

# Titian and textile

## Rediscovering the Loredan collection between Venice and Brescia

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*This essay presents the first critical overview of the collection and display of art objects acquired by the Venetian nobleman Andrea di Nicolò Loredan (1450–1513). It focuses on the decoration of three key sites maintained by the Loredan clan: the governor's palace in Brescia, the location and contents of which are here identified for the first time; the Loredan palace on the Grand Canal in Venice; and the Loredan funerary chapel in the church of San Michele in Isola in the Venetian lagoon. Examination of Titian's grandiose easel painting the 'Flight into Egypt' (c.1507), recently discovered to have played a crucial role within the Loredan palace, helps to elucidate the range of material and devotional agendas of the art possessed by Andrea. Critical reconstruction of the Loredan collection is achieved through fresh attention to archival records, and a little-known panegyric (1504) by the Brescian friar Martino Codagnello.*

THE Venetian nobleman Andrea Loredan (1450–1513) used the considerable wealth he accumulated to finance elaborate building projects in Venice and across the *terraferma*. Accordingly, his activities as an architectural patron are well known.<sup>1</sup> Yet full understanding of the contents and significance of his art collection – despite the evidently sizable number of paintings, tapestries, marbles and other decorative items he possessed – remains elusive. Even as exciting new studies emerge on Venetian *collezionismo* during this period, the Loredan collection remains largely unexplored.<sup>2</sup> Sixteenth-century sources are almost entirely silent on the subject, and only a scant number of objects thought to have been acquired by Andrea are now identifiable – among them, Titian's ambitious *Flight into Egypt* of c.1507 (Fig. 1).

Only recently has it been convincingly demonstrated that Loredan displayed this enormous easel painting, along with its likely pendant, Sebastiano del Piombo's *Judgement of Solomon* (c.1505–10), in the main reception hall of his *palazzo*, the Ca' Loredan on the Grand Canal, a space of the kind known in Venetian dialect as the *portego*.<sup>3</sup> Seventeenth-century visitors to the palace also report 'two large Cosmographies with figures of Ptolemy, Strabo, Pliny and Pomponius Mela', painted by Giovanni Bellini and similarly displayed in the *portego*, yet these remain

untraced.<sup>4</sup> Loredan evidently cherished his art collection, described in his will as 'all the jewels of the house', even instituting a legal trust (*fedecomesso*) forbidding its sale. The Venetian magistrate Pietro Contarini was likewise referring to Andrea's collection when he marvelled at how he had 'constructed a palace glittering with jewels'.<sup>5</sup>

It is therefore curious that the wider collecting and display practices of the Loredan have never been more seriously investigated, since the family dedicated much energy as well as resources to the ornamentation of their palace, including the acquisition of Titian's innovative easel picture. Titian's execution of such a grand landscape painting (204.0 × 324.5 cm) so early in his career marks it as a crucial commission within his professional trajectory. Two exhibitions in 2012 touted it as 'Titian's first masterpiece', as well as the most ample landscape painted in sixteenth-century Italy.<sup>6</sup> Indeed, it stands as the artist's earliest surviving large-scale canvas and among the most sizable religious or narrative scenes on canvas or panel he ever painted.

Only a handful of scholars have tentatively raised questions involving the picture's original display context within the Loredan *palazzo*. Carolyn Wilson contended that Titian's *Flight into Egypt* addressed the urgent need to uphold the Venetian Church and State



Fig. 1. Titian, *Flight into Egypt*, c.1507. Oil on canvas, 204.0 × 324.5 cm. State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg. Photograph by Vladimir Terebenin, © The State Hermitage Museum.

during a period of severe foreign threats in the Veneto.<sup>7</sup> Roberta Martinis hypothesized that Loredan's picture collection was meant to convey the virtues of good government.<sup>8</sup> Monika Schmitter mentioned the suitability of Titian's painting to the socio-political decorum then evolving for the Venetian *portego*.<sup>9</sup>

This essay builds upon and extends their admirable work by examining the Loredan family's wider collection and display practices, using Titian's surviving *Flight into Egypt* as a rare yet highly revealing reference point for Loredan's collecting tastes and strategies. It focuses anew on the decoration of three key private and public sites maintained by the Loredan: the governor's palace in Brescia, the location and contents of which are here identified for the first time; the Ca' Loredan on the Grand Canal in Venice; and the Loredan funerary chapel in the church of San Michele in Isola in the Venetian lagoon. Critical comparison of the contents of these spaces and their decorative agendas – reconstructed through archival records and a previously virtually unknown panegyric

written by a Brescian friar who knew Loredan personally – not only affords deeper understanding of the genesis of the *Flight into Egypt*, but also clarifies the hitherto poorly understood devotional and material aims of Loredan's extensive collections.

In particular, the similarities between popular textile designs and Titian's canvas that several scholars have duly noted are critically assessed. For example, Irina Artemieva hypothesized that the spatial relationship between the figures and the landscape in the composition of the *Flight into Egypt*, as well as the palette, 'make Titian's painting more like a tapestry'.<sup>10</sup> Jill Dunkerton and Marike Spring rightly conjectured that Loredan was more interested in tapestries than painting, and that a portion of the tapestries mentioned in his will possibly hung alongside the *Flight into Egypt* in the *portego*.<sup>11</sup>

On one hand, some art historians have tended to view such tapestry-like qualities and the rigidly posed figures, out of scale with their surrounding spatial planes, as incompatible with the youthful Titian's

precocious manner.<sup>12</sup> On the other hand, further specialist studies adduce iconographic, stylistic and technical details wholly consistent with Titian's *oeuvre*.<sup>13</sup> Aspects of naïvety evident in the composition are thus plausibly the result of a very young – apparently teenage – painter's lack of experience in producing large-scale easel pictures; Vasari alleged that he was 18 years old, while Titian's friend Lodovico Dolce claimed that he was 'not even twenty' at the time he painted the Fondaco dei Tedeschi frescos that were completed just before the *Flight into Egypt*.<sup>14</sup> Yet it is more likely, as we shall see, that Titian intentionally designed his picture to imitate the planar and hieratic qualities of luxury tapestries, given its destination in Loredan's *portego* – the *portego* being a common location for the installation of such textiles in Venetian *palazzi* during this period.

Such inquiry expands the small number of case-studies of *portego* pictures, as well as our growing knowledge of collections as the embodiment of religious, social and political aspirations in sixteenth-century Venice.<sup>15</sup> The Loredan family's collection thus accords with the long-standing Venetian ethos of *mediocritas*, while holding in tension the opposing value of *magnificentia*.<sup>16</sup> As was often the case in early modern Venice, self-fashioning hinged upon a fundamental paradox: leveraging ostentatious public and semi-public displays of individual status in order to affirm one's humble service to the Christian faith and state.

