MISZELLEN

Sabine Eiche: ON THE DISPERSAL OF CARDINAL BEMBO'S COLLECTIONS *

Pietro Bembo (1470-1547) has many claims to fame, which spring not only from his great intellect but also from his passionate nature. While he resided in Ferrara, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, Bembo was inspired to compose his famous dialogue on love, Gli Asolani, dedicated to Lucrezia Borgia, with whom he enjoyed an amorous connection. From 1506 to 1512 the Montefeltro and Della Rovere had the privilege of hosting him at the court of Urbino, where Bembo made the acquaintance of Castiglione, who immortalized him as one of the characters in Il Cortegiano. Bembo left Urbino for Rome to serve Leo X as papal secretary until 1519, when the death of his

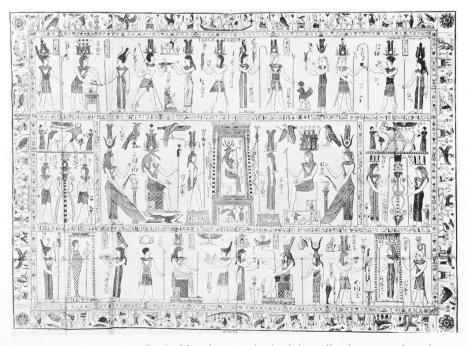
father and his own poor health decided his return to the Veneto.

The following years were productive ones for Bembo, who soon had settled at Padua with his young Roman mistress, Morosina. In 1525 and 1538 he brought out the first and second editions of the *Prose della volgar lingua*; in 1530 the first editions of the *Rime, De Virgilii Culice et Terentii fabulis, De Guido Ubaldo Feretrio deque Elisabetha Gonzaga Urbini ducibus*, and *De Imitatione*, as well as the second editions of *Gli Asolani* and *De Aetna*. At this time, too, Bembo was appointed librarian and historian to the Republic of Venice. He wrote, in Latin and later translated into Italian, a history of the Serenissima, covering the period 1487-1513; both versions were published posthumously, in 1551 and 1552. Bembo's career took yet another turn when in 1539 he was recalled to Rome to accept the Cardinal's hat from Pope Paul III. He died there, in Palazzo Baldassini, on 18 January 1547.

Bembo's long and felicitous sojourn in Padua was given over not only to literary pursuits. Early encouraged by the interests of his father, he also studied and collected art and manuscripts, but the results of these activities suffered a destiny different from that of his written works. It is the purpose of this essay, then, to investigate the fortune of the museum, picture gallery, and library, lov-

ingly built up over the years, and placed in his house at Padua.

To introduce Bembo the collector, we cannot do better than to read the words of one who knew him well, and had the possibility of admiring the collections in his company.



1 Mensa Isaica (from B. de Montfaucon, Antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures, vol. II-2, Paris 1722).

Not long after he came to Padua, in 1527, the young Bolognese humanist, Ludovico Beccadelli (1501-72), was admitted into Pietro Bembo's select circle. He later composed a biography of his close friend, and one passage in particular is revealing for Bembo's attitudes regarding his studio of art and antiques, and his library: ²

