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THE DOUBLE PORTRAIT OF TWO MEN IN THE MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, HOUSTON

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THE DOUBLE PORTRAIT OF TWO MEN
IN THE MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, HOUSTON

by

LAUREN ELIZABETH SINNOTT

A THESIS SUBMITTED
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

MASTER OF ARTS

APPROVED, THESIS COMMITTEE:

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Houston, Texas

August, 1985
ABSTRACT

THE DOUBLE PORTRAIT OF TWO MEN
IN THE MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, HOUSTON

by

LAUREN ELIZABETH SINNOTT

This double portrait from the early sixteenth century is typically Venetian in treatment, but unusual in its symmetry and geometric composition. It is attributed to Vittore Belliniano, a pupil and younger colleague of Giovanni Bellini, whose style it reflects. Evidence is presented that the source of the Houston painting's geometric structure and of the sitter's features is two profile portrait drawings at the Musée Condé, also by Belliniano, representing Bellini and himself. Belliniano may have painted the Houston double portrait of Bellini and himself near the time of Bellini's death as a commemorative record of their professional relationship. A similar painting in the Louvre is a modified copy of the Houston picture, without the latter's precise symmetrical construction. The Louvre picture was probably painted by Vincenzo Catena, whose reversal and borrowing of imagery and imitation of Giorgione's style it displays.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Lauren Elizabeth Sinnott

May, 1985
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Chapter 1. Introduction

The collection of the Museum of Fine Arts in Houston contains a Venetian double portrait of two men seen bust-length, from the first years of the sixteenth century\(^1\) (Fig. 1). This painting is the subject of the following study, which also considers the picture's relationship with a similar double portrait at the Louvre (no. 1156) in Paris. The Louvre picture (Fig. 2), of like dimensions, portrays the same two men wearing the same garments, but in reversed positions. They appear not against a plain dark background, but before a suspended cloth revealing a distant landscape on either side.\(^2\)

The double portrait type, especially in the bust-length format, was uncommon in Italy. Yet given this unusual framework, the style of each picture is unmistakably Venetian and the treatment of figures in the two paintings is typical of the Bellini school. Moreover, the Louvre picture shows the influence of Giorgione. The purpose of this thesis is to describe the motives that may have given rise to the unusual Houston double portrait and to present new evidence concerning the attribution and identity of the picture and its subject as well as its relation to the similar painting in Paris. Neither picture is signed, dated or directly documented.

Scholars have almost unanimously placed the Houston double portrait within the Bellini school. They have also associated the Louvre picture with the Bellini school, broadly speaking, as well as with the followers of Giorgione. In the

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1. Edith A. and Percy S. Straus Collection, accession no. 44–553.
2. This is a familiar Venetian treatment of the enthroned or half-length Madonna in which she is depicted before a cloth of honor. infra, App. I, p. 46.
case of both paintings, however, writers have disagreed over specific attribution. The second chapter of this thesis surveys the literature that directly refers to either of the pictures. Most of the recent scholarship regarding the Houston double portrait suggests its attribution to Vittore Belliniano (ca. 1456–1529), a pupil and younger colleague of Giovanni Bellini. This study supports Vittore’s authorship of the Houston double portrait, especially in light of a written tradition which associates the Louvre picture with the Bellini brothers. 3

The extant examples of the double portrait type in Italian painting from the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries are both too few and too diverse to form a clear tradition within which the Houston painting might be placed. 4 The strict symmetry of the Houston picture makes it even more anomalous. While many of the picture’s stylistic qualities are accountable in the tradition of Venetian portraiture, the composition and identity of the painting seem to have a more direct source within Giovanni Bellini’s studio, in the work of Vittore Belliniano.

The third chapter of this thesis sheds new light on the origin and function of the Houston picture and the significance of Vittore Belliniano’s relationship with Giovanni Bellini. It presents evidence for the source of the painting’s portrait imagery and its unusual symmetry and geometric composition. Two small drawings which represent the bust-length profile portraits of Giovanni Bellini and Vittore, executed by Vittore himself (Figs. 11, 12) and now in the Musée Condé, are presented as the basis for the younger artist’s painted double portrait of the same subjects. The Houston picture seems to have a commemorative and honorific

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3. *Infra, Ch. 2, pp. 10–13; Ch. 4, pp. 40–41.*
4. *For the development of double-figure imagery relative to portraiture in the Renaissance, infra, App. I.*
function relating to Giovanni Bellini's death in 1516 and Vittore's concurrent name change from de Mathio to Belliniano.

