, that the portrait originated with earlier proprietors of the *palazzo*.

In this vein, it is vital to note that a series of legally binding *fedecommissi* (trusts) were instituted over the Ca’ Loredan, beginning with Andrea di Nicolò’s stipulation in his 1513 will and extending through the mid-Seicento, forbidding sale or transfer of the palace and its art collection. Although the document permits moveable household objects and furnishings (*beni mobili*) to be auctioned by his heirs, Loredan ordered his artworks to be left in the Ca’ Loredan forever (*ad infinitum*) as a legacy glorifying his family and the Venetian republic:

And I wish that it never be possible to sell nor auction it [Ca’ Loredan] [...] I also want to say these words, that all the furnishings in the house may be sold, and turned into money, except its ornaments of paintings, tapestries, [and] marble statues, left at the discretion of my executors as decorations of the house, or better still the homeland [i.e. Venice].⁶¹

Despite a handful of successive inhabitants assuming possession of the palace over the next two hundred years, the *fedecommisso* in Andrea’s will was not only upheld but duplicated by later proprietors. Several pictures evidently owned by Loredan remained installed as decoration within the *palazzo* well into the middle of the eighteenth century, namely the aforementioned canvases by Titian of the *Flight into Egypt* and by Sebastiano of the *Judgment of Solomon*. As several studies have demonstrated recently, these paintings were almost certainly first acquired by Loredan but retained by subsequent owners and reliably documented from 1581 onward, when they were first recorded by visitors and notaries.⁶² Such *fedecommissi* were not uncommon among serious patrician collectors in Cinquecento Venice.⁶³ Titian’s early patron Girolamo Grimani made provisions in his will for the artist’s *Madonna and Child with Four Saints* (c. 1517–1520), now in Dresden, to remain fixed and inalienable within the Palazzo Grimani dei Servi so they could remain the property and legacy of his heir who inherited the palace.⁶⁴ Titian’s client Gabriele Vendramin’s *fedecommisso* similarly admonished his

heirs to cherish their familial palace and the art collection attached to it, issuing an ‘order that none of these things shall be sold, or pawned, or loaned, either in whole or in part or in any conceivable way’, and were, ‘subject to the same conditions under which I have bequeathed the house’.⁶⁵

Consequently, it is reasonable to hypothesize that the pictures mentioned in the Grimani inventories of the Ca’ Loredan cited above could refer to a portrait by Titian legally joined to the palace’s interior ever since Andrea di Nicolò Loredan’s time. This is especially appealing since the 1664 document mentions how two portraits by Titian depicting senators descended from earlier owners, the Calergi family, and Loredan’s heirs are not known to have added any objects to Andrea’s collection nor demonstrated an affinity for its art.⁶⁶ Thus some of the *beni mobili*, such as portraits, mentioned in the Grimani inventories of the ex-Loredan palace had actually belonged to earlier proprietors of the *palazzo* but were still being displayed in the Seicento. This makes it plausible that some of the paintings Andrea Loredan had obtained – in addition to Titian’s *Flight* and Sebastiano’s *Judgment* – were transferred to subsequent owners as part of the legacy of the palace. It would be logical or even strategic, moreover, for the Grimani to showcase artworks constituting the storied heritage of the palace, specifically those inherited from such an esteemed noble collector and illustrious politician as Loredan.

Reconsidering Andrea Loredan

Before his premature death in battle during the War of the League of Cambrai in 1513, Andrea Loredan attained considerable wealth and numerous high-ranking offices within the Venetian government in a political career that spanned twenty years. His *cursus honorum* can be followed through archival sources and the reports of the diarists Marino Sanudo and Girolamo Priuli.⁶⁷ He entered the Senate and *Gran Consiglio* in 1494, elected soon thereafter several times as *Avogador di Comun* then *Patrono all’Arsenale*. In 1502, he achieved the prestigious appointment of *Savio di Terraferma* and also began his first term as *Podestà* of Brescia, winning reelection to the latter post for four successive years until 1505. Over the next two years he assumed the lofty role of one of the three *Capi del Consiglio dei Dieci*. It was also in 1505 that Loredan served as a member of the Collegio responsible for evaluating proposed renovations for the recently burned Fondaco dei Tedeschi, an occasion perhaps leading to his initial acquaintance with the young Titian, who shortly thereafter in 1508 frescoed its reconstructed façade along with Giorgione. It is alternatively possible that Loredan came to know Titian through Giorgione, one of whom, according to Ridolfi and Marco Boschini (1602–1681) frescoed the *piano terreno portego* of Ca’ Loredan with allegorical figures of Prudence and Diligence.⁶⁸

15. Giovanni Bellini and workshop, «Doge Leonardo Loredan and Four Relatives», 1507, tempera on poplar wood, 134.5 × 207.5 cm, Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie. Photo: Christoph Schmidt



After several terms again as one of the *Capi del Consiglio dei Dieci* and *Savio sopra la Mercanzia* from 1506–1507, Loredan was dispatched for two years to Udine as *Luogotenente* of the patria of Friuli during the outbreak of conflict between the Serenissima and the anti-Venetian league, returning to Venice in 1509 to serve again in the *Consiglio dei Dieci*. His expertise in military matters led to his election as *Provveditore all'Arsenale* and *Provveditore Generale* in the Friuli. Diarists record how Loredan notoriously refused this latter post, an affront that led to his temporary and rather *pro forma* deportation in 1509 to the island of Mazzorbo in the Venetian lagoon for six months. As Priuli reports, he lived, 'nel dichto locho di Mazorbo in una habitactione honoratissima, vivendo molto honoratamente, perché era richo'.⁶⁹ Soon after his return, Andrea suffered further political backlash, this time through his close involvement with the traitorous Friulian leader, Antonio Savorgnan. Loredan had been briefly dispatched as an envoy to Udine by the Council of Ten in March 1511 to quell an uprising against a faction of Udinese nobles led by Savorgnan, but returned barely two weeks later, his efforts to suppress the revolt ultimately ineffectual. As a result, in September 1511 Loredan's bid for reelection to the Venetian senate was rejected; in the ensuing several months, he lost every office for which he was nominated.⁷⁰

Yet Sanudo reports – somewhat scandalously – how Loredan was gradually restored to good fortunes and elected as a *Sopragastaldo* and again as a *Capo del Consiglio dei Dieci* three times from 1510–1512. With the situation deteriorating in

the Friuli, which had subsequently fallen to invading imperial armies, the Venetian government again called upon Andrea to lead the republic's troops as *Provveditore Generale di Terraferma* in late spring of 1513. Recognizing the hazardous nature of this assignment, Loredan swiftly made his will in June of this year, as cited above.⁷¹ His fears were soon realized when Loredan was captured and executed by enemy soldiers during the fierce battle against Spanish and German forces in Creazzo, just outside of Vicenza, on 9 October 1513.

Wivel and Filtenborg ultimately – though in the present author's opinion prematurely – dismissed Loredan as the sitter for the Copenhagen portrait. The primary rationale for their rejection was based, somewhat speciously, upon the black robes the man sports, which in their opinion did not befit the image of a public official of Loredan's stature. These authors also inaccurately claimed that Loredan's prolonged absence from Venice during the years 1511–1512 to which the painting is frequently dated – yet solely on stylistic grounds – disqualified him as its patron. However, as outlined above, Loredan was, barring a two week stint in Udine, in fact residing in Venice and elected to several offices at this time, when he could plausibly have commissioned Titian to undertake his portrait.⁷² In addition to the documentary evidence above, the gentleman's costume as well as Loredan's political and spiritual activities around 1510–1513, discussed more below, strongly favor him as the most suitable candidate for the subject of Titian's SMK portrait.

No confirmed likenesses of Loredan are known at present which could be compared with the Copenhagen portrait to verify visually the model as Loredan. However, it has been suggested that Giovanni Bellini's signed and dated group portrait now in Berlin, usually called *Doge Leonardo Loredan and Four Relatives* (1507), might include a likeness of Andrea, although it remains difficult to judge from the ruinous state of the painting, even after recent conservation [Fig. 15]. If true, it could affirm – albeit circumstantially – the Copenhagen gentleman as Loredan. The four men dressed in red senatorial, procuratorial, or magisterial robes surrounding the doge have been nominated as Leonardo Loredan's relatives, or less plausibly his sons, then holding public office. This latter theory is rather untenable, given the relatively youthful appearance of the men surrounding the doge in contrast to the advanced ages of most of his eldest sons at the time the portrait was produced.⁷³

In contrast, it is appealing to accept the report of Ridolfi, in fact the earliest source to record the picture, who identified the four men flanking Leonardo as 'two of his sons, & others of the [Loredan] family'.⁷⁴ The latter phrase seemingly distinguishes two of the men from Loredan's sons as more distant relatives within the clan. It is therefore plausible that Andrea di Nicolò could be the figure immediately to the doge's right with whom he makes eye contact and offers a gesture of benediction. Andrea certainly then stood as the doge's most distinguished relation serving in the Venetian government in 1507 when Bellini painted the group portrait.⁷⁵ This man arguably possesses quite similar features as the figure in the Copenhagen picture: an aquiline and slightly hooked nose, somewhat inset eyes, markedly thin lips, prominent eyebrows, and chestnut hair. Although he appears somewhat younger and with shorter, slightly less gray hair in the Berlin group portrait than that in Copenhagen, this discrepancy may be attributed to Loredan's gradual aging over the span of four or five years, that is, the time elapsed between the execution of the two pictures.

In truth, Titian's SMK sitter's appearance exactly accords with Loredan's age of about sixty years old in 1511. Furthermore, Titian's repainting of the man's crimson garment to black matches rather well what we know about the propensity toward more conservative dress of Venetian patricians of Loredan's generation and circumstances.⁷⁶ Sartorial practices among the upper-ranking patriciate, particularly during the period of war-time austerity in which SMK's portrait was produced, tended toward sobriety and restraint following Venice's disastrous defeats – first in 1509 at the Battle of Agnadello, then in 1513 at the Battle of La Motta. During this time, the more senior nobility sought to reaffirm the Venetian ethos of *mediocritas*, especially through the medium of apparel and in response to the wake of new sumptuary legislation forbidding ostentatious costumes.⁷⁷

Modesty and restraint in dress were framed as crucial dimensions of the comportment of noble Venetian administrators

such as Loredan serving abroad in *terraferma* territories. In Sabbellico's *De praetoris officio*, magistrates were advised against extravagant displays of personal wealth that flaunted their noble rank: 'we would prefer self-controlled poverty to rapacious wealth. Otherwise, everyone plainly sees that personal splendor and costly ornamentation work not a little to enhance a magistrate's dignity'.⁷⁸ In two additional sections of his text, Sabbellico urges magistrates to enforce the same conservativeness in dress for their retinues (*De Comitatus Moderatione*) and family members (*De Praetoriae Familiae Cultu*). The latter emphasizes how, 'Dress ought to be not so much arrogant and extravagant as well-kempt and neat. In short, it should be such as to win favor instead of envy. I believe it important to give this advice regarding personal ornamentation'.⁷⁹ This caution not to adorn oneself in a flamboyant manner runs as a common thread reiterated throughout Sabbellico's text; it is exemplified by the instructions the praetor is counseled to give those in his household regarding interactions with the public, reminding them to, 'Let your physical appearance not be the sort that can arouse envy against us'.⁸⁰

These admonitions toward temperance in dress and personal image for Venetian magistrates are appealing explanations as to why, in the midst of the War of the League of Cambrai, Titian may have been led to adjust his sitter's costume from a flashy crimson to more sober black fabric. The latter color proved paradoxically charged in Venetian sartorial customs, as will become clear below, with associations of modesty but also cultural sophistication, particularly in northern Italian court culture. Titian's Copenhagen figure thus aligns rather well with Loredan's overt preoccupation with balancing such seemingly contradictory aspirations; after all, his grandiose palace façade's renovation, completed by 1509, directly proclaimed his *magnificenza* while its inscription channeled self-effacing concerns for humble piety. As we shall see, adherence to *mediocritas* and *humilitas*, particularly in dress, were also prominent features in public orations dedicated to Andrea's service to the Serenissima's bureaucracy on the mainland, as well as his patronage of local churches in his own *sestiere* of Cannaregio.

Black is the New Red: Redefining Sartorial Customs for Venetian Officials

One underexplored yet compelling avenue of inquiry aiding to resolve the identity of the gentleman in Titian's Copenhagen portrait involves more precise and detailed examination of the figure's costume, with which nearly every commentator on the picture has grappled. It remains necessary to clarify the nature of his apparel – both the initially red garment we know he wore in Titian's earliest composition, as well as its currently visible gradations of sumptuous black. In Venetian society and politics



16. Anonymous artist, «The Podestà of Padua», ink and watercolor drawing on paper, 18.5 × 13 cm, from *Mores Italiae*, Venice, 1575, fol. 48, New Haven, CT, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University



17. Vincenzo di Biagio (called Catena), «Portrait of a Venetian Senator», c. 1525, oil on canvas, 69.2 × 61 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Theodore M. Davis Collection, Bequest of Theodore M. Davis, 1915

from the late fifteenth through early sixteenth centuries, the type of voluminous crimson attire the original gentleman wore was known as a *toga* or *vesta* and, complemented by the black *bareta* (beret) and black *becho* or *becheto* (stole), was reserved for the dress of patrician magistrates and senators.⁸¹ An image of a Venetian *Podestà* of Padua illustrates the former type [Fig. 16], while Vincenzo Catena's *Portrait of a Venetian Senator* [Fig. 17] exemplifies portraits of the latter. Thus Wivel and Filtenborg astutely nominated Andrea Loredan as the man depicted in the underlying version of the Copenhagen portrait since he surely stood as Titian's most prestigious client then serving in the senate as well as previously in numerous magistracies, including *Podestà* of Brescia.

