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Titian, ‚*A singular friend*‘

A beautiful, if somewhat mysterious portrait painted by *Tiziano Vecellio* has found its ‚last‘ home in the new world, in far away San Francisco, in a place, that is, which derives its name from a Spanish novel describing a paradisiacal island called California (figs. 1, 2, 3). Titian’s authorship of the portrait, now belonging to the San Francisco Art Museums and presently housed at the Palace of the Legion of Honor, is testified to by the painter’s signature, and it has never been questioned since the portrait first received public notice, belatedly, in 1844, when it appeared in the collection of the Marquis of Lansdowne. Less spectacular than some of Titian’s best known portraits, the portrait now in California nonetheless belongs to his finest portrayals of the men of his time. Several identifications have been proposed for the sitter, but none advanced with particular conviction. Although the nameless portrait testifies eloquently to the existence of a noble man at rest, whose existence it indeed preserves and continues, his worldly identity remains an unresolved point of interest.¹

The San Francisco Art Museums’ ‚*Portrait of a Gentleman*‘ bears Titian’s signature in the inscription which the sitter holds. It reads unequivocally: *D^a Titiano Vecellio / Singolare Amico*. In all publications the inscription has been read: *Di Tiziano singolare amico*. This reading embodies, however, an interpretation, and it is, indeed, somewhat misleading. It is always believed that the inscription conveys that the sitter is a *special friend of Titian*. Naturally the words *singolare amico* can carry the meaning *amico speciale*, or *amico stretto*, testifying to a close or dear friendship. But, in sixteenth-century Italy, the words *amico singolare* and similar expressions, for instance *amicissimo*, could equally be conventional epithets, used with abandon to label relationships that were neither all too deep nor all too binding.

The inscription is, in any event, written on a piece of paper, which has been folded three, or perhaps more times. It is easily recognizable as a letter, folded for sending in a characteristic Cinquecento fashion. The reader can fold thrice a sheet of A4-format paper in halves to achieve much the same result. This epistolary usage will be familiar to those who have consulted the manuscripts of sixteenth-century Italian letters in libraries and archives. It is also exemplified in numerous portraits by Titian, for instance, in his portrait of Jacopo Strada (Vienna), with its carefully folded letter lying, slightly open, on a table before the sitter, or, in Titian’s portrait of Cardinal Armagnac and his secretary Philander, in which letter-writing becomes the ostensible theme of the double portrait (Alnwick Castle). In San Francisco, Titian’s letter is one that is apparently addressed to Titian by a friend who wishes his portrait to record his friendship with the illustrious artist and portraitist. The inscription performs the double function



fig. 1: Titian, Portrait of a Friend of Titian, San Francisco, San Francisco Art Museums

of address and signature.² The word *singolare* refers, in the fiction of the portrait, to Titian and not the sitter, referring, that is, to Titian's singularity, to his unique virtue as a painter, as would be the case if the letter address were to liken Titian to Apelles, in a formula of praise, as did another letter directed to Titian (*Al Mag.^{co} Sor Titiano apelle*).³ Singularity attaches not to the friendship but to the friend, in this case Titian, as in the epithet *Unico Aretino*, belonging to Bernardo Accolti and celebrated in Castiglio-

ne's 'Cortigiano'. The difference is equivalent to that between *amico carissimo* and *amico chiarissimo*. Titian, himself, addresses the Duke of Mantua, Federigo Gonzaga, on a letter cover as *singularissimo*.⁴

It has been noticed that a nearly identical inscription, *AMICO SINGVLARI*, is found on François Clouet's portrait of the apothecary Pierre Quthe (1562, Louvre). The word, *singolare* is, further, a not uncommon form of epistolary address. Michelangelo used it, for example, in addressing letters to Vasari, possibly with a trace of ironic amplification: *A messer Giorgio pittore e amico singulare in Firenze*; cf. *A messer Giorgio Vasari amico e pittore singulare*.⁵ Vasari's *carteggio* affords many instances of addresses in which he is explicitly identified as a friend and as an excellent or singular painter, for instance, *Al Magnifico Messer Giorgio d'Arezzo, Pittore singularissimo, Amico osservandissimo*.⁶

The *D* followed by a raised triangular stop (*D**), as in Titian's 'letter inscription', is, similarly, a standard epistolary abbreviation for *Dominus* (Latin: *Domino*, or, in Italian, *Domino*), which is also a common form of epistolary address, and one often found on the outer faces of letters as an address, there used as a decorous formula of respect with the sense of 'to my Lord or master'. It is, for example, a very common form of address in the early volumes of Michelangelo's *Carteggio*, regularly applied to the artist by his family, friends, and others. *Domino* is simply the converse of the ubiquitous closure, *servitore vostro, humilissimo servitore*, etc. It might be noted that Italian letter forms of the sixteenth century mixed Latin and Italian words naturally and without misgivings. It can also not be excluded entirely that Titian's virtual correspondent wished to address Titian as the master of a household where he had frequented the memorable *cene* of Titian and his circle. *Dominus* (*domino*, etc.) is, moreover, a form used to address Titian in letters sent to him; witness the letter to Titian of Federico Gonzaga, the Duke of Mantua (9 May 1533) addressed: *Domino TICIANO Pictori*, or that sent by his relative of the same name, Tiziano Vecellio, Sindaco di Cadore (15 October 1534): *Nobili ac Exell.mo Pictori / D.no Titiano Vecellio Consobrino / suo et uti fratri observandissimo / Venetis*. The designation *dominus* is applied to Titian in other circumstances as well.⁷ The consistent observance of the forms of the humanist letter in the letter address of the portrait in San Francisco – the use of chancery script and the forms of address, *dominus* and *singolare* – suggest that the prominently displayed letter constitutes the fulcrum of the portrait, transforming it from a likeness, a mere face painting, into a somewhat more extended statement about the person portrayed and his attributes.

Who is then this admiring friend of Titian? The circle of Titian's friends and admirers was large. In 1957, the cleaning of a double portrait made in Titian's workshop, now at Hampton Court, and representing Titian and the Venetian Grand Chancellor Andrea de' Franceschini (1471–1551), revealed a third portrait, at the right, which is a quite accurate replica of Titian's 'Friend' in San Francisco.⁸ The conjunction of the three men (Titian, Franceschini, and the 'Amico'), all copied from independent portraits by Titian, suggests that all three had a connection with Venice. Clearly the

friend's portrait held some interest in Titian's studio, and the triple portrait suggests that he had some concrete connection with Titian, as the letter address in San Francisco states unmistakably. But, in the last analysis, the triple portrait at Hampton Court remains only an interesting sidelight, adding but marginally to what is known of the San Francisco portrait.⁹

Attempts have been made to identify the sitter of the San Francisco portrait on the basis of references by Vasari to friends of Titian, that is, to friends whom Titian painted in portraits. These attempts at identification have, in particular, focused on Vasari's references to a friend named Sinistri, and to a certain Paolo de Ponte (who, in point of fact, Vasari does not explicitly identify as Titian's friend), and to an *avvocato*, Francesco Sonica, Titian's patron and *compare*. It should be mentioned that Paolo de Ponte's daughter, whom Titian also portrayed, is explicitly identified as *comare di esso Tiziano*.¹⁰

In addition, Tancred Borenius tentatively advanced the name of *Don Francesco (Zuccato) del Mosaico (?)*.¹¹ While this mosaicist's father, Sebastiano, was, it seems, Titian's first master and while Titian was befriended with Sebastiano's sons, no separate portrait by Titian of Francesco Zuccato alone is mentioned in contemporary sources. Francesco was, nevertheless, Titian's *compare*, *che gli battezzò una putta che gli morse*.¹² Vasari does not mention Titian's friendship with the Zuccato family, whom he misnames *Zuccheri*. Nothing in the San Francisco portrait points to an artist or a mosaicist. Nevertheless, Carlo Ridolfi (1648) does report, in the gallery of the Venetian Senator Domenico Ruzzino, a portrait by Titian of himself executed from a mirror toward the end of his life, along with Francesco Zuccato, whom Titian shows a drawing on paper. This painting (present location unknown) appeared on the London art market in 1931, at which time it was published,¹³ and Francesco Zuccato's almost 'Palma giovane'-like likeness, in his artist's costume and with his long, full, and flowing grey-white beard, appears completely at variance with the San Francisco portrait. The documented early Venetian provenance of the double portrait and the long survival of the identity of Zuccato (from seventeenth-century Italy to nineteenth-century England), together with the considerable quality of the painting, all seem to suggest that it is the same portrait that Ridolfi described, and not a replica of it. Although inspired by Titian, the double portrait appears to be, not a copy of a lost Titian, but an 'original' Venetian work, painted by a later Palmaesque imitator of Titian toward 1600, one testimony to the extensive posthumous cult of Titian, and painted perhaps by Giovanni Contarini. Freed from an attribution to Titian, it might find its author in an accomplished master of late Cinquecento Venice.¹⁴

Francesco Sonica, or Assonica, in addition to his own portrait, commissioned Titian's lost *Riposo nella Fuga in Egitto*, a *quadrono grande* recorded in Martino Rota's engraving of 1569,¹⁵ and possibly a painting of *Venus with an Organist*, now in the Prado.¹⁶ But nothing connects Assonica specifically, or even tenuously with the portrait in San Francisco.¹⁷

Vasari's mention of a *ritratto di naturale*' by Titian of a *cittadino veneziano suo amicissimo chiamato il Sinistri* has attracted perhaps the most notice in connection with the San Francisco portrait. Suida suggested that Sinistri is *domino Petro Paulo de Sinistris*, mentioned as a witness, together with Titian, in a document of 1520, printed from the 'Nachlaß' of Gustav Ludwig.¹⁸ More plausibly, Sinistri has been identified as Girolamo Sinistro, or Sinistri, who appears in Pietro Aretino's letters in 1546 and later.¹⁹ In May 1548 Aretino addressed a long letter to Messer Girolamo Sinistro, *compar mio*. Aretino begins – announcing to *Sinistro* – *ho veduto i duo cani*, Sinistri's two dogs. It would appear that Aretino has seen them, not at Sinistri's house, which would scarcely occasion comment, but somewhere else. Aretino describes the dogs's appearance, as in an image he has seen, along with *l'aspetto e l'animo* of Sinistri himself – *it's a great shame you aren't a prince or even a king, for that is how you appear*, Aretino writes. The *duo cani* appear majestically reserved, at once threatening to bark and silent. Is this not Titian's lost portrait of Sinistri? The person that Aretino describes at length, is regal, princely, and given to the splendid magnificence and extravagance of a great lord, the lord of a house filled not only with *copie e di libri e di quadri e di ritratti*, but overflowing with a fantastic and exotic throng of song birds, noisily singing, and winged creatures (ostriches, geese, storks, peacocks, guinea fowl, parrots, etc.) and other animals (foxes, rabbits, monkeys) – it could be *qual si voglia barco di duca* –, as well as draperies of gold, jewelled embroideries, assorted tapestries and carpets (*la delicatezza e le delizie dei vostri reali alberghi*), and also shields, armour, and scimitars, and this conglomeration is overshadowed by the girls (*ninfe*) found everywhere in Sinistri's rooms.²⁰ Sinistri's house seems a match for the extravagant menagerie that inhabited the 'casa' of Giovannantonio Sodoma, as Vasari describes it: *tassi, scoiattoli, bertucce, gatti, mammoni, asini nani, cavalli barbari da correre palii, cavallini piccoli dell'Elba, ghiandaie, galline nanne, tortole indiani et altri sì fatti animali*.²¹ The flamboyant and lascivious personage of Aretino's Sinistri finds no echo in the reserved quiet of the friend of the singular Titian.²²

The difficulty with all these attempts at identifying the sitter is that, except in the case of Francesco Zuccato, there seems no record of the appearance of these persons. Thus there is no iconographical tradition for them; there are no identifiable likenesses. The identifications proposed cannot be compared for similitude with other portraits, and hence they remain conjectures, unsupported even by circumstantial considerations, and most, as we have seen, for one reason or another, unlikely.

Titian's letters show, moreover, that he had other friends, most notably Pietro Aretino, whose portraits by Titian are counted among his absolute masterpieces. But there are reported many more friends of Titian, whom Vasari does not mention, and these must have been very many, if one considers how elastic the term *amico* is and how many there were, eager to associate their names with the *divino Tiziano*. Among Titian's portraits, the two of Daniele Barbaro (Madrid and Ottawa) are perhaps those most similar in appearance, tenor, costume, and impagination to the San Francisco portrait,



fig. 2: Titian, Portrait of a Friend of Titian, San Francisco, San Francisco Art Museums (detail)

suggested another 'friend', one whose documented likenesses closely resemble the San Francisco portrait. He is the noble humanist and gentleman, Marco Mantova Benavides, *iurisconsulto*, professor of law at the University of Padua, a scholar of wide erudition, a collector, and, like Barbaro, a generous patron and friend of artists.²⁵ A number of nearly forgotten circumstances link Mantova Benavides very directly with Titian. Mantova may well have also known Barbaro's portraits by Titian, mentioned in February 1545 by Pietro Aretino, for until the mid-1540s Barbaro's milieu was Padua, where he pursued philosophy, mathematics, science, and literary studies. Barbaro's first public office was as the superintendent of the *Orto dei Semplici* in Padua, the botanical garden of which he was the founder in 1545. The proof of the identification of Marco Mantova as the San Francisco sitter will naturally lie in the similarity of his likeness and the likenesses of the contemporary portraits of Marco Mantova, many illustrated in these pages. But, before turning to these portraits, it may be opportune to consider a document that reports Titian's portrait of Marco Mantova and the circumstances, mentioned above, that explain how and why such a portrait might have come into existence.

and they are further quite similar in size. These resemblances become especially apparent in the engraving of Barbaro's portrait by Wencelaus Hollar.²³ The San Francisco Amico is doubtless someone whose station in life was comparable to that of Barbaro. The costume of the Amico is the same as that of the Paduan philosopher and *letterato* Sperone Speroni in his portrait of 1544 by Titian at Treviso (sometimes ascribed to Titian's workshop) in nearly every significant detail: the V-shaped fur collar, the black buttoned garment with a high neck-line, the inverted-Y-shaped cut of the sleeve over the shoulder, with fur trimming, the multiple transverse-foldings of the full velvet sleeve, the banded wrists.²⁴

Exploring further the avenue of lost portraits by Titian has

At his death at the age of ninety-two years and four months, Mantova's house and its collection (*studio o museo dir vogliamo*, as Mantova labels it in his testament) passed, under the terms of a *fedecommesso*, to his collateral heirs, who occupied his house and maintained the collections, essentially unaltered, until around 1768. In 1695 a *pronipote* twice removed, Andrea Mantova Benavides, compiled, according to his explicit affirmation, a diligent and detailed inventory of the familial collections founded and largely assembled by his ancestor, Marco Mantova, in the family palace (*Inventario delle antichità di casa Mantova Benavides*: *Antichità ... acquistate et lassiate per illustre honorato e decoro della Casa dall'Egreggio Jurisconsulto Conte e Cavalier Marco Mantova Benavides famoso et illustre tra nostri antenati; et con l'aiuto del Signor Dio fin hora conservate, et accresciute da me di molt'altre cose antiche di molt'estimazione*).²⁶

At number 76 of the inventory, Andrea Mantova Benavides records Marco Mantova's portrait, painted by Titian, hanging above the principal door of the Studio, or Museum: *Sopra la porta del detto Studio sive Museo, vi è un quadro del retratto bellissimo dell'antedetto J. C. Marco Mantova fatto di mano del tanto celebre stimatissimo Tiziano da Cador; che vivea in quel tempo, somilantissimo, con sue soaze antiche bianche, con fili d'oro, finte di stuccho e pietra, segnato ... n.o 76*. After number 90, another portrait by Titian is recorded, the seated portrait of Giulio Aguggiè, the *Prò Avolo della quondam Signora mia madre Nicolosa Rizzo*, writes Andrea Mantova, the compiler of the inventory. The portrait bears no number in the inventory, clearly because it entered the collection after Marco Mantova's death, as part of the dowry of Andrea's mother Nicolosa Rizzo, the daughter of Giovanni Rizzo, a Venetian ducal secretary, and Irene Aguggiè. The marriage of Andrea's parents must have taken place by the early 1620s at the latest, if a sister of Andrea married in 1638 and Andrea himself was born around 1630. Nicolosa Rizzo brought many furnishings with her to the *casa Mantova*.²⁷ No portrait by Titian of Giulio Aguggiè is known, but, in the inventory of 1695, this attribution follows a tradition distinct from that of the objects that once belonged to Marco Mantova.