. in Padoa si provvide d'una casa honorevole con un bellissimo giardino, et altre commodità, et per se, et per gli amici, che da Vinetia, et da molte parti d'Italia lo visitavano spesse volte. Et rassettata Villabozza presso a Padoa, possessione antica di casa, ove gran parte delli suoi studi in gioventù havea fatto, in quella l'estate, et il verno dimorava a Padoa, nella qual Città era certamente il principale ornamento del studio; al quale molti Signori d'Italia, et fuori andavano a posta più per conoscere Messer Pietro, che per altro; et esso cortesemente con bellissimi modi gli întrâtteneva; perchè non solo di lettere, et in più maniere di quelle saviamente ragionava, ma d'altre cose gentili sapeva benissimo render conto, come di Medaglie, et Scolture, et Pitture antiche, et moderne; delle quali cose havea un studio così bene instrutto, ch'in Italia forse pochi pari havea, fra l'altre teneva una Tavola di rame assai ben grande lavorata d'argento a figure egittie [Fig. 1], cosa maravigliosa a vedere. Haveva di molti bei libri antichi, fra' quali io ho veduto un Terentio, che diceva esso credere certo, esser scritto sino alli tempi di Cicerone, tanta maiestà di lettere, et di antichità mostrava. Et alcuni libri di Virgilio miniati in varj luoghi con figure, che mostravano cose fatte dagli antichi in altra maniera dalle nostre. Oltra questi havea parecchi fogli di mano istessa del Petrarca delle sue rime con diversi concieri pur di mano dell'autore. Lascio li libri Provenziali da Messer Pietro cercati, et studiati con diligentia, et molti altri libri et scritture, perchè quì non intendo riportar l'indice delle sue belle cose, che troppo lunga sarebbe la materia: ma ho ricordate queste perchè s'intenda parte degli ornamenti del suo studio; et de gli intratenimenti delli belli ingegni, che lo cortigiavano, che com'ho detto erano molti, et a tutti faceva carezze.

In fact, contemporary accounts describing or lavishly praising the museum, gallery and library are numerous. Besides the correspondence to and from Pietro Bembo himself dealing with such matters, there is, for instance, the testimony of Alessandro da Bassano, another of his friends and admirers. In his work on the twelve Caesars, Bassano interwove an excursus on Bembo's collections:³

Petrus Bembus cum bibliothecam, sive, ut expressius dicam, Musaeum Patavii haberet, non librorum modo, verum etiam omnis generis antiquitatis refertum; in primis illustrium antiquorum Pario ex marmore caelatas effiges, seu imagines; subindeque imaguncul as Corinthio ex aere; tertio numismata ineredibili fere copia, aurea, argentea, aerea retinens; et haec omnia relaxandi animi causa cum a litterarum studiis interdum se abdicaret, ut ad illud idem postmodum vegetiori rediret ingenio

The most detailed description remains the well-known one attributed to Marcantonio Michiel. He related the collections in catalogue form, in their state around 1529-30, when he visited Bembo's house. It is clear from Michiel's account that Bembo appreciated more than one artistic style and period, and that his taste invariably seems to have been exquisite. Among the eighteen pictures listed, there are two each by Jacopo Bellini, Mantegna, Raphael, one by Sebastiano del Piombo, and two miniatures by Giulio Campagnolo. Michiel also saw an example of Netherlandish art, very fashionable in Italy since the mid fifteenth century: a small diptych of St John the Baptist, painted by Hans Memling in 1470.

Sculptures follow the pictures. Michiel named twenty-one pieces, mostly small bronzes and marble busts, all antique. Only one bronze figurine, serving as a candle-holder, was modern. Ancient earthenware and glass vases, gold, silver and copper medals, and gems set in rings were displayed with the sculptures. Out of all of Bembo's library, Michiel restricted himself to describing the Terence and Virgil manuscripts, admittedly the most splendid items.

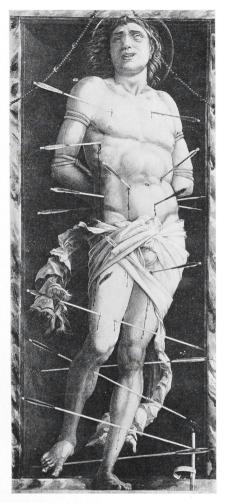
There are as many, if not more, documents from the second half of the sixteenth century concerned with the collections; or more specifically, with their fate. Yet anybody who consults studies on Cardinal Bembo, seeking to discover just what occured, repeatedly comes up against a dead-end of confusion and contradiction, or simple evasion. A hitherto unpublished letter from the year 1598 provides interesting evidence for the process of the collections's disintegration, which also permits us to correct some of the earlier misleading theories.

Since the information on the subsequent history of Cardinal Bembo's collections is widely scattered, and the details not all that generally known, it will be useful to review the facts here. The newly-found document can then be introduced in its proper chronological context.