### Loredan's career in Venice and the *terraferma*

Andrea di Nicolò Loredan's career can be followed from the Venetian diarist Marino Sanudo's reports and from archival sources.<sup>17</sup> Except that he was never doge, Loredan attained the most prestigious titles in the Venetian government during his lifetime, beginning in the 1490s with his election to the Senate and appointment as the state's attorney and *patrono dell'Arsenale*. In 1502 he was elected *savio di terraferma* (one of the senior magistrates of the republic) and moved to Brescia to take up duties as *podestà* (chief magistrate) and *rettore* (Venetian delegate for economic and military matters) in the city; Andrea's acumen in this role led to his re-election as *podestà* in Brescia, in which office he served in 1503 and 1504.

The following year he was first elected *savio* on the judicial board of the Venetian government, then attained the lofty position of head of the Council of Ten, a role to which he also acceded in 1510 and 1511–12.

Just before the War of the League of Cambrai (1508–17), Loredan was dispatched to Udine in Friuli in 1507 as a lieutenant, but refused the Senate's command to return there in 1509. This notorious affront led to his enforced temporary retirement to the island of Mazzorbo in the Venetian lagoon, 'in a most esteemed residence, living very honorably, because he was rich'.<sup>18</sup> He soon returned to favour, and served the first of two terms as *sopragastaldo* (judicial magistrate), and again on the Council of Ten in 1509–10. In 1513, as *provveditore generale* of the entire *terraferma*, he was ordered by the Senate to join the Venetian army encamped near Vicenza to rally a defence against invading Spanish and German troops. It was owing to the dangerous nature of this assignment that Loredan hastily made his will in June 1513. His fears were soon realized, for he died in battle at Creazzo outside Vicenza several months later. According to his last wishes, he was buried in the *cappella maggiore* of the church of San Michele in Isola whose construction he had helped to finance.<sup>19</sup>

### Ca' Loredan and the Venetian *portego*

Andrea Loredan's legacy rests on his magnificent palace, now known as the Ca' Vendramin Calergi, constructed in Cannaregio on the Grand Canal (Fig. 2). Francesco Sansovino singled it out in *Venetia città nobilissima* (1581) as one of the four finest in the city. The conspicuous ostentation of the Ca' Loredan, built during wartime crisis, was mitigated 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 credo sought to legitimize overtly public displays of magnificence by rededicating them, at least in appearance, to the public good.<sup>20</sup>

At present, Titian's *Flight into Egypt* is the sole item known with some certainty to have been displayed by Loredan.<sup>21</sup> Giorgio Vasari first describes the picture in his biography of the artist, locating it in the main reception hall of the Ca' Loredan.<sup>22</sup> Since the picture was located in a private *palazzo* it apparently attracted little attention and Vasari is the only sixteenth-century



Fig. 2. Façade of the Ca' Vendramin Calergi (formerly Ca' Loredan), by Mauro Codussi (completed by Domenico Codussi?), c. 1502–9, San Marcuola, Cannaregio, Venice. Photograph by Didier Descouens, distributed under a CC BY-SA 4.0 license (Available online at [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ca%27\\_Vendramin\\_Calergi.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ca%27_Vendramin_Calergi.jpg)).

source to discuss it. That Carlo Ridolfi and Marco Boschini were shown the work suggests that during the seventeenth century it was still installed in a space accessible to visitors, almost certainly the *portego*.<sup>23</sup> According to Vasari's chronology, Titian would have painted the *Flight into Egypt* in 1507, a date generally accepted by scholars since Vasari situates its commission immediately after the frescos for the Fondaco dei Tedeschi.<sup>24</sup> There is little cause to doubt Vasari's attribution to Titian, whose authorship is widely – though not universally – accepted by art historians.<sup>25</sup>

If Titian's *Flight into Egypt* was destined for the Ca' Loredan, it must initially have been installed in the *portego* on the *piano nobile*. The *portego* extends like a spine the entire depth of a Venetian palace from front to back, with smaller private *camere* branching off its main axis (Fig. 3). This *portego* on the first floor was the most public room in the house and, in practical terms, made sense as a picture gallery; it was the most open and the best-lit room, awash with natural light during the daytime.<sup>26</sup>

Although Loredan's post-mortem inventory is sadly lost, it recorded the trust (*fedecompresso*) he instituted for the palace and its contents, stipulating that all the household objects could be auctioned except his art collection.<sup>27</sup> These works were ordered to be left in the palace forever as his legacy, glorifying his family and the Venetian republic:

My said estate [*stabile*], after the death of my dear spouse, I wish to be the possession of Andrea Loredan of the above-named Alvise, on the condition that it pass from male heir to male heir *ad infinitum* . . . And I wish that it should never be possible to sell nor auction it [i.e. 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, marble statues, left at the discretion of my executors as decorations of the house, or better still the republic.<sup>28</sup>

It is likely that the enormous canvas by Titian is meant to affirm the piety not only of Andrea but also of his wife Maria Badoer, given the Virgin's visual prominence as well as the *portego*'s connections to family identity. Indeed Vasari, Ridolfi and Boschini all indicate its principle subject as Mary – Maria Loredan's eponymous saint.<sup>29</sup> Joseph's unusual gesture points the way forward for the caravan, but also draws conspicuous attention to Mary and Jesus, who rise at the apex of the pyramidal figure group, protectively enclosed by Joseph and the male servant.

### Palazzo del Carmagnola, Brescia

The only other mention of works of art displayed by Loredan in one of his private residences comes from a now obscure pamphlet published in Venice during Andrea's tenure as *podestà* and *rettore* in Brescia. This crucial yet hitherto little-known source is a Latin panegyric titled *Oratio ad Venetorum principem Leonardo Laurandum in commendationem magnifici Andree Lauredani* (1504), written by the Brescian friar Martino Codagnello.<sup>30</sup> Especially revealing are Loredan's private devotional practices, as related by Codagnello. Next to the marginal gloss 'Lauredani devotio', one learns that, 'Instead of playing dice and board games, a psalter is always held fast in his hands; he prays to the orders of saints and meditates on the various divine laws.'<sup>31</sup> The friar offers a further gloss on the pictures found in Loredan's residence, or rather affirms that 'Gilded images of immodest women do not decorate the house of Loredan':

In place of golden and foreign tapestries, depicting various scenes of courtesans and hunting, there could be seen here among everything in the governor's palace images of the highest and most eminent Jesus, from there the blessed mother Mary who bore God Almighty long ago, and of other holy images showing the Catholic and Christian noble, among golden cups, bowls and utensils of silver, all thereby expressing the splendour of the magistrate and eminence of spirits.<sup>32</sup>



Fig. 3. The *portego* on the *piano nobile*, Ca' Vendramin Calergi (formerly Ca' Loredan), San Marcuola, Cannaregio, Venice, with later furnishings. Photograph courtesy of Ca' Vendramin Calergi.