It is difficult not to be initially somewhat sceptical of a late inventory, compiled, or at least completed around 1695, one-hundred and thirteen years after Marco Mantova's death in 1582. But Andrea, himself, had possessed the collection since before 1652. And as mentioned earlier, Mantova Benavides's possessions were bound by a strict *fedecommesso*, and the compiler, born some fifty years after Marco Mantova's demise, and his family before him had always lived in the same palace which housed the collection, a collection whose disposition was to a large degree held to be inalterable. The physical and social stability of a family favours the preservation of the familial collective memory, although the transmission of verbal and even written messages in time and through multiple recipients is, as is well known, a far from perfect process of communication. The objects had moved but little since Marco Mantova's death, and Andrea is careful to mention his own additions and changes. Although the 1695 inventory

does contain some demonstrable mistakes in its attributions, and modern imitations were mistaken for works of classical antiquity, there is scarcely a trace of any desire to assign modern works to more prestigious artists. The compiler was manifestly dedicated to the memory of his ancestors, and he dedicated equally great pains to elaborating the inventory, which at many points becomes a prolix historical and ancestral record, with the identification of historical and mythological personages often accompanied by an extended commentary aspiring to erudition. Looking at the repeatedly worked-over inventory in the original manuscript, with its innumerable corrections, alterations, and additions, engenders the impression that it was made in a period in which time stood still, when there were endless hours and days to rehearse the same questions again and again, a moment in which the fustian air of late Seicento Italy hung heavily over the human condition.

Throughout the inventory the system of numeration is clearly a function of the positions or locations of the objects, which were determined by the disposition of the rooms, with their constituent elements (*porte, finestra, camini, etc.*) and the structural containing and supporting elements that they housed (*nicchi, or nicchie* [cf. *nicchio sive comparto; spatio sive comparto*], *architravi, cornici, cornicioni, scanzie, scanziet- te, tavole, piedestalli, pilastrelli, quariselli, colonne, basi, etc.*). Most of the ‘places’ seem to belong to Marco Mantova’s time, and this is, in the case of Marco’s personal study, stated explicitly: his *Studiolo sive Gabinetto*, where he studied, with his desk, carpet, and chair, as he used and left them, and there, too, his inkstand, bearing a small bronze statuette similar to the effigy of his tomb, seated and with an open book, and containing his medals.²⁸ Here were also his small painting by Squarcione, small drawings by Domenico Campagnola, who lived in his house, and numerous engravings from the sixteenth-century, together with a few marble *testine*, among them a Seneca – *tutto fin al presente si è conservata col stesso proprio suo Gabinetto intatto ove studiava per illustre testimonio di sì Virtuoso stimatissimo nostro benemerito Antenato* (at no. 174). The display, side by side, of paintings, engravings, drawings, statues, fragments, and casts, along with *naturalia* and many small works of art given to Marco by artists, friends, and former students, speaks for his taste and not that of the late Seicento. His collection was not formed as a picture gallery of old masters, and even the paintings consisted largely of portraits. Thus, that the numeration follows the positions of the pieces, which reflect the historical disposition of the collection, indicates that the numbers assigned to the pieces may well belong to a time long before 1695. This suggestion finds confirmation in several peculiarities of the system of numeration.

Excluding the musical instruments, Andrea records 377 numbers in the inventory. Many numbers comprise several distinct and often disparate pieces, and a great many pieces are not assigned numbers at all. It seems contradictory that Andrea would assiduously describe the objects he inventories at length and with caring attentiveness and then not assign them a number, which is what he has done if, in fact, the numbering system is his, and not an earlier one, to which he conforms. In fact, there are numerous

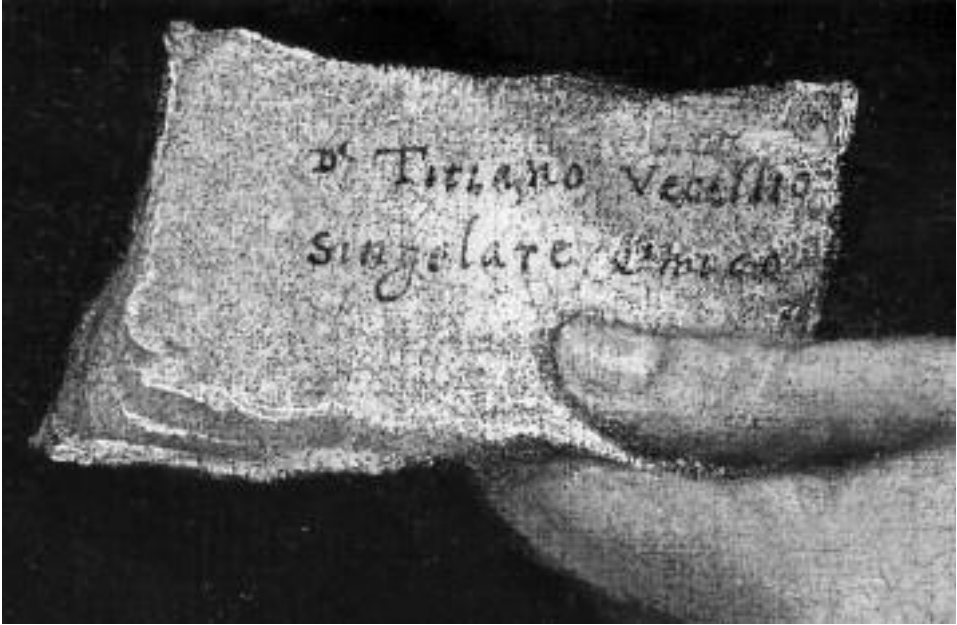


fig. 3: Titian, Portrait of a Friend of Titian, San Francisco, San Francisco Art Museums (detail)

indications that Andrea was somewhat dissatisfied with the practice of assigning the same number to numerous pieces, and that he was not entirely pleased that very many pieces carried no number at all, but, respectful of past practices, he did not change this. For instance, no. 55 of the inventory: after *due testine piccole in un pezzo di marmo* and an *altra di bassorilievo*, comes an *altra testa di satiro stucco pur tutte due segnate medesimamente con diversi pezzi di cappe et un diacodio mar:o, n:o 55*, all numbered, that is, 55. This arrangement does not seem to be of Andrea's own devising; he records what he finds before him. Of six half-length portraits of the Mantova Benavides family ancestors, Andrea records, perhaps with a trace of impatience, ... *sono tutti 6 segnato con lo stesso n.º 77. Ciascheduno d'essi, dico, n.º 77* (the same at nos. 78, 79).

It also seems intrinsically implausible that Andrea Mantova would invent a system of numeration in which a great many objects were not assigned numbers, dutifully registering in each case the fact that these same objects were not identified with numbers (*non segnato, non segnata, non segnati, non segnate*). In the case of some items that are not given a number, Andrea refers to them as *segnato n.º 0*, which may reflect a wish that the items be numbered, much as does his insistent specification that the items do not carry a number, even though they are sometimes as many a twelve in a single group. After no. 90, he registers *un crocodilio intiero: ... non segnato*. Or after no. 137 are found, *attacate alli tre quariselli dalle parti sopra li cantonali della suddetta scanzietta ... 24 medaglie de basso rillievo di mettale e parte de piombo de retratti et par-*

te figurette d'histoire 24 in tutte non segnate. And these 24 medals remain without number, notwithstanding the specification of their quantity, 24, and their material and kind: portrait medals and plaquettes (FAVARETTO, p. 69 or 99).

That Andrea is following a pre-existent arrangement and scheme of numeration becomes very clear by observing what happens when he moves a piece in the collection. A stone *mezzorilievo* of a Satyr and Satyress previously occupied the position of number 338 in the inventory, but Andrea has moved it, he writes, to a position just before number 326 (beneath a bust of Commodus, no. 204), because he wants to put a broken, but precious steel mirror in its place. This operation accomplished, the *mezzorilievo* retains its former number, 338, where, in the inventory, it is described, and it receives no new number in its new position, where the transposition is merely noted. By the same token the steel mirror, of which a marginal drawing is given beside no. 338, receives no number – it is, Andrea writes, *segnato n.º 0* – and he simply notes that he has put the mirror here, and the relief elsewhere. The numbers seem almost irrevocably linked to the positions (*luoghi*, 'places'), as in a memory theatre.

The age of this earlier numerical systematization of the collection is difficult to determine. The unnumbered portrait of Giulio Aguggiè, mentioned above, does suggest a system of numeration that antedates 1620 circa or earlier, the approximate date of the entry of this work into the collection. Andrea Mantova's inventory of 1695 contains some direct references to instances, where he relies on notes or writings of Marco Mantova (although these are not always easy to evaluate unequivocally): e.g., at no. 246: *Nota fatta dal medesima I. C. Marco Mantoa; il tutto sempre conservato per sicura tradizione e nota fatta dal medesimo J.C. Marco Mantoa per degna gratissima Memoria di tant'estimatione ...* (cf. nos. 170–171, 255; see also: FAVARETTO, p. 12 or 42). And at no. 140: *da medesimo [Marco Mantoa Benavides nostro Illustre Antenato] fattavi memoria di sua mano a tergho del suddetto ritratto*. Moreover, Marco Mantova Benavides's testament of 1581 ordered his executors and heirs to compile a *detagliato inventario di ogni suo bene* within three months of his death, in order to guarantee the observance of his *fedecommesso*.²⁹ This document is not known, and it is not entirely clear that it would have included the movable possessions of his *museo*.

In any event, in a letter to Johannes Sambucus, published in Marco Mantova's *Epistolae familiares* in 1578, Mantova offers to send Sambucus the catalogue of his collection of statues, pictures, and other objects: ... & *id quidem de Statuis deq; picturis & aliis omnibus, dictum putabis Bibliotecâ nostram, quorum insuper (ut petisti) ad te indicem mitto*.³⁰ The background to Sambucus's request to acquire ancient coins from Mantova doubtless lies in the fact that, from 1571 to 1574, the soon to become imperial court librarian in Vienna (... *Caesareae Bibliothecae Praefecto ...*, 1575), Hugo Blotius, then charged as a tutor, resided at the house of Marco Mantova in Padua, where he received numerous letters from Sambucus, addressed to him, at *Padua, appresso il Signor Dottore Mantua in Porzia* [or *Porczia, Portia*], that is, Mantova's house in Porciglia, behind the Eremitani.³¹ As early as December 1571, Sambucus

includes a letter for Mantova, to whom he instructs Blotius to give it, and then to send him Mantova's answer. Many of Sambucus's letters to Blotius concern seven marble busts that he has acquired for the Imperial Court from Giovanni dal Cavino and their transport to Vienna via Venice, about which Cavino's and Mantova's mutual friend, the antiquarian Alessandro Bassanius, is to be consulted.³²

In light of the circumstances enumerated above, it becomes difficult to avoid the impression that the inventory of 1695 draws on, not simply isolated notices deriving from Marco Mantova and oral traditions within a family that had always remained in the same place, but also on previous attempts to register the contents of the collection and the placement of the objects in the family's possession. Thus the notice of a portrait of Marco Mantova by Titian gains greatly in credibility. Naturally, as nearly every other fragmentary written testimony to the past, this notice may record an error, but this is true of the entire edifice of written and narrative sources, to which the writing of Titian's biography is so greatly indebted, and without which attempts to reconstruct the past would be nearly impossible.

It should hardly come as a surprise that the Venetian Titian and the Paduan Mantova Benavides were acquainted. They both lived in the same place: Padua, as Michele Sanmicheli from experience observed, being scarcely more than a *contrada de Venetia*, or *per dir meglio [uno] de li suoi sestieri*.³³ Mantova owned two small pen sketches (*testine*) by Titian, possibly received as gifts, as were many of the similar pen and ink drawings by Domenico Campagnola, which Mantova hung together with the Titian drawings. It was the Paduan Sperone Speroni, Marco Mantova's great friend, who, in 1542, printed his *Dialogues*, where Titian and his art of portraiture figured prominently. Marco Mantova responded with his *Discorsi sopra i dialoghi di Messer Sperone Speroni ne' quali si ragiona della bellezza & della eccellenza de lor concetti* (Venice 1561), in which Speroni's praise of Titian is seconded.