The fourth chapter of this thesis discusses the Louvre double portrait. The relationship of the two paintings is examined on the basis of stylistic and visual analysis and in light of other works by the Bellinesque painters. This study suggests that the Louvre double portrait, which is currently attributed to Giovanni Cariani by the French museum, is actually the work of Vincenzo Catena (ca. 1478-1531), a conclusion first indicated by the painting's similarity to Catena's style and technique. The attribution is further supported by Catena's frequent use of borrowed and reversed imagery. Stylistic differences between the two pictures support the evidence of apparent *pentimenti* and compositional correspondences, all of which show the Louvre picture to be a few years later than the Houston picture and copied from it with deliberate alterations.

The written tradition of a single painting containing the portraits of the Bellini brothers would seem to refer ultimately to one or both double portraits, either to Vittore Belliniano's original double portrait of himself and Giovanni or to Catena's modified copy. Years after the actual paintings disappeared from public record, the Louvre picture reappeared in French royal documents, still connected with Giovanni Bellini, but its author and origin forgotten. At this time a predictable assumption was probably made, that a symmetrical double portrait depicting Giovanni must also represent his brother and fellow painter. The fact that the latter was considered to be the red-haired sitter makes this false identification even more obvious. Since the Bellini brothers were identified only in early written accounts of the Louvre picture after it reappeared in France, the confusion seems to be an isolated misinterpretation which became traditional in subsequent
literature about the painting. This explains why the tradition was not associated with the Houston picture, which subsequently came into public light in Germany during the mid 1800's.

The first appendix of this thesis summarizes the historical context of Venetian portraiture and other general traditions in the development of double-figure imagery which might have influenced the Bellini school and encouraged the double composition in portraiture. The second appendix of this thesis considers the possibility that one or both double portraits are forgeries and demonstrates why this conclusion seems untenable especially in the case of the Houston picture.
Chapter 2. Survey of the Literature.

The earliest known home of the Houston double portrait was the first art collection of Edward Solly, the British financier and connoisseur who resided and did business in Berlin during the first two decades of the nineteenth century. In 1821, Solly sold his extensive collection in its entirety to the Prussian State, with the purpose of establishing Berlin's first public art gallery. The Royal Gallery at Berlin, designed by Schinkel and now the Altes Museum, opened in 1830, and its initial catalogue was produced that year by the first director, Dr. Gustav F. Waagen. The first definitive illustrated catalogue of its paintings appeared only in 1909 and 1911, under the direction of Dr. Hans Posse, after the painting collection had been moved to a building of its own in the expanded museum complex. This was the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, which opened in 1904. It housed the Houston double portrait until 1922.

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2. For an account of Edward Solly's collecting activity and his relation to the Royal Gallery at Berlin, see Frank Herrmann, "Who was Solly?" The Connoisseur (London), Parts 1-4: April, May, July, September, 1967; Part 5: September, 1968; Part 6: April, 1971.
7. The picture entered the Achillito Chiesa Collection, Milan, in 1922. (Records of the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston.)
Before the publication of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum catalogues, the picture was mentioned earlier in the 1852 Frédéric Villot catalogue of paintings in the Louvre, in which Villot notes it as a lesser copy of the Louvre double portrait. The Houston picture next appears in Crowe and Cavalcaselle’s History of Painting in North Italy (1871), again in relation to the Louvre portrait. Crowe and Cavalcaselle observed the similarity of the two pictures, but found the sitters to be two different pairs of men. In 1902, Emil Jacobsen mentioned the Houston double portrait in his brief treatment of its counterpart in the Louvre. Included in these works as an adjunct to the description of the Louvre picture, the Houston portrait itself was only tentatively attributed, or just mentioned.