Presumably, visitors such as Codagnello saw multiple images of Christ and the Virgin Mary, perhaps a Nativity, Adoration scene, or other episode from the infancy of Jesus, since he refers to Christ's birth. These, the *Oratio* records, were interspersed with several portraits of Andrea Loredan – or perhaps votive images that included his likeness in the presence of Christ and the Virgin – as well as various liturgical items. To judge from Codagnello's description, it is possible that all these objects were kept in the main reception hall, and perhaps in a room akin to the *portego* in the Venetian palace, which served a dual purpose as a space for entertaining guests and a picture gallery fitted out with private altars. This hybrid function would accord with contemporary prescriptions for the *sala grande* in Roman palace decoration, as recommended in Paolo Cortesi's *De cardinalatu* (1510).<sup>33</sup> Although far from proving Andrea as the patron of the *Flight into Egypt*, the decoration of his Brescian palace illuminates the types of pictures Andrea preferred or aspired to display. His presentation of devotional images of Christ's childhood in his public hall in Brescia serves as a crucial precedent for understanding how works or art in the Ca' Loredan's *portego* were installed.

For the first time, it is now possible to identify the site of the *podestà's* palace in Brescia where Loredan resided and reportedly displayed the devotional works described by Codagnello. This was the Palazzo del

Carmagnola located in the district (*contrada*) of Sant'Agata on what is now the Via Dante. From 1432 to 1506 it served as the official headquarters of the *podestà* and, during Loredan's tenure, the meeting place for the *consiglio speciale* and praetorian court which met to administer justice.<sup>34</sup> It eventually came to be referred to as the Palazzo Vecchio after the construction of the Palazzo della Loggia, and is currently known as the Palazzo Togni, following renovations in the early twentieth century that mostly erased its Cinquecento appearance. Glimpses of its prior layout survive among various topographic views and maps of Brescia published from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries.

The most precise of these occurs in Domenico Carboni's grand aerial perspective map (*veduta*) published in 1764 (Fig. 4).<sup>35</sup> Frescoed coats of arms (*stemmata*) of each resident *podestà*, including Loredan, once adorned the façade, the vast interior courtyard (visible in Carboni's map) and the *sala degli uffici*; various chambers sported *all'antica* murals painted towards the middle of the sixteenth century.<sup>36</sup> Unfortunately, no archival records survive detailing any specific contributions Loredan might have made to the Palazzo del Carmagnola during this period that would corroborate Codagnello's description.

Moreover, it is necessary to qualify Codagnello's praise, since his text was surely predicated upon a desire to frame his dedicatee's honour according to

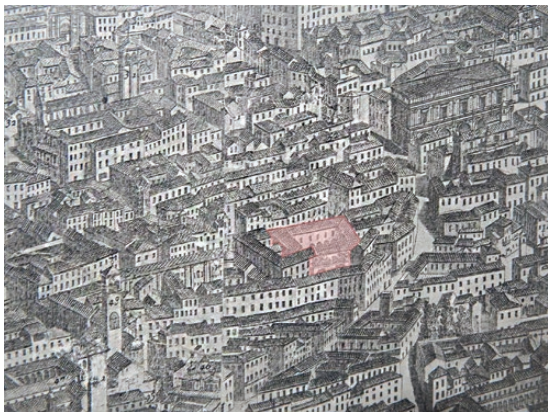


Fig. 4. Domenico Carboni, *Brescia terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glebe*, 1764. Etching, detail, showing the location of Palazzo del Carmagnola (shaded). Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengo, Brescia. Photograph courtesy of Ruggiero Fontanella, Idea Rare Maps; digital editing by Patrick Finley.

preconceived codes of civic and religious decorum. Yet it would also be a mistake to dismiss his *laus* entirely as sycophantic flattery, for it fills a significant lacuna regarding Loredan's activities while his new Venetian palace was under renovation, particularly about the contents of his picture collection and how its display affirmed his political as well as spiritual virtues.

### Capella Loredan at San Michele in Isola, Venice

In contrast, it is possible to reconstruct in general terms the decorative programme for another space maintained by the Loredan in Venice. This is Andrea's and Maria's funerary chapel, the Capella Loredan, in the church of San Michele in Isola.<sup>37</sup> Like the inalienable nature imposed by his *fedecomesso* entailing the integrity of the Ca' Loredan's art collection, a similar legal stipulation precluded the removal of objects from his chapel. Andrea must have counted support of the abbey church's renovations among his chief devotional efforts. This generosity led the monks to grant him the honour of *procuratore* and *iuspatronato*, entitling him and his spouse to exclusive burial rights in the *cappella maggiore*.<sup>38</sup> He also financed the construction of the lead-clad cupola surmounting this chapel's exterior and the lavish decoration of its

interior surfaces, completed by 1514.<sup>39</sup> As a key vestige of the Loredans' patronage, the commemorative programme of their tomb chapel affords valuable insight into the devotional economy of their art collection.<sup>40</sup>

The Camaldolese order, whose monastery was on the island of San Michele, originated as a branch of the Benedictines, founded as an eremitic offshoot by St Romuald in the early eleventh century. During Loredan's lifetime the congregation thrived as an isolated but dynamic coenobitical community that attracted notable humanists and patricians from the Venetian elite.<sup>41</sup> The legacy of economically and politically powerful noblemen associated with the Camaldolese could once be glimpsed through the splendid altarpieces installed throughout San Michele's chapels, which included contributions by Giovanni Bellini and Cima da Conegliano.<sup>42</sup>

The Capella Loredan is a rectangular space with a semi-circular apse, featuring tall windows and a barrel vault with a low dome on pendentives (Fig. 5). The central sepulchre is set within a stone pavement and consists of a marble slab with the Loredan *stemma* in low relief (three white roses on a blue background, and three blue roses on a white background). A grand triumphal arch separating the presbytery from the nave is adorned with foliage, flowers and birds. On tondi at a medium height on the pilasters are the *stemma* of the Camaldolese (two doves drinking from a Eucharistic chalice). On pilasters flanking the altar are further tondi with sculpted images of Sts Benedict, Romuald and Beatus of the Camaldolese order.