That the Copenhagen sitter in Titian's final composition does not appear in the crimson robes traditionally worn by Venetian officials, however, does not obviate his identity as

a senator or magistrate and, consequently, Andrea Loredan. Unlike Bellini's aforementioned group portrait in Berlin, whose large-scale oblong format and formality meant it almost certainly hung in a public government building around the city, many elements in the Copenhagen picture indicate it was conceived for a more private context. Although its canvas's dimensions conform to a scale typical of official state portraits, the lyrical, pastoral landscape vista and elegant but subdued black attire suggest instead its destination for the domestic setting of a *casa* or palace.⁸² Such a private display context must originally have been intended, for example, for Jacometto Veneziano's similar but more diminutive portrait of the Venetian patrician Alvise Contarini, who is likewise portrayed in black garb against a crepuscular, lagunar landscape [Fig. 18]; indeed, it is first recorded by Marcantonio Michiel in the palace of a Contarini relative in 1543.⁸³



18. Jacometto Veneziano, «Portrait of Alvise Contarini», c. 1485–1495, oil and gold on panel, 11.7 × 8.6 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection

In Venice, as throughout northern Italy in this period, black fabric stood out as a luxury material reserved for the highest social ranks – in life and in portraiture. It was, after all, black hued fabric that was the most demanding to produce because of the labor necessary to achieve consistent and sufficiently even dye saturation of cloth in this color. Niccolò Machiavelli, Francesco Guicciardini, and Baldassare Castiglione all advocated for black as a graceful hue that eschewed the effeminizing extravagance of more colorful and lavish costumes.⁸⁴ Venetian artists and patrons were consequently attuned to such sartorial signifiers of technical and material achievement.⁸⁵ Vasari extolled a portrait that Sebastiano del Piombo painted of Pietro Aretino, now in Arezzo, for its skillful representation of, ‘the five or six different sorts of black he is wearing: velvet, satin, sarcenet [*ormesino*],



19. Sebastiano del Piombo, «Portrait of Pietro Aretino», c. 1524–1525, oil on canvas, 155 × 110 cm, Arezzo, Palazzo Communale. Photo: courtesy of the Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio per le province di Siena, Grosseto e Arezzo – Comune di Arezzo

damask, and [wool] cloth, and a very black beard above the other blacks’ [Fig. 19].⁸⁶ Vasari’s encomium succeeds in demonstrating the taste and virtuosity of both Sebastiano and Aretino through their re-presentation of black fabric.

As opposed to the ceremonial red robes patricians were permitted to wear in their official capacities as senators or magistrates, the daily dress worn by Venetian nobles customarily serving in these roles instead exactly corresponds with the secondary sitter in the Copenhagen portrait. As Cesare Vecellio – a relative and pupil of Titian – attests in his *Degli abiti antichi et moderni di diverse parti del mondo* (Venice, 1590), published toward the end of the Cinquecento but codifying fashion trends that had persisted for some time, this particular costume was dubbed, *Habito ordinario, et commune à tutta la nobiltà*

Venetiana (everyday clothing worn by the entire Venetian Nobility) [Fig. 20]. Cesare's description of this garb is quite useful and is therefore quoted at length:

We can confidently say that the dress ordinarily worn by the Venetian nobility is the ancient Roman toga [...] worn in the summer and it has always been worn in the same way – that is, long, of black wool or *rascia* lined with *ormesino*. This is not belted but worn loose and is fastened only at the throat with small iron hooks, though some men wear silver ones. Above the collar of the gown they let just a thin border of their *camicia* show, which has very little or no embroidery. Underneath, they wear *braghesse* [breeches] [...] made of *ormesino* or satin, and this is also true of their doublet, which in great heat is usually made of thin linen; and between this and the over-gown they wear a very short undergarment also of *ormesino* or some other light fabric.⁸⁷

Thus Titian's gentleman conforms, on one hand, to the attire principally associated with the dignified dress of the nobility on more quotidian and less ceremonious occasions: a black *toga* or over-gown, in this case evidently of wool (*zambelloto*) or *rascia* – a twill fabric made in silk – with a crimson (*cremisino*) doublet made of silk (*ormesino*) underneath, and finally a white undershirt (*camicia*) usually made of silk or linen.⁸⁸ On the other hand, of course, there are exceptions to these prescriptive practices; sartorial codes at this time are marked by a certain fluidity in which non-noble Venetian and even foreign-born residents frequently imitated through splendid black costumes their patrician counterparts. Such is the case with Titian's portrait of the Spanish merchant, Giovanni Ram, inserted into the Capitoline *Baptism of Christ* (c. 1511–1514), or the Ragusan merchant, Alvise Gozzi, appearing in Titian's Gozzi Altarpiece (1520) in Ancona.

Given this phenomenon, the question of Titian's figure's class status – and corresponding identity – in SMK's portrait is complicated therefore by Cesare's further explanation that, 'This [long black *toga*] is the clothing worn not only by the nobility but also by citizens and by anybody else who wants to wear it. Almost all doctors, lawyers, and merchants wear it willingly, since, as a garment of the nobility, it confers great dignity on these others as well'.⁸⁹ Thus not only elite *gentilhuomini* (also referred to as *nobili* or *patrizi*) but also middling non-noble citizens (*cittadini*), frequently from the merchant class, ordinarily both wore long black *togae* with sleeves in balloon (*à gomito*) or straight (*ristretto*) configurations, complemented by a black *becho* and black *bareta*. From the late fifteenth through sixteenth centuries, this costume effectively distinguished these groups within the republic's caste from the rest of the Venice's lower *popolari* comprising manual laborers and artisans. As Monika Schmitter has deftly elucidated, tensions but also slippages in these politically and socially charged sartorial boundaries between the patriciate



20. Christoph Chrieger (after drawing by Cesare Vecellio), «Habito ordinario, et commvne à tutta la nobilità Venetiana», woodcut, from Cesare Vecellio, *Degli habiti antichi et moderni di diverse parti del mondo*, Venice, 1590, fol. 105^v, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1906

and citizenry were more prevalent than previously believed; codes of dress and the status they conveyed were sharply debated by influential historiographers of Venice during this period, including Sanudo and Vecellio, but also Donato Gianotti and Gasparo Contarini.⁹⁰

Notwithstanding the overlapping custom for both nobles and *cittadini* to wear black *veste*, there exists a further, hitherto unnoticed yet crucial sartorial clue to the sitter's class status



21. Titian, «Sacra Conversazione (Virgin and Child with Saints Catherine of Alexandria and Dominic and a Donor)», c. 1513, oil on canvas, 137 × 184 cm, Corte di Mamiano, Parma, Fondazione Magnani-Rocca. Photo: © 2026 Photo Scala, Florence

within Titian's Copenhagen portrait. Aiding in identifying him with the patrician caste to which Loredan belonged are the rather large sleeves, categorized as, *à ducal* or *à dogal*, which the nobility elected to govern Venice's mainland cities were permitted to wear. This fashion denoted sleeves fabricated in a voluminous bell-like shape and loose from the elbows to the wrist with wide openings at the cuff (*maneghe aperte*), exactly like those in the Copenhagen portrait.⁹¹ The sleeves of the unknown noble donor's black *toga* in Titian's contemporaneous Magnani-Rocca *Virgin and Child with Saints Catherine of Alexandria and Dominic and a Donor* (c. 1513), for example, are carefully portrayed as

à dogal [Fig. 21], as are those of the patrician donor in Palma Vecchio's canvas of the *Madonna and Child with Saint Barbara, Saint Christine and Two Donors* (c. 1508–1509), now in the Galleria Borghese.⁹²

Unfortunately, Titian's Copenhagen composition is abruptly cropped along the bottom edge of the canvas and omits the full extent of the *vesta*'s sleeves cloaking the gentleman's arms; as noted above, the artist has inexplicably obscured the figure's left arm and hand so the extent of his sleeve's dimensions remains somewhat uncertain. It is possible the portrait was trimmed along this lower margin at an unknown point but, if so,



22. Titian, «Portrait of a Man», here identified as Andrea di Nicolò Loredan (detail of Fig. 3)

it was only very slightly, to judge from the presence of primary cusping in the canvas weave along this edge, as visible in the X-radiograph.⁹³ Certainly, however, Titian's half-length composition emphasizes how the gentleman's sleeves and costume overall involve an impressive bulk of luxuriant black fabric. This contrasts sharply with Giovanni Bellini's earlier bust-length formula for men in similar black garb, produced from c. 1485–1500, in which depiction of the sitters' sleeves is intentionally omitted, presumably to accord with the Venetian ethos of *mediocritas*; Bellini's rather homogenizing approach to his models' attire has consequently confounded scholars' attempts to ascertain, at the very least, the rank of the men portrayed.⁹⁴

Therefore at present it is admittedly difficult to determine definitively whether Titian's SMK figure's sleeves are fashioned à *dogal*. Still, this appears to be the case since they neither hug closely at the wrist like the rosy *ormesino* doublet he wears nor seem to curve inward where the canvas's lower edge terminates, to suggest the type of close-fitting cuffs worn by non-noble citizens. Regardless, they are open at the elbows and required a considerable amount of material to construct, making them quite costly and certainly atypical of *cittadino* garb or that worn by a tradesperson or artist.⁹⁵ Thus the connection of the portrait with Giovanni Bellini should, once again, be seriously questioned in the literature.



23. Titian, «Portrait of a Man», here identified as Andrea di Nicolò Loredan (as in Fig. 3), detail showing the fur lining of the *toga* sleeves

Furthermore, upon close inspection, Titian has subtly indicated that the figure is indeed attired in the dress of a nobleman: hints of grey fur poke out in irregular intervals along the central vertical seam of the *vesta* as well as line its cuff, rendered in a series of rapid, staccato brushstrokes [Fig. 23]. As Jola Pellumbi reminds us in her study of Venetian costume in this period, ‘robes à *ducal* made of black wool lined with various furs were also probably used for everyday wear, since the majority of patrician office holders frequently wore robes à *ducal* in black’.⁹⁶ The nobleman in Bonifacio de’ Pitati’s *Portrait of a Man* (c. 1530–1540) in the Uffizi, almost certainly depicting a senator and based on Titian’s Copenhagen prototype, also exemplifies this kind of fur-lined black *vesta* sported by Venetian officials [Fig. 24].⁹⁷

In this way, Titian’s depiction of SMK’s portrait’s gentleman in a black *vesta* does not preclude his identification as a senator or magistrate but instead encourages the belief that the picture

was conceived for a domestic setting. In contrast to official state images, many of Titian’s early portraits, prior to 1520, fit this pattern and were ostensibly destined for contemplation by semi-private audiences; their patrician and bourgeoisie models, whether serving in the Venetian government or not, predominantly wear elegant black garments, often more flamboyant than that of the Copenhagen sitter.⁹⁸ This phenomenon aligns with the trend Chriscinda Henry duly notes in which it became popular, especially amongst innovative artists of the younger generation working in Titian’s circle during this period to depict, ‘the personal sensibilities, taste and interests of the sitters, rather than document the public offices they held or key life events they achieved [...] elite men chose to be portrayed not in the traditional *toga* or *vesta* [...] but in fashionable, courtly ensembles of all black’.⁹⁹ As Helena Szépe has recently pointed out, over the course of the sixteenth century, it became stylish amongst some Venetian *rettori* (regional governors) – serving in the exact same



24. Bonifacio de' Pitati, «Portrait of a Man», c. 1530–1540, oil on canvas, 74.5 × 59 cm, Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi. Photo: © Gabinetto Fotografico delle Gallerie degli Uffizi

magistracies as Andrea Loredan – to be portrayed in independent oil paintings wearing the type of unofficial black attire Cesare Vecellio describes in his treatise.¹⁰⁰

It is therefore noteworthy that Titian fails to portray the aforementioned Gerolamo Barbarigo, in fact a close colleague of Andrea Loredan, in his official robes in the London portrait [Fig. 1]. Even though Barbarigo was in fact a senator and magistrate like Loredan, he sports an elegant black and peacock-hued costume suited to everyday wear.¹⁰¹ Wearing black became so stylish that the Venetian Senate and Council of Ten passed legislation in 1433, 1522, and 1536 compelling magistrates and senators to again wear their customary and official colored robes as they were entitled and expected to.¹⁰²

This sartorial penchant for voluminous black robes amongst high-ranking bureaucrats around this time is evident in, among

other images, the votive picture painted by Giovanni Bellini and his workshop of the *Madonna and Child with Saints Peter and Mark and Three Venetian Procurators*, originally displayed in the *Procuratia di Ultra* (1510) [Fig. 25]. Unlike his colleagues who wear crimson and gold respectively, the *procuratore* kneeling on the left, Tommaso Mocenigo, apparently preferred to be shown in fur-lined black robes.¹⁰³ Also opting to appear in black *togae* with black stoles and ducal sleeves in their official images for the Venetian Magistrato della Zecca are the superintendents Gerolamo Pesaro and Francesco Trevisan, portrayed by Benedetto Diana with their eponymous saints in a large votive picture of about 1486 [Fig. 26].¹⁰⁴ Regardless of whether Titian's Copenhagen portrait was ordered for a public or private space, it would therefore be unsurprising if Andrea Loredan elected to be similarly portrayed in black attire.