Georg Gronau, writing in 1905 for the Gemäldegalerie der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin, included a study of Vittore Belliniano in which he treated the Houston double portrait within the context of that painter’s work, and ascribed it to him for the first time. Gustav Ludwig responded to Gronau in the Jahrbuch der Königlich Preußischen Kunstsammlungen, recording Gronau’s attribution of both double portraits to Vittore Belliniano. Ludwig also mentioned the traditional attribution of the Louvre picture to Gentile Bellini as well as the rejection of this attribution by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, in favor of Giovanni Cariani. Gronau’s

12. Ludwig, 1905, supra, n. 11.
attribution of both double portraits to Vittore Belliniano is also mentioned in the 1913 Seymour de Ricci catalogue of paintings in the Louvre.13

The Kaiser Friedrich Museum itself had arrived at the careful attribution of its painting to the school of Giovanni Bellini, as it was listed in 1906.14 Its sitters were considered to be two anonymous, young Venetian nobles, the older located on the left. In this catalogue entry, the Kaiser Friedrich Museum recognizes the Louvre picture as a later version of its own. The 1909 catalogue of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum repeats the attribution to the school of Giovanni Bellini and reproduces the painting.15

In 1913, Phillips published his independent conclusion, echoing the opinion of Crowe and Cavalcaselle forty years earlier (republished in the Borenius edition of 1912),16 that the Louvre portrait and, less conclusively, its reversed double in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum were the youthful work of Giovanni Cariani.17 He remarked on the Giorgionesque character of the former and asserted that the two pairs of sitters were one and the same couple.

In a 1916 article, Lionel Cust perceived the spirit of Giovanni Bellini in the Houston picture, but erroneously wrote that the Kaiser Friedrich Museum ascribed its portrait to that artist.18 Bernard Berenson wrote more decisively in the same year that the two portraits were by the same hand, possibly by Giovanni Bellini at

the time of his brother's death, when he might have approximated Gentile's style in order to complete the latter's unfinished paintings.19

Despite this variation of opinion, the Kaiser Friedrich Museum had come tentatively to accept Gronau's attribution of its double portrait to Vittore Belliniano. The museum's cautious reevaluation was evident by 1921, when the museum catalogue listed the picture under that painter's name, with a question mark.20 The Berlin museum maintained Vittore Belliniano's probable authorship for the remainder of the picture's stay there.

Shortly later, in 1922, the double portrait entered the Achillito Chiesa Collection in Milan, and then was purchased by Percy S. Straus at the Chiesa sale in 1925.21 Although Giacomo De Nicola, in the Chiesa sale catalogue, followed Crowe and Cavalcaselle and Phillips with his attribution to Cariani,22 Carlo Gamba wrote that in the Straus Collection the portrait had again been considered the work of Giovanni Bellini.23 Gamba also thought that the Louvre picture was by Bellini, supporting Berenson's opinion and that of Élie Faure who attributed the Houston double portrait to Giovanni Bellini in his history of art of 1923.24 Gamba went on to suggest that the current judgement of the Louvre in favor of Cariani had been clouded by the double portrait's state of deterioration. The Houston picture also

23. Carlo Gamba, Giovanni Bellini (Paris, 1930), trans., J. Chuzeville, p. 185, Fig. 191.
24. Élie Faure, History of Art—Renaissance Art (New York, London, 1923), trans., W. Pach, illus., p. 176. Faure's attribution appears in his caption to the picture's illustration, but he does not mention the painting in his text.
was badly damaged, according to Gamba’s observation. Herrmann noted, for according to Herrmann, Schinkel, the architect of the Royal Gallery at Berlin, had remarked on the poor condition of many of Solly’s pictures. Herrmann also noted, however, that Solly was well acquainted with techniques of restoration and would probably have been judicious in the cleaning of his pictures.

Louis Hautecoeur's 1941 catalogue of paintings in the Louvre mentions the Houston picture and cites Phillips' suggestion that the two double portraits show the evolution of one author, from the influence of Giovanni Bellini to that of Giorgione. Gallina, in Giovanni Cariani (1954), briefly noted the Houston picture as a variant of the Louvre picture, without giving the former an attribution.

By 1944, the Houston double portrait had moved to the Museum of Fine Arts in that city, and in 1946 it was featured by the museum bulletin, in which the Kaiser Friedrich Museum's attribution to Belliniano was accepted. Fritz Heinemann's comprehensive study of Giovanni Bellini and his circle appeared in 1962 and gave authority to the attribution of the Houston picture to Vittore Belliniano. The author also suggested that the double portrait might have been painted after a lost original by Giorgione, but he does not explain this hypothesis. The subsequent literature, most notably works by Cecil Gould in 1966 and Sarah

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25. Gamba, supra, n. 23.
Wilk in 1972–1973 and 1978 maintains the Belliniano hypothesis as the most probable, if not conclusive, attribution.

