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Giorgione's *Inferno with Aeneas and Anchises* for Taddeo Contarini

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Some of the most recent publications on Giorgione have punctiliously as well as convincingly reexamined his still controversial catalog and chronology.[1] This philological enterprise, however, seems to have been more concerned with organizing in a plausible chronological sequence the surviving paintings of the artist than with reconstructing and dating Giorgione's lost works and designs. The study of the copies after Giorgione has always been pursued, of course, but an analysis limited to the surviving visual material inevitably distorts our view of the historical picture. It must be conceded that we will probably never know what some lost works by Giorgione really looked like; this does not mean, however, that we have to ignore the rights and responsibilities of elaborating reasonable hypotheses about this no longer extant imagery.

The purpose of this paper is to reopen the debate surrounding two Giorgionesque works—works that have been neglected in the most recent philological overviews—because they help us visualize some of the most pressing issues that absorbed Giorgione's energies during the last three years of his life: the so-called *Dream,* once known as the *Dream of Raphael,* engraved by Marcantonio Raimondi (fig. 1),[2] and the *Inferno with Aeneas and Anchises,* a canvas seen by Marcantonio Michiel in the house of Taddeo Contarini in 1525.[3]

The fate of the *Dream* is very curious indeed. The attribution of the engraving's design to Giorgione is, as is well known, highly controversial. The majority of those who have tried to unravel its meaning have more or less tacitly agreed that it was designed by Giorgione or, at least, that it clearly reflects some of his most characteristic themes and motives. The best and most comprehensive philological reconstructions of Giorgione's career, however, have ignored this image, despite the fact that the view expressed by Johann David Passavant more than a century ago has been upheld correctly by Christian Hornig in his monograph on Giorgione's late works, Gianvittorio Dillon in the catalog of the Savoldo exhibition, Nicholas Penny in his essay on the depiction of night in Venetian painting, and Konrad Oberhuber in his entry for the catalog of the Venetian exhibition of 1993 in Paris.[4] There is little in Marcantonio's previous works to prepare us for such a revolutionary image, and although we cannot prove that the print reproduces a lost

Fig. 1. Marcantonio Raimondi
The Dream
Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina

painting by Giorgione (which is unlikely), it is a Venetian product profoundly influenced by, if not based on, Giorgione's designs.[5] It is possible that Marcantonio borrowed some elements of the background from other prints and that he rearranged some details of the composition according to his own artistic inclinations, and it is also possible that in so doing he created some puzzling iconographic aggregations that have tenaciously resisted interpretation. As we shall see, however, the most important parts of this mysterious engraving form a coherent design that was intended for a specific purpose. Before analyzing its formal structure, however, it is worth reviewing briefly the traditional as well as the most recent iconographic interpretations of this image, which continues to haunt our imagination.

Many if not most of the interpretations of early art historians incorporated Virgilian themes.[6] It is likely that this trend was consciously as well as

unconsciously influenced by Michiel's *Notizia d'opere di disegno,* and more specifically by his reference to a canvas depicting the story of Aeneas and Anchises in the collection of Taddeo Contarini.[7] It should be noted, however, that no element of this composition identifies the burning city as Troy.

Another line of inquiry emerged from the wide-ranging research of Eugenio Battisti for his *L'antirinascimento.* The author did not discuss Marcantonio's engraving, but he did examine Battista Dosso's allegory in Dresden (*Night,* or *Dream,* 1544, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister), a painting that is often, albeit misleadingly, related to the *Dream* in the context of the early modern interest in magic.[8] This hermetic interpretation has prevailed in the most recent literature on the engraving, including not only Francesco Gandolfo's essay "Mistica, Ermetismo e Sogno nel Cinquecento,"[9] which developed the alchemic reading of the *Dream* suggested by Maurizio Calvesi, but also in the German reception of the problem. Heike Frosien-Leinz has discussed the print in the context of Agrippa von Nettesheim's *De occulta philosophia,*[10] and Horst Bredekamp has underlined the profane aspect of early modern dreams in his contribution to the exhibition catalog *Zauber der Medusa.*[11] More recently Louise Milne has unconvincingly suggested that the female nudes of Marcantonio's engraving seem to represent the human soul.[12]

The most plausible iconographic interpretation to date has been suggested in a short article by Guy de Tervarent.[13] He thinks that the key to the secret of Marcantonio's engraving is a verse by Statius, inaccurately transcribed by an absent-minded amanuensis. The text of the *Thebaid* available to early sixteenth-century artists would have read: "Vague dreams with innumerable faces are seen all around, the truthful ones mingled with untruthful ones and rivers with flames."[14] As to the fantastic creatures on the shore, de Tervarent pointed out a passage in *A True Story* by Lucian: "For as far as dreams go, these vary from one another, by their nature as well as by their appearance. Some bring before us figures which are beautiful and well proportioned, while others are small and ugly."[15] There are undoubtedly numerous affinities between these literary texts and Marcantonio's image, but they fail to explain all the elements of the puzzle. Moreover, it should be noted that in his edition of the *Thebaid,* Aldo Manuzio had already replaced the incorrect words *"flumina flammis"* with *"tristia blandis."*

Someone in the future may discover a more plausible literary source, but the great appeal of this engraving resides precisely in its intentional ambiguities. I wish to avoid any possible misunderstanding, however—one cannot retreat into the comfortable corner of the nonsubject. There is no question that this work is a virtuoso performance: as David Landau has pointed out, "the richness of texture of this early impression might indicate that it was intended as a demonstration of Marcantonio's mastery of line engraving to rival Giulio Campagnola's stipple-engraving."[16] It is unlikely, however, that Marcantonio was only interested in showing off his technical ability.

One crucial question has never been asked: For whom was such an image produced? That is, what kind of public would have bought or commissioned this engraving by Marcantonio, if it was ever on sale? One can safely assume that the ideal client for such a work would have been a humanist who would have enriched the abundant imagery offered by the engraving with his own personal and erudite associations. The name of Hieronymus Bosch has often been correctly mentioned in connection with the monsters on the shore, but the two animals on the far right seem even more related to the bizarre inkwells and oil lamps that decorated the *studioli* of the time (fig. 2).

To come to the center of my argument, it is possible that this engraving was intentionally produced to challenge the technical as well as the iconographical knowledge of a learned viewer in order to create discussion and entertainment. The obvious ambiguities of the work seem to have been created deliberately, so that debate would ensue.[17] Some elements are immediately recognizable, others are difficult to identify, but the engraving is above all replete with polysemous elements such as fire, night, water, and ships. The enormous potential of this imagery for endless associations makes it difficult to propose a specific title for the work, but this does not mean that there is no subject. The alternative is not between subject and nonsubject, but between a closed, definite meaning and an open, flexible one. Let us pursue the most seductive element of the composition: the fire in the right background.