Thus when Pietro Aretino writes to Speroni, in a letter datable to November 1552–January 1553: ... *e degnatevi domattina venire a desinare, è suto per uscire di bocca, con Angela Spadarà e con chi vedrete a la mensa. Onde Tiziano, il Sansovino e 'l Mantova (che doveva dir prima) con la predetta madonna e io vi aspettiamo./ Di casa, eccetera;*³⁴ *il Mantova (che doveva dir prima)* is Marco Mantova, who, with Titian and Jacopo Sansovino, awaits Speroni for lunch at the house of Pietro Aretino in Venice. It is on 7 January 1553 that Alessandro Vittoria writes to Marco Mantova that he has greeted Pietro Aretino, as Marco Mantova had instructed him to do, and that Aretino returns his greetings.³⁵

In December 1545, Aretino had written Titian of the pomp and ceremony surrounding the investiture of Doge Francesco Donato, to which Mantova Benavides had been sent as the ambassador and representative of Padua (*e molto honoratamente vi venne [a Venezia], e con elegante oration suppl' al tutto*).³⁶ And Aretino adds, *Dissi con Sansovino, desinando dopo il fausto del grande spettacolo, che il non aver mai il compare fornito il ritratto de l'uom degno, gli è suto di felice sorte augurio*.³⁷ A portrait of doge

Donato was, however, soon underway.³⁸ And, by 1545, there are numerous indications of connections between Mantova Benavides and the circle of Aretino and Titian. In May of 1545, Aretino writes the sculptor Bartolomeo Ammannati, praising works he has made for Marco Mantova in Padua,³⁹ and, in April of 1546, Aretino writes again, this time to Marco Mantova himself, *La statua, che ne la corte de la casa vostra costi in Padova avete fatta scolpire, è famosa tanto che qual si voglia principe ne sarebbe onorato.*⁴⁰ There follows shortly thereafter a response from Mantova, *Al Signor Pietro Aretino suo, Come maggiore & honorando sempre. ... Lo dì XV di Luglio MDXLVI. In Padova. Il Mantova di V. S. deditissimo.: Se una scintilla dell'amor vostro, & una grande accoglienza in poc'hora a me fu fatta dalla Cortesia vostra, quando vi visitai col Magnifico Quirini, Signor Pietro mio; ecc. ... Per il che lette le vostre lettere a me gratissime & care; & dal raccomandato Aretin vostro havuto il tutto, mi sono sforzato di scriverlo ...*⁴¹ From this letter it emerges that Marco Mantova has visited Aretino in Venice in the company of their mutual friend, *il magnifico Quirini*, that is, Girolamo Quirini, the executor of Pietro Bembo's last wishes.⁴² Quirini, together with Speroni, appears to be an essential link between Mantova and the Venetian circle of Aretino and Titian.⁴³

The temporal indications given above belong mainly to the mid-1540s and early 1550s, but Aretino dies in 1556, outlived for decades by many of his friends, some of whom, with time, distanced themselves from his memory, as his works became discredited. With Aretino's death an informative voice is silenced. The circle of the correspondents of Aretino and Mantova, not surprisingly, overlap at many points.

Writers on Titian have observed that fame and immortality were not his only ambitions. He displayed a healthy interest in being paid for his works and in gaining sinecures. This interest apparently plays a part in an unnoticed, but perhaps even more important link between Marco Mantova and Titian, in the person of Giovanni Benavides, who makes a brief appearance in the correspondence of Titian, which includes a letter from Titian addressed to him. This Giovanni Benavides is, in fact, Marco Mantova's *nipote*, or so Marco himself describes him, when he recommends him at the court of England in 1554.⁴⁴ Giovanni is sometimes described as a *nipote ex fratre*,⁴⁵ but it is unclear who Giovanni's father was. In any event, he appears to have been quite close to Marco, who sought to advance his fortunes and to secure his debts.

On 10 September 1554, it is Titian himself, in Venice, who writes a notably servile letter to the Illustrious *signore don Giovanni Benevides*. It has not been recognized that this Giovanni Benavides is, in fact, the same young *nipote* of Marco Mantova, who at this moment finds himself in the large entourage of Prince Philip of Spain, in London, on the occasion of Philip's marriage to Mary Tudor, Queen of England, at which point Philip acquires the additional title of 'king consort'. All this accords with what Titian writes: *Io non so se il mio signore don Giovanni Benevides sarà tanto fatto altiero per il nuovo regno accresciuto alla grandezza del suo Re, che non voglia più riconoscere le lettere, né la pittura di Tiziano, già da lui amato. Anzi pur credo che egli*

vedrà questa e quelle con lieto animo, e che ne farà festa, perciocchè un signore, per natura nobile e per creanza umanissimo, come Vostra Signoria, è tanto più degna e accarezza i suoi servidori, quanto più se gli accresce autorità e favore da poter giovare ad altrui. Spero dunque che me e le cose mie saranno favorite da Lei più che mai. In fine io ho tutta la mia speranza nel gran Re d'Inghilterra per la intercessione del mio buon signore e gentile Benevides, che so che mi vuole e può aiutare. Titian continues, mentioning his *poesie* for Philip and other paintings, in whose fate and fortune Giovanni Benavides will play a vital rôle.⁴⁶ In the *carteggio* of Titian, references to Benavides begin as early as 1552, and the young Paduan appears to be Titian's most important Italian contact and spokesman present at the court of Felipe II at this moment. On 12 December 1552, the *Principe di Spagna*, Philip himself, writes to Titian about works being made for him, concluding, *y remitiendome a don Juan de Benavides no diré en ésta mas*.⁴⁷ Giovanni Benevides's rôle at the Spanish court is explicitly identified in a brief printed description of the wedding of Philip and Mary Tudor at Winchester Cathedral on 25 July 1554 (*Narratione assai piu particolare della prima, del viaggio, et dell'entrata del Serenissimo Prencipe di Spagna, al presente Re d'Inghilterra, fatta in quel Regno, con l'ordine di tutte le cerimonie, [et] titoli, seguite nel felicissimo matrimonio di sua Maesta con la Serenissima Regina, il giorno di S[an] Iacomo, alli xxv. di Luglio. MDLIII*). This document, in the form of a letter dated *Di Londra li xxviii. di Settembre M.D.LIII.*, names *Don Gio. de Benavides* as one of four *Gentiluomini della camera* (p. 8) of Prince Philip, confirming the personal closeness to his Lord suggested by Philip's letter, just mentioned. The figured initial *E* at the beginning of this printed Italian letter, superimposed on an image of the *Rape of Europa*, is identical to a figured *E* employed by Venetian mid-sixteenth-century presses, and it seems highly probable that the text was printed in Venice.⁴⁸

On 23 March 1553 Titian writes again to Prince Philip, thanking the prince for his praise, and for *li tanti grandi favori* he has received from the *grande Filippo mio signor*, about which he has learned from *Don Giovanni de Benavides*. Giovanni Mantova Benavides's letter probably informed Titian of a payment of the notable sum of 500 ducats, which Philip had ordered paid to him.⁴⁹ Giovanni Benavides's sojourn in London began perhaps as early as June 1554, when Giovanni Michele, the Venetian ambassador to the court of England, wrote to Marco Mantova, promising to keep a watchful eye over his *nipote* Giovanni.⁵⁰ In August of the same year, Giovanni sent his uncle a long and detailed report of the marriage of Philip and Mary in London.⁵¹ It is possible that Giovanni dal Cavino's medal of Pope Julius III, made in 1554 (*Anno V*), with its reverse (*ANGLIA RESVRGES*) showing Mary Tudor, Philip, Julius III, Charles V, Cardinal Pole, and the figure of Anglia, was, at least in part, initiated by Marco Mantova to commemorate this occasion, as Cavino's subjects are usually linked to Padua and Venice.⁵² It was apparently at sometime after 1555 that Giovanni Benavides (*M. Giovanni suo Nipote minore*) copied a collection of several hundred letters written to Marco Mantova between 1517 and 1555, now in the Robbins Collection of the Libr-



fig. 4: Giovanni dal Cavino, Medallion Portraits of Alessandro Bassiano and Giovanni dal Cavino, London, Victoria & Albert Museum

*nobiltà, di dottrina, di splendore, di cortesia e di magnanimità nate in voi, e sparse, e seminate, sopra li letterati, sotto le sorte di virtuosi.*⁵⁵ And, in 1575, Francesco Sansovino writes similarly: *I Mantova, detti anco Benaviti, illustri per Marco Legista famosissimo, il quale non solamente ha molto scritto nella sua professione, ma ha anco fabricate reggimento, favorendo gli Scultori, i Pittori, et tutte l'altre arti nobili, degne di lodi.*⁵⁶

Andrea Riccio, Valerio Belli, Giovanni dal Cavino, Domenico Campagnola, Bartolomeo Ammannati, Enea Vico, Paolo Pino, Jacob Zagar, Jacopo Sansovino, Alessandro Vittoria, Giuseppe Salviati, Girolamo Campagna, all these artists are among the names mentioned either as friends or as recipients of commissions and favours from Marco Mantova in early written sources. It is not possible here to review all these friendships, but a few examples illustrate Mantova's rôle as patron and Maecenas.

Marco Mantova was present as a witness to the act of legitimization of Andrea Riccio's very young daughter Romana, called Nina, in February 1531, and the following June, Riccio named Mantova as an executor of his first testament, naming Romana as his heir. After her premature death, and possibly the consequent expiration of Mantova's responsibilities for her, a second testament of March 1532 named two new executors, both close associates of Mantova, Alessandro Bassiano and Giovanni dal Cavino (fig. 4). They were entrusted with the responsibility for Riccio's funeral monument, which is now found in the Chiostro del Noviziato at the Santo in Padua (fig. 5). Its design is identical to the later monument to Livy in the Salone of the Palazzo della Ragione in Padua (fig. 6), strongly suggesting that Bassiano was responsible for the architecture of both monuments, and that Cavino may indeed have made the lost bronze tondo portrait of Riccio, once found on his tomb, as is often thought (fig. 4).

ary of the University of California at Berkeley.⁵³ On 14 March 1566, Marco Mantova wrote to Francesco Sansovino, mentioning *mio nipote Giovanni tutto vostro*.⁵⁴ The date of Giovanni's death is not known, but he predeceased Marco Mantova, who, in 1581, shortly before his own death, took steps to satisfy the very substantial debts left by his nephew in order to protect the patrimony of the family.

Mantova Benavides's rôle as a friend and Maecenas of artists has emerged clearly in the research of recent decades: Friendship is a recurrent motive in the record of these relationships. In a letter of 1550 to Marco Mantova, Anton Francesco Doni writes of the *tante infinite virtù di*



fig. 5:
Monument to An-
drea Riccio, Padova,
formerly San Gio-
vanni in Vedara, now
Santo, Chiostro del
Noviziato

An unusual portrait medal by Cavino, with the portraits of Mantova with Bassiano and the medallist, commemorates the association of the three men, in what constitutes a genuine friendship medal, without obverse or reverse: on one side, the portrait of Mantova and, on the other, the double portrait, with the head of Bassiano set before that of Cavino (figs. 4, 7). The existence of fine struck specimens of this medal demonstrates that this combination was intentional. This portrait of Mantova does not seem to be combined with other portrait 'reverses', or, indeed, with any 'true' reverses at all.

Mantova's friendship with Paolo Pino is recorded in the 1695 inventory, which lists *il ritratto dell'Egregio Pittore illustrissimo Paolo Pino Venetiano Amico carissimo* of Mantova, according to an annotation on the reverse of the picture (*da medesimo fattavi memoria di sua mano a tergho*, no. 140). It was most likely a gift from Pino to Mantova.

According to Andrea Mantova's inventory of 1695, Girolamo Campagna gave Marco Mantova his portrait (Royal Collections, England), painted by Leandro Bassa-



fig. 6:
Monument to Livy,
Padova, Palazzo della
Ragione, Salone

no, in gratitude for standing as a guarantor for Campagna in his successful attempt to win the commission to complete Danese Cattaneo's large marble relief for the Cappella di Sant'Antonio in the Santo at Padua, left unfinished at the time of Cattaneo's death in November 1572. This information appears to be confirmed, at first, by a surviving letter of 1573, from the painter Giuseppe Salviati, recommending that the unproven young Campagna be assigned the recently deceased Cattaneo's commission. In this letter, addressed to Marco Mantova, who was, at that time, the President of the responsible venerable Arca del Santo, Salviati recalls: *Da giovanetto già molt'anni fui a Padova a baciare le mani a Vostra Signoria [Marco Mantova] et dopo sempre gli sono restato affectionatissimo, sì per il suo valore come anco per haverli dilettato continuamente della scultura et della pittura, et essere dell'una et dell'altra intendente.*⁵⁷ There are many unclear aspects concerning Andrea's unusually long and discursive account of this painting, part of which seems based on his own investigations and part on erroneous deductions that he made. The painting certainly dates after Marco Mantova's death, most likely to the early 1590s, but Marco's namesake, his *pronipote*

Marc’Antonio Mantova Benavides, was charged with the care of the collection following his great-uncle’s death, and he may have received the portrait as a sign of his gratitude for Marco Mantova’s support and friendship at the very beginning of Campagna’s career, which saw other notable commissions in Padua at the Santo in the early 1580s. The inventory states that Campagna made the gift of the painting and a work of sculpture *in testimonio della Memoria gratta d’haverli fatto quel beneficio a favore d’esserli stato Pioggio*⁵⁸ *della bell’opra sua fatta in marmo sopraddetta nella Cappella del Santo appresso li SS. i Pressidenti di quel tempo della Veneranda Arca*. There has been considerable discussion of the portrait in the British Royal Collection in recent years, with divergent opinions concerning many aspects, in particular, concerning the sitter, identified alternatively as Girolamo Campagna, Francesco Bassano *il giovane*, and Tiziano Aspetti. The sitter may well be none of these men, but instead the youthful artist himself, Leandro Bassano, whose drawn self-portrait in Darmstadt the London portrait so very strongly resembles.⁵⁹

Mantova’s collection appears to have contained a number of other gifts from artists, students, and friends, in large part studies preliminary to finished works of art: not only Jacob Zagar’s slate medal, now in Berlin (fig. 8), and two medals by Vittoria,⁶⁰ but also pen sketches by Titian (two *testine*) and Domenico Campagnola, whom Mantova employed and kept in his house. The two *termini* by Alessandro Vittoria (*due Termini sive piccole statue de stucco seu gesso de vecchi tratti dall’egregio scultor Alessandro Vittoria*, nos. 252/253), were probably casts of small models by Vittoria, and these are possibly reflected in the bronze statuette of *‘Winter’* in Vienna (who appears to be a sort of atlante or supporting figure [*termini*]).⁶¹ There may well have been additional gifts by the sculptor, including the terracotta model of *‘Architettura’*, almost certainly given to Mantova by Vittoria, who mentions the figure in his testament of 1566.⁶² The *statua di gesso dell’Apollo dell’inclito famoso scultore Giacomo Sansovino che di bronzo ha fatto con molt’altre bellissime statue per ornamento della Loggia nella maestosa gran Piazza di San Marco in Venetia* (Inv. 1695, no. 66), perhaps a gesso casting model for the bronze Loggetta Apollo, was also most likely a gift from the sculptor, numerous examples of whose gifts of models to friends, patrons and potential patrons are recorded by Vasari. Mantova’s friendship with the Florentine sculptor and architect Bartolomeo Ammannati, whom he employed in the 1540s, extended over many years, and it is



fig. 7: Giovanni dal Cavino, Medallic Portrait of Marco Mantova Benavides, London, Victoria & Albert Museum



fig. 8: Jacob Zagar, Slate model for a medal of Marco Mantova Benavides, Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Münzkabinett

siamo noi.⁶⁴ Thereby Mantova explicitly identifies Jacopo Sansovino, first, as *singolare* and, then, as an *amico* (*degli amici*), the same two terms used in the address of the letter that the San Francisco friend of Titian holds.