25. Giovanni Bellini (and workshop), «Madonna and Child with Saints Peter and Mark and Three Venetian Procurators», 1510, oil on canvas, 91.7 × 150.1 cm, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum



26. Benedetto Rusconi (called Diana), «Madonna and Christ Enthroned with Saint Francis of Assisi, Saint Jerome, and Two Donors», 1486, oil on canvas, 94.5 × 176.1 cm, Venice, Galleria Giorgio Franchetti alla Ca' d'Oro.
Photo: Direzione regionale Musei nazionali Veneto, by permission of the Ministero della Cultura



27. View from the nave of the Capella Loredan (completed 1514, with seventeenth-century additions) and the apse, Church of San Michele in Isola, Venice. Photo: Cassy Juhl & Pilar Peters, 2007; image courtesy of the Media Center for Art History © The Trustees of Columbia University



28. Giovanni Bellini and assistants, «Madonna and Child with Four Saints and Pietro Priuli», 1511–1513, three wood panels mounted in a modern frame, central panel 131.5 × 55.2 cm; left panel 131.9 × 55.2 cm; right panel 131.2 × 55.2 cm, Düsseldorf, Staatliche Kunstakademie, on permanent loan to the Museum Kunst Palast, Düsseldorf. Photo: Kunstpalast – ARTOTHEK

Dressing for Devotion: Black Garb & Patrician Piety

There is evidence that some of the *togati* within Loredan's devotional circles sought to be commemorated in public imagery exactly in the manner of Titian's Copenhagen portrait, that is, sporting splendid yet solemn black robes. Loredan belonged to the network of humanist patrician intellectuals active in the congregations of the Church of San Michele in Isola in the Venetian lagoon and, to a lesser extent, the Church of Santa Maria dei Servi, located just north of the Ca' Loredan in Cannaregio.¹⁰⁵ It was Loredan's financial and spiritual dedication to the Camaldolese community at San Michele that led the monks to grant him the honors of *procuratore* and *iuspatronato*, entitling him and his wife to exclusive burial rights in the *cappella maggiore*, which came to be known as the *Cappella Loredan* [Fig. 27]. There he was interred in 1513 after establishing his funerary monument decorated with *spalliere* fabricated from precious imported stone and textiles, marble benches, and plaques inscribed with heroic epitaphs proclaiming his reverence and virtues.¹⁰⁶

Loredan was among several noble patrons at San Michele who commemorated his pious virtue through decoration of his familial chapel within the church. As one scholar concluded, 'this noble group of Venetian clans – Donà, Loredan, Zorzi, Delfin – collectively formed perhaps the most influential gathering of patrons in the Republic'.¹⁰⁷ Added to this was Loredan's peer, the Venetian senator, Pietro Priuli (1421–1493), best remembered as the patron of Giovanni Bellini's votive altarpiece for his funerary chapel at this same church [Figs 28–29]. Despite achieving lofty status within the Venetian government, Priuli appears in the picture in plain black robes and black headgear. As the abbot and General of the Camaldolese Order, Pietro Dolfin, recounts, Priuli was renowned for his modesty and devout, austere manner of living.¹⁰⁸ Although Priuli had attained the prestigious post of *Procuratore de Supra*, Bellini depicts him exactly as he insisted on being remembered in his will: in the everyday black *toga* of a nobleman rather than sumptuously patterned velvet as befit his stately office.¹⁰⁹



29. Giovanni Bellini and assistants, «Madonna and Child with Four Saints and Pietro Priuli» (as in Fig. 28), detail

In a similar vein is the donor portrait of an anonymous Venetian senator in the votive panel painted in 1526 for the right outer door of the organ shutters at San Michele. Matching Priuli and the Copenhagen gentleman's garb, this unidentified noble donor wears a somber but elegant black *toga* and white *camicia* as he approaches the enthroned Saint Romuald alongside Doge Pietro Orseolo [Fig. 30].¹¹⁰ It is difficult to ascertain at present the degree to which this understated mode of black dress constituted a full-fledged trend for patrician patrons associated with San Michele from the late fifteenth through early sixteenth century; unfortunately, no likenesses survive of Marco Zorzi, who commissioned Bellini's *Resurrection* altarpiece (c. 1475–1477) now in Berlin, nor Pietro Boldù, who commissioned Cima da Conegliano's *Virgin and Saints* altarpiece (c. 1495–1497), also now in Berlin, but both originally installed within chapels at San Michele.¹¹¹

Further cause perhaps for Loredan to adopt all black attire in any portrait made of him was his close ties to the Servite order, who traditionally donned black habits. Loredan made an exceptional gift to the Venetian church of Santa Maria dei Servi, located in his own *sestiere* in Cannaregio several blocks north of Ca' Loredan on the Rio di San Marcuola. Indeed, his support of the church and dedication to the Servites are intimately connected with a crucial turning point in his life that may have preceded – or even precipitated – his desire to commission his portrait. It has gone virtually unmentioned in the literature on Loredan that his return to Venice from service afield in the Friuli in 1509 was triggered by a grave illness he suffered in Udine towards the end of his term there as *Luogotenente* during autumn of that year. As the Udinese humanist and professor Girolamo Amaseo reports, Loredan miraculously recuperated from an unnamed but apparently serious malady after committing his soul to the care of the Servite friar and preacher, the blessed Bonaventura Tornielli da Forlì, whose local cult had blossomed in Venice and Udine following his death in 1491. As an act of gratitude, when Loredan departed Udine on 26 February 1509, he personally translated the bodily remains of Bonaventura back to Venice and donated them to the Servi's monks for installation at the high altar.¹¹²

Antonio Mazzotta has duly hypothesized that Loredan's poignant bestowal of Bonaventura's relics to the clerics at Santa Maria dei Servi spurred the commission of Giovanni Bellini's stunning *Lamentation* altarpiece, which may, as Carolyn Wilson proposed, have originally also been placed at the church's high altar (c. 1513–1514) [Fig. 31].¹¹³ It is reasonable to presume that Loredan may have sought to commemorate his improbable restoration of health and reintegration into Venetian society by also ordering a portrait around this time from an artist in Bellini's ambit, one with whom he was already connected; Titian would have been a logical choice. In any case, it has been suggested that Bellini inserted either the blessed Bonaventura or the major saint

30. Giovanni da Asola and Bernardino da Asola, «Doge Pietro Orseolo with an Unidentified Nobleman in front of Saint Romuald», 1526, oil on panel, 363 × 184 cm, Venice, Museo Correr. Photo: Fotoflash © Photo Archive – Fondazione Musei Civici di Venezia



of the Servites, Filippo Benizzi, into the crowd of mourners within Bellini's *Servi Lamentation*, making him easily identifiable by his signature black robes.¹¹⁴ Hypothetically, Loredan's decision to appropriate – or at least allude to – the humble costume of the Servites in a commissioned portrait would be logical, given his devotion to the order, as well as his reputation for extreme reverence in public discourse at this time.

Like his peer, Pietro Priuli, Andrea was esteemed in published orations for adopting a quasi-monastic lifestyle, even while serving prestigious appointments as a magistrate. One representative passage will suffice, presented here for the first time, from the Latin panegyric to Loredan written in 1504 by the Brescian Friar, Martino Codagnello. Recounting Loredan's piety, Codagnello, who knew Andrea personally during the latter's tenure in Brescia as *Podestà*, describes how:

[...] instead of the snare of dice and game boards he always had the psalter in hand, divine and holy laws, or various manuals on how to pray and meditate. Instead of dinners and playful dinner guests came holy, consecrated men from the religious orders, those who are indefatigable and fervent in their worship of the Almighty God and whose speech and conversation is on eternal life and blessedness. These he patronized with such affection, such love, such friendship that one could take him for one of them [...].¹¹⁵

Consequently, and in contrast to the relative plainness to modern eyes of the monochrome black *toga* worn by Venetian patricians in Loredan's *milieu*, the garment was charged with such a multitude of virtuous associations – sartorial, political, economic, social, spiritual – that it would be unsurprising if



31. Giovanni Bellini and assistants, «Lamentation over the Dead Christ with the Virgin and Saints Joseph of Arimathea, Mary Magdalene, Martha, and Bonaventura Tornielli da Forlì (?)», c. 1510–1516, oil on canvas, 445 × 310 cm, Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia. Photo: © Archivio fotografico G.A.V.E, courtesy of the Ministero della Cultura – Gallerie dell'Accademia di Venezia

Andrea elected to be portrayed this way. Certainly, sporting a black *toga* or *vesta* constituted a more widespread practice than previously believed, as the examples of Venetian officials enumerated above demonstrate. Beyond signaling a fashionable yet honorable balancing of Venetian codes of *magnificenza* with *mediocritas*, black apparel could evoke its wearer's powerful spiritual and political dedication to the Serenissima, as showcased in artworks produced within Loredan's personal network of Camaldolese and Servite patrons.

Yet the question remains as to who Titian initially depicted in his SMK canvas. One very appealing candidate is the Venetian nobleman Vincenzo Querini (1478/79–1514), who at present is not known to have been a client of Titian. Nevertheless, the freshly revealed parameters involving SMK's portrait's earlier sitter's costume, class, and age all correspond with Querini's circumstances around 1511, when Titian could feasibly have begun but subsequently canceled the first composition of the canvas.¹¹⁶ Querini belonged to the scholarly circle of young Venetian patricians who earned doctorates in the arts from the University of Padua in 1498 and would form, along with Pietro Bembo, the famous *Compagnia degli Amici* in Venice during the first decade of the Cinquecento.¹¹⁷ He was also closely involved, like Loredan, with the group of fervently pious noble humanists centered upon the Camaldolese congregation at San Michele in Isola in this period. Vincenzo balanced his spiritual and literary activities with a prestigious diplomatic career serving Venice from 1504 to 1511, during which time he traveled extensively throughout England, Spain, Germany, the Low Countries, and Italy. Ultimately, however, he abruptly resigned his political duties in November 1511 to dedicate himself to the contemplative life and left Venice to assume orders as a Camaldolese monk at Camaldoli in February 1512.

It is tempting to consider that Vincenzo Querini may have commissioned his portrait from Titian in 1511. The occasion for it may have originated with a particular precept set forth in the *Leggi della Compagnia degli Amici*, stipulating that all members have their portrait painted; alternately, it may have been ordered as an official image commemorating the conclusion of his major diplomatic campaign abroad in this year.¹¹⁸ Querini's service as an ambassador, as well as his age of around thirty-two years old, fittingly explain the first gentleman's distinctive costume and comparatively youthful appearance, meshing well with the discernible features of Titian's initial model in the IRR. Querini certainly had many connections to Titian and Loredan. He may have become acquainted with Titian through the Bembo family, since Vasari reported how Titian had painted Pietro's portrait some time before February 1512; Titian had almost certainly already delivered his early *Tobias and the Archangel Raphael* (c. 1508, Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia; cat. 1171), likely intended to honor Pietro's father, Bernardo Bembo, whose illustrious career, likewise, as a foreign ambassador for Venice is

well documented.¹¹⁹ Alternately, Querini could have met the artist through Titian's aforementioned patron, Gerolamo Barbarigo, who also belonged to the *Compagnia degli Amici*. It is plausible, finally, that Querini knew Titian through Andrea Loredan, who was as previously mentioned closely involved with the Camaldolese community at San Michele in Isola, where he was ultimately interred, and whose congregation boasted an extensive library, scriptorium, and group of humanists that must have attracted Querini, notably Bernardino Gadolo, Pietro Dolfin, and Nicolò Malermi.¹²⁰

Given Querini's somewhat sudden withdrawal from his ambassadorship and Venice, it is logical that Titian may have been forced, as a result, to abandon an image begun of Vincenzo in diplomatic regalia and replace it with a new one featuring a different model. Presumably, Vincenzo would soon have little use within his impending monastic lifestyle for a portrait celebrating his material successes. His decision to abandon his political duties in Venice at a time when the city was under considerable threat also provoked serious backlash within his professional and social circles.¹²¹ This may further explain the cancelation of his image by Titian's studio. Before leaving Venice, he complained in letters of difficulties liquidating his assets and divesting himself of his possessions in preparation for rustication as a hermit at Camaldoli. In one highly suggestive passage, probably from spring 1511, he laments that several items of his clothing could not be sold at any price, specifically, 'one of black velvet, the other of scarlet'.¹²² Could these refer to his ambassador's *vesta* and black *becho* that appear in Titian's initial portrait? In the absence of documentary evidence, Querini's status as the Copenhagen canvas's first sitter must remain a hypothesis for now. Yet Querini and Loredan's mutual association at San Michele perhaps explains why Titian so readily secured a substitute sitter, presumably Andrea, for his previously discontinued portrait.

A *Proveditore* Portrait? Some New Proposals

In the end, it is not possible to establish with absolute certainty that Andrea di Nicolò Loredan is in fact the sitter in Titian's *Portrait of a Man* in Copenhagen. However, he does emerge as the most fitting candidate in light of the highly compelling, albeit circumstantial, accumulation of evidence freshly adduced in the foregoing study. None of Titian's other known clients active within the period the portrait was produced better suits the hitherto anonymous gentleman's identity than Andrea Loredan. It is possible that the finished portrait captures the likeness of a heretofore undocumented client of Titian, but there is no evidence to suggest this. In addition to the alignment of Loredan's age and patronage patterns with the sitter's appearance and dating of the portrait, later inventories of the Ca' Loredan consistently

record a portrait by Titian strongly resembling SMK's picture. In the absence of inventories of Loredan's palace from the sixteenth century, it is reasonable to infer that long-standing legal trusts instituted by Andrea and successive owners of the *palazzo* restricted dispersal of the pictures he had assembled there – until the mid-Settecento.