Pietro Bembo was survived by a son, Torquato (1525-95), and a daughter, Elena (1528-c. 1574), who in 1543 had married Pietro Gradenigo (1517-80). Bembo's first will, written in 1535, the year Morosina died, specified that:⁷

Di tutti il residuo de i miei beni mobili et stabili di qualunque sorte et qualità presenti et futuri, et de le rason et notion che in alcun tempo aspettar mi potessero; lascio mio herede universale Torquato mio figliuolo

~ ?/c



2 Mantegna, Saint Sebastian. Venice, Ca' d'Oro.

In his second and last testament, drawn up 5 September 1544, in Rome, Bembo included explicit instructions on how Torquato was to care for his collections:⁸

Et voglio oltr'acio che egli sia ubligato di non vendere, ne impegnare, nedonare per nessun caso alcuna delle mie cose antique o di pietra o di rame, o d'argento o d'oro, o de altre che elle siano o fossero, ma di tenerle care et in guardia, si come l'ho tenuto io, et parimente sia tenuto di fare così de i libri et delle pitture, che sono nel mio studio et casa in padova, et che io ho qui meco, tenendo tutto ad uso et commodità et honor suo et memoria mia.

Although the son could not match the father in strength of character and of mind, Mazzuchelli echoed the common opinion when he wrote that Torquato certamente fu uno di que' principali Letterati del suo tempo che si dilettarono di Medaglie e di simili antichità. Most probably Torquato at first opened the doors of the studio to select visitors, just as had been the custom of his father. We know that the engraver Enea Vico (1523-67) was able to study the collection of medals sometime in the 1550's, and his brief account of the visit confirms that at that time the museum was still more or less as the Cardinal had left it, and as Torquato should have preserved it. 10

But Bembo's dying wish did not remain sacred for long. Within twenty years of his father's death, Torquato had begun to reduce the collections: in 1567 Jacopo Strada and Nicolo Stoppio noted that they had managed to acquire a few items for the Duke of Bavaria, who still many years later was trying to buy more choice pieces, antique or otherwise, from Bembo's heir.¹¹

The interested parties were numerous. By 1574 Torquato had entered into the first of many negotiations with Fulvio Orsini, whereby precious manuscripts from his father's library were going to be exchanged for marble sculptures, apparently more to Torquato's taste. The codices of Virgil and Terence, already described by Michiel, and now in the Biblioteca Vaticana, were the biggest but not the only prizes Orsini won. In 1582, for instance, he received a letter informing him that a shipment comprising fifteen of Bembo's books had been sent to Venice for him; and by 1584, according to De Nolhac, Orsini had been able to acquire all the treasures of Bembo's library, thanks to his patience and the zeal of his friends.

Financial considerations also weighed with Torquato. In 1581 he brought part of the collections down to Rome, to sell for the best offer. G. B. Teobaldi reported on the situation to Grand Duke Francesco de' Medici: 16

Sappia dunque che Torquato Bembo ha condotte in Roma le belle reliquie di suo padre per farne esito, non essendo cose da lui, tra le quali sono medaglie, teste, pitture, libri, etc. Tra queste è una tavola di bronzo antichissima di piu di tre mila anni intagliata al usanza degli Egitii [Fig. 1] Il car.le Sirleto ha offerto in nome del Papa per questa tavola 200 scudi di pensione; ma perche Torquato ha più voglia di contanti che d'intrate ecclesiastiche, e forse per le traverse che c'interponono alcuni che la desiderano, a V. A. si trattiene l'esecutione, e per prezzo di mille scudi d'oro la potra havere, et a giuditio universale sara di prezzo inestimabile per esser delle belle antichita che si trovino

Another major sale was organized two years later. Ercole Basso wrote to Niccolò Gaddi in May 1583 that *Monsign. Bembo è qua in Roma dove ha fatto esito d'una gran parte del suo studio.*¹⁷ It is easy to understand how such a statement led Crowe and Cavalcaselle to conclude that by 1583 Torquato had disposed of almost the whole of his father's collections.¹⁸