The Louvre double portrait's known provenance and existing documentation extend much further back than do those of the Houston portrait. The Louvre double portrait was first recorded in extant material by André Félibien in his *Entretiens* of 1666. Previously, according to Hautecoeur's 1941 catalogue of paintings in the Louvre, the picture had been part of the Vendramin family collection in Venice and then had come into the possession of Charles I of England. At this prince's sale, it was bought by the banker Eberhard Jabach, from whom it was received into the collection of Louis XIV of France. Subsequently, Félibien wrote in his account that the king's Royal Chamber contained the portraits of the brothers Giovanni and Gentile Bellini, both in a single painting that Gentile had done. Félibien's source for this striking identification of the painter of the double portrait and of its subjects is unknown.

The picture was next taken up by Charles Le Brun in 1683. He recorded in his *Inventaire des tableaux du Cabinet du Roy* a picture representing the Bellini brothers, painted not by Gentile, but by an unspecified artist working in the manner of Giovanni. Like Félibien, Le Brun did not reveal the sources of his conclusion, nor did he explain his rejection of the earlier writer's attribution. An anonymous


34. *Infra*, App. II, p. 64.

35. Hautecoeur, supra, n. 27; Heinemann, supra, n. 30, I, 228, no. V.71.

note appended to Le Brun’s catalogue on August 8, 1690, stated that the double portrait had been seen that year in Paris.\textsuperscript{37} Another note, dated October 29, 1692, and added to the 1691 Houasse catalogue, indicates that a Monsieur Paillet had given notice of receiving the picture from Monsieur Houasse in Paris, and that it was then reinstalled in the smaller royal gallery at Versailles. The Paillet catalogue of 1695 also lists it at Versailles, in the Petite Galerie du Roi.\textsuperscript{38}

The shift in opinion initiated by Le Brun’s departure from Féliébien’s attribution to Gentile Bellini, in favor of recognizing the manner of Giovanni, was made explicit by 1709 in Bailly’s royal inventory from that year.\textsuperscript{39} Despite the republication of Féliébien’s \textit{Entretiens} in 1706,\textsuperscript{40} Bailly noted the double portrait of the Bellini brothers that hung in Versailles and attributed it to Giovanni Bellini himself.\textsuperscript{41} This conclusion was repeated in Jean Baptiste de Monicart’s poem of 1720, entitled "Versailles Immortalisé", part of which reads:

\begin{quote}
Ce Tableau, quoi qu’en bois, est de grande valeur.
Jean BELLIN prit plaisir a faire
Le Portrait de lui-même & celui de son frère,
Ce Peintre étoit Venitien.\textsuperscript{42}
\end{quote}

François Bernard Lépicié’s \textit{Catalogue Raisonné des tableaux du Roi} prominently included the double portrait of the Bellini brothers, noting that Giovanni is dressed

\textsuperscript{37} The note is mentioned in the de Ricci catalogue of 1913, supra, n. 13, and its contents were recorded by Fernand Engerand in his annotated \textit{Inventaire des tableaux du Roi rédigé en 1709 par Nicolas Bailly} (Paris: Leroux, 1899), I, 61. The note reads: "veu à Paris le 8 aout 1660."

\textsuperscript{38} The 1691 catalogue of the king’s paintings by a Monsieur Houasse and its appended note from 1692, as well as the catalogue from 1695 by a Monsieur Paillet, are unpublished inventories cited in Engerand, supra, n. 37; and in the de Ricci catalogue, supra, n. 13.

\textsuperscript{39} Engerand, supra, n. 37.

\textsuperscript{40} Féliébien, 1706, supra, n. 33.

\textsuperscript{41} Engerand, supra, n. 37, p. 61.

\textsuperscript{42} Jean Baptiste de Monicart, \textit{Versailles Immortalisé} (Paris, 1720), ii, 357; cited in the Louvre documentation of its double portrait.
in furs and Gentile in a yellowish garment. Although Lépicié found the picture's execution dry and the drawing done in a "manière gothique," he too departed from Félibien's attribution to Gentile and ascribed it to Giovanni Bellini.  