The question remains as to how a portrait by Titian, one of them plausibly the picture now in Copenhagen, might have left the former Loredan palace. It is possible that the two portraits of senators attributed to Titian and recorded in 1664 in the former Loredan palace are the same ones mentioned in the 1730 inventory of Francesco Grimani Calergi; however, the notary compiling the latter indicates no authorship of any artworks listed in the palace.¹²³ Mention of neither any portraits of senators nor pictures by Titian occurs in the 1738 inventory of the *palazzo*'s collection when Vettore Grimani Calergi made his will.¹²⁴ It is therefore likely that the portraits by Titian located in the former Ca' Loredan in the Seicento were sold off from the palace by 1730–1738 – or at least sometime in the later seventeenth to early eighteenth century, as Filippo Pedrocco has suggested about other paintings in this collection.¹²⁵ This was evidently the exact same time Sebastiano's *Judgment of Solomon* departed the *palazzo* as well.¹²⁶ Although it must remain a hypothesis at this point, it is enticing to consider the possibility that the Copenhagen picture was among those attributed to Titian that left the palace after 1730. This somewhat tenuous theory, if corroborated in the future by further evidence, nevertheless potentially enriches our understanding of SMK's portrait's provenance before it entered the Bossi collection in 1828.¹²⁷

In any case, further examination of the gentleman's distinctive black garb in the Copenhagen portrait, enhanced by new technical imaging, allows for several novel conclusions to be drawn. First, Titian recycled his canvas, apparently for one of the first times in his career, initiating a portrait of a younger, almost certainly patrician official who presumably served as an ambassador. Second, Titian's revision of the canvas involving overpainting of the costume from crimson to black likely stemmed from a specific sartorial preference or request made by the secondary, older sitter. Third, and contrary to conventional understanding, on certain occasions high-ranking Venetian *patrizi* elected to be portrayed in group or individual portraits, particularly votive images, wearing black *veste à dogal* – instead of the normative crimson robes. There is no single or definitive rationale as to why such dress of this hue was preferred, since the color black was decidedly overdetermined in northern Italian male fashion.

Black apparel embodied manifold layers of meaning in Cinquecento Venice that patrician patrons achieving the highest bureaucratic positions leveraged to distinguish themselves from their noble peers. Thus Titian's figure's sumptuous *vesta*, with its fur lining and apparently *à dogal* sleeves, repudiates the current claim that Andrea Loredan should be excluded as

the potential model. Instead, the wearing of such black apparel in fact accords with Venetian codes of dress involving portraiture of government officials of Loredan's rank and status, this hue being particularly favored among elite clients within his devotional circles. Consequently, the name of Giovanni Bellini should now be seriously reconsidered in connection with the portrait; after all, Bellini labored self-consciously to cultivate a distinctively *cittadino* identity for himself.¹²⁸

If the sitter is accepted as Andrea Loredan, it could be that he was under pressure from the Venetian government to tone down his personal – including sartorial – extravagance following both his temporary exile then alarming association with the infamous Udinese rebel, Antonio Savorgnan. Sumptuary legislation and wartime austerity surely also curtailed preferences for ostentatious dress. Additionally, it is possible the Copenhagen picture constitutes a posthumous, commemorative portrait of Loredan, whose stately *vesta* Titian revised after his death to signal the customary dark mourning attire Venetian nobles wore for funerals.¹²⁹ Regardless, the switch to darker apparel brings the sitter into general alignment with the fashions of Titian's other images of bourgeoisie and noble clients from this time. SMK's portrait in fact establishes an early and durable prototype within the long series of autonomous portraits of elite men dressed in black Titian produced through the 1540s; he apparently relished the pictorial challenge of layering nearly monochromatic textiles of varying textures and finishes upon the male physique. Unlike most of these courtly, foppish costumes, however, the Copenhagen nobleman's attire conforms to the everyday wear of the office-holding Venetian patriciate, indicating the portrait's destination within the private sphere of a palace or noble casa; the sitter's placement within an interior framed by a bucolic landscape view argues for this context as well.

Ultimately, it is most tempting to link the genesis of SMK's portrait to several momentous events in the public life of Andrea Loredan. It would be perfectly logical for him to commission a semi-private portrait to commemorate not only his miraculous restoration of health in 1509, but also his reconsolidation of political power as he reintegrated into the bureaucratic nerve-center of metropolitan Venice after serving far afield in Udine. Despite Loredan's refusal of duty in 1509 in the Friuli that led to his temporary banishment, his fortunes quickly rebounded. He once again was granted high posts within the government as one of the *Capi del Consiglio dei Dieci* in October 1510 and March 1511, as well as a sword-bearer in ducal processions and ceremonies in the latter year.¹³⁰ His reversal of fate occurred so abruptly that it scandalized Sanudo and his peers.¹³¹ It is plausible therefore that Titian's portrait could have celebrated and aided in this restoration of his reputation – its dating to c. 1511 on stylistic grounds coinciding with these occasions.

Conversely, it is equally plausible that the portrait could date to the summer of 1513, a year or two later than traditionally



32. Titian, «Portrait of Jacopo di Andrea Dolfin», c. 1532–1535, oil on canvas, 104.9 × 90.9 cm, Los Angeles, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, gift of The Ahmanson Foundation (M.81.24). Photo: © Museum Associates/ LACMA



33. Giovanni Maria Pomedelli, «Portrait medal of Giovanni Emo, Podestà of Verona», 1527, bronze, diam. 5.17 cm, 53.64 g, Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art, Samuel H. Kress Collection

proposed. At the apex of his prestigious career, Loredan very likely desired to mark his propitious yet perilous election as *Provveditore Generale di Terraferma* in June 1513.¹³² This constituted his loftiest appointment yet, and one that required him to depart Venice, his wife, and newly renovated palace to oversee the martial conflict embroiling Vicenza. It has been amply demonstrated that serving in Venice's *terraferma* or *stato da mar* empires in military or magisterial roles often prompted noblemen to commission their portraits in a variety of media and formats. As Peter Humfrey convincingly argued, for example, Titian's *Portrait of Jacopo di Andrea Dolfin* (c. 1532–1535) surely celebrates the nobleman's election as *Podestà* of Treviso, the most important office of his career [Fig. 32].¹³³ Helena Szépe has adroitly studied how numerous patrician *procuratori* and those dispatched as *rettori* to Venice's mainland dominions frequently marked their appointments by ordering painted portraits to adorn their *ducali* or *Commissioni*, the codices documenting their oaths and regulations for these offices.¹³⁴ Medallion portraits related to these posts also became popular, such as that made for Giovanni Emo, the *podestà* appointed to Verona in 1527 [Fig. 33].¹³⁵

The demand from Venetian rectors stationed afield for independent painted portraits became so prevalent that some, according to Ridolfi, would solicit Titian's expertise about who should capture their likeness. For those assigned to Bergamo, the painter recommended they 'have themselves portrayed by

[Giovanni Battista] Moroni because he will paint them true to nature'.¹³⁶ This anecdote, if accurate, implies Titian may have specialized at one point in autonomous portraits of *rettori*, a sub-genre of pictures that merits further consideration but is, lamentably, beyond the scope of the present study.

Thus a multitude of Venetian patricians of Loredan's caste bolstered their political careers through service as *rettori* on the *terraferma* and, in turn, sought to showcase these official roles through portraiture.¹³⁷ To be sure, the Copenhagen picture's deep Arcadian vista constitutes a reoccurring *topos* in Venetian portraiture at this time. Yet Titian's insertion of the pastoral vista, carefully expanded in several stages of execution, along with his revision of the sitter's pose from a frontal to sidelong gaze out the window, implies the landscape's importance to the present gentleman's identity. That the sitter was somehow involved officially in affairs on the mainland, as Andrea Loredan was, might be one explanation. It is perhaps more than coincidence, too, that Codagnello compared Loredan's 1504 duties on the *terraferma* as *Podestà* in Brescia to a watchful shepherd safeguarding its flocks; it was this leadership, Codagnello explains, that enabled Brescian citizens', 'living in perfect peace and tranquility'.¹³⁸

Titian's figure's wistful yet resolute posture and preoccupied gaze toward the landscape perfectly resonate with what we know of Loredan's devotion to the republic's territories, particularly during the turmoil of the Cambrai crisis. His funerary epitaphs at San Michele underscore his sacrifices as a military commander on behalf of Venice.¹³⁹ These influential appointments dramatically shaped and propelled Loredan's professional trajectory, requiring assignments far afield in Venice's war-torn mainland territories. In November 1510, nevertheless, Loredan had energetically pursued reappointment as a *podestà*, this time in Padua, as Sanudo reports. Despite using his considerable wealth to issue rampant bribes in exchange for votes during the election held in the *Gran Consiglio*, Andrea came in second in the voting.¹⁴⁰

In this context, it is reasonable to presume that Titian's gentleman, with his twisting posture and distant gaze, as if responding to a far-off call to arms from outside the composition, appears mindful of the risks that posts on the *terraferma* entailed. His body contorts into a dynamic *contrapposto* that simultaneously registers his dutiful attention but also disquiet about the summons to action. Consignment with the Venetian forces abroad involved hazards ultimately leading Andrea to hastily draft his will in June 1513. At that time, he divulged feeling, 'otherwise unsure of returning, but that all was in the hands of God', before again fatefully acquiescing to service in Vicenza as the *Provveditore Generale di Terraferma*.¹⁴¹ In the end, if Loredan can indeed be identified as the figure portrayed, it would constitute an exciting rediscovery of the likeness of one of the premier patrons and collectors in early Cinquecento Venice, who at the time of his death, as Sanudo reminds us, 'died with a good and most excellent reputation'.¹⁴²

Dedicated to C. E. J., who is a portrait of strength, courage, and perseverance (as I have always known).

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¹ Although roughly twenty portraits of male figures ascribed to Titian are extant from this period, little scholarly consensus exists concerning their attribution, dating and the identities of their sitters. See the essential contributions by P. Joannides, *Titian to 1518. The Assumption of Genius*, New Haven and London, 2001, pp. 203–235; *idem*, 'Le jeune Titien portraitiste', in *Titien, l'étrange homme au gant*, ed. by C. Brothier, exh. cat. Ajaccio, Palais Fesch–Musée des Beaux-Arts, 24 June – 27 September 2010, Cinisello Balsamo, 2010, pp. 13–83; H. E. Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian. Complete Edition*, London, 1971, vol. II, pp. 10–15; and the catalogue entries by A. Ballarin, V. Romani, and J. Habert in *Le siècle de Titien. L'Âge d'or de la peinture à Venise*, ed. by M. Laclotte and G. Nepi Sciré, exh. cat. Paris, Grand Palais, 9 March – 13 June 1993, Paris, 1993, pp. 351–354, cat. no. 45, pp. 367–374, cat. nos 51–55. For difficulty identifying sitters in this period, see the catalogue entry by D. Bohde in *Titian and the Renaissance in Venice*, ed. by B. Eclercy, H. Aurenhammer, exh. cat. Frankfurt am Main, Städel Museum, 13 February – 26 May 2019, Munich, 2019, pp. 152–155, cat. nos 51–52.

² *Tiziano 1508: agli esordi di una luminosa carriera*, ed. by R. Battaglia, S. Ferrari, and A. Mazzotta, exh. cat. Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia, 9 September – 3 December 2023, Florence, 2023; A. Rosenauer, *Titian, The Grimani Risen Christ: An Early Masterpiece*, Munich, 2016; *idem*, 'An unknown early work by Titian', *The Burlington Magazine*, 155, 1327 (Oct.), 2013, pp. 660–664; and I. Artemieva, 'New light on Titian's "Flight into Egypt" in the Hermitage', *The Burlington Magazine*, 154, 1306 (Aug.), 2012, pp. 4–11.

³ G. Tagliaferro, 'L'Ariosto di Tiziano (Londra) non è Ariosto; e il Barbarigo non si sa chi sia', *VeneziAltrove. Almanacco della presenza veneziana nel mondo*, 4, 2005, pp. 119–128; A. Mazzotta, 'A "gentiluomo da Ca' Barbarigo" by Titian in the National Gallery, London', *The Burlington Magazine*, 154, 1306 (Jan.), 2012, pp. 12–19. Alternatively, see the suggestion that the sitter might instead be Marco Barbarigo in C. Hope, *Titian: Sources and Documents*, London, 2023, vol. V, p. 1767, n. 62.

⁴ P. Joannides, 'A Portrait by Titian of Girolamo Cornaro', *Artibus et Historiae*, 67, 2013, pp. 239–249.

⁵ J. Dunkerton, J. Fletcher, and P. Joannides, 'A portrait of "Girolamo Fracastoro" in the National Gallery', *The Burlington Magazine*, 155, 1318 (Jan.), 2013, pp. 4–15; T. Nichols, *Titian and the End of the Venetian Renaissance*, London, 2013, pp. 87–95; R. Healy, 'Portraits of Giorgio

Cornaro and His Heirs: Resolving Issues of Identity, Authorship and Patronage in Renaissance Venice and Beyond', unpublished PhD diss. University College Dublin, 2024, pp. 203–210; and *eadem*, 'Three Men and an Abbey: The Cornaro Triple Portrait', *Renaissance Studies*, 40, 1 (Feb.), 2026, pp. 97–120. Joannides's identification of Titian's model as Fracastoro has subsequently been questioned in Hope, *Titian: Sources and Documents*, vol. V, p. 1786, n. 204.