Loredan specified the marble benches engaged with the lateral walls of the chapel, whose seatbacks feature inset *spalliere* (a generic term for shoulder- or eye-level decorative ensembles in various media) fabricated with large discs of precious inlaid African porphyry, *verde antico* and serpentine, and tondi with his family insignia (Fig. 6). These marble carvings possibly constitute a portion of the 'marble statues' mentioned in Loredan's will. Perhaps most significant is the fact that two tapestries (untraced) were ordered to adorn the benches, although whether and how they were actually installed remains unclear. Textile *spalliere* were not uncommon in northern Italian furnishings and, owing to the dearth of surviving examples, can now best be glimpsed in paintings from this period featuring domestic and ecclesiastic interiors.<sup>43</sup> In addition, Loredan stipulated that four silver candelabra be installed, along with a paten and chalice, for the



Fig. 5. View, from the nave of the Capella Loredan (completed 1514, with seventeenth-century additions) and the apse, church of San Michele in Isola, Venice. Photograph: Cassy Juhl, image courtesy of the Media Center for Art History, Department of Art History & Archaeology, Columbia University. © The Trustees of Columbia University.

altar.<sup>44</sup> While the former are presumably the fixtures attached to each pilaster, the original – perhaps unsurprisingly – does not survive. A late seventeenth-century altar ensemble has replaced that initially conceived, which was said to be surmounted with a gilded marble sculpture with small figures.<sup>45</sup> As at his Brescian residence, the items displayed here demonstrate his interest in expensive liturgical objects, whose luxury was presumably excused by their ritual function, rather than paintings.

Fortunately, the two Latin epitaphs inscribed on marble plaques do survive and are still set on the lateral walls within ornate sculpted frames that again feature the Loredan *stemma* and sport roundels of precious stone. The epitaph on the south wall commemorates

his honour as a military commander and his heroic self-sacrifice at the battle of Creazzo, and reads:<sup>46</sup>

Andrea Loredan, son of Nicolò, a man of great mind and a legate of the Venetian army, fighting most keenly with the enemies at Vicenza, in order that he not disgrace the good deeds of his earlier life by less than honorable success, he preferred to fall bravely by an enemy hand rather than to survive freely by base flight. 1513, 7 days before the Ides of October. He lived 63 years.<sup>47</sup>

The epitaph on the north wall underscores Andrea's piety, spurring patronage of the monastery and its church as avenues for salvation. It reads:

Andrea Loredan, son of Nicolò, the virtues of whose mind it is possible to see opposite, not only erected outstanding buildings while he was alive, but also, mindful of eternity, with an annual stipend piously set aside for the monks, and with a glorious dome added to this church, ordered that this memorial be made for himself and Maria Badueria, his most excellent wife. HMHNS [This monument will not follow the heir].<sup>48</sup>

As with the Ca' Loredan's façade inscription, the chapel and its marble epitaphs epitomize how the nobility achieved artistic programmes balancing personal *magnificenza* with prudent *mediocritas*.<sup>49</sup> For San Michele's patrician congregation, self-fashioned piety functioned as a corrective to the accumulation and display of immense wealth. By 1479, the nobleman Pietro Delfin had quit his affluent lifestyle to advocate for charity and humility as key virtues, becoming abbot of San Michele and eventually general of the Camaldolese order.<sup>50</sup>

### Titian and textile: tapestry *modelli*

Sadly, the textiles in the Loredan collection are untraced. This is typical of the paucity of surviving examples found in Italy during this period, particularly the Veneto, though archival sources of Venetian nobles indicate robust ensembles of multiple carpets and textiles displayed in *palazzi*.<sup>51</sup> The pervasiveness of tapestries in Venetian homes has been illustrated by Isabella Cecchini's quantitative analysis of inventories from the *Giudici del proprio, serie Mobili*, preserved in the Archivio di Stato in Venice. Of the 218 inventories of households from all socio-economic classes surveyed from the years 1511–13 alone, 61 per cent contained *arazzi* (tapestries), a nearly equivalent frequency to *dipinti* (painted images) at 66 per cent.<sup>52</sup> The 1501 inventory of the palace of the Venetian cardinal



Fig. 6. Marble benches, *spalliere* and epitaph on the south wall of the Capella Loredan (completed 1514), church of San Michele in Isola, Venice. Photograph Cassy Juhl, image courtesy of the Media Center for Art History, Department of Art History & Archaeology, Columbia University. © The Trustees of Columbia University.

and bishop Giovanni Battista Zen, for instance, lists more than thirty historiated Flemish tapestries, most with figural narratives of salacious episodes from ancient and biblical history.<sup>53</sup>

However, those for the Capella Loredan, which enriched the marble benches, presumably resembled local altar frontals. The antependium of *The Pentecost* (c.1500–10), made in Venice after designs attributed to Lazzaro Bastiani for Santo Spirito, and now in Santa Maria della Salute, is a fitting example (Fig. 7).<sup>54</sup> Its foreground and middle ground portray a garden landscape crowded with flowers and animals. Their flattened appearance, set apart with minimally overlapping forms, bears a striking resemblance to Titian's meadow carpeted with botanical specimens and sporting a marvellous array of creatures. Analogous textiles were also displayed in the Venetian domestic interior during this time.<sup>55</sup>

Arguably, the best sense of what Loredan's tapestries looked like comes from Titian's *Flight into Egypt*. As several commentators observed, one salient model for the Hermitage painting was certainly provided by the tapestries featuring floral and vegetal motifs, which wealthy Venetians hung on their walls.<sup>56</sup> Numerous household inventories speak to this practice. In 1530 the wealthy *cittadino* merchant Nicolò Duodo possessed *spalliere a verdure*, or wall-hangings 'of greenery'; these were about 1.2 metres

high and varied in length from 2.4 to 7.3 metres. Patricia Fortini Brown has calculated that the amount of fabric in Duodo's household altogether ran to 67 metres. Another 1530 inventory of a Venetian citizen similarly lists a number of *spallieri a verdure*, and also *spaellieri a verdure con paesi* – that is, tapestries with pastoral or rustic scenes. A rare surviving example of such works is the set of five tapestries owned by the Contarini family in Venice, which depict lush scenery and festive activities of the countryside set in deep landscapes (Fig. 8).<sup>57</sup>

Andrea Loredan's predilection for textile *spalliere* in his chapel lends credence to the idea that he requested Titian's *Flight into Egypt* to imitate the luxurious tapestries with wilderness motifs then popularly displayed in the domestic interiors of urban elites in Venice. Titian emphasizes in the canvas the elegant and lustrous fabrics worn by Jesus, Mary and Joseph, possibly reflecting the sumptuous textiles, expensive curtains or lavish imported cloths that may have decorated the same room. The concept of 'intermedial comparison' developed by Christopher S. Wood and Alexander Nagel can be usefully brought to bear here. They theorized that certain late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Italian artists produced easel paintings that subsumed other artistic media, such as mosaic, fresco or textile, and re-presented them in an explicitly recognizable yet painterly way. One aspect





Fig. 7. Tapestry altar frontal, *The Pentecost*, c.1500–10, to a design attributed to Lazzaro Bastiani, probably woven in Italy, Basilica di Santa Maria della Salute, Venice. Wool, linen(?), silk and gilt-metal-wrapped thread, 100 × 216 cm. Patriarcato di Venezia, Ufficio Beni Culturali, proprietà. (Available online at <https://dynamic-media-cdn.tripadvisor.com/media/photo-o/23/15/e8/74/bild-6-april-2022.jpg?w=1100&h=-1&s=1>).