These same formulas are frequently encountered, for instance, in the letters of Johannes Sambucus, the Hungarian humanist philologist, poet, collector, patron, and polymath, who wrote often to Hugo Blotius, beginning when Blotius lived in the house of Mantova Benavides in Padua, in 1571–1573/74. On 3 November 1575, Sambucus writes Blotius, addressing the letter: *Clarissimo Viro D. Doctori Hugonio Blotio Caesareae Bibliothecae Praefecto, Amico meo singulari*.⁶⁵ In 1571, Theodor Zwinger is addressed: *Viro clarissimo Domino Theodoro Zuinggero, Medico et Philosopho etc. Amico singulari. Basileam*.⁶⁶ There are many other similar examples (*Caesaris Consiliario et Medico Singulari*, ... *Domino et amico singulariter colendo* ..., *amico optimo; amico observando, amico suo honorando*, 1572; *Domino et amico observando*; etc.). Sambucus writes, for instance, to Fulvio Orsini in Rome: *Al Dottissimo e Nobilissimo Signor ... Fulvio Ursino Gentilhuomo Romano etc. Patrono et amico singolare*.⁶⁷ The formulas *D.*, *D.no*, etc., for *Domino* are all, not surprisingly, to be found in Mantova's extensive correspondence.⁶⁸

What all these circumstances indicate is that Marco Mantova was in direct contact with Titian and belonged to the circle of Titian's friends. At one point in time, Titian was more than eager to secure and retain the favour of Mantova's nephew, Giovanni *alias* 'Juan de Benevides'. Marco Mantova's own interest in Titian's art is reflected in his collection, in drawings, in engravings after Titian's paintings, and in his employment of Domenico Campagna, who emulated Titian's art, and Marco Mantova's admiration of Titian is openly declared in his *Discorsi sopra i dialoghi di Messer Speron Speroni*.

documented by letters from Ammannati, *inter alia*, a remarkable early letter of 1555 describing the new *villa di papa Giulio* built for Pope Julius II and an affectionate late letter, written by Ammannati in 1573.⁶³ These examples indicate the quantity and quality of Mantova's relationships with artists. Others are mentioned in the notes, and further examples have doubtless escaped notice. Paolo Pino's self-portrait (in *Nota a tergo*: *Amico carissimo*, no. 140) parallels a passage in Marco Mantova's letter to Francesco Sansovino, mentioned above, and dated 14 March 1566, in which Mantova refers to *suo padre Messer Giacopo* [= Jacopo Sansovino] *tutto vostro et singolare de' nostri tempi degli amici* [suoi] *tra quali*

All these are circumstances that might be reflected in the San Francisco portrait, with its letter addressed to Titian, the singular friend. Thus there is a serious external historical basis for asking if Marco Mantova is the sitter in the San Francisco portrait.

In the genre of portraiture the question of likeness and similitude is always a fundamental one, and yet one which often leads to divergent opinions among viewers. Raphael's portrait of Bindo Altoviti shows a beardless youth with long, flowing blonde hair and sideburns. Could we ever recognize him, if we knew only the nearly sixty-year-old bearded Altoviti of Cellini's bronze bust? Vasari touches on this question, in his *'Ragionamenti'*, when, in the Sala di Leone X, he relates to the young Prince Francesco: *In questa storia ... ci son tutti i ritratti loro di naturale, per mostrare fra queste storie quella magnificenza di Leone.*" The Prince answers: *Tutto so: ma cominciamo a veder chi e' sono; che ancora ch'io altrove n'abbi visti ritratti parecchi, ed anche vivi qualcuno, l'essere invecchiati poi, e mescolati qui fra tante figure, malagevolmente, se non me lo dicessi, li conoscerei, e massime che, avendo eglino tutti uno abito in dosso, è difficile a ritrovarli: ma voi, che gli avete fatti, potete cominciare a dire chi e' sono.*⁶⁹ Similarly, if the profile portrait of *'La Schiavona'*, painted as if a marble relief, were not part of Titian's Portrait of *'La Schiavona'* (London, National Gallery), who would be sure that the two women were the same. Some of the features of the sitter in the San Francisco portrait have been mentioned (figs. 1, 2). If we attempt a rapid inventory of his appearance, with particular attention to the individual traits of his portrait, we will notice: (1) his hair combed forward in an imperial *'caesar'*-cut; (2) his rather large ears; (3) his evenly-formed, well-defined eyebrows; the arched brows over the eyes, clearly defined; (4) his eyes with a trace of pouches, as a first sign of age in a mature but still vigorous face; (5) his strong-bridged, long nose with a distinctly articulated, downward turning tip, almost hooked (cf. Hampton Court copy); (6) his moustache, well-defined in form and distinct from the beard, and a somewhat sparse beard at the sides and below the cheeks, with two lateral *'hairless'* areas beneath the mouth; and a goatee-like growth of the beard beneath the chin; and, finally, (7) his sensuous lips, with a fleshy protruding lower lip. The profile of the head is distinctively rounded, the head itself somewhat small and compact. The figure appears almost slight. The expression serious, impassive, still, and the regular features display strength, but not forwardness, and there is also a recessive note of frailty present in the portrait. The sitter's *età* appears much the same as that of Orazio Vecellio, who stands for maturity, in Titian's triple portrait, the *'Three Ages of Man'*, an allegory of prudence.⁷⁰ Orazio Vecellio (1525–1576) was in his forties when the picture was painted. On 25 November 1540, Mantova was 51 years old.

Many of the portraits of Marco Mantova are found on portrait medals, where his likeness is presented in a profile view, from, that is, a vantage point that does not represent the dominant frontal image of a person, which is in *'real life'* determinative for our image of him. The well-known difficulties of comparing profile medallion portraits with frontal painted portraits is illustrated by a portrait attributed to Antonio Campi,⁷¹



fig. 9: Antonio Campi (attributed to), Portrait of Alessandro Caimi, formerly London, Sotheby's (1968)

which contains in its upper corners depictions of the obverse and the reverse of a medal of the sitter (fig. 9). The medal is by Pier Paolo Galeotti, and the sitter's name is Alessandro Caimi, a Milanese jurist.⁷² Were the medallic portrait not painted together with the painted face of Caimi, it is uncertain that we would ever match Caimi's painted portrait with his medal. Of course, these are the only two portraits of Caimi known,



fig. 10: Giovanni dal Cavino, Medallic Portrait of Marco Mantova Benavides, München, Staatliche Münzsammlung



fig. 11: Giovanni dal Cavino, Medallic Portrait of Giovanni Pietro Mantova Benavides, München, Staatliche Münzsammlung

whereas there are a notable number of known portraits of Marco Mantova, which, in their variety, afford a fuller view of his portrait iconography. Nevertheless, an imaginative process is required to loosen the two-dimensional vise of the flat, round metallic format. A similar imaginative process is entailed in portraits of Gabriele Tadini, which allude to the medallic origins of the likenesses. The portrait at Lovere includes the reverse of Cavino's medal of Tadini (1538), with its file of cannons, suspended from a chain, and a further portrait of Tadini in Winterthur, by Titian, shows the cannons in the background.⁷³ A number of Titian's portraits depend in part or entirely from medallic representations of the sitters, especially for sitters who could not come to him, or he go to them, as he was loathe to do.

The Paduan medallist Giovanni dal Cavino made three medals with the portraits of Marco Mantova. Although Cavino's medallic dies were joined with varying combinations of obverse and reverse, the 'correct' reverse, or reverses, for the portrait types can, I believe, be identified with some confidence. These same combinations are shown as early as 1761, in the plates of the *Museum Mazzuchellianum*.⁷⁴ The apparent age of the sitter is often not a particularly reliable guide to the date of a medal, but these three medals are all of the same sitter and by the same medallist. They all show Marco Mantova in essentially the same phase of his life, which appears to be that of vigorous maturity. The fact that none of the medallic circumscriptions allude to the title of Palatine Count and Knight, which he received from Charles V in 1545, indicates with very considerable force (if, perhaps, not absolutely conclusively) that these three public medals were issued prior to receiving the title. Later medals, commissioned by Marco Mantova, uniformly record this title in the obverse inscriptions, and scarcely a title page of the very many books published by Mantova after this date fail to record it. A slender indication



fig. 12: Giovanni dal Cavino, Medallistic Portrait of Marco Mantova Benavides, London, British Museum

for a date lies in one of the obverses, *AETERNITAS. MANTVAE*, which is thematically connected with Mantova's monument in the Eremitani, the model for which was complete by May 1545.⁷⁵ The tomb inscription of 1546 states: *MARCVS MANTVA BENAVIDIVS PATAVINVS IVRISCONSVLTVS ... SACRI LATERANENSIS PALATII; AVLAEQVE IMPERIALIS COMES ET EQVES ...* Mantova's letters record that he was distributing medals with his image as early as 1540. Thus the medals all appear to belong to this brief span of years, centred around ca. 1540, and when the approximate sequence of Mantova's portraits is established, this conclusion will find confirmation.

A first medal (Type I) appears to belong with the medallistic portrait of Mantova Benavides's father, Giovanni Pietro: its inscription terminates with the words *MEDICVS PATER* (figs. 10, 11). The two medal portraits form a single medal of *pater* and *filius*, testifying to the *amore filiale* of the son. Both of these portrait images are also found correctly combined with an image of the Temple of Eternity in medals dedicated to the eternity of the Mantova Benavides lineage.⁷⁶ Marco Mantova wears a toga-like mantle, with a buttoned under-shirt and collar. His narrow beard hangs from his chin, and his face appears more animated than in the other types, but this impression is most likely dependent, at least in part, on the specimen at hand (fig. 10).

A second medal (Type II) appears to be correctly combined only with a double portrait of the antiquarian Alessandro Bassiano and the medallist himself, Cavino (figs. 4, 7). As mentioned above, the medal constitutes a kind of friendship medal. All three men were associated with Andrea Riccio, and Bassiano and Cavino were associated in making medals and selling works of art, such as ancient coins and antique and probably pseudo-antique busts and heads.⁷⁷ In the 'friendship medal', the portraits of both the 'obverse' and the 'reverse' share an identical and distinctive bust form: the 'nude' bust, with a scalloped truncation, closely following Roman imperial numismatic models, and an equally classicising abbreviated Paludamentum that leaves the shoulder exposed. The form of the bust, truncation, and Paludamentum is closely comparable to Cavino's medal of Tiberio Deciano (*AN. XL.*) of 1549. In Mantova's medal his beard is trimmed shorter, and he appears slightly older than in the medals of Type I, or at least his features seem hardened and are given a more resolute cast.

A third medal (Type III) shows Mantova in contemporary dress (fig. 12). He wears the high-necked tunic often worn by jurists, with a chemise beneath. The line of the

forehead breaks angularly as it reaches the top of the head, and the tip of the nose is clearly hooked. The die for this medal, in Paris, has been there associated with that for the portrait of Luca Salvioni (*PAT. IVR. CON.*), but the proper reverse for Salvioni's medal is dedicated to Ceres the law-giver (*LEGIFERAE CERERI*), with a sow's head at her feet. Salvioni, like Mantova, is buried in the church of the Eremitani, albeit with a far more modest tomb slab let into the pavement, and it was Salvioni, who, in 1532, acted as Andrea Riccio's attorney.⁷⁸ Despite the slight variations in Mantova's iconography that we have seen, the medals of Cavino all give a very consistent account of his appearance.

Made by a Belgian dilettante medallist, Jacob Zagar, who was a student (*discipulus*) of Marco Mantova at Padua, the medal illustrated in figure 13 represents a slightly deviant instance in the rather full iconographical tradition of visual images of Mantova. Zagar's medallic likeness may, perhaps, betray its maker's imperfect skills in the art of portrayal. Mantova's baldness appears slightly more advanced than in Cavino's medals, and his hair is not combed forward. He wears the contemporary dress of his profession, professor of jurisprudence. Zagar's medal, which most probably dates from 1551–1553, may, nevertheless, give some indications concerning Mantova's appearance in these years, at the most a decade later than Cavino's portraits. The medal is a private medal, made as Zagar's medals generally were, as a token of esteem and affection for a friend and colleague. Like the triple medal of Cavino, Bassiano, and Mantova, it is a friendship medal. Its reverse, with its intimate, enigmatic impresa, is engraved in Giacomo Filippo Tomasini's *Elogia illustrium virorum* (Padua 1630: fig. 13). This portrait does not tell us much about Mantova's appearance in profile that is not already apparent in Cavino's medal, but Zagar's more pedestrian approach spares us Cavino's classicising glaze, which overlies his treatment of Mantova's features, perhaps obscuring some details.⁷⁹



fig. 13: Engraved portrait of Marco Mantova Benavides, in: Giacomo Filippo TOMASINI, *Elogia illustrium virorum*, Padova 1630



fig. 14: Lodovico Leoni, Medallistic Portrait of Marco Mantova Benavides, Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Münzkabinett

It has been suggested that Lodovico Leoni's signed (*LVD LEO*: fig. 14) medal of Marco Mantova derived mainly from that of Zagar, but the somewhat underestimated Paduan Leoni (1536/1537–1612) was a gifted medallist of considerable merit, and his medal of Marco Mantova is far superior in quality to that of Zagar.⁸⁰ It is perhaps the most beautiful of Mantova's medallistic portraits. With his greater abilities in portrayal, Leoni shows Mantova at a distinctly later period of his life, when a trace of a capric cast had begun to invade his appearance. Leoni moved to Rome by the early 1570s, but in the 1560s he was active in Padua. Mantova's medal belongs to this time, made perhaps as much as decade after Zagar's medal.