⁶ G. Dalvit, E. Peyton, *Titian's Man in a Red Hat*, New York, 2022, pp. 65–75. Dalvit has also posited a radical new dating of Titian's Frick portrait to 'the second half of the 1510s'; see *ibid.*, quoted at p. 65 and discussed in pp. 56–65. Alternatively, the sitter's identity as Pierantonio di Sanseverino has been convincingly proposed recently by L. L. Carroll, 'Venice's At-Home Diplomacy in the Early 1520s: Giovanni Cosaza, Federico II Gonzaga, and Pieroantonio di Sanseverino (Titian's *Man in a Red Hat*)', *Notizario dell'Associazione Nobiliare Regionale Veneta*, 17, 2, 2025, pp. 101–127. Cf. C. Henry, *Playful Pictures: Art, Leisure, and Entertainment in the Venetian Renaissance Home*, University Park, PA, 2021, pp. 63–68, for an illuminating discussion of the potential identity of Titian's sitter in the Frick portrait.

⁷ This gesture correlates with that found in portraits by Andrea del Castagno, *Portrait of a Man* (c. 1450, Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art; inv. no. 1937.1.17); Alvise Vivarini, *Portrait of a Man* (1497, London, National Gallery; inv. no. NG2672); and Titian, *Portrait of Gian Giacomo Bartolotti di Parma* (1518, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Gemäldegalerie; inv. no. 94). On the Alnwick portrait, whose ascription to Titian is disputed, see the discussion in Mazzotta, 'A "gentiluomo da Ca' Barbarigo"', pp. 15–16, as well as Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian*, vol. II, pp. 153–154, no. X-8, for further bibliography. M. Wivel, T. Filtenborg, 'Un'opera giovanile di Tiziano: il Ritratto d'uomo di Copenhagen', *Arte Veneta*, 69, 2012, pp. 46–47, preferred an attribution of the Alnwick portrait to Francesco Vecellio.

⁸ The IRR was captured and processed in April 2025 by the Department of Conservation and Scientific Research at Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen. I am tremendously grateful to Troels Filtenborg, formerly Senior Paintings Conservator and Senior Researcher at SMK, for generously sharing the IRR imaging and his observations about it with me. For Titian's portraits using this formula for sitters' hands during the first two decades of his career, see P. Humfrey, *Titian. The Complete Paintings*, New York, 2007, p. 47, cat. no. 14; p. 57, cat. no. 20; pp. 98–99, cat. nos 57–58; p. 123, cat. no. 74; and the catalogue entry by D. Bohde in *Titian and the Renaissance in Venice*, pp. 152–155, cat. nos 51–52.

⁹ See most recently, F. Pedrocchi, *Titian*, New York, 2001, p. 94, cat. no. 24; and Humfrey, *Titian. The Complete Paintings*, p. 60, cat. no. 23. Attribution to Titian is notably rejected in favor of Francesco Vecellio in J. Shearman, *Early Italian Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen*, Cambridge, 1983, p. 278, and Joannides, *Titian to 1518*, p. 231. This is presumably therefore why it is omitted from the important essay by Joannides, 'Le jeune Titien portraitiste', pp. 13–83. For its attribution history and further bibliography, see Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian*, vol. II, p. 105, cat. no. 43.

¹⁰ Wivel and Filtenborg, 'Un'opera giovanile di Tiziano', pp. 41–53.

¹¹ J. Rapp, 'Das Tizian-Porträt in Kopenhagen: ein Bildnis des Giovanni Bellini', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 50, 3, 1987, pp. 359–374, which followed Klára Garas's earlier nomination of Bellini as Titian's model in unpublished correspondence from 1978. These archival documents are discussed in Wivel and Filtenborg, 'Un'opera giovanile di Tiziano', pp. 49–50.

- ¹² On this debate, see J. R. Jewitt, 'Revisiting Titian's "Flight into Egypt" at Ca' Loredan, Venice', *The Burlington Magazine*, 163, 1414 (Jan.), 2021, pp. 28–33. Cf. recent affirmation of Loredan as the patron in E. M. Dal Pozzolo, *Sebastiano del Piombo da Giorgione a Raffaello e Michelangelo: un pittore musico tra Venezia e Roma (1501–1511)*, Treviso, 2024, pp. 182–183.
- ¹³ Wivel and Filtenborg, 'Un'opera giovanile di Tiziano', pp. 47–52.
- ¹⁴ An assertion made, for example, in Joannides, 'A portrait by Titian of Girolamo Cornaro', p. 242; and Joannides, 'Le jeune Titien portraitiste', p. 15. Joannides, *Titian to 1518*, p. 205, also contends that Titian generally restricted his portraiture to friends and family during his early career.
- ¹⁵ In recent scholarship on Italian fashion of the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries, examination of Venetian customs has been outpaced by studies of Florentine and central Italian conventions: T. McCall, *Brilliant Bodies: Fashioning Courtly Men in Early Renaissance Italy*, University Park, PA, 2022; E. Currie, *Fashion and Masculinity in Renaissance Florence*, New York, 2020; and *A Cultural History of Dress and Fashion in the Renaissance*, ed. by eadem, New York, 2017. Several exceptions are D. Davanzo Poli, 'Fashion in Lotto's Paintings and Documents', in *Lorenzo Lotto: Portraits*, ed. by E. M. Dal Pozzolo, M. Falomir, exh. cat. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, 19 June – 30 September 2018, London, 2018, pp. 103–117; J. Pellumbi, 'Revealing and Concealing: Official Made Dress in Early Modern Venice, 1520–1610', unpublished PhD diss. University College London, 2017; M. Capella, *Iacopo Palma e la moda italiana del Rinascimento*, Bergamo, 2015. The traditional sources for fashion in Renaissance Venice are: S. M. Newton, *The Dress of the Venetians, 1495–1525*, Brookfield, VT, 1988; D. Davanzo Poli, 'Abbigliamento Veneto attraverso un' iconografia datata: 1517–1571', in *Paris Bordon e il suo tempo: atti del convegno internazionale di studi, 28–30 ottobre 1985*, ed. by G. Fossaluzza, E. Manzato, Treviso, 1987, pp. 243–254; and L. Ozzola, *Il vestiario italiano dal 1500 al 1550: Saggio di cronologia documentata*, Rome, 1940.
- ¹⁶ The relevant literature is discussed in D. W. Maze, 'Giovanni Bellini: Birth, Parentage, and Independence', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 66, 3 (Fall), 2013, pp. 783–823; *idem*, 'The Life of Giovanni Bellini', in *Giovanni Bellini: Landscapes of Faith in Renaissance Venice*, ed. by D. Gasparotto, exh. cat. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, 10 October 2017 – 14 June 2018, Los Angeles, 2017, pp. 38–41, and *idem*, *Young Bellini*, New Haven and London, 2021, pp. 26–29, and on the historiography regarding his birthdate, pp. 124–137. The most detailed refutation of Maze's proposal is M. Lucco, 'Gli anni giovanili (circa 1460–1480)', in M. Lucco, P. Humfrey, and G. C. F. Villa, *Giovanni Bellini: Catalogo ragionato*, Ponzano Veneto [TV], 2019, pp. 276–280.
- ¹⁷ A. Dürer, *Schriftlicher Nachlass*, Bd. I: *Autobiographische Schriften, Briefwechsel, Dichtungen, Beischriften, Notizen und Gutachten, Zeugnisse zum persönlichen Leben*, ed. by H. Rupprich, Berlin, 1956, p. 44.
- ¹⁸ Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Gemäldegalerie, inv. no. 83, which was also noted by Wivel and Filtenborg, 'Un'opera giovanile di Tiziano', p. 51.
- ¹⁹ Noted in J. P. Gersbøll, 'Selvfremstillingens kunst i 1500-tallets Italien: Ph.d.-afhandling om forholdet mellem portrætmaleri og selvfremstillingsformer i høj- og senrenæssancens Italien, cirka 1490–1600, belyst med udgangspunkt i syv værker fra Statens Museum for Kunst og Nivaagaards Malerisamling', unpublished PhD diss. Københavns Universitet, Copenhagen, 2016, p. 96. On this topic, see F. Cazzola, *Im Akt des Malens. Aspekte von Zeitlichkeit in Selbstporträts der italienischen Frühen Neuzeit*, Munich, 2013; J. Woods-Marsden, *Renaissance Self-Portraiture: The Visual Construction of Identity and the Social Status of the Artist*, New Haven and London, 1998. Two of Titian's self-portraits include artists' tools, as well as his *Man with a Palm* now in Dresden, presumed to be the painter, Antonio Palma; see Humfrey, *Titian*, p. 243, cat. no. 78, p. 316, cat. no. 245, and p. 313, cat. no. 242. One could also cite, among numerous later examples, Palma Giovane's *Self-Portrait* (Milan, Pinacoteca di Brera) and Veronese's *Portrait of Alessandro Vittoria* (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art). Notable exceptions would be the self-portraits by Giorgione (Brunswick, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum) and Raphael (Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi).
- ²⁰ See the catalogue entry by K. Schütz in exh. cat. *Meisterwerke des Kopenhagener Statens Museum for Kunst im Kunsthistorischen Museum Wien*, ed. by W. Seipel, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, 1996–1997, Milan, 1997, p. 52, cat. no. 14.
- ²¹ Reproduced in Hope, *Titian: Sources and Documents*, vol. II, pp. 35–45.
- ²² For example, Joannides, *Titian to 1518*, p. 164; and Nichols, *Titian*, p. 30.
- ²³ Yet any specific rival Titian had in mind remains unnamed by him and might, as Charles Hope has suggested, refer instead to Vittore Carpaccio; see C. Hope, 'Titian's Role as Official Painter to the Venetian Republic', in *Tiziano e Venezia. Convegno internazionale di studi, Venezia 1976*, Vicenza, 1980, pp. 300–305; and *idem*, *Titian: Sources and Documents*, vol. II, p. 42, n. 2.
- ²⁴ On their contentious relationship and refutation of Hope's theory, see D. A. Brown, 'Bellini and Titian', in *Titian: Prince of Painters*, ed. by S. Biadene and M. Yakush, exh. cat. Venice, Palazzo Ducale, 2 June – 7 October 1990; Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art, 28 October – 27 January 1998, Venice, 1990, pp. 62–63, and p. 67 n. 39.
- ²⁵ If not Bellini himself, then assistants within his *bottega* would have been involved *in situ* with paintings destined for the Sala's walls opposite that assigned to Titian. On Bellini's *teleri* for this space, see the entries by P. Humfrey in Lucco, Humfrey, Villa, *Giovanni Bellini: Catalogo ragionato*, pp. 432–435, cat. nos 78, VIII–XXII.
- ²⁶ R. Goffen, *Renaissance Rivals: Michelangelo, Leonardo, Raphael, Titian*, New Haven and London, 2002, pp. 284–285, 291, 301, 385 (quoted at the latter); on Bellini as a 'rivalrous' painter beginning in 1506, see p. 19. On Titian's intervention on the *Feast of the Gods*, noted since Vasari's time, see the extensive catalogue entry by G. C. F. Villa in Lucco, Humfrey, Villa, *Giovanni Bellini: Catalogo ragionato*, pp. 582–585, cat. no. 190.
- ²⁷ It is feasible although not certain, as discussed more below, that Titian begun the Copenhagen portrait slightly later than currently believed, on the occasion of Andrea Loredan's appointment as *Provveditore di Terraferma* in June 1513. If true, this would then roughly coincide with Titian's request for a *senseria* according to the same terms as Bellini.
- ²⁸ In addition to those mentioned above, see Humfrey, *Titian: The Complete Paintings*, p. 60, cat. no. 23. In contrast, Bellini's identity is maintained in M. Lucco, 'La primavera del Mondo tutto, in ato de Pitura', in *Giovanni Bellini*, ed. by M. Lucco, G. C. F. Villa, exh. cat. Rome, Scuderie del Quirinale, 30 September 2008 – 11 January 2009, Milan, 2008, p. 21, where he also inexplicably speculates it is an 'omaggio, probabilmente postumo'.
- ²⁹ *Renæssancen i 1500-tallet*, ed. by N. Ohrt, exh. cat. Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst and Nivå, Nivaagaards Malerisamling,