Fig. 8. Tapestry, view of a woodland park, palace, and pavilions, with arms of the Contarini family, 1580s, designed by Joost van Herzele, woven in Brussels. Wool and silk, 224.0 × 402.8 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, inv. no. 129-1869. © The Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

of such pictures was their depiction of the dialectic of references to the other art objects in the room where they were displayed, initiating a sort of medial conversation: ‘the painting absorbs into itself all the tensions between place and space, between custom and creativity, between building and painting, and puts them on display’. Put another way, ‘The comparisons and stagings performed by the room were internalized by the paintings.’<sup>58</sup>

Elucidating this material context offers a crucial counterpoint to the alleged naivety and inchoate

technique that several critics have recognized in the figure paintings in Titian’s composition.<sup>59</sup> The supposedly stiffened, doll-like appearance of the Holy Family and the clumsy spatial relationship of the picture planes are often highlighted.<sup>60</sup> Instead of disparaging Titian’s pictorial mode as resembling what modern eyes might perceive as an aesthetically inferior medium, it is more productive, and even more telling, to consider the possibility of his intentionally imitating the simplified but elegant qualities of tapestries. Paintings such as Titian’s could serve as

less expensive substitutes for costlier wall-hangings woven with precious metals and imported to northern Italy from across the Alps, for use in both liturgical and domestic ceremonies.<sup>61</sup> Loredan evidently cherished such textiles and ostensibly even requested that the young artist should emulate the planar and hieratic style of certain examples that he owned. While indeed quite radical, the audacity of Titian's panoramic wilderness should be more keenly understood in connection with Venetian taste for hanging tapestries featuring verdant landscape imagery in the *portego*. Thus Titian's true innovation was less the (ahistorical) invention of a quasi-independent landscape, but rather one that cleverly transmuted woven fabric to paint.

Titian's proficiency up to 1507 in media grounded, like tapestry, in more schematic visual modes would also help explain why Andrea Loredan selected the young painter for such a prestigious commission, despite his inexperience at producing large-scale easel paintings. It must be remembered that Titian initially trained with the mosaicist Sebastiano Zuccati.<sup>62</sup> Moreover, it was his renown as a muralist that garnered him not only the contract for the Fondaco dei Tedeschi murals, but also the frescos immediately following at the Scuola di San Antonio in Padua. Loredan probably became acquainted with Titian in 1506 after the artist, along with Giorgione, won the commission for the murals for the Fondaco. Andrea must have been impressed, since Titian (or possibly Giorgione) was then invited to fresco the atrium of his ground-level hall (*portego terreno*) with allegorical figures of Prudence and Diligence; both are now lost, but the design of the latter is preserved in an eighteenth-century etching.<sup>63</sup> Adding weight to this argument is the fact that the only large-scale prototypes available to the artist of the *Flight into Egypt* were evidently in fresco and mosaic.<sup>64</sup>

## Conclusion

The foregoing study provides an initial prospectus of the evidently numerous paintings, tapestries, marbles and other decorative items contained in the Loredan collections, allocated between Venice and Brescia but previously unknown or thought to be lost: many more objects surely remain untraced. It is

highly likely that Titian's youthful *Flight into Egypt* was commissioned by Andrea Loredan as a *quadro da portego* for his Venetian palace, given its size, format, subject matter and tapestry-like character. The pictorial mode chosen by Titian for the canvas ultimately proves highly revealing, since its imagery and style were evidently dictated by the material and devotional agendas Loredan orchestrated for his art collection, including his palace *portego*, where verdant landscape imagery was desirable and already predominant, as documented in similar households.

The *Flight into Egypt's* heritage in textiles, moreover, helps to counter the oft repeated claim of Titian's ineptitude as a painter by 1507. Although Loredan reportedly renounced textiles with lewd themes at his palace in Brescia, he did display tapestries at the Capella Loredan. Display of Titian's painting conceivably then merged his taste for such textile *spalliere* with his preference for devotional images illustrating Christ's infancy, as described by Codagnello.<sup>65</sup> Amid the heterogeneous array of items known to be displayed in the Venetian domestic interior, the case of Loredan's *portego* helps to recalibrate our knowledge of the hierarchy of media in such spaces, in which textiles – as opposed to easel paintings – could stand as pre-eminent. It remains to be discovered, however, what role the untraced marbles mentioned in Loredan's *testamento* (presumably antiquities and sculptures other than those for the Loredan chapel) played in his apparently extensive collection, since greater prestige was attached to such categories of objects.

Furthermore, since virtually no archival data on *porteghi* can be found before 1520, the case of Loredan's *portego* is particularly illuminating, as it clarifies how this uniquely Venetian space was fraught with contradictions, even before the recorded inventories prove that this was so. In ornamenting their *porteghi*, patrician collectors often struck a precarious balance between modest messages of *mediocritas* and more overt displays of *magnificenza*. The humble devotional tenor of the *Flight into Egypt* should now be recognized as a consistent feature of Loredan's wider aims at his palaces and chapel, engaging with the Christological ideal of *sancta paupertas* fashionable in northern Italy in the sixteenth century. This spiritual precept, as deployed by Loredan at San Michele, is known to have possessed considerable traction among the patriciate.<sup>66</sup>

The Venetian nobility's urge to emulate, at least ostensibly, the impoverished yet righteous cast of the gospels could at times, however, ring rather hollow in the lavish art they commissioned. In addition to serving as art galleries, Venetian *porteghi* were frequently used for illicit or ribald parlour games – although what sorts of pastimes Loredan encouraged in his palace remains unknown.<sup>67</sup> In the end, it is rather ironic that the *porteghi* of Andrea Loredan, who was so renowned in his time for eschewing gambling, have been converted quite magnificently into the gaming rooms of the Casinò Municipale of Venice.