But in fact the affair was hardly over. Recently it was discovered that in 1592 the Duke of Mantua, Vincenzo I Gonzaga, had bought some objects from Torquato, among which was the Egyptian tablet (Fig. 1), so persuasively described by Teobaldi to the Grand Duke of Tuscany eleven years earlier. Lorenzo Pignoria, the first to publish a description and engravings of the Mensa Isiaca, saw it in Mantua before 1605: Hortaris me Marce Velsere, V. Cl. ut Tabulam illam purae antiquitatis insigne monumentum, quam VINCENTIUS Mantuae DUX, e Petri Bembi Card. Musaeo translatam iam diu domi habet ²⁰ It did not remain there for long. By 1630 the tablet was in the possession of Carlo Emanuele I di Savoia, and since 1832 it has been in the Museo Egizio of Turin. ²¹

The history of Pietro Bembo's collections continues in the next generation, that of his grandchildren. Torquato's heir was Orazio (1556-1630), while Elena had three sons, Paolo (1545-1617), Alvise (b. 1546), and Vincenzo (b. c. 1548).²² The newly-found document belongs to this stage of the development. In a postscript to a letter written 12 September 1598 from Venice, directed to the Duke of Urbino, Alessandro Crispo communicated the following:²³

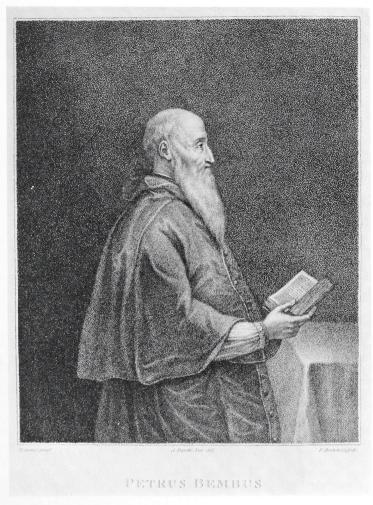
Fui à veder un di questi giorni lo studio che fu del Cardinal Bembo di Statoe Pitture singolari, Medaglie, ma tra l'altre cose alcuni libri singolarissimi, per molti rispetti, et massime per esser postillati alcuni dalle mani di quel Dottissim' huomo. Et per che i libri giudicai degni di Principe, almen parte, m'è parso di scriverne à V A, per che trattand'il Duca di Mantova di comprar le statue, crederei, ch'il Pronepote del Cardinale ch'è mio amico si disfarebb' anco dei libri, se ben egli dice di voler far tutt un colpo. Le Pittur' ancora se ben la maggior parte son ritratti, son degne di Principe, et per le mani di maestri Eccellenti et per le persone che son ritratte. V'è anco qual che Quadro d'Historia.

Knowing how busy Torquato had been for decades to dispose profitably of the collections, it comes as something of a surprise to read that, fifty years after Pietro's death, Orazio Bembo could still show friends his grandfather's studio, adorned with statues, paintings, medals and books.²⁴ It would seem that the dismemberment, on Torquato's part, was not as thorough as earlier scholars believed.

The addressee of the letter of 1598, Francesco Maria II della Rovere, was an enthusiastic bibliophile, and Alessandro Crispo expected notice of Bembo's books to arouse his collecting spirit. Nothing, however, was transacted, for there are no manuscripts of Bembo's provenance among the items of the Urbino library, now part of the Biblioteca Vaticana. Nor, it seems, was the description of the paintings as degne di Principe an enticement to buy.