In his *Trattato dell'arte della pittura, scoltura, et architettura,* Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo discussed several themes that could be used as a pretext for representing a great fire. In chapter 7 of book 4 Lomazzo lists among his favorite themes the fire of Sodom and Gomorrah and the fall of Troy, two recurrent narratives in the pyrotechnic culture of the sixteenth century.[18] Chapters 24 and 37 of book 6 are also relevant. Chapter 24 deals with the subjects that should be painted *"in luochi di fuoco e patiboli"* (in places of fire and torment).[19] The number of suitable myths and biblical stories recorded by Lomazzo is amazing, but none can explain what we see in Marcantonio's engraving.

More to our purpose is perhaps the following passage from chapter 37, in which Lomazzo insists upon the effects of *varietà* in battle compositions:

> In such scenes of conflict and ruin, it adds great grace to show the city walls being knocked down, women crying aloud as they run with outstretched arms, and other women fleeing, as well as some men being bound, while others are killed and still others are stripped. Moreover, as at Troy and Carthage, the city is put to the torch and houses and palaces are destroyed, as has happened so many times to poor Rome, and many other cities of Italy as well, at the hands of barbarians. Filled with fear, some flee, just as Venus's son fled burning Troy with his aged father Anchises on his shoulders and his little son's hand in his. Some pass children down from balconies, others lower themselves down ropes, while still others leap; and one could, if one wished, count an infinite number of similar scenes of ruin and acts of desperation.[20]

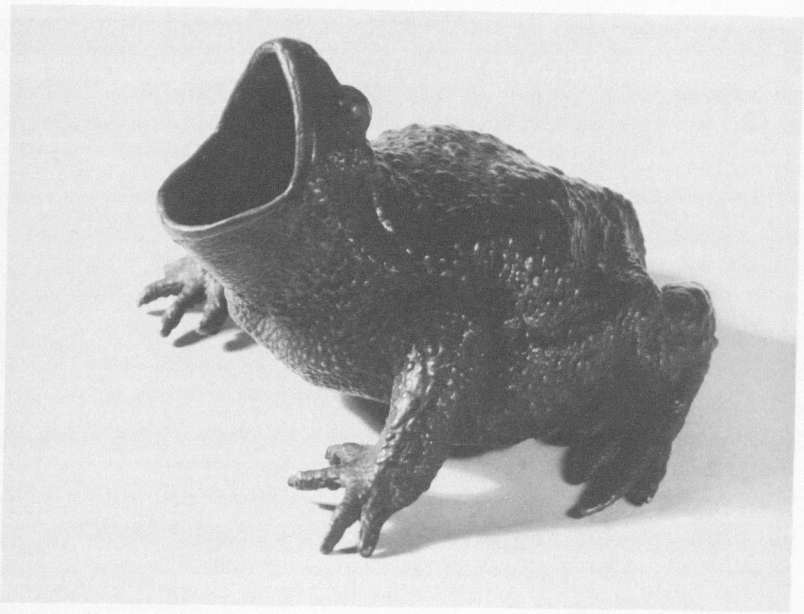

Fig. 2. Northern Italian (Padua?)
Inkwell in the Form of a Toad
Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

None of the numerous narratives and compositions described by Lomazzo can be identified as *the* subject of Marcantonio's print, but this quotation reveals how these dramatic, indeed "fiery," episodes were greatly admired for their powerful narrative potential. Moreover, Lomazzo's list reveals the broad number of selections that were available by the end of the sixteenth century for an artist who wanted to paint such a work.

It may well be that the search for an accurate literary source is a futile enterprise and that a specific text will never clarify all the elements of the iconographic puzzle. Some elements of the composition seem to be meaningful: the gigantic ferryman steering the boat in the center of the landscape has been often identified with Charon, who is indeed a recurrent figure in sixteenth-century nightmares, as the autobiography of Benvenuto Cellini and the treatise on dreams by Girolamo Cardano show.[21] But if he really is Charon, who then is steering the ship that glides over the calm water of the river-lagoon? As I have already suggested, it is possible that such ambiguities are intentional.[22] One thing, however, is evident. The entire image is built around logically structured oppositions: the beautiful and the ugly in the foreground, the burning fortress on the right and the town beaten by the rain in the left background, the animated fortress and the deserted city, the

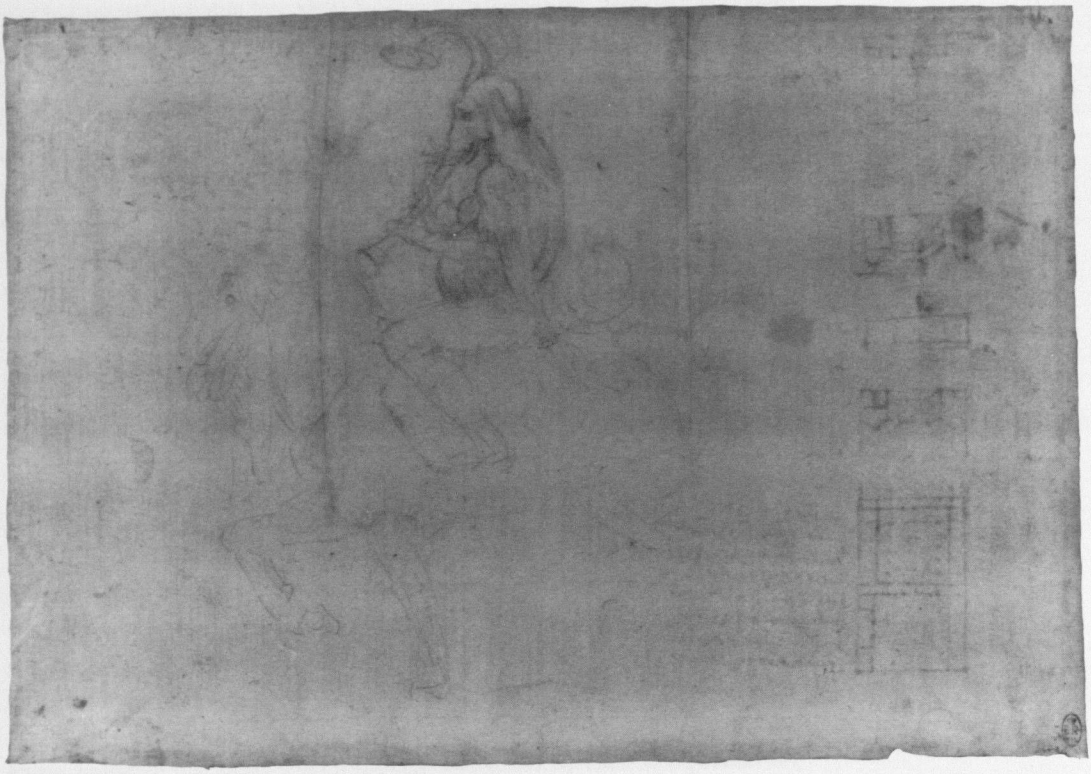

Fig. 3. Leonardo da Vinci
Masquerader Seated on a Horse
Windsor, Royal Library

flaming fire and the calm water. These are deliberate contrasts, which we can connect with a source that has not yet been discussed in this context: Leonardo's treatise on painting.