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### Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Ann Sutherland Harris for her suggestions on previous versions of this essay. Andrew Becker graciously furnished translations from Latin by Martino Codangelo (all other translations are the author's own); Patrick Finley kindly assisted with digital imaging. My thanks also to the two anonymous reviewers for the *Journal of the History of Collections* for their comments, which undoubtedly strengthened the overall argument of the study. Research in Venice was supported by the Gladys Krieble Delmas Foundation, as well as the Centro Vittore Branca at the Fondazione Giorgio Cini.

### Notes and references

- 1 The studies of Roberta Martinis are the most recent and comprehensive: R. Martinis, 'Ca' Loredan-Vendramin-Calergi a Venezia: la figura di Mauro Codussi attraverso il palazzo di Andrea Loredan (1479–1581)', PhD diss., Università Iuav, Venice (1996); R. Martinis, 'Ca' Loredan-Vendramin-Calergi a Venezia: Mauro Codussi e il palazzo di Andrea Loredan', *Annali di Architettura* 10–11 (1998–9), pp. 43–61; R. Martinis, 'Su un fregio all'antica: un'ipotesi per Antonio Lombardo nel palazzo di Andrea Loredan a Venezia', *Arte Veneta* 56 (2002), pp. 17–40. See also F. Pedrocchi, *Ca' Vendramin Calergi*, 2nd edn. (Venice, 2004); L. O. Puppi and L. Puppi, *Mauro Codussi*, 2nd edn. (Milan, 1977), pp. 221–5.
- 2 For example, O. Bonfait, M. Hochmann, L. Spezzaferro and B. Toscano (eds.), *Geografia del collezionismo: Italia e Francia tra il XVI e il XVIII secolo* (Rome, 2001); B. Aikema, R. Lauber and M. Seidel (eds.), *Il collezionismo a Venezia e nel Veneto ai tempi della Serenissima* (Venice, 2005); M. Hochmann, R. Lauber and S. Mason (eds.), *Il collezionismo d'arte a Venezia: dalle origini al Cinquecento* (Venice, 2008). Antonio Mazzotta has rightly noted, 'On Andrea Loredan as a patron of the arts there is as yet no dedicated study'; A. Mazzotta, *Giovanni Bellini's Dudley Madonna* (London, 2012), p. 91.
- 3 J. R. Jewitt, 'Revisiting Titian's "Flight into Egypt" at Ca' Loredan, Venice', *Burlington Magazine* 163 (2021), pp. 28–33.
- 4 Crucial references to Bellini's lost works from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries are discussed in Mazzotta, op. cit. (note 2), p. 91; Martinis, op. cit. [2002] (note 1), p. 31.
- 5 Quoted in Martinis, op. cit. [1996] (note 1), pp. 154, 11: 'tute le zoie de caxa'; 'facto ha un palazzo clarissimo di gemme'. For Loredan's will, dated 15 June 1513, see Archivio di Stato, Venice, Cancelleria Inferiore, Miscellanea di notai diversi, inventari, b. 29, Atti Cesare Zilolo, perg. 3045 (copy of Notarile testamenti, Bernardo Zio, b. 1058, cedola 53).
- 6 A. Mazzotta, *Titian: A fresh look at nature*, exh. cat., National Gallery, London (2012), p. 5; I. Artemieva and G. Pavanella (eds.), *Tiziano: La fuga in Egitto e la pittura di paesaggio*, exh. cat., Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice (2012), p. 72.
- 7 C. Wilson, 'St Joseph and the process of decoding Vincenzo Catena's "Warrior Adoring the Infant Christ and the Virgin"', *Artibus et Historiae* 34 (2013), p. 125.
- 8 Martinis, op. cit. [2002] (note 1), p. 32.
- 9 M. Schmitter, 'The quadro da portego in sixteenth-century Venetian art', *Renaissance Quarterly* 64 (2011), p. 699.
- 10 I. Artemieva, 'New light on Titian's "Flight into Egypt" in the Hermitage', *Burlington Magazine* 154 (2012), p. 10.
- 11 J. Dunkerton and M. Spring, 'Titian's painting technique before 1540', *National Gallery of Art Technical Bulletin* 34 (2013), p. 32, cat. no. 1.
- 12 Attribution history is discussed in Artemieva, op. cit. (note 10), pp. 6–8.
- 13 For complete technical analysis, see Dunkerton and Spring, op. cit. (note 11), pp. 32–7, cat. no. 1. For stylistic and iconographic evidence, see P. Joannides, *Titian to 1518: The assumption of genius* (New Haven, 2001), pp. 37–40; Mazzotta, op. cit. (note 6), *passim*.
- 14 G. Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori, e architettori: nelle redazioni del 1550 e 1568*, ed. R. Bettarini and P. Barocchi, 9 vols. (Florence, 1987), vol. VI, p. 156; M. W. Roskill, *Dolce's Aretino and Venetian Art Theory of the Cinquecento* (Toronto, 2000), p. 187: 'non havendo egli allora a pena venti anni'. Scholarly consensus places the year of Titian's birth between 1488 and 1490.
- 15 For the former, for example, see B. L. Brown, 'Travellers on the rocky road to Paradise: Jacopo Bassano's *Flight into Egypt*', *Artibus et Historiae* 32 (2011), pp. 193–219. For the latter, see I. Palumbo Fossati Casa, *Dentro le case: abitare a Venezia nel Cinquecento* (Venice, 2013), pp. 4–5; M. Corry, D. Howard and M. Laven (eds.), *Madonnas and Miracles: The holy home in Renaissance Italy* (London, 2017), pp. 4–7.
- 16 On Venetian constructs of these concepts during this period, see P. Fortini Brown, *Private Lives in Renaissance Venice: Art, architecture, and the family* (New Haven, 2004), pp. 6, 26, 33–5, 85, 189, 253–4.
- 17 Martinis, op. cit. [1998–9] (note 1), p. 44; Martinis, op. cit. [1996] (note 1), pp. 12–29; E. Muir, *Mad Blood Stirring: Vendetta & factions in Friuli during the Renaissance* (Baltimore, 1993), pp. 116–20.
- 18 Quoted in Martinis, op. cit. [1996] (note 1), p. 21: 'nel dichto locho di Mazorbo in una habitacione honoratissima, vivendo molto honoratamente, perché era richo'.