Interesting to note is that the Duke of Mantua, six years after acquiring the Egyptian tablet and other pieces, was intending to purchase the remaining statues. I have not been able to ascertain how successful he was in this negotiation. Probably he did not manage to secure all the sculptures, since some, according to Scamozzi writing c. 1615, ended up in the collection of a Venetian merchant: Signor Bortolo dalla Nave mercante honorato in questa Città hà posto insieme presso, che 30. Statuette, e Petti; parte de quali furono già del Reverendissimo Cardinal Bembo. 26

The same collector possessed at least two paintings which once may have hung in Bembo's house. Bartolomeo della Nave's ownership of portraits of Bembo and of a woman who was favored of Cardinall Bembo, both by Titian, results from a lengthy inventory compiled around 1634-39 for Lord Feilding, who was interested in purchasing the Venetian merchant's picture gallery en bloc on behalf of his brother-in-law, the Marquess of Hamilton.²⁷



3 Titian, Pietro Bembo: engraved by Bartolozzi (from P. Bembo, Della Historia Veneziana, ed. S. Morelli, Venice 1790.

In 1599, a year after Crispo had written to the Duke of Urbino about his visit to Bembo's studio, a French student of astronomy and archaeology, Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc (1580-1637), undertook a trip through Italy which was to last almost three years. During this period he sojourned for a while in Padua, where he came under the wing of G. V. Pinelli, a friend of Fulvio Orsini and his intermediary for many of the deals made with Torquato Bembo in the 1570's and 1580's. Pinelli encouraged and instructed his young protegé, Peiresc, in the study of antiquities, and guided him in purchasing pieces for his collection. We are fortunate in having the testimony of Gassendi, a contemporary biographer of Peiresc, that Bembi Equitis universam paene verum antiquarum suppelectilem a Cardinali usque Bembo deductam coemit.²⁸ It is not difficult to imagine that it was Pinelli who introduced the young Frenchman to Bembo's grandson, Orazio.

This was still not the end of the Bembo collection, however; and once more the protagonists change. By 1615 Pietro Bembo's house, inherited by Torquato and subsequently by Orazio, is recorded as belonging to Paolo Gradenigo, although Orazio Bembo was still alive. At some point, then, and for a reason not yet entirely clear, the Bembo inheritance had passed from the family of Pietro's son to that of his daughter. Like Torquato and Orazio, the Gradenigo heirs had no respect for their grandfather's wish to preserve his collections intact. Some illuminated manuscripts, which originally had belonged to Bernardo, father of Pietro, were acquired by Zuanne Dolfin and eventually sold by him to Sir Henry Wotton, the English ambassador at Venice between 1617-20. There may have been other deals, of which the records have not yet been found.

The last act is played out in the nineteenth century. At least three of the paintings which had once graced Bembo's gallery are known to have been in the possession of Cornelia Dolfin who in 1761 had married Vincenzo Gradenigo, last descendant of Elena Bembo and Pietro Gradenigo. In 1807 she sold Mantegna's Saint Sebastian (Fig. 2), mentioned by Michiel in his catalogue-guide of 1529, to Professor Scarpa in Pavia, from whose heirs it was acquired, in the late nineteenth century, by Giorgio Franchetti; it is now, with the rest of the Franchetti collection, in the museum Ca' d'Oro of Venice. Cornelia Gradenigo passed away in 1815, and at that time a Titian portrait of her illustrious ancestor, later engraved by Bartolozzi (Fig. 3), as well as Jacopo Bellini's portrait of Gentile da Fabriano, likewise seen by Michiel, were still in the Gradenigo palace of Venice.³¹

The death blow to the collections was an insult to the culture and humanity of Pietro Bembo. Cornelia Gradenigo, in her will, bestowed all her wordly goods on one of her servants, cui poco lusingavano gli antichi fasti della sua benefattrice, e d'ogni cosa preziosa dispone secondo le sole speculazioni del suo particolar interesse.³²

Ironically, the words painted on a scroll in the lower right corner of Bembo's painting of Saint Sebastian by Mantegna are the most suitable comment on the fate of his beloved library, museum and gallery: Nihil nisi divinum stabile est, caetera fumus.