The two women in the foreground could be interpreted as an illustration of Leonardo's critique of sculpture in his celebrated passage on the *Paragone:*

> The art of painting [instead] embraces and contains within itself all visible things.... The painter shows to you different distances and... the rains, behind which can be discerned the cloudy mountains and valleys...; also the rivers of greater and lesser transparency...; also the polished pebbles of various hues, deposited on the washed sand of the river's bed.... Aerial perspective is absent from the sculptors' work. They cannot depict transparent bodies, nor can they represent luminous sources, nor reflected rays,... nor dreary weather.[23]

The remarkable affinities in tone and mood between text and image become even more persuasive when one considers that the most obvious theme of the engraving is the contrast between beauty and ugliness and, as Landau has noted, that this is "the first depiction of a dream in an Italian print and the first attempt to engrave a night scene."[24] Leonardo's interest in night scenes, dreams, and prophecies is well documented. One of his celebrated prophecies is dedicated to dreaming: "Men will seem to see new destructions in the sky.... They will see the greatest splendour in the midst of darkness. O! marvel of the human race! What frenzy has led you thus! You will speak with animals of every species and they with you in human speech."[25]

It is superfluous to quote Leonardo's famous passage in which the artist provides instructions on how to represent a night scene, but one cannot help quoting his words on the painter as the lord of all things: "If the painter wishes to see beauties that would enrapture him, he is master of their production, and if he wishes to see monstrous things which might terrify or which would be buffoonish and laughable or truly pitiable, he is their lord and god."[26]

The terrifying yet laughable metamorphic creatures on the shore of Marcantonio's *Dream* have always triggered a comparison with the grylli and *adynata,* or "impossibilities," to use the rhetorical term, created by Hieronymus Bosch. But we should not forget that Leonardo also designed similar freaks for the entertainment of his patrons, as shown by the drawing titled *Masquerader Seated on a Horse* (fig. 3).[27]

This monster with the head of an elephant who is playing its trunk as if it were a trumpet is actually an actor seated on horseback who wears a humorous costume. The drawing was once believed to be related to the masquerades organized by Galeazzo da Sanseverino in his Milanese palace in 1491, when Leonardo designed the costumes of certain *omini salvatici.* The most recent studies, however, date it to around 1508, which, by pure coincidence, is also the date of Marcantonio's engraving. In any case, this drawing and the masquerade remind us how the demonic and comic were intimately connected in the late medieval and early modern periods. Leonardo's instructions about how to make imaginary animals and monstrosities as well as Vasari's anecdotes about his early head of Medusa and about his later abstruse experiments or jokes in the garden of the Belvedere are both terrifying and humorous.[28]

These developments parallel those in the theater, as Milne notes: "By the second half of the fifteenth century, 'domestic' scenes in Hell, involving much comic banter between many... devils and increasingly elaborate special effects, had become the rule rather than the exception."[29] Similar spectacles were particularly popular during the carnival season, and a city like Venice could not but excel in the production of elaborate entertainments. Marino Sanudo's diaries are an inestimable source for our purposes. In 1515 a farce performed in the courtyard of Ca' Pesaro "opened with a scene of a

flaming Hell peopled by actors in blackface."[30] Five years later "the Compagnia degli Immortali sponsored an evening *festa* in front of Ca' Foscari in which actors... pantomimed the fall of Troy. The pageant ended with a devil emerging from a ball of fire, which ultimately consumed the set."[31]

These Venetian theatrical performances convey the medley of sacred and profane, of waning mystery plays and emerging classical aspirations, that must have characterized these pantomimes. To a large extent, the Hellmouth as a visual device had been demystified by the later Middle Ages, but the same portentous effects could be achieved by staging a debased and possibly disrespectful version of the classical drama.

Giorgione's lost *Inferno* did not fit into this scenario; it could not have been an "illustration" of a similar event. It is against this background, however, that we should place Giorgione's canvas: it embodied, so to speak, the other side of the same phenomenon, the revival of classical themes in Renaissance Venice.

We should ask first what Giorgione's canvas represented. In theory he could also have painted the meeting of Aeneas and Anchises in the Underworld. His canvas could have reproduced two passages of book 6 of the *Aeneid,* with the flaming Phlegethon on one side and the meeting in the Elysian Fields—the subject of Dosso's *Aeneas in the Elysian Fields* in the National Gallery of Canada in Ottawa—on the other side. Michiel's words, however (*"la tela... de linferno cun Enea et Anchise"*), recall those he used to describe a painting by Bosch that he saw in the palace of Cardinal Grimani in 1521: *"La tela de linferno cun la gran diversità de monstri"* (the painting of the Inferno with a large assortment of monsters).[32] The most impressive element of Giorgione's composition, therefore, must have been the fire. Thus it is more likely that his *Inferno* depicted the fall of Troy, as has been often suggested, even if its design was influenced by the hellish Flemish imagery available in Venice.

Next we should ask what the picture looked like. According to Nicholas Penny, "some idea... can probably be best obtained from a painting by Savoldo... in which semitransparent demons assault a recumbent [figure] at sunset." At the right side a nude man carries on his shoulders the body of another man, whose head has assumed the features of a bird's skull in order to give a visible shape to a hallucination (fig. 4).[33] As is well known, these two figures are a reversed copy of the so-called Aeneas-Anchises group frescoed by Raphael in the Vatican's Stanza dell'Incendio and therefore cannot be a faithful record of Giorgione's heroes. The subject, however, requires that a younger man carry the body of an older man on his shoulders. If we imagine, moreover, that a similar group, possibly derived from one of those antique cameos or coins that a passionate collector of antiquities like Taddeo Contarini certainly possessed,[34] was set in a landscape dominated by the flames of a Boschian *Inferno* (fig. 5), like the one seen by

Fig. 4. Giovanni Girolamo Savoldo
Temptation of Saint Anthony
Moscow, Gosudarstvennyj Muzej A. S. Pushkina

Michiel in the Grimani collection, we can mentally, even if inaccurately, reconstruct Giorgione's lost canvas.

It is indeed puzzling that such an important work should have disappeared without trace, because it can be argued that Giorgione's *Inferno* was a very big picture. The reliable Michiel speaks of a *"tela grande a oglio"* (a large oil painting).[35] In the same collection, moreover, he saw among other things another big canvas painted in tempera by Girolamo Romanino and a small female portrait (*"el quadretto"*) by Giovanni Bellini.[36] In other words, Michiel was very accurate in recording the sizes of the paintings he saw. Yet when he lists the so-called *Three Philosophers* (p. 203) in the same house he makes no comment on its size.[37] The fragmentary canvas in Vienna measures 1.23 by 1.44 meters.[38] The *Inferno* was probably bigger, certainly not smaller, than the *Three Philosophers,* and this means that the group of Aeneas and Anchises could have easily been eighty centimeters to one meter high, if not more.