If, in Leoni's medal, the line that forms the profile of Mantova's forehead and cranium is continued and completed, it forms a perfect circle, the size of a 20 euro-cent. But the medal is also modelled in relief, and the circular shape of Mantova's head tends toward a spherical form, appearing almost like a perfect ball. The likeness of Mantova that Leoni presents to us looks distinctly different from Zagar's stone medal, or model, but the two portraits are, in reality, completely compatible. Leoni's image of Mantova creates an impression different from that of Cavino's portraits – less bold, milder, with a trace of meekness, more tentative in character – but a direct comparison with Cavino's medallistic portrait of Marco Mantova *filius*⁸¹ reveals that the features are exactly the same, and thus we see the same man, looking paradoxically somewhat different. But Cavino's image is a public image, destined for wide dissemination, and Mantova appears assured, determined, almost bold, and almost bold even in the plastic expression of the forms. Leoni's portrait is evanescent in comparison, but it presents, it seems, a truer image of the man Marco Mantova, as he was. The high cheek-bones are more prominent, and the process of aging begins to be described: balding is more pronounced, with only a tuft of hair over the forehead.

Two woodcut portraits of Marco Mantova, included in books that he published, accord very well with the image of Marco Mantova that Lodovico Leoni presents. They break the planar grip of the medals, which trap Mantova's likeness in profile, and they turn Mantova's head, first slightly, and then more fully forward, so that he begins to face the viewer, as in life.

The first portrait could almost be derived from Leoni's medal, so in agreement is the likeness it presents (fig. 15). Its date must be the same or nearly so. The portrait ap-

pears in Marco Mantova's *Loculati opuscoli*, printed in Padua in 1580, but the image is not that of a ninety year old man, and it appears to be reused from an earlier publication.⁸² Here the head breaks out of the strict profile view, but, although turned slightly forward, the sitter faces to the side in what remains a partial profile presentation. The finely formed head, ball-like in shape, and the capric beard are in perfect agreement with the medals of Leoni and Cavinno (especially Types I and II). Girolamo Ghilini reports that Mantova was large in spirit but small in stature.⁸³



fig. 15: Woodcut portrait of Marco Mantova Benavides, published in: Marco Mantova Benavides, *Loculati opuscoli*, Padova 1580

The woodcut portrait published in 1580 clear-

ly dates much earlier, perhaps as much as two decades before 1580, and even the ornamental frame points in the direction of Venice in the years after 1550, between about 1555–1565 perhaps.⁸⁴ With parted lips, as if speaking, Mantova appears, in an almost momentary pose, more alert and animated than in the medallic images we have seen, but here is, again, the same Marco Mantova, with his head perfectly formed, geometrically, as if perfected in its form by a later Piero with endless calculated sections and profiles, its outline a continuous curving shape. Mantova's hairline has receded, with only sparse and isolated hairs above his forehead. Familiar, by now, is his large, rounded ear and his pointed goat's beard. His costume is the same as Zagar's medal: a high-collared cloak worn over a buttoned jerkin, typical attire for a Paduan jurist, to judge from the portraits reproduced in Tomasini's *Elogia*.⁸⁵

At first glance the second woodcut portrait seems to show a much older Mantova Benavides (fig. 16), but this may not be the case. The impression of greater age may simply be a function of two artists's differing approaches to the portrayal of the sitter,



fig. 16: Woodcut portrait of Marco Mantova Benavides, in: *Milleloquii iuris M. Mantuae Benavidii Patavini iu. con. com. palatini ...*, Padova 1561



fig. 17: Venetian woodcut portrait of Nicolò Tartaglia, published by Francesco Marcolini, in: Anton Francesco DONI, *I Mondì*, Venezia 1552

here more realistic and perhaps more unsparing in his record of Mantova's actual appearance. This portrait belongs with the finest of the Venetian woodcut portraits made in the wake of Titian and in a new style fundamentally indebted to Titian's art.⁸⁶ This woodcut portrait was published in 1561, in Mantova's *Milleloquii iuris M. Mantuae Benavidii Patavini iu. con. com. palatini ...* (Padova: *apud* Grazioso Porchacini, 1561), and again in the following year in Mantova's *Paraphrasis nova praeter dicta aliàs in collectaneis ...* (Padova: *apud* Grazioso Porchcini, 1562), and it would thus appear to show Mantova at an age just over seventy.

In addition to a remarkable physical resemblance to the sitter, Mantova's woodcut portrait (fig. 16) resembles closely a Venetian woodcut portrait of Nicolò Tartaglia (1500–1557) published by Francesco Marcolini in Anton Francesco Doni's *I Mondì* (Venice 1552, c. 109^r: fig. 17)⁸⁷, not only in the shaded background, cut to resemble finely spaced horizontal pen strokes, but also in the graphic conventions that the 'intagliatore' uses to describe the head and garment. The two men have nearly the same nose, Mantova's only more regular and with a perhaps more emphatic forward plane of the bridge. It would be easy to see the same artist and the same woodcutter at work in both prints. Perhaps he was active in the circle of Francesco Marcolini, who printed in



fig. 18: 'Martinus Bergomensis', Portrait of Marco Mantova Benavides in mother-of-pearl, Basel, Historisches Museum Basel



fig. 19: Reverse of fig. 18, with motto 'Fessus lampada trado'

Venice in 1535–1559. This factor may suggest that the portrait of Mantova originated as early as the 1550s, despite its first known publication in 1561.⁸⁸ As in the first woodcut portrait we examined, the outline of the head, the cranium, that is, is drawn very emphatically, and then this outline is rendered less conspicuous by the spare, whisker-like hair on the head. But the shape of the head agrees perfectly with Cavino's medals, where the rounded, spherical impression is less pronounced.

If Mantova is not older, aging is shown explicitly in a face that has become thinner and almost haggard. But all the characteristics of Mantova's appearance remain as constants: the perfect 'corpo regolare' of the head, with the circle and sphere as the bases of its form, the large ear, the lined forehead, the strong nose, the full lower lip (which we will see again), and the inset eyes, that now almost appear to gaze spectrally through the endlessness of time. Mantova's former splendid appearance has been abraded by the years. But he is not the shipwreck, without moorings, of a former beauty, for he retains, in his stillness, his dignity and composure. The unforgiving realism of this portrait contrasts, nevertheless, greatly with Mantova's image, when cast in Cavino's classicistic mould, and it is different, too, from Leoni's poetic interpretation of Mantova's initial aging, and even from Zagar's prosaic rendition of Mantova's likeness.

One example of a last portrait type of Marco Mantova is inscribed *A. 77*, giving his age in 1566. It appears to be the latest of Mantova's portraits. The finest and most



fig. 20: Martino da Bergamo (attributed to), Medallion portrait of Marco Mantova Benavides, Washington, National Gallery of Art, Kress Collection

probably the first exemplar of this portrait is an extremely well-preserved small oval mother-of-pearl relief, with a portrait obverse and a reverse displaying an impresa, a relief which was found as early as 1576–1579 in the collection of Basilius Amerbach in Basel and which today remains in Basel in the Historisches Museum (figs. 18, 19). The mother-of-pearl relief is inscribed on the obverse, *M. MANTVA BENAVIDIVS PAT I. C. ET COMES. / A. 77*, and on the reverse, *FESSVS LAMPADA TRADO*.

Marco Mantova's image is by now familiar, and we encounter him here as we have seen him before, but with a further accumulation of years, now thin and almost gaunt, with sunken cheek and neck. The

combing of the hair backward, away from the face and over the temples, is unusual, but it corresponds to Zagar's portrait. Noteworthy here are the deep eye-sockets with strongly arched brows, again the strong, arched nose, downward turning at the tip, the sparse beard growing to a point under the chin, and, more clearly than we have seen before, a large fleshy, downward-hanging lower lip as a very pronounced individual feature. Although not generally well-known, this relief has long belonged to the first masterpieces of mother-of-pearl 'objets d'art', certainly since it was published, in 1937, in Gustav Patzaurek's monograph *Perlmutter*.⁸⁹

Felix Ackermann, in his study of this object (1996), underlined the individual traits of the portrait of Mantova: *die eingefallene Wangen- und Schläfenpartie, die vorspringenden Wangenknochen und die Bildung der hinteren Halspartie*, all signs of aging, and, further, *der gleichmäßig leicht gebogene Nasenrücken, eine gerundete Nasenspitze und die markante etwas vorspringende Unterlippe, die leicht über den Oberlippenbart vorsteht*.⁹⁰ A rather large medal of Mantova Benavides, with nearly identical obverse and reverse, is assigned to a medallist conventionally called Martino da Bergamo (fig. 20), and an engraved portrait of Mantova, attributed to Enea Vico (fig. 21), shows the same portrait, albeit in a far more conventional rendition.⁹¹ Both have been thought to precede the mother of pearl *medaglia*, but this seems very doubtful in light of the far superior quality of the mother of pearl image and the greater specificity and individuality of its likeness. To identify the small mother-of-pearl relief as a *Nachbildung einer Medaille* represents a failure to understand the qualitative relationship of the two objects, and possibly a misunderstanding of the priority of the two genres in the sixteenth century, when the 'Steinschneidekunst' -skills of the *artifex* could well be

more highly esteemed than the art of the medallist.⁹²

All that is actually known, in addition to the A. 77 of the circumscription, is a passage in a book written by Marco Mantova, ‚*Analysis variarum questionum 1700. & amplius ...*‘, (Venice: Lorenzo Pasquato, 1568) which was included in the edition of the ‚*Anonimo morelliano*‘ by Gustavo Frizzoni in 1884.⁹³ Mantova explains the image of the reverse and its inscription (*Fessus lampada trado*) as follows: *Descendat in arenam qui vult, ego cum monstris satis sum luctatus. In eum qui tandem quiescere cupit seque a laboris abstinere, proque symbolo desumpsimus nos, sculpsitque a tergo imaginis meae Martinus Bergomensis egregius artifex.* From the name *Martinus Bergomensis egregius artifex* has been created the medallist who

is called Martino da Bergamo, and to whom is assigned the large bronze, almost neo-Quattrocento medal of Marco Mantova, with its *Fessus lampada trado* reverse. But Mantova does not speak of a medal, in metal, but simply of his portrait, and the word *sculpsit* is unspecific and is applicable to various media. It is noteworthy that *Martino da Bergamo* is the author of no other medal, if we except a quite small reduction of the large portrait medal of Mantova. The best examples of this little medal are coined, that is, struck, and not cast in metal.⁹⁴ They seem clearly small replicas – easily distributable ‚jetons‘ –, and it is far from certain that they were made by the same master as the larger medal. The smaller medal is simply a reduction, and the larger medal seems, in turn, to be a slight simplification of the mother-of-pearl relief. The source of Mantova’s motto has gone unnoticed, but Mantova found it, I believe, in Desiderius Erasmus’s *Herculei Labores*,⁹⁵ where it, in turn, can be traced to Lucretius.⁹⁶

My suspicion, which I cannot prove, is that there was no *Martino da Bergamo*, who worked as a medallist under that name. The question then arises, who is *Martinus Ber-*



fig. 21: Enea Vico, (attributed to) Engraved Portrait of Marco Mantova Benavides, Padova, Museo Civico



fig. 22: Small bronze relief portrait of Marco Mantova Benavides, Padua, Museo Civico

based of the mother-of-pearl portrait of Mantova, or, just possibly, its rendition in the large bronze medal (fig. 22).⁹⁹

Turning again to the friend of the singular Titian in California, it is not difficult to see the same small, compact head with its neatly rounded cranium. The portrait itself awakens a remarkable impression of similitude, without insisting with a detailed inventory of the sitter's features. The fine, soft thinning hair is combed forward in exactly the same classicizing, quietly *all'antica* fashion that we have repeatedly seen, the style of the sparse beard is the same, and the hair grows in the same pattern. The calm spirit is that of Leoni's medal. The dark eyes of the San Francisco portrait, which are seen also in the old Hampton Court copy, are distant, detached, dispassionate, and almost introspective, vaguely hesitant and uncertain, without being yielding. Many of Mantova's books written in Italian were printed anonymously, *d'incerto autore*, although the author's identity was betrayed through a rebus formed by the image of a hand (*mano*) surrounding the letters *TOA*. The searching, almost quizzical air can be seen in the *Loculati opuscoli* portrait as well. The California 'friend' is distinguished, and almost perfect in appearance. His person is accurately kept, almost fastidiously

gomensis? Among known medallists named *Martino* the only one who might come into question is Martino Pasqualigo, who came with Leone Leoni in 1544/1546 to Venice, where he remained until his death in 1580. Titian identifies him as a sculptor on his portrait, and he was a medallist, as a single signed medal testifies. He was also a goldsmith and quite possibly a gem-cutter, and belonged to the circle of Titian and Aretino. But Martino Pasqualigo describes himself explicitly as 'milanese' in his testament of 1580.⁹⁷ Most 'medallists' practiced other arts or professions, and *Martinus Bergomensis* may be hidden among them. A *Martino da Bergamo* is mentioned by Scamozzi as having made a wooden model for the Ponte sul Bacchiglione a Santa Croce.⁹⁸ The Museo Civico at Padua owns an, I believe, unpublished small bronze plaque which is most likely

kempt, without being ostentatiously refined in dress. Certainly he practised an accurate toilette, with extended periods spent in the dressing room. Titian has played down the prominent large nose by showing it in a nearly frontal view, but the long curved bridge with a pronounced and hooked point can still be discerned. The sitter's large protruding fleshy red lower lip may not seem, at first glance, a so marked feature of the portrait, but it matches perfectly what the mother-of-pearl portrait revealed about Mantova's appearance.