NOTES

- * My warmest thanks to Vincenzo Cazzato for all his help.
- ¹ For Bembo, with exhaustive bibliography, consult *C. Dionisotti*'s entry in: Diz. biogr. vol. 8, pp. 133-51.
- ² Monumenta di varia letteratura, ed. G. Morandi, vol. 1-2, Bologna 1799, pp. 234-35. A part of this citation has been published by V. Cian, Un decennio della vita di M. Pietro Bembo, Turin 1885, p. 105. On Beccadelli see the entry by G. Alberigo in: Diz. biogr. vol. 7, pp. 407-13.
- Some of the letters which mention the collections in particular are referred to by J. Morelli, Notizia d'opere di disegno, Bassano 1800, pp. 120-21; in the edition of G. Frizzoni, Bologna 1884, pp. 40-41 (NB that J. D. Fiorillo, Kleine Schriften, vol. 2, Göttingen 1806, pp. 269-78, is based entirely on Morelli's passage); Cian (n. 2), p. 106 n. 3 (inc. p. 105); A. Ferrajoli, Il ruolo della corte di Leone X (1514-1516), in: Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria, vol. XXXVII, 1914, pp. 312-15; O. Ronchi, Nella casa del Bembo a Padova, in: Atti e Memorie della R. Accademia di Scienze Lettere ed Arti in Padova, vol. XLII, 1925-26, pp. 424-26, 429-33. Bassano's description, in a work presumed to be lost, has been published by Morelli p. 121; 1884, p. 41, and referred to by Cian (n. 2), p. 105. On Bassano see G. Mazuchelli, Gli scrittori d'Italia, vol. II-1, Brescia 1758, p. 522.
- ⁴ Morelli (n. 3), pp. 17-22; 1884, pp. 44-63; T. Frimmel, Der Anonimo Morelliano, Vienna 1888, pp. 20-24. See also J. Fletcher, Marcantonio Michiel: his friends and collection, in: Burl. Mag., vol. 123, 1981, especially pp. 461-62.
- ⁵ See L. Campbell, Notes on Netherlandish pictures in the Veneto in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in: Burl. Mag., vol. 123, 1981, p. 471.
- ⁶ Cf. K. Garas, Die Bildnisse Pietro Bembos in Budapest, in: Acta Historiae Artium, vol. XVI, 1970, pp. 66-67 n. 32. This scholar would seem to condense the history of the collections's dispersal into the year 1581, bringing in the names of Fulvio Orsini and Fabri de Peiresc as the buyers. Peiresc, however, was only one year old then.
- ⁷ The entire document is published by Cian (n. 2), App. VI, pp. 201-02.
- ⁸ Cian (n. 2), App. VII, p. 203. NB in a letter of August 1542, addressed to Flaminio Tomarozzo, Bembo expressed his wish to have a part of his collections brought down to Rome; it has been published by Morelli (n. 3), pp. 120-21; 1884, p. 41.
- 9 Mazuchelli (n. 3), vol. II-2, Brescia 1760, p. 770.