In 1760, a Monsieur Jeaurat observed the painting in the seventh room of the "Hôtel de la Surintendance" at Versailles, and four years later it was again observed at Versailles and recorded by Piganiol de La Force. Monsieur Du Rameau's 1784 inventory of pictures in the royal chambers at Versailles also listed the double portrait in the seventh room of the Hôtel. After four years, this inventory was appended by a note from Du Rameau that again acknowledged the painting and advised its cleaning. Fifty years later, when the double portrait was next mentioned, it had moved to the Louvre. The July 1838 issue of the Magasin Pittoresque echoes Lépicié's opinion regarding the picture's dry execution, as well as the attitude adopted by the Louvre in attributing the double portrait of the Bellini brothers to Giovanni.  

As mentioned above, Villot's catalogue of 1852 records both double portraits. It regarded the Houston picture, then in Berlin, as a copy of the other in the Louvre. Villot still judged the sitters to be Gentile and Giovanni Bellini, and in his catalogue of 1849 had preserved Lépicié's attribution to Giovanni.  

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44. Jeaurat, 1760; unpublished records cited in Engerand, supra, n. 37.
45. Piganiol de La Force, Nouvelle description de Versailles (1764), I, 308; cited in the records of the Louvre.
47. Magasin Pittoresque, VI (July, 1838), 233-235, no author indicated.
48. Villot, supra, n. 8.
1852 catalogue, however, on the strength of Félibien's original account, he ascribed the painting to the other brother. Villot also set forth the identification of each sitter, Giovanni being the dark haired man and Gentile the red head.\textsuperscript{50} Claudius Tarrel, in his 1850 critique of the Villot catalogue, found neither Giovanni Bellini's firm drawing, vigorous color, nor profound expression in the Louvre portrait. Concurrently with Villot after 1849, Tarrel gave the picture to Gentile. He also remarked on its state of deterioration.\textsuperscript{51}

In 1871 Crowe and Cavalcaselle broke completely from the Bellini attribution. In their \textit{History of Painting in North Italy}, they presented their new opinion that the Louvre picture might be a very early work by Giovanni Cariani.\textsuperscript{52} Some ten years later, in his catalogue of paintings in the Louvre, Both de Tauzia further put to rest the picture's traditional association with the Bellini. He endeavored to disprove the sitters' identity as the Bellini brothers by means of the dissimilarity between their images and two medallion portraits of the brothers by Vittore Camellio, as well as a portrait in Rome's Capitoline Museum, supposed to be of Giovanni.\textsuperscript{53} De Tauzia nevertheless maintained the Louvre picture's attribution to Gentile Bellini. His catalogue did not mention the related double portrait. None of the literature has examined the Houston picture in the context of this traditional description of the Bellini brothers as paired sitters in a single painting.

By this time, the Louvre picture's attribution and the identity of its sitters had become widely debated. Giovanni Morelli (1891) did not accept the attribution

\textsuperscript{50} Villot, 1852, supra, n. 8.
\textsuperscript{51} Claudius Tarrel, \textit{Courtes réflexions sur la Galerie des tableaux du Louvre, Deuxième lettre} (Paris, 1850), no. 63; cited in the records of the Louvre.
\textsuperscript{52} Crowe and Cavalcaselle, supra, n. 9. The attribution was repeated in the Borenius edition of 1912, supra, n. 16.
to Cariani,\textsuperscript{54} while Wilhelm von Bode (1899)\textsuperscript{55} and Jean Guiffrey (1901)\textsuperscript{56} did. Engerand recorded the current museum attribution to Gentile Bellini in his critical commentary that accompanies the first publication of Bailly's inventory from 1709 and 1710. Engerand also reviewed the older sources concerning the Louvre double portrait. By the time of his writing, the two sitters were considered anonymous.\textsuperscript{57} Jacobsen's article in 1902, "Italienische Gemälde im Louvre", also acknowledged the Gentile attribution, but suggested on the basis of Giorgione's apparent influence that the painting was a youthful work by Cariani.\textsuperscript{58} Berenson wrote in 1904 that the Louvre picture's quality was higher than that of Cariani's work and that it should be restored to Giovanni Bellini.\textsuperscript{59} The 1913 de Ricci catalogue of paintings in the Louvre reviewed these opinions and recorded the Louvre's attribution of the double portrait to the school of Gentile Bellini.\textsuperscript{60} Phillips' argument in favor of Cariani appeared the same year in the \textit{Burlington Magazine}, \textsuperscript{61} and Berenson's voice was heard again in favor of Giovanni Bellini, when his \textit{Venetian Painting in America} appeared in 1916.\textsuperscript{62} Also in 1916, the Hautecoeur catalogue revealed that the Louvre had shifted its official position and now tentatively attributed its double portrait of anonymous sitters to Cariani,\textsuperscript{63} as it is


\textsuperscript{55} Wilhelm von Bode, \textit{Gazette des Beaux-Arts}, I (1899), 491; cited in Hautecoeur, 1941, supra, n. 27.