Naturally, we see and recognize a person as a 'Gestalt', and not in terms of isolated single features, which we laboriously combine,

as if in an act of mathematical addition, to determine whom we see. A fleeting glimpse at a distance of a familiar acquaintance often suffices to evoke the 'Gestalt' and enable recognition. But others change, we say, 'beyond recognition'. The many images, made at different times and for different purposes and occasions, that we have seen of Marco Mantova seem to me sufficient to recognize him in the portrait by Titian in San Francisco. When Titian visited Rome, in 1546, Michelangelo admired his painting, while regretting that he lacked design; but in the Amico's portrait Titian demonstrates that he, too, can draw the *O* of Giotto, that he can represent Mantova's perfectly shaped head without drawing its outline.¹⁰⁰

The letter, with its address to Titian, is not displayed ostentatiously, but nevertheless it is very explicitly held forward to the beholder's view, and for his examination, in order to give the portrait a double 'turning point': not only the sitter and his likeness, but the portraitist as well, and the connection, the friendship between the two men.

A half-length portrait of Mantova's father by, or possibly after Domenico Campagnola, and once in Mantova Benavides's collection, is dependent on the portrait formulas of Titian. That the portrait portrays the father of Marco is clearly demonstrated



fig. 23: Mantova Benavides, coat of arms, from title-page: Marco MANTOVA BENAVIDES, Loculati opuscoli, Padova 1580

by a comparison with Cavino's medallion portrait of Giovanni Pietro Mantova Benavides. And this is confirmed by a bust-length replica inscribed *IOANNES . PE . PATER . A . LXX*.¹⁰¹ The relationship to Titian's portraiture is evident, if Giovanni Pietro's portrait is compared to a Titianesque Venetian portrait of Andrea dei Franceschi in Indianapolis.¹⁰²

Stefano Ticozzi writes that Sperone Speroni was the constant companion of Titian, every time Titian visited Padua, where he spent time each year.¹⁰³ Moreover, Speroni maintained a residence in Venice, on the island of Murano. As noted above, in Titian's portrait of Speroni, he wears a costume very similar to the Amico's.¹⁰⁴

Sperone Speroni's *Dialoghi* (written 1537; published 1542), contain, in the *Dialogo dell'amore*, well-known passages in praise of Titian's portraits and of Aretino sonnets written about them.¹⁰⁵ *Titiano non è dipintore, & non è arte la virtù sua, ma miracolo*: the interlocutor Tasso affirms, and he continues, *Et veramente li suoi ritratti hanno in loro un non so che di divinità ...* And Tullia responds, *Lo Aretino non ritragge le cose men bene in parole: & ho veduto de' suoi sonetti fatti da lui d'alcuni ritratti di Titiano: non è facile il giudicare, se li sonetti son nati dalli ritratti, ò li ritratti da loro ... E credo, che l'esser dipinto da Titiano, & lodato dall'Aretino, sia una nuova regeneratione de gl'huomini: liquali non posson esser di così poco valore da se, che ne colori, e ne versi di questi due, non divengano gentilissime & carissime cose.*

In his *Discorsi sopra i dialoghi di m. Speron Sperone. Ne' quali si ragiona della bellezza & della eccellenza de lor concetti. D'incerto autore* (Venezia: Francesco Rampazetto, 1561), Marco Mantova remarks upon Speroni's comments about Titian, *l'arte sua non è arte, ma miracolo* (p. 9^v), adding that Apelles, *che tanto eccellente fu, senza alcun dubbio comparare, lume & splendore di questo secolo, & della dipintura, qual mai d'Apelle predetto in poi, non hebbe il simile, & simile a lui, forse non haveranno i futuri secoli, & se di Titiano ha detto questo ...* At this point Mantova is referring to Speroni's statement, *... e simile a lui, forse non haveranno i futuri secoli!*, which is say that Titian is, as was Apelles, *singularissimo*.¹⁰⁶ Mantova may well have known his friend's *Dialogo dell'amore* from the moment it was written, in 1537. It was first published in Venice in 1542, and the letter Mantova holds in his portrait by Titian appears to make an explicit reference to Speroni's critical estimate of Titian's singularity, which he compares to that of the unique Apelles of Greek antiquity.¹⁰⁷

Postscriptum: The innovative aspects of the juristic writings and practice of Marco Mantova Benavides (b. 1489) were owed largely to the teachings of Andrea Alciati. In the context of the images of friendship, examined above, it is noteworthy that Marco Mantova's own coat-of-arms, with, on the shield, its image of a dried-out tree stalk, wrapped with a living grapevine, is the same image as that of Andrea Alciati's Emblem 159 (ed. pr. 1531; the entire iconographic tradition of this image in additions of Alciati are found at: <http://studiolum.com/en/cd04-alciano.htm>). While other interpretations of Mantova Benavides's heraldic image are conceivable, Alciati's Emblem 159, *AMICITIA ETIAM POST MORTEM DURANS* (ed. it. 1549: *che la vera amicitia mai non muore*), shows the same-dried out trunk, embraced by a living grapevine, laden with grapes and foliage.

The Mantova Benavides family attained nobility in Padua only toward 1520, and its earliest known coat-of-arms (explicitly inscribed with Marco Mantova's name) is dated 1535 (Baone, province of Este). This heraldic image appears to originate during the period of Marco Mantova's dominance of his family's fortunes. Thus the 'portrait' of Mantova embodied in his heraldic sign presents him as a 'true' friend, just as does the likeness of the *Amico* in San Francisco, where the sitter holds before him the identifying signature-inscription almost as an heraldic shield. This instance offers an illustration of the ambivalence, in heraldic symbolism, between supra-personal, societal, intergenerational components and the individual, person-specific elements, an ambivalence manifest, for instance, also in the *Symbolicarum questionum* of Achille Bocchi (Bologna 1555), with its compound of emblems, *impreses*, and heraldic devices. Even in the 'Benavides' arms published on the title-page of Mantova's *Loculati opuscoli* (Padua 1580; here fig. 23) the primary significance of the 'dead trunk-live vine' image should perhaps still be seen as a personal allegory, and then, secondarily, as the timeless abstract family symbol which it became.

The present study is based on research conducted intermittently for many years. I am greatly indebted to Margaret Daly Davis for very many suggestions and for drawing essential material to my attention. She also read early books and manuscripts in Venice and Padua a good while ago. A version of this paper (*Marco Mantova Benavides als Auftraggeber und Sammler von Medaillen*¹) was to have been read in 2003 at the conference *Die Renaissance-Medaille in Italien und Deutschland*² (Kunsthistorisches Institut der Universität Bonn). I am grateful to the organizers, especially Georg Satzinger and Wolf-Dietrich Löhr, for the invitation to participate, which led me to begin assembling material collected over the years. The proceedings were published in 2004 (*Die Renaissance-Medaille in Deutschland und Italien*, ed. Georg SATZINGER, Münster 2004 [Tholos, 1]). I am also most grateful to Dr. Marie-Claire Berkemeier, who greatly facilitated my study of the mother of pearl relief at the Historisches Museum in Basel in June of 2004.

- 1 San Francisco Art Museums: Tiziano Vecellio (Titian), Portrait of a Friend of Titian (Portrait of a Gentleman), circa 1550, oil on canvas, 35 1/2 x 28 1/2 (90.2 x 72.4 cm), Gift of the Samuel H. Kress Foundation 61.44.17. See the enlargeable images in: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco: FAMSF-Image Base: presently <http://www.thinker.org/fam/about/imagebase>. The best printed colour illustration of the San Francisco portrait is found in the catalogue of the Kress collection there: M. H. De Young Memorial Museum, The S. H. Kress Collection, foreword by Walter HEIL, cat. by William SUIDA, San Francisco 1955, p. 16. An extensive catalogue entry for the portrait, in: Fern RUSK SHAPELEY, *Paintings from the Samuel H. Kress Collection, I, 2, Italian Schools, XV–XVI Centuries*, London 1968, pp. 184–185, no. K 1991, fig. 430. All of Titian's portraits are treated in Harold WETHEY's three volume monograph on Titian, in vol. II: *The Portraits* (San Francisco, Cat. no. 39; = *The Paintings of Titian, Complete Edition*, 3 vols., London 1969–1971; hereafter: WETHEY). Through this and other monographs, supplemented by electronic catalogues of art historical collections, the literature on Titian and his works is easy to find, and I have cited it only selectively, with reference to specific points. While Wethey's monograph is a useful initial guide, the catalogue entries are often incomplete and the interpretation offered there of Titian is not very profound (see the review by John POPE-HENNESSY, *The Art of Titian*, in: *The Times Literary Supplement*, 15 August 1975, no. 3831, p. 910: *conspicuously well illustrated*; but, in comparison to the *living reality of Titian, this must seem a pedestrian and unworthy book*; cf. *Selected Book Reviews*, Firenze 1994, pp. 191–196). See Johannes WILDE, *Titian as a portrait painter*, in: *Venetian Art from Bellini to Titian*, Oxford 1974, pp. 212–265, and, recently, Jennifer FLETCHER, *Tiziano retratista*, in: Tiziano, ed. Miguel FALOMIR, exhibition catalogue, Prado, Madrid 2003, pp. 69ff. In general, the existence of the Internet and especially of electronic library catalogues (e.g., <http://www.kubikat.org/>; hereafter: *„kubikat“*) has made much bibliographic information readily accessible worldwide and has rendered the citation of general and often obvious sources redundant. For sixteenth-century Italian medals, the obvious first reference is to Philip ATTWOOD's recent treatment: *Italian medals c. 1530–1600 in British public collections*, London 2002/2003 (hereafter: ATTWOOD). Each time a medal is mentioned a reference is implied to this work, supplemented by Giuseppe TODERI and Fiorenza VANNEL, *Le medaglie italiane del XVI secolo*, Firenze 2000, 3 vols. (hereafter: TODERI-VANNEL). Both works are extremely easy to consult, and, although my research largely predates them and is not dependent on their research, documentation for most of the medals discussed below is to be found in these works, and is not repeated here.
- 2 Lorne CAMPBELL, *Renaissance Portraits*, New Haven-London 1990, pp. 164–165: a similar case is represented by Quinten Metsys's paired portraits of Erasmus and Pieter Gillis, painted as a friendship gift to Sir Thomas Moore, 1517. Gillis holds, in his left hand, a letter addressed to him by Moore. Moore thanked Gillis by letter, expressing his admiration for Metsys's skill in imitating his handwriting on the letter addressed to Gillis. The script of the *amico singolare* inscription

- resembles the cursive chancery script of a letter written by (or for) Titian to Charles V, 8 December 1545 (illustrated in: WETHEY, III, p. 126), which in turn resembles the cursive type-face in which Aretino's letters were first printed.
- 3 Johannes GAYE, *Carteggio inedito d'artisti*, Firenze 1839–1840, II, p. 372, no. 262; also Giovanni Battista CAVALCASELLE and John ARCHER CROWE, *Tiziano*, Firenze 1877–1878, 2 vols. (hereafter: CROWE and CAVALCASELLE), II, p. 119.
 - 4 See letters of Titian in: CROWE and CAVALCASELLE, vol. I, pp. 306, 326; *Ill.^{mo} et Ex.^{mo} S.^{re} e Padrone mio singularissimo; Ill.^{mo} et Ex.^{mo} Sig.^r et Hon.^{mo} sua Singul.^{mo}*.
 - 5 *Il carteggio di Michelangelo* (n. 5), vol. II, pp. 346, 366.
 - 6 22.VIII.1546; see *Il carteggio di Giorgio Vasari*, ed. Karl FREY, München 1923, I, pp. 137, 152, 153, 159, 169, 198, 203, 247, 454 (*Pittore et Architetto sopra gli altri eccellentissimo*).
 - 7 FABBRO-GANDINI *Titiano: lettere*, ed. Celso FABBRO and Clemente GANDINI, Pieve di Cadore 1977, pp. 42, 48f.; see also: SUIDA (n. 1), p. 16.
 - 8 WETHEY, II, Cat. no. X-103, pl. 275; John SHEARMAN, *The Early Italian Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen*, Cambridge 1983, cat. no. 294, pp. 268–271.
 - 9 The face, covered for centuries, is well-preserved. WETHEY, II, p. 26, announces, for reasons he does not give, that the inscription, *Titiano Vecellio singolare amico* of the San Francisco portrait is *obviously apocryphal*, that is, of doubtful authenticity, spurious. This seems to be contradicted by the Hampton Court triple friendship portrait, and there is no reason to give any credence whatsoever to Wethey's wholly isolated opinion. Illogically following the indication of the inscription, Wethey further suggests that the sitter may be Luigi Anichini, the celebrated gem-cutter and Titian's great friend, but this is simply an idle guess.
 - 10 The word *comare* is the feminine form of *compare*; cf. Corrado CAGLI and Francesco VALCANOVER, *L'opera completa di Tiziano*, Milano 1969, no. 583: Andover, Massachusetts. Cf. also *diario da Ponte: Michelangelo Muraro, il memoriale di Zuan Paolo da Ponte*, in: *Archivio veneto*, ser. 5, XLIV–XLV 1949, pp. 77–88.
 - 11 Tancred BORENIUS, *Gems of Painting* [exhibited at Mr. Frank T. Sabin], in: *Burlington Magazine*, LXXI, 1937, p. 41 (San Francisco Portrait; ex-Lansdowne).
 - 12 *Lettere sull'arte di Pietro Aretino*, ed. Fidenzio PERTILE and Ettore CAMESASCA, Milano 1957–1960, 4 vols., pp. 531–531; hereafter: ARETINO (ed. PERTILE-CAMESASCA).
 - 13 George Martin RICHTER, *Two Titian Self-Portraits*, in: *Burlington Magazine*, LVIII, 1931, facing p. 162; a lesser version was formerly on the American art market, with Duveen; Oskar FISCHER, *Tizian*, Berlin-Leipzig ⁵1924, p. 277, ill.
 - 14 Cf. WETHEY, II, p. 183, Cat. no. X-104, copy after Titian, about 1600.
 - 15 Giorgio VASARI, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori e architettori*, ed. Paola DELLA PERGOLA, et al., Milano 1962–1966, 9 vols. (hereafter: VASARI [ed. DELLA PERGOLA]), VII, p. 336 (= G. [= Giuntina], II, 816); *The Illustrated Bartsch*, XXXIII, p. 10.
 - 16 See Detlev VON HALDEN, *Tizian's Venus mit den Lautenspieler*, in: *Pantheon*, X, 1932, p. 278; cf. CAGLI-VALCANOVER (n. 10), no. 341.
 - 17 See Vincenzo MANCINI, *'Vertuosi' e artisti*, Padova 2005, pp. 109–110 et passim.
 - 18 *Archivalische Beiträge zur Geschichte der venezianischen Kunst: aus dem Nachlaß Gustav Ludwigs*, ed. Wilhelm BODE et al., Berlin 1911, p. 134.
 - 19 Identified as G. Sinistri by Walter HEIL, in: SUIDA (n. 1), p. 16; followed by VASARI (ed. DELLA PERGOLA), p. 335 note 1. See Pietro ARETINO, *Il libro delle lettere*, Paris 1608–1609, 6 vols.: III, 298^r, 339^v [both Jan. 1546]; IV, 65^r, 247^v–248^r, 282^{r-v}; V, 262^v (no. 476: 1550); see also: Pietro ARETINO, *Lettere*, ed. Paolo PROCACCIOLI, Roma 2000, vol. IV, p. 254: no. 406, *Al Sinistro*; Venice, March 1548. Also: Charles HOPE, *Titian's Portrait of Giacomo Dolfin*, in: *Apollo*, March 1982, p. 160 and notes 33–34.
 - 20 ARETINO (ed. PERTILE-CAMESASCA), II, pp. 231f., no. 440.