- ¹⁰ Enea Vico, Discorsi sopra le medaglie, Venice 1558, p. 87. For others who visited the collections at the time of Torquato see Morelli (n. 3), pp. 122-23; 1884, pp. 42-43.
- J. Stockbauer, Die Kunststrebungen am Bayrischen Hofe, Vienna 1874, pp. 32, 55. P. De Nolhac, La Bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini, Paris 1887, p. 97 and n. 3.
- ¹² De Nolhac (n. 11), pp. 93, 94-95, 100, 101; on Torquato's deals with Orsini in general see pp. 91-108.
- ¹³ Cian (n. 2), pp. 102-04.
- ¹⁴ De Nolhac (n. 11), doc. XVIII, p. 421.
- 15 Ibid., p. 109.
- 16 Ibid., doc. XVI, pp. 418, 419.
- ¹⁷ G. Bottari and S. Ticozzi, Raccolta di lettere sulla pittura, scultura ed architettura, vol. 3, Milan 1822, pp. 291-92. L. Franzoni, Il collezionismo dal Cinquecento all'Ottocento, in: Cultura e vita civile a Verona, ed. G. P. Marchi, Verona 1979, p. 602, writes that the Veronese Girolamo Canossa and Mario Bevilacqua had tried to buy some of the antiques from Torquato; unfortunately Franzoni does not give any reference for this information.
- J. A. Crowe and G. B. Cavalcaselle, Titian: His Life and Times, vol. 2, London 1877, p. 367.
 The pertinent documents were found by L. Franzoni in the Archivio di Stato of Mantua. To the best of my knowledge they have not yet been published. The discovery is mentioned in the catalogue, Cultura figurativa e architettonica negli Stati del Re di Sardegna 1773-1861, vol. 1, Turin 1980, pp. 309-10. I am grateful to Annelie De Palma for bringing the catalogue to my attention.
- ²⁰ L. Pignoria, Vetustissimae Tabulae Aeneae, Venice 1605, p.lr. The same text, same page number, appears in the later illustrated edition, Mensa Isiaca, Amsterdam 1669.
- ²¹ Cultura figurativa (n. 19), vol. 1, p. 310.
- ²² O. Ronchi, La casa di Pietro Bembo a Padova, in: Atti e Memorie della R. Accademia di Scienze Lettere ed Arti in Padova, vol. XL, 1923-24, p. 299 and n. 5, p. 327.
- ²³ ASF, Urbino, Cl. I, Div. G, Filza 219, c. 103.
- ²⁴ I am concluding that the *pronipote* was Orazio rather than one of Elena's sons, since Gassendi in his biography of Peiresc (see below in text) states that the Frenchman purchased a part of the collections from a Bembo, not a Gradenigo.
- ²⁵ Morandi (n. 2), editor of Beccadelli's Monumenta (vol. I-2, p. 235 n. 38) mistakenly declared that many of Bembo's codices passed to the Urbino library. For others who subscribed to this misconception see De Nolhac (n. 11), p. 92 and n. 2.
- ²⁶ V. Scamozzi, L'Idea dell'Architettura, Venice 1615, Bk. III, Chapt. XVIII, p. 306.
- ²⁷ E. K. Waterhouse, Paintings from Venice for Seventeenth-Century England: Some Records of a Forgotten Transaction, in: Italian Studies, vol. VII, 1952, pp. 1-23; the inventory is on pp. 14-21, and the two paintings are items 25 and 31. See also S. Savini-Branca, Il collezionismo veneziano nel '600, Padua 1964, pp. 63-64, to be used with caution.
- ²⁸ This passage is published by Morelli (n. 3), pp. 123-24; 1884, p. 43. On Peiresc see H. Leclercq, Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie, vol. XIV-1, Paris 1939, pp. 1-40; P. Humbert, Un Amateur: Peiresc, Paris 1933; G. Cahen-Salvador, Un Grand Humaniste: Peiresc, Paris 1951.
- ²⁹ Ronchi (n. 22), p. 320 n. 35.
- ³⁰ C. H. Clough, Pietro Bembo's Library Represented in the British Museum, in: The British Museum Quarterly, vol. XXX, 1965, p. 5; idem, Die Bibliothek von Bernardo und Pietro Bembo, in: Librarium, vol. 23, May 1980, p. 56. Dionisotti (n. 1), p. 146. On Zuanne Dolfin see B. G. Dolfin, I Dolfin patrizii veneziani, 2nd. ed., Milan 1924, pp. 151-58.
- ³¹ A. Ricci, Memorie storiche delle arti e degli artisti della Marca d'Ancona, vol. 1, Macerata 1834, p. 173 n. 48; Vasari-Milanesi III, p. 423; Morelli (n. 3), 1884, p. 49; G. Coggiola, Per l'iconografia di Pietro Bembo, in: Atti del R. Istituto Veneto di Scienze Lettere ed Arti, vol. LXXIV-2, 1914-15, pp. 502-03. See also H. Wethey, Titian. II. The Portraits, London 1971, pp. 154-55, X-11, and figs. 256, 257. For Cornelia Dolfin Gradenigo see also Dolfin (n. 30), p. 138.
- 32 L. Cicognara, Memorie spettanti alla storia della calcografia, Prato 1831, p. 84.

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Alinari: Fig. 2.