\textsuperscript{56} Jean Guiffrey, "Le double portrait venitien du Musée du Louvre", \textit{Revue de l'art ancien et moderne}, no. 56, X (1901), 289–292.

\textsuperscript{57} Engerand, supra, n. 37.

\textsuperscript{58} Jacobson, supra, n. 10.

\textsuperscript{59} Bernard Berenson, \textit{Rassegna d'arte}, IV (1904), 158; cited in Hautecoeur, 1941, supra, n. 27.

\textsuperscript{60} De Ricci, supra, n. 13.

\textsuperscript{61} Phillips, supra, n. 17.

\textsuperscript{62} Berenson, supra, n. 19.

\textsuperscript{63} Hautecoeur, 1916, supra, n. 54.
listed today.

This attribution is not undisputed. In his monograph of 1930, Gamba suggested that critics may have been misled by the Louvre picture’s deteriorated condition in regarding it as the work of a lesser painter, namely Cariani, and that it should be restored to Giovanni Bellini. Gallina’s Giovanni Cariani (1954) includes the double portrait and supports the position of the Louvre, then most recently expressed in Hautecoeur’s catalogue of 1941. The Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts of Houston, Texas (1946) described the Louvre portrait, but refrained from attributing it. Heinemann, in Giovanni Bellini e i belliniani (1962), rejected outright Cariani’s authorship and listed the Louvre double portrait as an early work of Paris Bordone. Subsequently, Mario Praz mentioned the picture in Scene di conversazione (1970), accepting the Louvre’s attribution. Although neither the official attribution of the Louvre double portrait nor that of the Houston picture is conclusive, the Houston double portrait, perhaps because of less frequent commentary, has produced a greater consensus in current literature.

64. Gamba, supra, n. 23, p. 173.
65. Gallina, supra, n. 28.
66. Hautecoeur, 1941, supra, n. 27.
68. Heinemann, supra, n. 30, i, 228, no. V.71; ii, 532, Fig. 600.
Chapter 3. New Evidence Concerning the Houston Double Portrait: Sources and Identity.

The Houston painting has a strong technical and stylistic affinity with the portraiture of Gentile and Giovanni Bellini. Its thin paint layers creating variations of light and shadow and the subtle play of its decorative surface relate to Gentile’s bust-length portraits, such as the Portrait of Sultan Mohammed II in the National Gallery of Art, London (Fig. 3), and the Portrait of Doge Giovanni Mocenigo in the Museo Correr, Venice (Fig. 4). These same qualities are evident in Giovanni’s late portraiture, especially his Fra Teoderico da Urbino as St. Dominic, also in London’s National Gallery (Fig. 5), and in the figures by Giovanni and Gentile in The Preaching of St. Mark in Alexandria, now in the Brera, Milan (Figs. 6, 7).

While the double-figure type of private portrait was not traditional in the Bellini schools, there are links between the Houston picture and other paired religious and official imagery in their work. These precedents lie essentially in devotional paintings with paired donors, such as the Berlin Madonna and Child attributed to Gentile Bellini (Fig. 8), in the official portrait series of paired doges for the Sala del Maggior Consiglio and in the numerous groups and pairs of portraits

1. In Italy, there was no tradition of independent double nuptial portraiture as in northern Europe, nor was there any other function common to the Italian examples of the double portrait. The double-figure composition could have been suggested to contemporary Venetians by the German and Flemish marriage portraits in their collections (infra, pp. 29–30), and also by the numerous remains of Roman grave monuments containing multiple bust- and half-length portraits carved in high relief. For these and other possible influences and aspects of Venetian art which might have generally encouraged the indigenous double portrait, infra, App. I.