- 21 VASARI (ed. DELLA PERGOLA) VI, p. 272 (= G. II, 528).
- 22 ARETINO, 1609, V, p. 262 verso, May 1550, *Al sinistro M. Girolamo: ... si che state allegro, & con le madame solite, gitevi intertenendo in piacere*. One might expect Sinistri's portrait to represent someone similar to the sitter in Titian's portrait of Fabrizio Salvaesio in Vienna, or similar to the almost absurdly extravagant personage portrayed in the Kassel portrait of an unidentified Cavalier with *amorino* and dog by Titian, who does correspond rather well to the personage Aretino describes. The same dog is shown in the Rotterdam *Two dogs and a boy* by Titian (see Hans OST, *Tizians Kassler Kavalier*, Köln 1982, esp. pp. 49ff.). *Sinistri* is a proper name and need not imply left-handedness. Were the letter held in the *amico*'s left hand to imply this characteristic (a consideration which is far from persuasive), it is, nevertheless, not the gesture of the left hand holding the letter that is emphasized, but the letter itself and its telling address. Cf. HOPE (n. 19), p. 160. Aretino's *Al sinistro M. Girolamo* gives the name a quite different, and illuminating twist.
- 23 Maria CATELLI ISOLA, *Immagine* da Tiziano, Roma 1976, no. 177.
- 24 WETHEY, II, Cat. no. 98; colour reproduction in: *Venus dévoilée*, ed. Omar CALABRESE, exh. cat., Paris 2003, p. 227. See also the portrait of Speroni by Domenico Campagnola at the Pinacoteca Vescovile at Rovigo (www.concordi.it/pinacoteca/seminario).
- 25 Long neglected, with the advent of 'patronage studies', perhaps in the 1970s and 1980s, research on Mantova Benavides has become a veritable industry. He receives an entry in the Macmillan-Grove Dictionary of Art, under, under, incorrectly, the name, *'Benavides'*. See *'kubikat'*, search term: *'mantova benavides, marco'*.
- 26 Andrea's additions to the collection are largely identified by him. The 1695 inventory is published, in: Irene FAVARETTO, *Andrea Mantova Benavides, Inventario delle antichità di casa Mantova Benavides 1695*, in: *Bollettino del Museo Civico di Padova*, LXI, 1972, n. 1–2, pp. 30–164 (also as a separatum, Padova 1978, pp. 1–134, with new pagination.). See also: Irene FAVARETTO, ed., *Marco Mantova Benavides, Il suo museo e la cultura padovana del Cinquecento*, *Atti della Giornata di studio 12 novembre 1983 nel IV centenario della morte 1582–1982*, Padova 1984.
- 27 See the *'stima'* of 1652: Francesco CESSI, *Luca Ferrari da Reggio stimatore dei beni d'arte di Casa Mantova*, in: *Padova e la sua provincia*, IX, 1963, fasc. 7–8, pp. 11–12.
- 28 Cf. the *calamaio* of Giovanfrancesco Rustici: *... danari, i quali tenendo poi Giovanfrancesco nella cassetta del calamaio senza chiave, ne toglieva di mano in mano ...* (VASARI [ed. DELLA PERGOLA], VI, p. 453 [= G. II, 601]).
- 29 Loredano OLIVATO, *Il Testamento di Marco Mantova Benavides*, in: FAVARETTO 1984 (n. 26), pp. 221–239.
- 30 *Epistolae familiares*, Padova 1578, fol. 59^v. Also Antonio VALSECCHI, *Elogio di Marco Mantova Benavides*, Padova 1839, p. 52: *Tra le sue lettere latine havvene una scritta a Giovanni Sambuco segretario del Re d'Ungheria, nella quale rispondendo ad una di lui, gli disse di non avere alcuna delle medaglie rare dei Cesari che gli aveva richieste, ma che ne possedeva molte comuni, come Adriani, Antonini, Trajani, ... ed altri; e soggiunge, che se a lui ed al Re piacesse di averle, glielo manderà di buon grado, gratuitamente, poichè egli non è venditore o mercante, ma compratore piuttosto, ed uomo profuso. Quindi offre anche statue, pitture ed altri oggetti, di cui gli manda il catalogo.*
- 31 Mantova is once also identified as the *Excellent Bonavito*: Hans GERSTINGER, *Die Briefe des Johannes Sambucus (Zsamboky) 1554–1584*, Wien 1968, p. 140.
- 32 GERSTINGER (n. 31), pp. 130–131, 139–140.
- 33 In 1534, cited in: Antonio BERTOLDI, *Michele Sanmicheli al servizio della Repubblica Veneta*, Verona 1879, p. 7.
- 34 ARETINO (ed. PERTILE-CAMESASCA), II, p. 422, no. 646.
- 35 *'Raccolta di lettere inedite di vari letterati italiani'*, c. 1–14, *'Di vari al Sig. Marco Mantova'*, Venezia, Biblioteca Correr, Ms. P.D. 207-b, c. 5^v: Alessandro Vittoria to Marco Mantova Benavi-

- des, Vicenza, 7 January 1553: ... *né mi scordai appresso di salutare il sig. Pietro Aretino, come m'impose quale risaluta V.E ...*
- 36 Mario GUAZZO, Cronaca, Venezia 1553, p. 415.
- 37 FABBRO-GANDINI (n. 7), p. 88, no. 66, *gennaio 1546*.
- 38 WETHEY, II, Cat. no. X-27; 1547. The date 'January 1546' agrees with the date of Mantova's oration in Venice on this occasion: Giuseppe GENNARI, *Memorie*, Padova, Biblioteca civica, MS. BP 116: I, 1088, *Egli aveva fatto l'orazione al Doge Donato 1546*; II, 429, 25 Gennaio 1546, *Il Mantova ha fatto l'orazione al Doge Francesco Donato* [also: *Donà*]. See also VALSECCHI (n. 30); Girolamo GHILINI, *Teatro d'huomini letterati*, Venezia 1647, p. 161: *Fù eletto Ambasciadore a Francesco Donato, Doge di Venezia, per rallegrarsi a nome della Patria con lui della sua promozione al Principato, nella qual' Ambasciere portossi con gran magnificenza e splendore ...*
- 39 ARETINO (ed. PERTILE-CAMESASCA), II, p. 64, no. 222.
- 40 ARETINO (ed. PERTILE-CAMESASCA), II, pp. 157f., no. 340, April 1546.
- 41 Lettere a Pietro Aretino, ed. Gonaria FLORIS and Luisa MULAS, Roma 1997, 3 vols., III, p. 253 (=II, p. 281).
- 42 For the several contemporaries of Mantova Benavides named Girolamo Querini, often difficult to distinguish one from another, see Vincenzo MANCINI, *Antiquari, 'vertuosi' e artisti*, Padua 1995, pp. 1–114.
- 43 Cf. Pietro ARETINO, *Lettere: il primo e il secondo libro*, ed. Francesco FLORA and Alessandro DEL VITA, Milano 1960, Bk. I, nos. 231, 240, 264; and pp. 89, 137, 257, 269, 289, 300, 328, 351; ARETINO (ed. PERTILE-CAMESASCA), II, pp. 166–168, 168, 169, 175f., 180f., 212f. See also: Marco MANTOVA BENAVIDES, *Lettere famigliari*, Padova 1578, nos. 27, 68; cf. Venezia, Biblioteca Correr, Ms. Correr no. 1349, no. 124, 2.02.1441, Girolamo Quirini; no. 193: 22.04.1541, *Hier.º Quirini*. Quirini also appears often in the letters of Aretino; see: ARETINO (ed. PERTILE-CAMESASCA), I, pp. 93; vol. II, pp. 19, 213f., 273f.; *Lettere*, ed. FLORA and DEL VITA, pp. 89, 137, 257, 269, 289, 300, 328, 351.
- 44 *Lettere famigliari*, 1578, no. 44: *fin quando quivi giovane ne dava opera à i studi delle buone lettere*.
- 45 VALSECCHI (n. 30), p. 53.
- 46 Printed in: Giovanni BOTTARI and Stefano TICOZZI, *Raccolta di lettere sulla pittura, scultura ed architettura*, I, Milano 1822, pp. 330–331 (cf. II, pp. 26–27); see also: Stefano TICOZZI, *Vite dei pittori vecelli di Cadore*, Milano 1817, pp. 214 and App. III, p. 313, letter 8. Also in: CROWE and CAVALCASELLE, vol. II, p. 194. See also Matteo MANCINI, *Tiziano e le corti d'Asburgo nei documenti degli archivi spagnoli*, Venezia 1998, pp. 57–58.
- 47 Tiziano e la corte di Spagna nei documenti dell'Archivio Generale di Simancas, intro. Luigi FERRARINO, Istituto Italiano di Cultura, Madrid 1975, p. 33, no. 44; FABBRO-GANDINI (n. 7), pp. 160–161.
- 48 The *Narratione assai piu particolare ...* is found in the British Library; 12 pp., 4°, Shelfmark: G6130, as [Roma] 1554. The letter: *Di Londra li xxviii. di Settembre. M.D.LIIII*. A further, very similar printed Italian letter (*Copia d'vna lettera scritta all'Illustratiss[imo]. S. Francesco Taverna Grancanz[elliere]. etc. da vno gentil'huomo della corte del Sereniss[imo]. Re di Spagna, da Vincestre alli xxv di Guilio el felicissimo viaggio in Inghilterra, [et] delli sponsaliti fatti con quella Serenissima Regina* ([n. p.], [1555?]), [8] pp. unnumbered, is also in the British Library (Shelfmark: C.33.f.13), n.p. and n.d. (British Library catalogue gives 1555 as the publication date). It was owned, according to an inscription on the title page, *Ad usum Petri Valsecchi Brixien-sis & Jo: Bapt: 1651*. On p. [8] of the letter, *Dat. in Vincestre [=Winchester] alli XXV. de Giulio M. D. LIIII*. On p. [9]: *Nota delli Spagnuoli vestiti de diversi richami bellissimi & richjissimi. ... Don Giovanni de Benevides*. These two texts may be read as graphic texts at a British Museum Internet site: <http://special-1.bl.uk/treasures/festivalbooks>. For the initial *E*, see: Fernando RIGON, *Le lettere iniziali 'parlanti'* *Lettere iniziali 'parlanti'* nei Trattati d'Architettura editi a Venezia nel-

- la seconda metà del Cinquecento e agli inizi del Seicento, in: *Annali di architettura*, IX, 1997, pp. 61–92. One may suspect that Marco Mantova ,sponsored‘ the publication, and that the description is that which his nephew sent him (infra, n. 51), but there is no definite evidence to this effect.
- 49 MANCINI (n. 46), p. 158, note 4; Annie CLOULAS, in: *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez*, Madrid 1967, III, p. 217, note 5); FABBRO-GANDINI (n. 7), pp. 158–159.
- 50 Summary in: Giuseppe GENNARI, *Lettere di diversi scritte a Marco Mantova*, Padova, Biblioteca del Seminario, MS. 619, p. 7, no 21, 18.VI.1554.
- 51 Padova, Biblioteca del Seminario, MS. 619, p. 45, no. 272, 14.VIII.1554: *Di Giovanni Mantova Nipote. Lunghissima, e minutissima relazione delle nozze seguite in [Londra] tra il principe di Spagna, e la regina d’Inghilterra, Londra, 14 Agosto 1554.*
- 52 Francesco CESSI and Bruno CAON, *Giovanni da Cavino*, Padova 1989, pp. 50–51, no. 19, ill.; see ATTWOOD, I, p. 184. See also a letter from Mantova Benavides to Cardinal Pole (Lettere famigliari, 1578, no. 44; v. supra), whom Mantova knew when Pole studied as a young man in Padua, 1521ff. For Philip’s portraits as King of England, see recently: P. G. MATTHEWS, *Portraits of Philip II of Spain as King of England*, in: *Burlington Magazine*, CXLII, 2000, pp. 13–19.
- 53 www.law.berkeley.edu/library/robbins/RobbinsMSScatalogue54-80.html [= MS. 63].
- 54 Francesco SANSOVINO, *Del segretario*, ed. Venezia 1625, pp. 175^v–176^r (cf. ed. 1596).
- 55 See: Padova, Biblioteca del Seminario, MS. 619, no. 18, 7.II.1550; quoted in: VALSECCHI (n. 30), pp. 22, and note 52.
- 56 *Ritratto delle più nobili et famose città d’Italia*, Venezia 1575, p. 99^r (Padova).
- 57 Bernardo GONZATI, *La Basilica di S. Antonio di Padova*, Padova 1852–1853, 2 vols., I, p. CI, doc. XCIII.
- 58 *pieggeria* = *pieggeria* = s.f. Dir.: *garanzia prestata a favore di una persona* (anche: *cauzione data come garanzia*): Salvatore BATTAGLIA, *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana*, Torino 1986, XIII, s.v.
- 59 London, *Portrait of a man*, by Leandro Bassano: Andrea BACCHI et al., *Alessandro Vittoria e la scultura veneta del Cinquecento*, Trento 1999, p. 155. Bassano seems to have seen Jacopo Strada’s portrait by Titian; cf. the treatment of the sleeve and the holding of the statuette, with the state or act of possession demonstrated manually. For Francesco Bassano as the sitter: see SHEARMAN (n. 8), pp. 35–37. For the Bust of Francesco Bassano: Bassano del Grappa, Museo Civico, in: BACCHI et al. (n. 59), pp. 412–413, ill. Leandro’s Self-Portrait in Darmstadt: *Prima idea, dibujos italianos de los siglos XVI y XVII del Graphische Sammlung Hessisches Landesmuseum Darmstadt*, ed. Peter MÄRKER and Simone TWIEHAUS, [Valencia] 2003, no. 32 (*Ritratto del Cavalier Bassan fatto di sua Mano*). Claudia KRYZA-GERSCH (in: Leandro Bassano’s portrait of Tiziano Aspetti, in: *Burlington Magazine*, CXL, 1998, pp. 263–265) argues to identify the sitter as Tiziano Aspetti, but the resemblance of the sitter to Felice Palma’s memorial bust of Aspetti in Pisa, whose features, to a large extent, are simply those common to busts based on death masks, is not, in my view, persuasive. As Shearman has suggested, the presence of a statue in portraits is a far from certain indication of a portrait of a sculptor. There are many portraits of painters with small statues or statuary fragments.
- 60 Venezia, Biblioteca Correr, MS. P.D. 207-b; *Raccolta di lettere inedite ...*: cit., c. 5^v: *Di Alessandro Vittoria, Vicenza, 7 Gennaio 1553: ... vi mando due medaglie.*
- 61 See Charles DAVIS, in: Michele Sanmicheli, *Architettura, linguaggio e cultura artistica nel Cinquecento*, ed. Howard BURNS, Christoph Luitpold FROMMEL, Lionello PUPPI, Milano 1995, pp. 311–312.
- 62 See *Dopo Mantegna*, exhibition catalogue, Padova 1976, p. 144, cat. no. 113, inscribed *ARX VICTO*.
- 63 Tilman FALK, *Studien zur Topographie und Geschichte der Villa Giulia in Rom*, in: *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 1971, pp. 171–173 (letter of Ammannati, 2. May.1555); GAYE (n. 3), III, p. 387, no. 337: 13 August 1573: *Di Vostra Eccellenza anorevole amico [e] servitore / Bartolomeo Amannati.*”