- 1996–1997, Copenhagen, 1996, pp. 4–5, cat. no. 18; *Nature Strikes Back: Man and Nature in Western Art*, ed. by H. K. Poulsen, H. Holm, exh. cat. Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, 9 October 2009 – 7 March 2010, Copenhagen, 2009, pp. 35–37, cat. no. 10; *Titian*, ed. by G. C. F. Villa, exh. cat. Rome, Scuderie del Quirinale, 5 March – 16 June 2013, Milan, 2013, pp. 26–27; C. Grønne, et al., *The Enigmatic Collector, Helge Jacobsen's Pinacotheca*, Copenhagen, 2020, p. 123; *Venezia 500: The Gentle Revolution of Venetian Painting*, ed. by A. Schumacher, exh. cat. Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek, 27 October 2023 – 4 February 2024, Munich, 2023, pp. 62, 231, cat. no. 14.
- ³⁰ Bonifacio de' Pitati ostensibly knew Titian's portrait – or at least the type he popularized of figures set against a dark interior wall pierced by a window with a landscape view – and adapted it in his *Portrait of a Man* (c. 1527–1530), made roughly two decades later; see the catalogue entry by P. Humfrey in P. Cottrell, P. Humfrey, *Bonifacio de' Pitati*, Treviso, 2021, p. 336, cat. no. 43.
- ³¹ C. Gandini in *Tiziano, le lettere*, ed. by C. Gandini, et al., Cadore, 1977, notes to pls 24–25; Gersbøll, 'Selvfremstillingens kunst', pp. 96–98; S. Hale, *Titian: His life*, New York, 2012, p. 140.
- ³² Wivel and Filtenborg, 'Un'opera giovanile di Tiziano', pp. 43–44.
- ³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 47–49.
- ³⁴ See the catalogue entry by G. C. F. Villa in Lucco, Humfrey, and Villa, *Giovanni Bellini: Catalogo ragionato*, pp. 517–519, cat. no. 148; and A. M. Schulz, 'A Portrait of Giovanni Emo in the National Gallery of Art', *Studies in the History of Art*, 9, 1980, pp. 7–11. C. Vecellio, *Degli habit antichi et moderni di diverse parti del mondo*, Venice, 1590, p. 84, describes how this style *bareta* was worn by ambassadors in paintings by Vittore Carpaccio. Cf. the hat worn by the father of Titian's close friend and patron, Pietro Bembo, in Hans Memling, *Portrait of Bernardo Bembo* (c. 1474, Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen; inv. 5), portraying the Venetian humanist and ambassador to the Burgundian court of Duke Charles the Bold. Within Titian's *oeuvre*, a similar cap is worn by one of the Pharisees in the *Christ and the Adulteress* (Glasgow, Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum; inv. 181, 2383).
- ³⁵ See the entry by S. Facchinetti in *In the Age of Giorgione*, ed. by S. Facchinetti, A. Galansino, exh. cat. London, Royal Academy of Arts, 12 March – 5 June 2016, London, 2016, pp. 40–41, cat. no. 1. Another notable analogue, despite the differing costume, would be the young man with a feathered cap in Titian's *Concert* (c. 1512; Florence, Palazzo Pitti; inv. 1912, no. 185).
- ³⁶ Wivel and Filtenborg, 'Un'opera giovanile', p. 44.
- ³⁷ On Titian's practice of reusing supports, particularly with underlying portraits, see recently P. Joannides, 'A Studio Version of Titian's *Baptism of Christ*', *Artibus et Historiae*, 80, 2019, pp. 169–176; N. Bakirtzis, et al., 'Painting Layers and Secrets of a Reused Canvas: Titian's *Ecce Homo* in the Pittas Collection', in *Titian: Themes and Variations*, ed. by P. Humfrey, Florence, 2022, pp. 115–127; and P. Humfrey, in *ibid.*, 'Titian and the Theme of *Venus with a Mirror*', p. 136.
- ³⁸ For this underlying composition, see Artemieva, 'New Light on Titian's "Flight into Egypt"', pp. 7–9; J. Dunkerton, M. Spring, 'Titian's Painting Technique before 1540', *National Gallery of Art Technical Bulletin*, 34, 2013, p. 33, cat. no. 1.
- ³⁹ Newton, *The Dress of the Venetians*, p. 9.
- ⁴⁰ Traces of peach pigment embedded in the canvas weave are visible in the area corresponding to the figure's proper left hand, suggesting flesh tones and that it is perhaps gloveless.
- ⁴¹ D. Scarisbrick, *Rings: Symbols of Wealth, Power, and Affection*, London, 1993, pp. 42–45.
- ⁴² On Sabellico, see M. L. King, *Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance*, vol. II, Princeton, 1986, pp. 425–427; and R. Chavasse, 'The "*Studia Humanitatis*" and the Making of a Humanist Career: Marcantonio Sabellico's Exploitation of Humanist Literary Genres', *Renaissance Studies*, 17, 1 (March), 2003, pp. 27–38.
- ⁴³ M. Sabellico, *De praetoris officio*, Venice, 1490; reprinted in *idem*, *Opera*, Venice, 1502, fol. 108^r.
- ⁴⁴ See note 7 above.
- ⁴⁵ For revisions to Titian's *Flight*, see Joannides, *Titian to 1518*, pp. 39–40; Artemieva, 'New Light on Titian's "Flight into Egypt"', pp. 6–8. On the evolution of Sebastiano's *Judgment*, see K. Laing, M. Hirst, 'The Kingston Lacy Judgment of Solomon', *The Burlington Magazine*, 128, 997 (April), 1986, pp. 273–283; and K. Laing, 'The Judgement of Solomon', *The Bulletin of the Hamilton Kerr Institute*, 1, 1988, pp. 23–29. On Titian's working methods in this period, particularly in the context of his *Flight* canvas, see Dunkerton and Spring, 'Titian's Painting Technique before 1540', pp. 32–37, cat. no. 1.
- ⁴⁶ Artemieva, 'New Light on Titian's "Flight into Egypt"', pp. 6–8. For Loredan's ownership of Sebastiano's *Judgment*, see M. Hirst, *Sebastiano del Piombo*, Oxford, 1981, pp. 17–20; and Jewitt, 'Revisiting Titian's "Flight into Egypt"', pp. 28–33. It is intriguing yet unclear, and unfortunately beyond the scope of the present study, why paintings in Loredan's collection – now possibly including SMK's portrait – were consistently revised from their initial compositions. It may simply be that Loredan proved a demanding and mercurial patron who insisted upon such changes, which the teenage Titian felt compelled to oblige coming from his much older and esteemed client, although this theory must remain open to speculation at this stage.
- ⁴⁷ It would be logical that the canvas might originate with a commission by a younger relative or associate of Loredan. Although he had no children, he designated as his primary heir Andrea di Alvise Loredan, his first cousin once removed, who nevertheless is unlikely to be the sitter in Titian's first composition, since he was only around ten years old at the time; see Jewitt, 'Revisiting Titian's "Flight into Egypt"', p. 30.
- ⁴⁸ Previous X-radiography was of minimal use in ascertaining any revisions Titian made; it mostly revealed that the man's pose and face had been adjusted from their initial design, Titian merely shifting the position and orientation of the man's head from a frontal outward gaze to one that inclines toward the viewer's left in three-quarter profile. Evident, too, was the revision to the outline of the right-hand side of the man's *bareta*, indicating that portions of it may have been original to the composition and simply oriented from a different (more frontal) angle initially. Troels Filtenborg, personal correspondence, 16 August 2024.
- ⁴⁹ G. Vasari, *Le vite de' piu eccellenti pittori scultori e architettori*, Florence, 1568, vol. III, part I, p. 809: 'Ritrasse di naturale il principe Grimani et il Loredano, che furono tenuti mirabili'.
- ⁵⁰ For disambiguation from Andrea di Alvise Loredan (a relative of Andrea di Nicolò) who owned the palace in Vasari's time, see Jewitt, 'Revisiting Titian's "Flight into Egypt"', p. 30. On this branch of the Loredan clan, see Archivio di Stato di Venezia (hereafter ASV), Marco Barbaro,

- Miscellanea codici I – Storia veneta 20. Serie: Marco Barbaro: Arbori de' patritii veneti*, IV, G–M, busta 20, pp. 313–361, and for Andrea di Nicolò, p. 334. Cf. S. Bertoša, 'Gli orizzonti mediterranei della famiglia veneziana Loredan', *Atti del Centro di Ricerche Storiche di Rovigno*, 42, 2012, pp. 537–569. Hope, *Titian: Documents and Sources*, vol. V, p. 1773, n. 101, who does not link it to the Copenhagen portrait.
- ⁵¹ P. L. Rubin, *Giorgio Vasari: Art and History*, New Haven and London, 1995, pp. 11, 18, 129, 244–245, 375; C. Hope, 'The Historians of Venetian Painting', in *The Genius of Venice 1500–1600*, ed. by J. Martineau, C. Hope, exh. cat. London, Royal Academy of Arts, 25 November 1983 – 11 March 1984, London, 1983, pp. 38–40. On Vasari's potential visit to the Ca' Loredan, see C. Hope, 'The early biographies of Titian', in *Titian 500. Studies in the History of Art*, 45, Symposium Papers XXV, ed. by J. Manca, Washington, DC, 1993, p. 187; F. Pedrocchio, *Ca' Vendramin Calergi*, 2nd edn, Venice, 2004, pp. 58–59; and Artemieva, 'New Light on Titian's "Flight into Egypt"', p. 5. Despite his cogent analysis, Pedrocchio's study is of limited use since no notes or citations appear throughout the text.
- ⁵² For the complete known provenance, see Wivel and Filtenborg, 'Un'opera giovanile di Tiziano', p. 41. Having trained first with Domenico Tiepolo before establishing himself independently, Bossi presumably acquired the portrait some time during his residency in Venice until 1794, or on several return visits throughout his career. Bossi, also recorded as Johann Dominik Bossi, subsequently worked at the courts of Hamburg, Stockholm, St Petersburg, and Vienna. For his career, see H. Schöny, 'Bossi, Giovanni Domenico', in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 13, 1971: <[https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-domenico-bossi_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/>](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-domenico-bossi_(Dizionario-Biografico)/>); and S. Poglajen-Neuwall, 'Der Miniaturenmaler G. D. Bossi', *Der Cicerone*, 18, 1926, pp. 209–215.
- ⁵³ The exception is a document recording the 1581 sale of the palace first noted in R. Martinis, 'Ca' Loredan-Vendramin-Calergi a Venezia: la figura di Mauro Codussi attraverso il palazzo di Andrea Loredan (1479–1581)', unpublished PhD diss. (Università IUAV, 1996), pp. 49–50, and published in R. Martinis, 'Su un fregio all'antica: un'ipotesi per Antonio Lombardo nel palazzo di Andrea Loredan a Venezia', *Arte Veneta*, 56, 2002, pp. 31, 39–40. This contract transferred ownership of the palace, along with 'four large pictures' (unidentified in the document), from Loredan's heirs to Heinrich Julius, Duke of Brunswick-Wölffenbüttel (1528–1589).
- ⁵⁴ ASV, Giudici del proprio, Mobili, reg. 209, ff. 95^v–98^v, item 1.
- ⁵⁵ ASV, Giudici di Petizion, Inventari, busta 360, n. 12, fol. 5^v. This is published in S. Savini Branca, *Il collezionismo veneziano nel '600*, Florence, 1965, p. 119.
- ⁵⁶ ASV, Giudici di Petizion, Inventari, busta 372, n. 26, fol. 4^r: 'Dui quadri con dui teste di Ca Calergi con dui Senatori di Titiano soase de pero nero'. This inventory has been published as well in Savini Branca, *Il collezionismo veneziano nel '600*, p. 148; and C. A. Levi, *Le collezioni veneziane d'arte e d'antichità dal secolo XIV ai nostri giorni*, Venice, 1900, p. 48. The full ownership history of the palace is outlined in, among other sources, Pedrocchio, *Ca' Vendramin Calergi*, pp. 58–59. Cf. L. Olivato Puppi and L. Puppi, *Mauro Codussi*, 2nd edn, Milan, 1981, pp. 222–223.
- ⁵⁷ Images of these portraits are illustrated in the references in n. 1.
- ⁵⁸ Admittedly, elderly men were routinely portrayed in Venetian portraiture clean shaven c. 1500–1520, though the dearth of scholarship on this topic makes it difficult to generalize about such customs.
- ⁵⁹ C. Ridolfi, *Le Maraviglie dell'arte, ovvero Le vite de gl'ilustri pittori veneti*, vol. II, Venice, 1648, p. 152: '& altro d'un Vecchio raso Senatore della famiglia Grimana, è nelle case del Signore Vincenzo Grimani di Santo Ermacora veramente singolare'.
- ⁶⁰ On the Grimani and their collection at the former Ca' Loredan, including Ridolfi's mention of a portrait by Titian, see the entry, with further bibliography, by I. Cecchini, 'Grimani Calergi, collezione', in *Il collezionismo d'arte a Venezia. Il Seicento*, ed. by L. Borean, S. Mason, Venice, 2007, pp. 278–279. For Ridolfi's misidentification of Titian's sitters, see Hope, *Titian: Sources and Documents*, vol. I, lix–lx; and D. A. Brown's catalogue entry in *Bellini, Giorgione, Titian and the Renaissance of Venetian Painting*, ed. by D. A. Brown and S. Ferino-Pagden, exh. cat. Washington, National Gallery of Art and Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, 18 June – 17 September 2006, New Haven and London, 2006, pp. 264–267, cat. no. 53.
- ⁶¹ Quoted in Martinis, 'Ca' Loredan-Vendramin-Calergi a Venezia', p. 155, appendix b: 'Et volio, chem ai non la si possi vender nè impegnar [...] Et volio etiam dir queste parole, che tutti i mobili de caxa siano venduti: et fato denari, eceto i suoi ornamenti de quadri, tapezarie statoe de marmorio in discriptione di mie commissarij per ornamento di la caxa, anzi de' la patria'.
- ⁶² On Loredan's trust and subsequent *fedecommissi* in relation to his collection, see Jewitt, 'Revisiting Titian's "Flight into Egypt"', pp. 32–33; *idem*, 'Titian and Textile: Reconsidering the Loredan Collection between Venice and Brescia', *Journal of the History of Collections*, 35, 2 (July), 2023, p. 230; Cecchini, 'Grimani Calergi, collezione', p. 279; and Martinis, 'Su un fregio all'antica', pp. 31–32.
- ⁶³ P. Fortini Brown, *Private Lives in Renaissance Venice: Art, Architecture, and the Family*, New Haven and London, 2004, p. 228.
- ⁶⁴ Jewitt, 'Revisiting Titian's "Flight into Egypt"', p. 33. Titian also painted the *Risen Christ* (c. 1511) for Grimani and frescoed his palace façade; see Rosenauer, *Titian, The Grimani Risen Christ*, pp. 58–60.
- ⁶⁵ Quoted in D. Chambers and B. Pullan, with J. Fletcher, *Venice: A Documentary History, 1450–1630*, Oxford, 1992, pp. 428–429.
- ⁶⁶ The palace remained in the Calergi family from 1589 to 1634, when at the death of Marina Calergi it went to her son, Antonio Grimani. Andrea di Nicolò Loredan's heirs, in fact, had repeatedly petitioned the Venetian Signoria to dissolve the trust over the palace and liquidate its assets. Although the Signoria finally permitted sale of the Ca' Loredan by 1581, the contract recording its purchase specified that at least four large paintings were to remain installed. These are discussed in Martinis, 'Su un fregio all'antica', pp. 31–32. For Loredan's heirs' treatment of his collection, see Pedrocchio, *Ca' Vendramin Calergi*, p. 58; and Puppi and Olivato Puppi, *Mauro Codussi*, p. 223.
- ⁶⁷ The foundational sources, with reference to primary sources and archival documents, are Martinis, 'Ca' Loredan-Vendramin-Calergi a Venezia', pp. 12–29; *eadem*, 'Ca' Loredan-Vendramin-Calergi a Venezia: Mauro Codussi e il palazzo di Andrea Loredan', *Annali di architettura*, 10–11, 1998–1999, pp. 43–61; *eadem*, 'Su un fregio all'antica', pp. 17–40; Puppi and Olivato Puppi, *Mauro Codussi*, pp. 221–225. Cf. Dal Pozzolo, *Sebastiano del Piombo*, pp. 178–184; Pedrocchio, *Ca' Vendramin Calergi*, pp. 29–57; and E. Muir, *Mad Blood Stirring: Vendetta & factions in Friuli during the Renaissance*, Baltimore, 1993, pp. 116–120.
- ⁶⁸ M. Boschini, *Le minere della pittura*, Venice, 1664, p. 483; and Ridolfi, *Le Maraviglie dell'arte*, vol. I, p. 139. Attribution of these frescoes alternates; see Joannides, *Titian to 1518*, p. 127. Alternatively, that the