Fig. 5. Hieronymus Bosch
The Inferno
Venice, Palazzo Ducale

As far as I know, an almost life-size representation of the myth was unprecedented in Venice. (At this date I can only think of Girolamo Genga's fresco for the palace of Pandolfo Petrucci in Siena).[39] We should therefore ask why Giorgione selected this subject and who commissioned this large canvas.

As far as the latter question is concerned, two well-known, indeed celebrated, documents help us formulate the hypothesis that Taddeo Contarini himself commissioned the canvas. From a letter of Isabella d'Este to Taddeo Albano, her agent in Venice, dated 25 October 1510, we know that the marchesa wanted to purchase "a very beautiful and unusual 'nocte'" that had been painted by Giorgione and was apparently left in his studio after his death.[40] Albano replied on 8 November 1510 that such a painting did not exist in the artist's estate; moreover, both the *Nocte* owned by a certain Victorio Becharo and the *Nocte* owned by Taddeo Contarini were not on sale for any price because they had commissioned these paintings for their own enjoyment.[41] From these texts we learn three important facts: first, even if we do not know whether the term *nocte* referred to a specific iconography or to a genre, Isabella and Taddeo understood each other when they used it because they knew what this term meant; second, in November 1510 Taddeo Contarini owned a *Nocte* by Giorgione; third, Giorgione's patrons did not intend to sell their paintings because they wanted to enjoy them.

Fifteen years later, in 1525, Michiel visited Contarini's collection and listed in his notebook three paintings by Giorgione: the so-called *Three Philosophers, The Birth of Paris,* which is known through a copy by David Teniers, and the *Inferno with Aeneas and Anchises.* As we have seen, this canvas probably depicted the fall of Troy and was a night scene. It is therefore reasonable to suggest that the *Nocte* recorded by Taddeo Albano and the *Inferno* seen by Michiel were in fact the same picture. Indeed, this is the simplest solution, because if this were not so, one should assume that Contarini originally owned four and not three paintings by Giorgione and that Taddeo sold his *Nocte* between 1510 and 1525. Such a scenario has been implicitly suggested by some art historians who have identified the so-called *Allendale Nativity* (*Adoration of the Shepherds,* Washington, National Gallery of Art) and its unfinished replica in Vienna (*Adoration of the Shepherds,* Kunsthistorisches Museum), with the two "*nocti*" mentioned by Taddeo Albano.[42] This hypothesis has been accepted by many scholars.[43] As early as 1949, however, Hans Tietze and Erika Tietze-Conrat pointed out that at the beginning of the sixteenth century the term *nocte* could not have been used to describe a nativity.[44] Two more observations should be made. First, Giorgione's adorations do not take place at night. Second, if the *Nocte* was really a nativity or an adoration of the shepherds, namely the painting now in Vienna, Contarini should have sold it before 1525, before Michiel's visit to his collection. As we have seen, however, Contarini did not want to sell his *Nocte* to Isabella d'Este for any price. All in all, therefore, it is more reasonable to assume that the *Nocte* mentioned by Albano depicted the fall of Troy that Michiel saw fifteen years later in the same palace.

One possible objection to this reconstruction of the events is difficult to answer: we do not know of other sources from the early sixteenth century in which a time of the day (dawn, morning, afternoon, evening, sunset, night) is used to indicate the subject of a painting. Yet the impression is that Isabella d'Este, who was interested in collecting Flemish art,[45] and her agent used the term *nocte* to refer to a genre more than to a specific iconographic subject. Between the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries, artists were keen on experimenting with the representation of atmospheric effects, and these interests were reflected in the writings of the time: not only in Leonardo's treatise on painting but also in Erasmus's *De recta Latini Graecique sermonis pronuntiatione* (1533), a dialogue that praises Albrecht Dürer's outstanding talent in reproducing what cannot be reproduced—that is, fire, rays of light, thunder, and lightning.[46] This was a *topos* based on Pliny the Elder and later repeated by Vasari in his life of Raphael, but this does not mean that these artists were not actually interested in these themes. This imagery was later "institutionalized" by Vasari, who was fond of night scenes,[47] yet the representation of atmospheric effects and in particular of night scenes was already a central issue at the turn of the century: indeed, this was one of the greatest achievements of the *maniera moderna,* which in this respect was deeply influenced by the Netherlandish paintings imported into Venice at the end of the fifteenth century.[48]

To conclude this part of the investigation, it is likely that the *Nocte* mentioned by Taddeo Albano in his letter to Isabella d'Este, dated 8 November 1510, and the lost *Inferno* seen by Michiel in 1525 were the same picture. It is therefore almost certain that Taddeo Contarini himself commissioned the canvas.

It would be superfluous to repeat all the important information on Taddeo Contarini gathered by Salvatore Settis in his book on Giorgione's *Tempest.*[49] Let us only mention that Contarini possessed an outstanding classical culture. There is perhaps no further need to explain why a man of his wide-ranging classical interests would have liked to see on the walls of his palace the story of Aeneas and Anchises, but the hypothesis that such an unusual commission was related to unusual historical circumstances is too tempting to resist.

The theme of Aeneas's flight from Troy with his father on his shoulders conveys the message of filial piety in the moment of danger, when the institutions and the country itself are collapsing, a moral that is depicted in Andrea Alciati's later *Emblematum libellus* (fig. 6). The motto of emblem 195 recites "*Pietas filiorum in parentes,*" but the text of the epigram also stresses the notion of "*patria.*"[50] I am aware of the fact that the desire to connect the myth with the political realities of the Venetian republic and the military rout of Agnadello is based on no solid documentary evidence.[51] Skepticism over such direct political and contextual interpretations of works of art has grown louder in recent years[52]—imagine what can happen when the picture itself is lost or destroyed. Yet such a dramatic painting, a night illuminated by the

Fig. 6. "Pietas filiorum in parentes"
From Andrea Alciati, *Emblematum libellus*, emblem 73
(Paris: Christian Wechel, 1534)

burning Troy, a true Inferno, would have been a perfect metaphor for the collapsing Venetian state and would have well embodied the anxiety, sense of loss, and bewilderment that agitated Venetian society. It must be admitted that this interpretation is hard to defend: the late medieval tradition of the myth stresses its moral and private connotations, and there can be no doubt —as I have already suggested—that the painting had a very personal meaning for Taddeo Contarini. When I refer to the "political" implications of this commission, therefore, I do not intend to suggest that Giorgione's painting was an illustration or the direct reflection of a specific event, but that the unusual historical circumstances and the dark mood of those tragic days stimulated, almost subliminally, the recovery of the myth on a monumental scale. After May 1509 Venice's situation was so precarious that the troops of the League of Cambrai occupied Padua. This was not the appropriate time to commission a big canvas. By the following year, however, the situation had substantially improved.