- 19 Martinis, op. cit. [1998–9] (note 1), p. 44; Puppi and Puppi, op. cit. (note 1), p. 222.
- 20 Fortini Brown, op. cit. (note 16), p. 33.
- 21 Jewitt, op. cit. (note 3).
- 22 Vasari, op. cit. (note 14), vol. VI, p. 156.
- 23 M. Boschini, *La carta del navegar pittoresco* (Venice, 1660), p. 306. C. Ridolfi, *Le meraviglie dell'arte*, 2 vols. (Venice, 1648), vol. 1, p. 139, locates it in the *porticale*, a term in Venetian dialect often synonymous with *portego*; see G. Boerio, *Dizionario del dialetto veneziano*, 2nd edn. (Venice, 1856), p. 527. The most complete provenance is provided in Artemieva, op. cit. (note 10), pp. 5–6.
- 24 Proposed dates are discussed in Jewitt, op. cit. (note 3), pp. 28–30.
- 25 Technical analysis confirms a manner wholly consistent with Titian's; see Dunkerton and Spring, op. cit. (note 11), pp. 32–7, cat. no.1. Titian's authorship was denied in C. Hope, 'At the National Gallery', *London Review of Books* 34 (24 May 2012), pp. 22–4. Hesitancy to date it before 1510 is questioned by P. Holberton, 'La critica e la fortuna di Giorgione: il conflitto delle fonti', in *La pittura nel Veneto: il Cinquecento*, ed. M. Lucco (Milan, 1999), vol. III, p. 1039.
- 26 Schmitter, op. cit. (note 9), pp. 744–6.
- 27 Portions of Loredan's will are reproduced in Puppi and Puppi, op. cit. (note 1), p. 222, and discussed in Pedrocco, op. cit. (note 1), p. 14; Martinis, op. cit. [1996] (note 1), pp. 154–6, appendix b, reproduces it in full.
- 28 Puppi and Puppi, op. cit. (note 1), p. 222: 'El dito mio stabile, e possession da poi la morte dela mia cara consorte volio la sia de Andrea Loredan del sopradito Alvixe conditionalmente, che la vada de heriede in heriede maschoi ad infinitum . . . Et volio, che mai non la si possi vender nè impegnar . . . Volio etiam dir queste parole, che tutti i mobili de caxa siano venduti: et fato denari, eceto i suoi ornamenti de quadri, tapezarie etatue de marmorio in discreptione di mie commissarii per ornamento di la caxa, anzi di la patria.'
- 29 Artemieva, op. cit. (note 10), p. 5.
- 30 Information on Codagnello is sparse; see J. D. Cullington (trans.) and S. Bowd (ed.), *Vainglorious Death: A funerary fracas in Renaissance Brescia* (Tempe, AZ, 2006), pp. xxxi–xxxii n. 49.
- 31 M. Codagnello, *Oratio ad Venetorum principem Leonardo Laurandum in commendationem magnifici Andree Lauredani* (Venice, 1504), p. 6v: 'At pro taxillorum tabularumque viscariorum semper in maniubs psalterium: sanctae ac divinae leges varii orandi ac meditando ordines.'
- 32 Ibid.: 'pro auratis peregrinisque auleis: varios muliercularum plausus venationesque effingentibus hic summi & eminentissimi Iesu Illinc deiferae mariae cumti potentis ab aeterno electae matris: aliorumque sanctorum auratae imagines christianum ac catholicum patricium demonstrantes inter aureos calices paterasque & utensilia argentea: censoris splendorem & animi celsitudinem significantia ab omnibus videri hoc in praetorio ac observari poterant.'
- 33 K. Weil-Garris and J. F. D'Amico, 'The Renaissance cardinal's ideal palace: a chapter from Cortesi's "De cardinalatu"', *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 35 (1980), pp. 81, 83.
- 34 It is identified as the *podestà's* palace in B. Zamboni, *Memorie intorno alle pubbliche fabbriche piu insigni della città di Brescia* (Brescia, 1778), pp. 21–2; S. D. Bowd, *Venice's Most Loyal City: Civic identity in Renaissance Brescia* (Cambridge, 2010), p. 51; V. Frati, I. Gianfranceschi and F. Robecchi, *La loggia di Brescia e la sua piazza: evoluzione di un fulcro urbano nella storia di mezzo millennio*, 3 vols. (Brescia, 1993), vol. 1, p. 28.
- 35 G. NOVA AND R. FONTANELLA, *Piante e vedute a stampa di Brescia, xv–xix secolo* (Brescia, 2009), pp. 134–5, cat. no. 64.
- 36 The most complete source is P. Guerrini, *La Casa del Carmagnolo* (Brescia, 1931), esp. pp. 58–9, 66–7, 123–35.
- 37 V. Meneghin, *S. Michele in Isola di Venezia*, 2 vols. (Venice, 1962), vol. II, pp. 316–17.
- 38 Puppi and Puppi, op. cit. (note 1), p. 182; Martinis, op. cit. [1998–9] (note 1), p. 44.
- 39 Puppi and Puppi, op. cit. (note 1), pp. 182–3.
- 40 For tombs as bearers of identity in this period, see D. Pincus, *The Tombs of the Doges of Venice* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 1–3. Only Pedrocco, op. cit. (note 1), p. 51, speculated that the iconography of the chapel might owe something to the Camaldolese. Martinis, op. cit. [2002] (note 1), p. 31, hypothesized that the supposed 'cosmographies' seen by one visitor in Ca' Loredan and attributed to Giovanni Bellini were influenced by Fra Mauro's *mappamondo* at San Michele.
- 41 S. D. Bowd, *Reform before the Reformation: Vincenzo Querini and the religious Renaissance in Italy* (Leiden, 2002), pp. 61–101; Pedrocco, op. cit. (note 1), pp. 24–9.
- 42 C. Tonini, 'L'arcipelago camaldolese nella laguna di Venezia: ricognizione sulla eredità artistica', in *San Michele in Isola: isola della conoscenza*, ed. M. Brusegan, P. Eleuteri and G. Fiaccadori (Venice, 2012), pp. 125–34; see also Meneghin, op. cit. (note 37), vol. 1, pp. 320–24; J. Fletcher and R. C. Mueller, 'Bellini and the bankers: the Priuli Altarpiece for S. Michele in Isola, Venice', *Burlington Magazine* 147 (2005), pp. 5–15.
- 43 For depictions of textile *spalliere* devised for *banchali*, see P. Thornton, *The Italian Renaissance Interior, 1400–1600* (New York, 1991), p. 67, fig. 73; p. 170, fig. 184; p. 287, fig. 314; p. 345, fig. 371. Cf. A. B. Barriault, *Spalliera Paintings of Renaissance Tuscany: Fables of poets for patrician homes* (University Park, PA, 1994), pp. 21–2.
- 44 Meneghin, op. cit. (note 37), vol. 1, pp. 316–17: 'Per ornamento della qualla coperse la Cuba di fuori di piombo, e dentro fece due banchi di marmo, uno per parte con i suoi appoggi, e lasciò due spalliere di [a]razzi per adornarli e quattro candelieri d'argento.' Another document mentions 'uno calice con sua patena d'arzeno'.
- 45 Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 341–2. The present appearance of the ensemble dates from 1686, when an altar sculpted from Carrara marble by Sante Trognon adorned with bronze statuettes was introduced. Set on plinths adjacent to the altar are large marble statues of Sts Michael, Benedict and Romuald, made in 1686 and 1689 by the Venetian sculptors Pietro Callalo and Francesco Cabianca.
- 46 The epitaphs have not previously been quoted in the vernacular. Latin transcriptions appear in M. Luxoro, *Il Palazzo Vendramin-Calergi (Non nobis, Domine . . .)* (Florence, 1957), pp. 16, 18; Meneghin, op. cit. (note 37), vol. 1, p. 318 n.73.
- 47 ANDREAS LAVREDANVS NICOLAI F / MAGNI ANIMI VIR VENETI Q  
EXERCITVS / LAGATVS CVM HOSTIBVS AD VINCENTIAM ACERRIME  
PVGNANS NE ANTE A/CTAE VITAE BENE GESTA MINVS HONESTO /  
SVCCESVV FOEDARET HOSTILI MANV / FORTITTE CADERE MALVIT  
QVAM / TVRPI FVGA LIBERE SVPERESSE / M D XIII VII ID OCT / VIXIT  
ANN LXIII.