- Ca' Loredan contained these frescoes has recently been disputed by Hope, *Titian: Sources and Documents*, vol. V, p. 1770, n. 76; vol. VI, p. 2544, n. 6; and vol. VI, p. 2550, n. 46.
- ⁶⁹ Quoted in Martinis, 'Ca' Loredan-Vendramin-Calergi' (1996), p. 21.
- ⁷⁰ Muir, *Mad Blood Stirring*, pp. 116–120, 218; M. Sanudo, *Venice, Città Excelentissima: Selections from the Renaissance Diaries of Marin Sanudo*, ed. by P. H. Labalme, L. Sanguineti White, trans. by L. L. Carroll, Baltimore, 2008, pp. 97–102; and A. Ventura, *Nobiltà e Popolo nella società veneta del Quattrocento e Cinquecento*, Milan, 1993, pp. 146–148.
- ⁷¹ ASV, Cancelleria inferiore, Miscellanea Notai Diversi, busta 29, atti Cesare Zilolo, perg. 3045, 15 June 1513 (copy of ASV, Notarile testamenti, Bernardo Zio, busta 1058, cedola 53). Loredan's will is transcribed in full in Martinis, 'Ca' Loredan-Vendramin-Calergi' (1996), pp. 154–156, appendix b.
- ⁷² For his residency in Venice from August 1509 to June 1513, notwithstanding the brief sojourn to Friuli mentioned above, see Martinis, 'Ca' Loredan-Vendramin-Calergi' (1996), pp. 21–29; Martinis, 'Ca' Loredan-Vendramin-Calergi' (1998–1999), p. 44; and Muir, *Mad Blood Stirring*, pp. 116–120.
- ⁷³ For discussion of the literature involving various interpretations of these figures, see the entry by G. C. F. Villa in Lucco, Humfrey, and Villa, *Giovanni Bellini: Catalogo ragionato*, pp. 555–556, cat. no. 173; and S. Weppelman, 'A lunga memoria de gli aspetti e delle conoscenze loro'. Giovanni Bellini pittore di ritratti private', in Lucco and Villa, *Giovanni Bellini*, pp. 84–85. See most recently on this portrait, B. Hartweg, F. Klein, 'Giovanni Bellini, *Der Doge Loredan mit vier Begleitern*: Spurensuche zur Entstehungs- und Restaurierungsgeschichte des großformatigen Wandbildes', in *Zu Mantegna und Bellini. Provenienz, Kunsttechnologie, und Restaurierung von Werken der Berliner Gemäldegalerie*, ed. by B. Hartweg, N. Rowley, Berlin, 2022, pp. 68–85.
- ⁷⁴ Ridolfi, *Le Maraviglie dell'arte*, vol. I, p. 56: 'due suoi figlioli, & altri della famiglia'.
- ⁷⁵ On the shared ancestry of Andrea di Nicolò Loredan and Leonardo di Gerolamo Loredan (detto dal Barbaro), with reference to relevant archival sources, see Muir, *Mad Blood Stirring*, p. 316 n. 6.
- ⁷⁶ On this phenomenon, see Davanzo Poli, 'Fashion in Lotto's Paintings', p. 104.
- ⁷⁷ Gersbøll, 'Selvfremstillingens kunst', pp. 94–95; and Joannides, 'A portrait by Titian of Girolamo Cornaro', pp. 245–246. On Venetian sumptuary laws during this period, see G. Bistort, *Il magistrale alle pompe nella repubblica di Venezia: studio storico*, Venice, 1912, pp. 113–162, 373–414; and P. Fortini Brown, 'Behind the Walls: The Material Culture of the Venetian Elites', in *Venice Reconsidered: The History and Civilization of an Italian City-State*, ed. by J. Martin, D. Romano, Baltimore, 2000, pp. 295–338. On Venetian constructions of *mediocritas*, see M. Tafuri, *Venice and the Renaissance*, trans. by J. Levine, Cambridge, 1995, pp. 1–13.
- ⁷⁸ M. Sabellico, *De praetoris officio*, Venice, 1490; reprinted in M. Sabellico, *Opera*, Venice, 1502, fol. 105^v: 'secururi simus ignobilem uirtutem citius probe/mus: quam furiosam nobilitatem: magis continentem paupertatem quam rapacissimas diuitias: nemo alioqui / non plane uidet domesticum splendorem: preciosamque suppellectilem ad magistratus existimationem au/gendam: haud mediocriter spectare'. Cf. Sabellico's related treatise on Venetian administrators, *De Venetis magistratibus*, first published in Venice in 1488 and reprinted in *ibid*, fols 94^v–104^r.
- ⁷⁹ *Idem*, *De praetoris officio*, fol. 106^r: 'qui non tam superbus & sumptuosus quam nitidus & decens esse debet: & breui talis: / qui magis gratiam conciliet quam inuidiam: hoc quoque de domestica suppellectile praeci/piendum puto'.
- ⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, fol. 106^v: 'neque ornatus corporis is / sit: qui nobis inuidiam parare possit'.
- ⁸¹ Newton, *The Dress of the Venetians*, pp. 9–31. An exception would be the *cittadino* elected to serve as Grand Chancellor and permitted to wear crimson robes with sleeves à *dogal*, as in Titian's portraits of Andrea de' Franceschi; see D. Howard, 'Titian's Portraits of Grand Chancellor Andrea de' Franceschi', *Artibus et Historiae*, 74, 2016, pp. 139–151.
- ⁸² For the innovations of Titian and his circle in this regard, see M. Koos, *Bildnisse des Begehrens. Das lyrische Männerporträt in der venezianischen Malerei des Frühen 16. Jahrhunderts – Giorgione, Tizian, und ihr Umkreis*, Berlin, 2006.
- ⁸³ See most recently, A. M. Nogueira, 'Concealing Portraits in Renaissance Venice: Jacometto's Painted Box', *The Burlington Magazine*, 166, 1451 (Feb.) 2024, pp. 126–139.
- ⁸⁴ McCall, *Brilliant Bodies*, pp. 151–152.
- ⁸⁵ P. Hills, *Venetian Colour: Marble, Mosaic, Painting and Glass, 1250–1550*, New Haven and London, 1999, pp. 186–190. My conception of black-hued male attire is indebted to the indispensable analysis in McCall, *Brilliant Bodies*, pp. 151–159.
- ⁸⁶ 'cinque o sei sorti di neri che egli ha addosso, velluto, raso, ermisino, damasco e panno, et una barba nerissima sopra quei neri sfilata'. For this quotation and Vasari's assessment of the portrait, see the catalogue entry by E. Parlato in *Pietro Aretino e l'arte nel rinascimento*, ed. by A. Bisceglia, M. Ceriana, and P. Procaccioli, exh. cat. Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi, 27 November 2019 – 1 March 2020, Florence, 2019, pp. 246–247, cat. no. 6.3.
- ⁸⁷ Vecellio, *Degli habiti antichi et moderni*, fol. 106^r: 'Possiamo senza dubbio dire, che l'habito usato ordinariamente dalla nobiltà di Venetia sia l'antica Toga Romana [...] s'usa la state, & è durato sempre in uno stesso modo cioè longo, & di color nero di panno, ò di rascia foderata d'ormesino. Questo non si cigne, ma s'affibia solamente sotto la gola con alcune magliette di ferro, anchorche alcuni l'usino d'argento. Fuor del collare della vesta fanno uscire assai ben ristretto quello della camicia, che fa mostra di poco, & alle volte di Nessun lavoro. Sotto la vesta usano braghese [...] d'ormesino, ò di raso, e'l simile si dice del giubbone: il quale ne' gran caldi è per lo più il busto di tela sottile, & allhora fra quello & la vesta lunga portano una vestina pur d'ormesino ò d'altra cosa leggiera, assai corta'. English translation quoted in M. F. Rosenthal, A. R. Jones, *The Clothing of the Renaissance World: Europe, Asia, Africa, The Americas*, London, 2008, p. 158. Vecellio does not mention them, but in the woodcut accompanying this description, the figure's vesta possesses sleeves fabricated à *gomite* or à *còmeo*, unlike those of Titian's sitter, which are fashioned à *dogal*, as discussed further below.
- ⁸⁸ On these terms and their geo-political underpinnings, see Rosenthal and Jones, *The Clothing of the Renaissance World*, pp. 584, 589. Essential denotations involving uniquely Venetian fashion terminology used in this section are adapted from G. Boerio, *Dizionario del Dialetto Veneziano*, 2nd edn, Venice, 1856.
- ⁸⁹ Vecellio, *Degli habiti antichi et moderni*, fol. 106^r: 'Et questo è l'Habito usato non solamente dalla nobiltà, ma da' Cittadini, & da chiunque