The years between 1509 and 1511 are crucial for the history of Venetian altarpiece painting: Basaiti, Carpaccio, Buonconsiglio, Bellini, and Titian

executed several altarpieces that, although intended as a petition for protection from the plague, also simultaneously celebrated the end of the worst of the political threats.[53] By a stretch of the imagination we could interpret the *Inferno* as a sort of secular ex-voto. If this were true, the lost canvas would belong to the last phase of Giorgione's career, a period characterized by the classical turn of his work from 1508.[54] The bodies of the two possibly seminaked figures were, then, possibly similar to the *ignudi* on the facade of the Fondaco dei Tedeschi.

There is at least one more clue that can be used to argue that the *Inferno* was a very late painting by Giorgione. As we have seen, Taddeo Albano wrote to Isabella d'Este that the *Nocte* owned by Becharo and the *Nocte* owned by Contarini were not for sale at any price. There was an important difference between these two pictures, however (which, incidentally, did not necessarily depict the same iconographic subject): the Becharo *Nocte* was a better finished painting, whereas the Contarini *Nocte* was *"non... molto perfecta."* Albano's words might indicate that the big canvas was left unfinished because of the painter's sudden death. Indeed, it is unlikely that a demanding collector like Taddeo Contarini would have acquired an unfinished painting, if he did not have to succumb to exceptional circumstances. The letter of Isabella's agent was written only a few days after Giorgione's death: we must therefore assume that the painting entered Contarini's collection in the short time between the artist's death and the letter. If Taddeo Contarini had personally commissioned the work, as I have argued, such a scenario is plausible.[55]

The *Dream* engraved by Marcantonio and the *Inferno* are two very important works that help us reconstruct the last chapter of Giorgione's career between 1508 and 1510. If the *Three Philosophers* is not a late work and if we accept the proposal that what we see now in the *Venus* in the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, in Dresden (ca. 1510) was painted mostly by Titian, as Alessandro Ballarin and Mauro Lucco have suggested,[56] then it is necessary to write a new profile of Giorgione's last works, a profile that must also take into account his lost or damaged compositions.

Giorgione's increasingly public role and his success is beyond dispute. This is proved not only by the frescoes on the facade of the Fondaco but also by his documented painting for the audience chamber of the Palazzo Ducale. The *Dream* engraved by Marcantonio Raimondi and the *Inferno* document a more private but equally important aspect of Giorgione's late phase: his love of night scenes, special light effects, and spellbinding, violent fires. His treatment of these themes, which were rooted in Leonardo's theoretical writings, was even more influential than his public works and had an enormous impact on western painting in the following decades and centuries, including the work of Dosso Dossi.

Leonardo was a constant point of reference for Giorgione, as the *Three Ages of Man* (Florence, Palazzo Pitti) and the so-called *Marcello* (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum) show.[57] Here I have argued that this fascination endured until the very end of Giorgione's life. The flight of Aeneas and Anchises from the burning Troy demanded that Giorgione not only paint a great fire in the night, a quintessentially Leonardesque subject, but also portray the contrast between an older and a younger face. It is unlikely that in this lost painting Giorgione imitated the grotesque and idealized features of Leonardo's heads, which he had paraphrased five years earlier in the *Marcello*. The fragmentary surviving evidence confirms, however, that in his last works Giorgione continued to investigate themes and issues that had long concerned Leonardo.

Notes

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1. Recent philological reconstructions of Giorgione's career are Alessandro Ballarin, "Une nouvelle perspective sur Giorgione: Les portraits des années 1500–1503" and "Le problème des œuvres de la jeunesse de Titien: Avancées et reculs de la critique," in *Le siècle de Titien: L'âge d'or de la peinture à Venise*, 2nd ed., exh. cat. (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1993), 281–94, 357–66 (see also the important review by Mauro Lucco, "Le siècle de Titien," *Paragone*, nos. 535–537 [1994]: 26–47); and Mauro Lucco, *Giorgione* (Milan: Electa, 1995). Ballarin's texts are based on results achieved in the 1970s and partially published in three earlier articles: "Una nuova prospettiva su Giorgione: La ritrattistica degli anni 1500–1503," in *Giorgione: Atti del convegno internazionale di studio per il 5° centenario della nascita* (Castelfranco Veneto: Comitato per le Celebrazioni Giorgionesche, 1979): 227–52; "Giorgione: Per un nuovo catalogo e una nuova cronologia," in *Giorgione e la cultura veneta tra '400 e '500: Mito, allegoria, analisi iconologica* (Rome: De Luca, 1981), 26–30; "Giorgione e la Compagnia degli Amici: Il 'Doppio ritratto' Ludovisi," in *Storia dell'arte italiana*, 12 vols. (Turin: Einaudi, 1979–1982), 5: 479–541. The most recent monograph on the painter is Jaynie Anderson, *Giorgione: Peintre de la "Brièveté Poétique"* (Paris: Editions de la Lagune, 1996).

2. The extensive bibliography on the *Dream* is well summarized in Marzia Faietti and Konrad Oberhuber, eds., *Humanismus in Bologna, 1490–1510*, exh. cat. (Bologna: Nuova Alfa, 1988), 156–58 (entry no. 33 by Marzia Faietti). For further bibliographic references, see notes 4, 6, 10–13, 16, and 22 below.

3. [Marcantonio Michiel], *Notizia d'opere di disegno*, ed. Jacopo Morelli, 2nd ed., ed. Gustavo Frizzoni (1884; reprint, Bologna: Arnaldo Forni, 1976), 165; Marcantonio Michiel, *Der Anonimo Morelliano (Marcanton Michiel's* Notizia d'opere

del disegno): pt. 1, ed. and trans. Theodor Frimmel (Vienna: Carl Graeser, 1888), 88–89.

4. Johann David Passavant, *Le peintre-graveur,* 6 vols. (1864; reprint, New York: Burt Franklin, 1966), 35 (entry no. 218); Christian Hornig, *Giorgiones Spätwerk* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1987), 26, 63–64 (as *The Dream of Hecuba*); *Giovanni Gerolamo Savoldo tra Foppa, Giorgione e Caravaggio,* exh. cat. (Milan: Electa, 1990), 240–41 (entry no. III.13 by Gianvittorio Dillon); Nicholas Penny, "The Night in Venetian Painting between Bellini and Elsheimer," in *Italia al chiaro di luna: La notte nella pittura italiana, 1550–1850,* 2nd. ed., exh. cat. (Rome: Il Cigno Galileo Galilei, 1990), 23–24; *Le siècle de Titien* (see note 1), 521 (entry no. 122 by Konrad Oberhuber).