- 64 SANSOVINO (n. 54), ed. 1625, p. 175v–176r.
- 65 GERSTINGER (n. 31), p. 184, no. 93.
- 66 GERSTINGER (n. 31), p. 116–118, no. 44.
- 67 GERSTINGER (n. 31), p. 187, no. 95.
- 68 See, e.g. *Lettere latine e italiane autografe con altre scritture dirette a Marco Mantova...*, Venezia, Biblioteca Correr, MS. Correr, no. 1349: no. 44: *Domino Marco Mantuo*; no. 89: *D.no Marco a Mantua*; no. 94: *Mag.co et Ex.mo Viro Domino Marco Mantuae Preceptori Meo*; no. 96: *Clarissimo Domino*; no. 111: *Domino*.
- 69 Le opere di Giorgio Vasari con nuove annotazioni e commenti di Gaetano MILANESI, reprint of edition, Sansoni, 1906, Firenze 1998, VIII, p. 156.
- 70 *La Schiavona* (London, National Gallery): WETHEY, II, Pls. 15 and 16; *Three Ages of Man*: London, National Gallery, ca. 1570; WETHEY, II, pl. 211, Cat. no. 107.
- 71 London, Sotheby's, 27 March 1968, lot 11.
- 72 See TODERI-VANNEL, II, p. 509, no. 1512: *ALEXAND. CAYMVS ... MDLVI*. The connection with the painting is not mentioned in the literature.
- 73 WETHEY, II, Addenda II, Cat. no. 103 and Cat. no. 85.
- 74 Venezia 1761–1763; vol. I, Pl. XXXVI, nos. 4 and 5.
- 75 ARETINO (ed. PERTILE-CAMESASCA), II, pp. 63–64, no. 222.
- 76 Cf. Giacomo Filippo TOMASINI, *Illustrium virorum Elogia iconibus exornata*, Padova 1630, ad Indicem, *Aeternitatis Templum in Numismate Mantuae*.
- 77 See GERSTINGER (n. 31).
- 78 Donald MEYERS, Renaissance portrait sculptures small and large, in: *The Medal*, no. 34, Spring 1999, pp. 3–10.
- 79 Charles DAVIS, Medals of Marco Mantova Benavides by Jacob Zagar and Giovanni dal Cavino, in: *Studies in the History of Art*, VI, 1974, pp. 96–104.
- 80 See ATTWOOD, pp. 199–203, and nos. 302a – no. 315.
- 81 Type no. I is that paired with Mantova's father. Note that for Type III, the die is in Paris, there paired with Luca Salvioni. See Charles DAVIS, Aspects of Imitation in Cavino's Medals, in: *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XLI, 1978, pp. 331–334.
- 82 Marco Mantova Benavides's publications are listed in: Giuseppe VEDOVA, *Biografia degli scrittori padovani*, Padova 1832, 2 vols.
- 83 GHILINI (n. 38), p. 161: *Marco Benavidio ... hebbe dalla Natura un'acuto, e molto vivace ingegno conforme per lo più sogliono haver quelli, che sono di picciola statura, si com'era egli, che in tutte le parti hebbe l'animo maggior del corpo, e le virtù oltre modo grandi, e maraviglioso*. Cf. Mantova's portrait in his *Arch*, ill. in: *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, XXI, 1977, p. 78, fig. 11.
- 84 Cf. Ruth MORTIMER, *Catalogue of Books and Manuscripts*, Harvard College Library, Italian 16th-century Books, Cambridge 1998, 2 vols., I, no. 129 (R. Colombo, Venezia 1559); Giuseppina ZAPPELLA, *Il ritratto nel libro italiano del Cinquecento*, Milano 1988, 2 vols. passim.
- 85 TOMASINI (n. 76), passim.
- 86 See David ROSAND and Michelangelo MURARO, *Titian and the Venetian Woodcut*, Washington 1976, ch. V (*Titian, Giovanni Britto and the Portrait*). MANCINI (n. 17), pp. 85, 87, sees this portrait as reproducing a detail of Titian's portrait of Mantova, but nothing suggests it is an extract from a more extensive image, and the approach to representing the sitter does not seem Titian's. Many of Titian's sitters are old, and some quite old, but the ravages of time is not a theme Titian addresses in his portraits.
- 87 Reprint: Torino 1994; ill. in: ZAPPELLA (n. 84).
- 88 Marco Mantova published a very large number of books; cf. VEDOVA (n. 82). These have not been systematically examined or subjected to an exhaustive descriptive cataloguing.
- 89 Berlin 1937, Pl. XXIX, 5.

- 90 Felix ACKERMANN, Die Perlmutternachbildung einer Medaille auf Marco Mantova Benavides in Basel, in: *The Medal*, no. 28, 1966, pp. 5 and 9; also cover illustration. See further: ill. in: Eugen VON PHILIPPOVICH, *Kuriositäten Antiquitäten*, Braunschweig 1966, pp. 452–453, fig. 305; Elisabeth LANDOLT, Felix ACKERMANN, *Die Objekte im Historischen Museum Basel*, Basel 1991, pp. 94–95, no. 72; Ulrich MIDDELDORF, *Medals in clay and other odd materials*, in: *Faenza*, LXV, 1979, pp. 269–278.
- 91 *The Illustrated Bartsch*, vol. XXX, ‚*Vico*‘, no. 252 (337).
- 92 See, e.g., the testimony of Vasari’s *Vite* and Aretino’s letters; further: Ernst KRIS, *Meister und Meisterwerke der Steinschneidekunst in der italienischen Renaissance*, Wien 1929, 2 vols.
- 93 Gustavo FRIZZONI, ed., *Notizia d’opere di disegno*, Bologna 1884, p. 73. A graphic text of the ‚*Analysis variarum questionum*‘, is available online: www.historia.unimi.it/scripts/digliblista.asp.
- 94 See, e.g., a *seltene Originalprägung* at Michael Meister, Ludwigsburg: www.muenzenmeister.com, 2004; the example sold in the ‚*Chigi*‘ sale was also struck (Sotheby’s, Firenze, 14 Maggio 1975, no. 31: ‚*Importanti medaglie e placchette rinascimentali*‘).
- 95 *Herculei Labores* (Adagia, III, 1.1; 1525: 23: *Postremo quoniam et infinitum est opus, et ad communem utilitatem paratum, age quid vetat, quo minus operam partiti, communi studio perficiamus? Ego meum persolvi pensum, et fessus lampada trado.*).
- 96 *De rerum natura*, II, 79 (cf. TODERI-VANNEL, 2000, p. 218, no. 590; ATTWOOD: Lucretius).
- 97 Lionello PUPPI, *Palladio e il cavalier Lione*, in: *Leone Leoni tra Lombardia e Spagna*, ed. Maria Luisa GATTI PERRER, Milano 1995, p. 72 (testament of Martino Pasqualigo); see also: Lionello PUPPI, *Bricciole archivistiche per Martino Pasqualigo e Giovanbattista Maganza*, in: *Per sovrana risoluzione: studi in ricordo di Amelio Tagliaferri*, ed. Giuseppe Maria PILO, Monfalcone 1998 (*Arte documento*. Quaderni, 4), pp. 481–483.
- 98 Lionello PUPPI, in: Vincenzo Scamozzi, ed. Franco BARBIERI and Guido BELTRAMINI, Venezia 2003, p. 14 and n. 30.
- 99 There are a few further portraits of Marco Mantova which are not considered here. One of these, the provisional effigy in stucco or clay which Ammannati placed on Marco Mantova’s monument in the church of the Eremitani, is not a true portrait. It was originally intended that this provisional seated figure be replaced with a bronze version, but this intention was never fulfilled (see: Charles DAVIS, *L’apoteosi d’Ercole e il colosso padovano dell’Ammannati*, in: *Psicon*, *Rivista internazionale di architettura*, no. 6, III, January–March 1976, pp. 32–47; here fig. 11). The model was a sort of ‚mock up‘ or exemplar and not intended as a portrait likeness, much as Rubens’s drawing for the portrait of Brigida Spinola Doria (Washington, National Gallery of Art, Collection Kress) is not a portrait of the sitter, but a study of costume and composition for which a stand in posed in the place of the lady. Or similarly, Titian’s drawing, ‚*Hombrre con la armadura di Francesco Maria della Rovere*‘, 1536 (Uffizi; see FLETCHER [n. 1], p. 69, fig. 34). Ammannati had made a *mezzo busto rilevato di terracotta* of Marco Mantova, which is number 50 in the inventory of 1695. Just possibly this bust, or the tomb effigy, is reflected in two engravings, one of 1595, both of which are identified through inscriptions as portraits of Marco – very full-bearded and with thick curly hair – and thus completely at variance with the portraits we have seen. There is, however, some resemblance to Ammannati’s tomb effigy. (1) undated engraving at Museo Civico di Padova, *MARC^o MANTUA BONAVIT, Juris Professor Patavij*; (2) in: Philipp GALLE, *Virorum Doctorum de Disciplinis b. m. effigies XLIII*, Antwerpen 1572, ²1595; see: www.bildindex.de/rx/apsisa.dll/registerinhalt?sid={1d7576ef-9672-490b-955d-... Compare a portrait bust at Oxford (Ashmolean Museum), attributed to Baccio Bandinelli, which may be tentatively mentioned in this regard. The attribution to Bandinelli is far from certain.
- 100 VASARI (ed. DELLA PERGOLA), VII, pp. 327f. [= G. II, 813]: *un peccato che a Venezia non s’imparasse da principio a disegnare bene e che non avessono que’ pittori miglior modo nello studio ...*

- 101 Campagnola's half-length portrait is reproduced in the *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XLI, 1978, p. 333, Pl. 52j (where I wrote, in note 12, no more than: *Pl. 52j, clearly a portrait of Giampietro, reproduces a photograph made when the work was on the Munich art market in 1926 as an unidentified portrait ascribed to the Veronese painter Francesco Torbido*), reporting an obvious identification which had not been previously made. This work clearly documents a part of Mantova's portrait collection, which is largely unknown. Vincenzo Mancini has identified a further small 'testa' of Giovanni Pietro Mantova Benavides, also part of Mantova's collection and formerly in Berlin, in another photograph, 1995, (Mancini [Ann. 42], fig. 12; cf. enlarged re-edition of the same work: Mancini [n. 17]) and makes a big deal about an imagined difference in quality between the two works, judged solely on the basis of photographs and without knowledge of the condition of the two works. The 'Torbido' portrait (from the Paolini collection, Roma) also passed, unsold, through the London art market four times between 1966 and 1968 (Christie's, 20.05.1966, no. 110; 14.10.1966, no. 120; 7.04.1967, no. 36; 8.03.1968, no. 141; photograph in the Photothek of the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz, classified as 'Torbido').
- 102 Clowes Foundation, WETHEY, II, Cat. no. X-39. A possible further portrait of Marco Mantova is alluded to in Mantova's *Lettere famigliari*, 1578, no. 59 (*Allo Eccellentissimo Giuriscon. M. Andrea Trivisano, ... che mi ha ancho voluto immortalare, coll'opera dei statuti nostri che mi ha dedicata, cosa che non à me lo sono servo ... la ringratio infinitamente ...* VALSECCHI [n. 30], p. 53, note 52, writes: *Andrea Trevisano gli dedicò il suo Indice dello Statuto Padovano ... collo Satuto da Comino di Tridino nel [1556] ... dietro il frontispizio del quale vedesi un ritratto che sembra quello di Marco Mantova*).
- 103 TICOZZI (n. 46), pp. 222–223; cf. CROWE and CAVALCASELLE, p. 193.
- 104 WETHEY, II, Cat. no. 98: 1544, Treviso, Museo Civico; see also Speroni's portrait by Domenico Campagnola, Pinacoteca, Seminario Vescovile, Rovigo, with similar costume (v. n. 24). I have not consulted: Elisabetta SACCOMANI, in: Sperone Speroni, Padova 1988, pp. 257–267.
- 105 In the *Dialogo d'amore*, fols. 22^v–23^r.
- 106 Sperone SPERONI, *Dialoghi*, 1596 (in: Sperone SPERONI, *Opere*, Venezia, 1740, 4 vols., vol. I, pp. 1–45, *Dialogo d'amore*).
- 107 Michelangelo's 'singularity' was a significant theme in the critical response to him and to his art, one especially prominent at the time of his death in 1564. It constitutes, for instance, not only a Leitmotiv of Benedetto Varchi's *Orazione funerale ... nell'essequie del divino Michelagnolo Buonarroti* (Firenze 1564), but is also a structural element in the form of the *Orazione*, being the theme of the first part of Varchi's *Ragionamento* (*prima parte*, p. 10). Varchi's oration amply illustrates the equivalence of and interchangeability of the terms *solo*, *unico*, and *singolare* (pp. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 30, 56, 57).