- si compiace di portarlo, come fanno quasi tutti i Medici, gli Avvocati, & Mercanti, I quali tutti se ne vestono volentieri, poiche essendo Habito proprio della nobiltà, porta seco ne gli altri anchora gran riputatione'.
- 90 M. Schmitter, *The Art Collector in Early Modern Italy: Andrea Odoni and His Venetian Palace*, Cambridge, 2021, pp. 16–31.
- 91 Newton, *The Dress of the Venetians*, pp. 12, 22–23.
- 92 On Palma's canvas, see, with further bibliography, L. Attardi, 'L'esordio di Palma. La *Madonna con il Bambino* di Berlino. La *Sacra Conversazione con due committenti* della Galleria Borghese', in *Palma il Vecchio, lo sguardo della bellezza*, ed. by G. C. F. Villa, exh. cat. Bergamo, Accademia Carrara/GAMeC, 13 March – 21 June 2015, Milan, 2015, pp. 76–84. On the Magnani Rocca painting, see the catalogue entry by D. A. Brown in *Bellini, Giorgione, Titian*, ed. by Brown, Ferino-Pagden, pp. 90–91, cat. no. 10.
- 93 Troels Filténborg, personal correspondence, 8 August 2024.
- 94 For these portraits, see the catalogue entries by P. Humfrey in Lucco, Humfrey, and Villa, *Giovanni Bellini: Catalogo ragionato*, p. 467 cat. nos 103, 104, pp. 490–494, cat. nos 124–129.
- 95 One representative exception would be Lorenzo Lotto's *Portrait of Andrea Odoni* (1527; Hampton Court, RCIN 405776), which features the sitter sporting a black *toga* beneath a voluminous fur-lined black overcoat or robe; yet importantly, the *toga* lacks sleeves à *dogal* and are instead fashioned *ristretto*.
- 96 J. Pellumbi, 'The Pressures of Magnificence: Senatorial Dress in Sixteenth-Century Venice', in *Luxury and the Ethics of Greed in Early Modern Italy*, ed. by C. Kovesi, Turnhout, 2018, pp. 137–166, and quoted at p. 149.
- 97 That Bonifacio based his portrait upon Titian's is asserted by P. Humfrey in Cottrell and Humfrey, *Bonifacio de' Pitati*, p. 362, cat. no. 91.
- 98 See the references in n. 1 above, as well as the catalogue entry by D. A. Brown, in *Bellini, Giorgione, Titian*, ed. by Brown, Ferino-Pagden, pp. 276–279, cat. no. 56.
- 99 C. Henry, 'The New Golden Age: Domestic Art Collection and Arcadian Desires', in *Venezia 500*, ed. by Schumacher, pp. 37–38.
- 100 H. K. Szépe, *Venice Illuminated: Power and Painting in Renaissance Manuscripts*, New Haven and London, 2018, p. 213.
- 101 Barbarigo and Loredan were both elected as Heads of the Forty on 1 August 1509. The two both moved in learned humanist circles in northern Italy and served in several important Venetian magistracies, Barbargio as *Podestà* in Feltre, Chioggia, and Bergamo; see Mazzotta, 'A "gentiluomo da Ca' Barbarigo"', pp. 14–15.
- 102 M. M. Newett, 'The Sumptuary Laws of Venice in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries', in *Historical Essays: First Published in 1902 in Commemoration of the Jubilee of Owens College, Manchester*, ed. by T. F. Tout, J. Tait, Manchester, 1907, pp. 249–250. Since Loredan presumably became acquainted with Titian around 1507, it is tempting to consider that it was perhaps even through Loredan that Barbarigo came to know his future portraitist, Titian.
- 103 See most recently, with further bibliography, the entry by G. C. F. Villa in Lucco, Humfrey, and Villa, *Giovanni Bellini: Catalogo ragionato*, pp. 569–571, cat. no. 182.
- 104 F. Valcanover, *Ca' d'Oro. La Galleria Giorgio Franchetti*, Milan, 1986, pp. 26, 29, 32.
- 105 Martinis 'Su un fregio all'antica', p. 39, n. 97; S. D. Bowd. *Reform before the Reformation: Vincenzo Querini and the Religious Renaissance in Italy*, Leiden, 2002, pp. 61–101; Pedrocchio, *Ca' Vendramin Calergi*, pp. 24–29; V. Meneghin, *S. Michele in Isola di Venezia*, Venice, 1962, vol. II, pp. 139–142; and C. U. Cortoni, "'Con le scienze e con le lettere, con la sanità della vita inviolabile osservanza della regola e delle sante costituzioni antiche": *studia humanitatis* e *studia pietatis* nel monachesimo camaldolese', in *San Michele in Isola – Isola della conoscenza. Ottocento anni di storia e cultura camaldolese nella laguna di Venezia*, ed. by M. Brusegan, P. Eleuteri, and G. Fiaccadori, exh. cat. Venice, Museo Correr, 12 May – 2 September 2012, Venice, 2012, pp. 362–368.
- 106 Jewitt, 'Titian and Textile', pp. 233–234, with further bibliography.
- 107 R. J. Goy, *Building Renaissance Venice: Patrons, Architects and Builders c.1430–1500*, New Haven and London, 2006, pp. 157–160, and quoted on p. 159. I am grateful to Susannah Rutherglen for alerting me to this passage.
- 108 On Priuli and this work, see J. Fletcher, R. C. Mueller, 'Bellini and the Bankers: The Priuli Altarpiece for S. Michele in Isola', *The Burlington Magazine*, 147, 1222 (Jan.), 2005, pp. 5–15; and G. C. F. Villa in Lucco, Humfrey, and Villa, *Giovanni Bellini: Catalogo ragionato*, pp. 571–572, cat. no. 183.
- 109 On the dress of procurators of various offices, see D. S. Chambers, 'Merit and Money: The Procurators of St. Mark and Their Commissioni, 1443–1605', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 60, 1997, pp. 23–88.
- 110 G. Mariacher, *Il Museo Correr di Venezia. Dipinti dal XIV al XVI secolo*, Venice, 1957, pp. 87–89. Neither patron nor donor is identified for the organ shutters in the rediscovered contract, reproduced in P. Paoletti, *L'architettura e la scultura del rinascimento in Venezia*, vol. I, Venice, 1893, p. 166, n. 11.
- 111 M. Ceriana, 'Gli spazi e l'ornamento della Chiesa camaldolese di San Michele in Isola', in *San Michele in Isola*, pp. 97–109.
- 112 On this episode, see J. Benci and S. Stucky, 'Indagini sulla pala belliniana della *Lamentazione*. Bonaventura da Forlì e i Servi di Maria a Venezia', *Artibus et Historiae*, 15, 1987, pp. 54, 57; and C. C. Wilson, 'Giovanni Bellini's *Lamentation* Altarpiece for Santa Maria dei Servi in Venice: Observations and Two Proposals', in *Padua and Venice: Transcultural Exchange in the Early Modern Age*, ed. by B. Blass-Simmer and S. Weppelmann, Berlin and Boston, 2017, pp. 102–103, with further bibliography.
- 113 A. Mazzotta, *Giovanni Bellini's Dudley Madonna*, London, 2012, p. 83; Wilson, 'Giovanni Bellini's *Lamentation* Altarpiece', pp. 103–110.
- 114 On the iconography of the Servite order in paintings for the Servi at this time, see M. Massoni, 'La pittura in Santa Maria dei Servi a Venezia nel contesto artistico dell'osservanza dei Servi di Maria (1476–1570)', in *La chiesa di Santa Maria dei Servi e la comunità veneziana dei Servi di Maria (secoli XIV–XIX)*, ed. by E. Baseggio, T. Franco, and L. Molà, Rome, 2023, pp. 161–181. For competing identifications in the literature for the holy figure in the black habit, see the entry by G. C. F. Villa in Lucco, Humfrey, and Villa, *Giovanni Bellini: Catalogo ragionato*, pp. 579–581, cat. no. 188.
- 115 M. Codagnello, *Oratio ad Venetorum principem Leonardo Laurandum in commendationem magnifici Andree Lauredani*, Venice, 1504, fol. 6v: 'At pro taxillorum tabularumque uiscario semper in manibus

- psalterium: sanctae ac diuinae leges / uarii orandi ac meditandi ordines: pro conuiuio/rum cenarumque faceiis sacra sanctique religiosi: / summique regis indefessi ignitque cultores aeternae ac / felicissimae uitae: sermones uerbaque promentes: quos / ea charitate eo amore: ea familiaritate fouit: ut eo/rum alter uideretur [...]'. See Jewitt, 'Titian and Textile', pp. 232–233, for further discussion of this text.
- 116 The most complete studies of Querini are: J. Trebbi, 'Querini, Vincenzo', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 86 (2016) <[https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/vincenzo-querini_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/>](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/vincenzo-querini_(Dizionario-Biografico)/>); and Bowd, *Reform before the Reformation*, 2002, particularly pp. 60–101.
- 117 Mazzotta, 'A "gentiluomo da Ca' Barbarigo"', p. 15.
- 118 L. Bolzoni, 'I ritratti e la comunità degli amici fra Venezia, Firenze e Roma', in *Pietro Bembo e l'invenzione del Rinascimento*, ed. by G. Beltrami, D. Gasparotto, A. Tura, exh. cat. Padua, Palazzo del Monte di Pietà, 2 February – 10 May 2013, Venice, 2013, p. 215; and S. Nalezty, *Pietro Bembo and the Intellectual Pleasures of a Renaissance Writer and Art Collector*, New Haven and London, 2017, pp. 86–87, with further bibliography.
- 119 See the entry by P. Humfrey, 'Cardinal Pietro Bembo, 1539/1540', in *Online Edition: Italian Paintings of the Sixteenth Century*, 21 March 2019: <<https://www.nga.gov/research/publications/italian-paintings-sixteenth-century-0/italian-paintings-sixteenth-century-cardinal-pietro-bembo-15391540>>. This untraced portrait has been linked to Titian's *Portrait of a Man* in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Besançon in the catalogue entry by D. Gasparotto in *Pietro Bembo*, ed. by Beltrami, Gasparotto, Tura, pp. 208–209, cat. no. 3.19. For the connection of the Bembo clan with Titian's ex-Santa Caterina *Tobias and the Archangel Raphael*, see the catalogue entry by S. Ferrari in *Tiziano 1508*, ed. by Battaglia, Ferrari, Mazzotta, pp. 136–147, cat. no. 9.
- 120 On their identities and Loredan's association with this circle, see Martinis, 'Su un fregio all'antica', p. 39, n. 97; Bowd, *Reform before the Reformation*, pp. 61–101; Pedrocco, *Ca' Vendramin Calergi*, pp. 24–29; and Meneghin, *S. Michele in Isola di Venezia*, vol. I, pp. 139–142. On Gadolo, see G. Moro, 'Gadolo, Bernardino', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 51 (1998) <[https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/bernardino-gadolo_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/>](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/bernardino-gadolo_(Dizionario-Biografico)/>); on Malermi, see E. Barbieri, 'Malermi, Nicolò', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 68 (2007) <[https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/nicolo-malermi_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/>](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/nicolo-malermi_(Dizionario-Biografico)/>). For Loredan's funerary chapel, see Jewitt, 'Titian and Textile', pp. 232–233.
- 121 Bowd, *Reform before the Reformation*, pp. 70–77, 88–101.
- 122 'una de veluto negro, l'altra di scarlato'; quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 82–83, undated letter from Querini to Tommaso Giustiniani that Bowd posits was composed in March/April 1511.
- 123 The palace then belonged to Francesco di Vincenzo di Zuanne Grimani Calergi; see the inventory from 11 January 1730, ASV, Italia, Notarile, Atti, busta 7131, fols 291–315^v, no. 56: 'Due Ritratti de senatori, uno sopra l'altro soaze nere, e filli d'oro'.
- 124 His *testamento* is not cited by Pedrocco, but was drawn up by the solicitor Ettore Maffei, 13 December 1738 and is found in ASV, Notarile testamenti, Registra cum alphabetto, Testamentorum rogatorum per Hectore Maffei, Notarium, Cederalum Liber, fols 33–43; the inventory of the same year was also compiled by Maffei on 10 February 1738, ASV, Notarile, Atti, busta 9603, fols 81^v seqq.
- 125 Pedrocco, *Ca' Vendramin Calergi*, pp. 89–90, who does not, however, identify any of the inventory's contents with Titian's portrait in Copenhagen.
- 126 Jewitt, 'Revisiting Titian's "Flight into Egypt"', p. 32.
- 127 It is possible that Bossi purchased Titian's portrait in Venice some time before 1794, or when he visited the city again in 1813. It is likewise possible that he acquired the picture from the notable art dealer, Dominik Artaria, who Bossi befriended and for whom he painted several family portraits, while residing in Vienna; see Poglayen-Neuwall, 'Der Miniaturenmalers G. D. Bossi', pp. 213, 215. Many Venetian paintings by Titian and his circle flowed through Artaria's firm; see T. von Frimmel, *Lexikon der Wiener Gemäldesammlungen*, vol. I, Munich, 1913, pp. 62–66.
- 128 Nichols, *Titian*, pp. 19–20. Bellini was clearly conceived of by himself and others, including the *Consiglio dei Dieci*, as belonging to the *citadino* class, which, although still prominent within the caste of Venetian society, fell between the lower artisan and higher noble classes. In a document of 28 September 1507 issued by the Council, Bellini is referred to as, 'el fidelissimo citadin nostro Zuan Bellin'; quoted in Hope, *Titian: Sources and Documents*, vol. II, p. 37.
- 129 Vecellio, *Degli habiti antichi*, pp. 107–108.
- 130 Martinis, 'Ca' Loredan-Vendramin-Calergi a Venezia' (1996), p. 23.
- 131 *Ibidem*, p. 21.
- 132 M. Sanudo, *I Diarii di Marino Sanuto*, ed. by F. Stefani, G. Berchet, and N. Barozzi, Venice, 1886, vol. XVI, p. 381.
- 133 Humfrey, *Titian: The Complete Paintings*, p. 150, cat. no. 100; catalogue entry by P. Humfrey in *The Age of Titian: Venetian Renaissance Art from Scottish Collections*, ed. by P. Humfrey, et al., exh. cat. Edinburgh, National Galleries of Scotland, 5 August 2004 – 5 December 2004, Edinburgh, 2004, p. 122 cat. no. 34.
- 134 Szépe, *Venice Illuminated*, pp. 197–225.
- 135 J. G. Pollard, *Renaissance Medals*, vol. I, Oxford, 2007, p. 217, cat. no. 200. It is worth noting how Emo's costume of *bareta*, *vesta*, and *becho* perfectly matches the Copenhagen sitter's attire, though of course their colors are not indicated. It should be noted that this is not the same Emo portrayed by Bellini and mentioned above.
- 136 Quoted in Szépe, *Venice Illuminated*, p. 214.
- 137 M. O'Connell, *Men of Empire: Power and Negotiation in Venice's Maritime State*, Baltimore, 2009; and P. Fortini Brown, 'Becoming a Man of Empire: The Construction of Patrician Identity in a Republic of Equals', in *Architecture, Art and Identity in Venice and its Territories, 1450–1750: Essays in Honour of Deborah Howard*, ed. by N. Avcioglu, E. Jones, London, 2013, pp. 231–249.
- 138 Codagnello, *Oratio ad Venetorum principem*, fols 5^r, 10^r, quoted in *ibid.*, fol. 10^r: 'summa cum pa/ce & animi quiete degat'.
- 139 Jewitt, 'Titian and Textile', p. 133.
- 140 Muir, *Mad Blood Stirring*, p. 118.
- 141 'Avendomi a partir in questi di per andar provedador in campo et non sapendo altramente di la tornata, per oche tutto è nelle man del Signor [...]'; quoted in Martinis, 'Ca' Loredan-Vendramin-Calergi', p. 154.
- 142 M. Sanudo, *I Diarii di Marino Sanudo*, ed. by R. Fulin, Venice, 1887, vol. XVIII, pp. 181–182.