5. For Marcantonio's earlier work, see Konrad Oberhuber, "Marcantonio Raimondi: Gli inizi a Bologna ed il primo periodo romano," in Faietti and Oberhuber (see note 2), 51–88; and Marzia Faietti, in idem, 89–156 (entry nos. 1–32).

6. In 1895, Franz Wickhoff, "Giorgiones Bilder zu römischen Heldengedichten," *Jahrbuch der königlich preußischen Kunstsammlungen* 16 (1895): 38, suggested that Servius's (fourth-century) commentary on Virgil's *Aeneid* 3.12 might be its literary source. Servius tells of two virgins who were surprised by a storm and took refuge in the temple of the gods at Lavinium; as they were sleeping, *"ea quae minus casta erat fulmine exanimatur, alteram nihil sensisse"* (the one who was less chaste was killed by lightning, while the other felt nothing). This interpretation was challenged by Gustav Friederich Hartlaub, *Giorgiones Geheimnis: Ein kunstgeschichtlicher Beitrag zur Mystik der Renaissance* (Munich: Allgemeine Verlagsanstalt, 1925), 63, who pointed out that the two virgins do not rest in a temple and that neither is being or has been struck by lightning. Later, Hartlaub suggested that the engraving represents Hecuba's dream, which foretold the fall of Troy; see Hartlaub, "Giorgione und der Mythos der Akademieen," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 48 (1927): 241; and idem, "Zu den Bildmotiven des Giorgione," *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft* 7 (1953): 76. As Francesco Gandolfo, *Il "dolce tempo": Mistica, ermetismo e sogno nel Cinquecento* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1978), 80, noted, however, this episode had a well-established and very different iconography: according to the traditional iconography of Hecuba's dream, the pregnant queen dreams that a gigantic torch comes out of her abdomen and burns the town. In 1970, Maurizio Calvesi, "La 'morte di bacio': Saggio sull'ermetismo di Giorgione," *Storia dell'arte,* no. 7/8 (1970): 186, suggested that the engraving might represent the nightmares of Dido, here flanked by her sister Anna Perenna, who dreams about Aeneas's imminent departure. According to this interpretation, the engraving brings together different moments of Virgil's poem. See also Anderson (see note 1), 184.

7. Michiel, 1976 (see note 3), 165; or Michiel, 1888 (see note 3), 88–89: *"La tela grande a oglio dell'Inferno con Enea e Anchise fu de mano de Zorzi de Castelfranco"* (A large oil painting of the Inferno with Aeneas and Anchises by the hand of Giorgione da Castelfranco).

8. Eugenio Battisti, *L'antirinascimento,* 2 vols. (Milan: Garzanti, 1989), 1: 195.

9. Gandolfo (see note 6), 77–112.

10. Heike Frosien-Leinz, "Antikisches Gebrauchsgerät—Weisheit und Magie in

den Öllampen Riccios," in *Natur und Antike in der Renaissance,* exh. cat. (Frankfurt am Main: Liebieghaus Museum Alter Plastik, 1985), 253–54.

11. Horst Bredekamp, "Traumbilder von Marcantonio Raimondi bis Giorgio Ghisi," in Werner Hofmann, ed., *Zauber der Medusa: Europäische Manierismen,* exh. cat. (Vienna: Löcker, 1987), 64–65.

12. Louise Shona Milne, *Dreams and Popular Beliefs in the Imagery of Pieter Bruegel the Elder, c. 1528–1569* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1990), 87–88.

13. Guy de Tervarent, "Instances of Flemish Influence in Italian Art," *Burlington Magazine* 85 (1944): 290–94.

14. Statius, *Thebaid,* 10.112–13: "*adsunt innumero circum vaga somnia vultu / vera simul falsis permixtaque flumina flammis*"; see de Tervarent, ibid., 293.

15. Lucian, *A True Story,* 2.34; see de Tervarent (see note 13), 293.

16. Jane Martineau and Charles Hope, eds., *The Genius of Venice 1500–1600,* exh. cat. (London: Royal Academy of Arts/Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1983), 318–19 (entry no. P15 by David Landau).

17. It is not easy to find written evidence to support this rather bold hypothesis, but Salvatore Settis has kindly brought to my attention a comment by the Riminese humanist Giovanni Aurelio Augurelli on the complicated symbolism of the banner painted for Giuliano de' Medici in 1475 (Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, MS. Laurenziano plut. XXXIV 46, poem 17):

> *L'immagine è, con la sua immediatezza e pregnanza, non solo piacevole oggetto alla vista; ma spunto per discorsi sull'immagine, discorsi che, anche se allusioni o variazioni o descrizioni, saranno sempre, in un qualche senso,* interpretazione; *e, se nell'interpretare*
>
> multi multa ferunt, eadem sententia nulli est,
>
> pulchrius est pictis istud imaginibus:
>
> *così scriveva, e proprio a proposito dello stendardo di Giuliano [de' Medici] nella giostra del 1475, l'umanista riminese Giovanni Aurelio Augurelli, in un poemetto dedicato a Bernardo Bembo* (With its immediacy and pregnancy, the image is not only a pleasurable object for the eye but a stimulus for discourses on the image—discourses that are always, in some sense, *interpretations,* even if allusions or variations or descriptions, and if, in interpreting,
>
> many people express many opinions, nobody has the same opinion,
>
> this [fact] is more beautiful than the painted images.
>
> Thus wrote the humanist from Rimini, Giovanni Aurelio Augurelli, in a brief poem dedicated to Bernardo Bembo, precisely in reference to Giuliano [de' Medici's] banner in the 1475 tournament).

See Salvatore Settis, "*Citarea* 'su una impresa di bronconi,'" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 34 (1971): 143, 176–77. My argument is that this taste for nonexplicit imagery might have been shared by those who collected early Venetian prints. Although born in Rimini, Augurelli studied in Padua and died in Treviso in 1524; see Armando Balduino, "Un poeta umanista (G. A. Augurelli) di fronte all'arte contemporanea," in Michelangelo Muraro, ed., *La letteratura, la rappresentazione, la musica al tempo e nei luoghi di Giorgione* (Rome: Jouvence, 1987), 63.

18. Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo, *Scritti sulle arti,* ed. Roberto Paolo Ciardi, 2 vols. (Florence: Marchi & Bertolli, 1973–1974), 2: 194–95.