- 48 ANDRE LAV NIC F CIVVS ANIMI / VIRTVTES EREGIONE INTVERI LICET NON / MODO PRAECLARAS / AEDES DVM VIVE/RET EREXIT VERVM ETIAM AETERNI/TATIS MEMOR ANNVA PECVNIA MONA/CHIS PIE LEGATA MAGNIFICAQ TESTVDINE / HVIC TEMPLO ADDITA HOC MONVMENTVM / SIBI ET MARIAE BADVARIAE VXORI OPTIMAE / TESTAMENTUM FIERI IVSSIT / H(OC) M(ONUMENTUM) H(EREDEM) N(ON) S(EQUITTUR).
- 49 In church records the monks repeatedly praise both Andrea's piety and his magnificence; see, for example, Meneghin, op. cit. (note 37), vol. 1, p. 317.
- 50 O. Logan, *The Venetian Upper Clergy in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: A study in religious culture* (Salzburg, 1995), pp. 87–9; Meneghin, op. cit. (note 37), vol. 1, pp. 109–87.
- 51 T. P. Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and magnificence*, exh. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (New Haven, 2006), pp. 85–101; R. E. Mack, "'Lest we be shamed": Italian Renaissance taste for textile ensembles', in *Textiles and Politics: Textile Society of America Proceedings* (2012), pp. 763ff.; available at <http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/tsaconf/763> (accessed 10 August 2022); H. Smit, 'Flemish tapestry weavers in Italy, c.1420–1520: a survey and analysis of the activity of various cities', in *Flemish Tapestry Weavers Abroad: Emigration and the founding of manufactories in Europe*, ed. Guy Delmarcel (Leuven, 2002), pp. 113–30; G. M. de Gheltof, *Degli arazzi in Venezia* (Venice, 1878), pp. 13–18.
- 52 I. Cecchini, 'Collezionismo e mondo materiale', in Hochmann, Lauber and Mason, op. cit. (note 2), pp. 184–5.
- 53 Inventory transcribed in B. Jestaz, *La Chapelle Zen à Saint-Marc de Venise: d'Antonio à Tullio Lombardo* (Stuttgart, 1986), pp. 182–3.
- 54 Campbell, op. cit. (note 51), pp. 117–22, cat. no. 10.
- 55 See the inventory, 1533, of nobleman Michele Basadonna, listing tapestries with animals and figures: 'Uno razo a figure de animali cum el suo friso atorno', Archivio di Stato, Venice, Cancelleria Inferiore, Miscellanea di notai diversi, b. 35, n. 59, item 7.
- 56 Schmitter, op. cit. (note 9), pp. 705–8, 716. Fortini Brown, op. cit. (note 16), pp. 85–6; Hochmann, Lauber and Mason, op. cit. (note 2), pp. 30–31; C. Henry, 'What makes a picture? Evidence from sixteenth-century Venetian property inventories', *Journal of the History of Collections* 23 (2011), p. 258.
- 57 For these inventories, as well as the Contarini tapestries, see Fortini Brown, op. cit. (note 16), 85.
- 58 A. Nagel and C. S. Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance* (New York, 2010), pp. 354–5
- 59 D. Jaffé, 'Foundations', in *Titian*, ed. C. Hope (London, 2003), p. 71.
- 60 For example, Joannides, op. cit. (note 13), pp. 38–9; Mazzotta, op. cit. (note 6), p. 67; Dunkerton and Spring, op. cit. (note 11), p. 32, cat. no. 1.
- 61 Surviving examples are examined in I. Favaretto and M. Da Villa Urbani (eds.), *Arazzi e tappeti dei dogi nella basilica di San Marco* (Venice, 1999); D. Davanzo Poli (ed.), 'Tessuti antichi: la collezione Cini dei Musei Civici Veneziani', *Bolletino Civici Musei Veneziani d'Arte e di Storia* 33 nos. 1–4 (1989), pp. 31–61.
- 62 For his training with mosaicists, see Joannides, op. cit. (note 13), p. 10; for its impact on his early praxis, see P. Hills, *Venetian Colour: Marble, mosaic, painting and glass, 1250–1550* (New Haven, 1999), pp. 207–8.
- 63 Attribution is sometimes made to one artist, sometimes to the other; see Joannides, op. cit. (note 13), p. 127.
- 64 Giotto's treatment of the subject in the Scrovegni Chapel evidently exerted a major influence. Other available models were mosaics in the Basilica of San Marco; M. Andaloro *et al.*, *San Marco, the Patriarchal Basilica in Venice*, 2 vols. (Milan and New York, 1990–91), vol. II, pp. 81, 184.
- 65 Matthias Wivel shrewdly pointed out that Sebastiano del Piombo's *Judgement of Solomon* resembles Raphael's tapestry design for *The Blinding of Elymas*; Wivel identifies Loredan as the 'likely patron of both pictures'; M. Wivel (ed.), *Michelangelo & Sebastiano*, exh. cat., National Gallery, London (2017), pp. 100–01, cat. no. 6.
- 66 T. Nichols, *The Art of Poverty: Irony and ideal in sixteenth-century beggar imagery* (Manchester, 2007), pp. 9, 138, 147–52.
- 67 E. Currie, *Inside the Renaissance House* (London, 2006), pp. 32–3; Fortini Brown, op. cit. (note 16), pp. 128–40.