19. See Lomazzo, ibid., 2: 297–98:

Ne' camini, adonque, non vogliono vedersi dipinte altre istorie, o favole, o significazioni, che dove entrino fuochi e significanti ardenti d'amori e di desiderij. Di che i pittori ingeniosi possono da se stessi formarne molte composizioni. E quanto alle favole et istorie si potrebbe rappresentare... Ascanio con la fiamma intorno alla testa doppo la distruzione di Troia;... la colonna di fuoco che precede innanzi di notte, come scorta, il populo d'Israel fuggito d'Egitto; e l'istesso popolo, mentre che nell'Egitto lavorava intorno alle fornaci. Ma tuttavia pare che le favole et istorie de' gentili piacciano, non so come, piú, quasi che abbiano maggior vaghezza d'invenzione. E però conviene avere buona conserva di favole, come... di Didone quando col tesoro si getta nel fuoco;... di Medea che per ringiovenire Esone fa il bizzarro incanto (On fireplaces, therefore, no story, fable, or myth should be painted except for those about fires and important figures burning with loves and desires. From these, skillful painters may on their own create many compositions. And as for the fables and stories, they might represent... Ascanius with flames around his head after the destruction of Troy;... the pillar of fire that by night went as an escort before the people of Israel who had fled Egypt; and the same people, while in Egypt as they worked around the kilns. But it nonetheless seems that fables and stories of the gentiles are more pleasing [I know not why], almost as if they had greater grace of invention. However, one needs a good store of fables, such as... Dido, when she threw herself in the fire with the treasure;... [and] Medea, when she cast her bizarre spell to rejuvenate Jason).

20. Lomazzo (see note 18), 2: 322:

In tali conflitti e rovine aggiungerà molta grazia il far veder gettar a terra le mura, le femine con le braccia aperte andar gridando, et altre fuggire et altri esser legati, altri uccisi et altri spogliati; appresso, come a Troia e Cartagine, accendere il fuoco e rovinar le case et i palazzi come già tante volte è avvenuto alla povera Roma per mani di barbari et a molte altre città d'Italia; alcuni colmi di paura fuggire, come ardendo Troia fuggí il figliuolo di Venere col vecchio padre Anchise su le spalle et il figliuolo piccioletto per le mani; altri porgere giú da' balconi i fanciulli, altri calarsi per le corde, altri saltar giú, e simili rovine e disperazioni, le quali infinito sarebbe a volere annoverare.

Lomazzo's words could well be inspired by Raphael's *Fire in the Borgo.*

21. See Bredekamp (see note 11): 66 n. 31. See also Peter Burke, "Für eine Geschichte des Traumes," *Freibeuter,* no. 27 (1986): 50–65.

22. To be more explicit: it is possible that the iconographically meaningful elements of the composition were deliberately introduced in order to confuse the viewer: the viewer identifies Charon but cannot connect him to the other elements of the engraving; on the right-hand side the viewer sees a man carrying a body on his shoulders, but because their poses indicate that the man is carrying a dead body, they cannot represent Aeneas and Anchises; at the top of the burning tower, the viewer sees

two bodies tied to a turning wheel, an image that might refer to *Aeneid* 6.616–17. These details make the viewer believe that she or he has identified the subject of the engraving, but the figures and the animals in the foreground contradict this first impression or intuition. See also Patricia Emison, "Asleep in the Grass of Arcady: Giulio Campagnola's Dreamer," *Renaissance Quarterly* 45 (1992): 271–92; and Craig Harbison, "Meaning in Venetian Renaissance Art: The Issues of Artistic Ingenuity and Oral Traditions," *Art History* 15 (1992): 19–37.

23. For the limitations imposed on the artist by sculpture, see Martin Kemp, ed., *Leonardo on Painting: An Anthology of Writings by Leonardo da Vinci, with a Selection of Documents Relating to His Career as an Artist* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1989), 39. For the passage on painting, see idem, 40–42.

24. Martineau and Hope (see note 16), 318 (entry no. P15 by David Landau).

25. Jean Paul Richter, ed., *The Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci,* 3rd ed., 2 vols. (London: Phaidon, 1970), 2: 293.

26. For a good translation of the celebrated passage on "how to represent a night scene," see Kemp (see note 23), 238. For the passage quoted in the text, see idem, 32.

27. Windsor no. 12585 recto; see Kenneth Clark, *The Drawings of Leonardo da Vinci in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen, at Windsor Castle,* 2nd ed., 3 vols. (London: Phaidon, 1968), 1: 115–16.

28. Richter (see note 25), 1: 54: "Do you not see to what an abundance of inventions the painter may resort if he wishes to portray animals or devils in hell?" Also, idem, 1: 342: "HOW YOU SHOULD MAKE AN IMAGINARY ANIMAL LOOK NATURAL. You know that you cannot invent animals without limbs, each of which, in itself, must resemble those of some other animal. Hence if you wish to make an animal, imagined by you, appear natural—let us say a dragon, take for its head that of a mastiff or hound, with the eyes of a cat, the ears of a porcupine, the nose of a greyhound, the brow of a lion, the temples of an old cock, the neck of a water-tortoise."

29. Milne (see note 12), 185.

30. Edward Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1981), 172–73.

31. Ibid., 172.

32. Michiel, 1976 (see note 3), 165, 196; or Michiel, 1888 (see note 3), 102.

33. Penny (see note 4), 31–32. Penny and I reached our very similar conclusions independently. I completed the first draft of this essay before reading Penny's article. Our similar reasoning may indicate that the Giorgione-Savoldo connection should not be hastily discarded, even if the group on the right derives from Raphael's *Fire in the Borgo.*

34. Gabriele Vendramin, Taddeo's brother-in-law, assembled a greatly admired collection of antiquities; see Irene Favaretto, *Arte antica e cultura antiquaria nelle collezioni venete al tempo della Serenissima* (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1990). Two silver coins of the Republican period (47–46 B.C.) in the Museo Archeologico in Venice reproduce a well-known Aeneas-Anchises group; unfortunately, no. 777 (inv. no. 3366) was found in the province of Venice only in 1937, while the provenance of no. 74 (inv. no. 181) is unknown, as Giovanna Luisa Ravagnan has informed me. In

any case, this group was known at the beginning of the sixteenth century, because it was engraved by Marcantonio Raimondi; see *The Illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 26, *The Works of Marcantonio Raimondi and of His School, Part 1*, ed. Konrad Oberhuber (New York: Abaris, 1978), 180 (entry no. 186 [152]).

35. Michiel made no corrections to his entry on the *Aeneas* in the original manuscript, now in the Biblioteca nazionale Marciana, Venice.

36. This information is reported without additions or corrections in Michiel's original manuscript.

37. Michiel himself added above the original text in the manuscript that *Three Philosophers* is painted in oil. In other words, he took the trouble to add information about the medium yet says nothing about the size of the canvas.

38. See Terisio Pignatti, *Giorgione*, 2nd ed. (Milan: Alfieri, 1978), 108.

39. On Genga's detached fresco, see Piero Torriti, *La Pinacoteca Nazionale di Siena: I dipinti dal XV al XVIII secolo* (Genoa: Sagep, 1981), 50–52; Fiorella Sricchia Santoro, "'Ricerche senesi': 2. Il Palazzo del Magnifico Pandolfo Petrucci," *Prospettiva*, no. 29 (1982): 24–31; Giovanni Agosti, "Precisioni su un *Baccanale* perduto del Signorelli," *Prospettiva*, no. 30 (1982): 70–77, who clarifies the marital-dynastic implications of the cycle painted for Pandolfo Petrucci in 1509; and *Domenico Beccafumi e il suo tempo*, exh. cat. (Milan: Electa, 1990), 260–62 (entry no. 49 by Fiorella Sricchia Santoro). Other late sixteenth-century examples are listed in Jane Davidson Reid, *The Oxford Guide to Classical Mythology in the Arts, 1300–1990s*, 2 vols. (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1993), 1: 43–44.

40. For a transcription of this famous letter, see Ruggero Maschio, "Per la biografia di Giorgione," in Ruggero Maschio, ed., *I tempi di Giorgione* (Rome: Gangemi, 1994), 203 (doc. no. 6, Lettera di Isabella d'Este a Taddeo Albano, Mantova, 25 ottobre 1510, initialed p. c. [Paolo Carpeggiani]).

41. For an accurate transcription of this celebrated letter, see ibid., 203 (doc. no. 7, Lettera di Taddeo Albano ad Isabella d'Este, Venezia, 8 novembre 1510, initialed p. c. [Paolo Carpeggiani]).

42. George Martin Richter, *Giorgio da Castelfranco, Called Giorgione* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1937), 257 (entry no. 99), identified the *Allendale Nativity* with the *Nocte* for Victorio Becharo. Giuseppe Fiocco, *Giorgione* (Bergamo: Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche, 1941), 16; and Antonio Morassi, *Giorgione* (Milan: Hoepli, 1942), 66, both identify its replica in Vienna with the *Nocte* for Taddeo Contarini.

43. Most notably by Johannes Wilde, *Venetian Art from Bellini to Titian* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1974), 60.

44. Hans Tietze and Erika Tietze-Conrat, "The *Allendale Nativity* in the National Gallery," *Art Bulletin* 31 (1949): 13–14.

45. Isabella's interest in Flemish art is well documented; see, for example, Lorne Campbell, "Notes on Netherlandish Pictures in the Veneto in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," *Burlington Magazine* 123 (1981): 467–73; Clifford M. Brown, *Isabella d'Este and Lorenzo da Pavia: Documents for the History of Art and Culture in Renaissance Mantua* (Geneva: Libraire Droz, 1982), 169–71; and Sylvia Ferino-Pagden, *Isabella d'Este, "La prima donna del mondo": Fürstin und Mäzenatin der Renaissance*, exh. cat. (Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 1994).

46. See Erwin Panofsky, *Albrecht Dürer,* 3rd ed., 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1948), 1: 44.

47. Three passages come immediately to mind; they are in the lives of Piero della Francesca (the dream of Constantine), Correggio (the agony in the Garden), and Raphael. See Giorgio Vasari, *The Lives of the Artists: A Selection,* trans. George Bull (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1971), 194–95, 281, 317.

48. In his recent discussion of Giorgione's *Tempest,* Paul Holberton reached similar conclusions: "Giorgione was ... interested in an iconography introducing light and weather in sky and landscape.... Writers who singled out such effects (for instance, Summonte writing to Michiel on Colantonio, or even Vasari) do not suggest classical emulation; if anything such effects were to be associated with Netherlandish or German art"; see Paul Holberton, "Giorgione's *Tempest* or 'Little Landscape with the Storm with the Gypsy': More on the Gypsy, and a Reassessment," *Art History* 18 (1995): 398.

49. There were many Taddeo Contarinis in Venice. Giorgione's friend and collector is identified in Salvatore Settis, *La "Tempesta" interpretata: Giorgione, i committenti, il soggetto* (Turin: Einaudi, 1978), 139–41. This proposal has been confirmed by the inventory of 1556 found by Charles Hope and discussed by Anderson (see note 1), 148. Additional information on Taddeo appears in Giorgio Padoan, "Giorgione e la cultura umanistica," in *Giorgione* (see note 1), 25–36, esp. 33–34; Donata Battilotti, "Taddeo Contarini," in Maschio, ed. (see note 40), 205–6; Simona Cohen, "A New Perspective on Giorgione's *Three Philosophers,*" *Gazette des beaux-arts,* ser. 6, 126 (1995): 53–64.

50. Andrea Alciati, *Emblematum libellus* (Paris: Ex officina C. Wecheli, 1535), c. 73. See also Peter M. Daly, Virginia W. Callahan, and Simon Cuttler, eds., *Andreas Alciatus,* 2 vols. (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1985), 1: emblem 195; 2: emblem 195.

51. For the political use of the figure of Aeneas in different contexts, see Bernice Davidson, "The *Navigatione d'Enea* Tapestries Designed by Perino del Vaga for Andrea Doria," *Art Bulletin* 72 (1990): 35–50, esp. 39, 48; and Marie Tanner, *The Last Descendant of Aeneas: The Hapsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1993).

52. For example, the political interpretation of Giorgione's frescoes on the facade of the Fondaco dei Tedeschi suggested by Michelangelo Muraro has been partly rejected by Charles Hope, who confines the political implications to the figure of Judith frescoed by Titian. See Michelangelo Muraro, "The Political Interpretation of Giorgione's Frescoes on the Fondaco dei Tedeschi," *Gazette des beaux-arts,* ser. 6, 86 (1975): 177–84; and Charles Hope, *Titian* (London: Jupiter, 1980), 12–14.

53. This extraordinary historical phenomenon needs to be properly investigated. For the individual altarpieces, see Peter Humfrey, *The Altarpiece in Renaissance Venice* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1993).

54. For this stylistic turn in the history of Venetian art, see Ballarin, 1981 (see note 1), 28.

55. It should not be forgotten that Taddeo Albano used the past tense in his letter: "*Zorzo ne feze una a messer Tadheo Contarini*" (Giorgione did one [a night scene] for

Taddeo Contarini). It is clear, however, that he did not know the painting and that he was reporting information obtained from Giorgione's friends. Indeed, it is even possible that by a curious coincidence Isabella's agent was inquiring about the canvas that Giorgione had been painting for Contarini and that the painter could not complete because of his untimely death. Contarini probably collected this unfinished painting immediately after Giorgione's death.

56. See Ballarin, 1981 (see note 1), 26, 30; and Lucco, 1995 (see note 1), 26, 30.

57. For these two paintings and their relationship with Leonardo, see *Le siècle de Titien* (see note 1), 309–13 (entry no. 21 by Alessandro Ballarin), 329–31 (entry no. 26 by Alessandro Ballarin); and Lucco, 1995 (see note 1), 22–23, 26.