2. Infra, App. I, pp. 52–54. Another paired representation of a doge is Gentile’s miniature on parchment, Doge Andrea Vendramin with his secretary receives a papal legate (Fig. 9).
within large ceremonial, historical and religious mural compositions\textsuperscript{3} such as \textit{The Preaching of St. Mark in Alexandria} (Figs. 6, 7, 10).

All of these factors may have influenced the production of the Houston double portrait, but there is a more direct source for its subject and composition in a pair of portrait drawings by Vittore Belliniano, which are now in the Musée Condé at Chantilly.\textsuperscript{4} The two small drawings, just over 10.5 cm. in height, depict the bust-length, profile figures of Belliniano himself and of his master, Giovanni Bellini (Figs. 11, 12). Although both images face left, unlike conventional companion pieces which generally confront one another, they once were together in the same frame\textsuperscript{5} and seem to have been intended as a pair. Their connection is reinforced by the similarity of their compositions and by the almost identical shapes of the two sitters' hats.

An inscription on the portrait of the older man indicates that the picture represents Giovanni Bellini and was done by Vittore Belliniano in 1505. It is written on the other that the picture is a likeness of Vittore Belliniano by Giovanni Bellini. However, both drawings appear to be executed by the same hand, and the titles were quite possibly added at a time subsequent to their execution. Ludwig does not consider the writing to be that of either artist and he observes the traces of erased lines over which these inscriptions appear.\textsuperscript{5} Heinemann records the title

\begin{itemize}
\item [3.] These were commissioned by the Venetian government and by religious or secular institutions whose members and officials as well as other distinguished citizens appeared in them as anachronistic participants or onlookers.
\item [4.] Previously in the Lenoir Collection, then at Stafford House, London. (Heinemann, supra, ch. 2, n. 30, l. 200).
\item [5.] Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker, Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart (Leipzig, 1909), III, 266. They are no longer framed together in the Musée Condé.
\item [6.] Ludwig, supra, Ch. 2, n. 11.
\end{itemize}
under the profile of Vittore as “Victorem discipulum suum Bellinus pinxit 1505” and doubts the accuracy of this presumed signature by Giovanni Bellini. He judges the style of the drawings to be too conventional for Bellini and asserts that they are both by Vittore. The attribution of these drawings to Vittore has been supported by Ludwig, Gronau and others. Vittore’s authorship has not been opposed by scholars to date. Judging from the youthful appearance of the Chantilly sitters and from Vittore’s use of the profile view, favored during the Quattrocento, it would seem that he executed the two drawings earlier than 1505, perhaps even around 1490, when Giovanni Bellini would have been in his late fifties and Vittore in his thirties. It is possible that these drawings were later labeled incorrectly, maybe after Vittore’s death in 1529.

The similar form of the two portrait drawings indicates the manner in which Vittore used a pattern of their combined images to structure the Houston picture’s symmetrical composition and to guide the depiction of each sitters’ features. The geometric arrangement of the double portrait becomes evident in a close examination of the painting, which first reveals the fact that the tops of the two hats, the uppermost point of each figure’s forehead, their eyes, their chins and the bottom edge of the hair of each sitter all appear at equal heights. The lines connecting these symmetrically opposed elements, as well as linear extrapolations from the straight edges of the sitters’ inner garments are all parallel to one another (Fig. 13). This correspondence draws attention to the fact that the black.

7. Heinemann, supra, Ch. 2, n. 30, l. 200.
8. Ludwig, supra, Ch. 2, n. 11.
9. Gronau, supra, Ch. 2, n. 11, p. 128.
10. Any date before February of 1515, when Vittore is last mentioned in existing documents as simply “Vector di Mathio”, would be inconsistent with his change of name to Belliniano. Infra, pp. 22-23.
crescent-shaped hats seem to be mirror images of one another and are equidistant from a central line that bisects the edges of the inner masses of hair and runs perpendicular to the imaginary parallel lines connecting the pairs of features mentioned above (Fig. 13). If the composition of the Houston painting is reversed about this axis (Fig. 14), it is seen that the outline of the hats, the farther hair masses and the edge of the necks coincide, as do the points where the large areas of hair meet the figure’s cap and shoulder. It is clear that the picture’s composition had been set out in relation to this axis. However, the present borders of the double portrait neither form a precise rectangle, nor exactly correspond to its interior axis, which suggests the picture’s later cropping at an incorrect angle. Judging from the rigorous symmetry and geometric relation of its parts, the painting’s original border probably conformed to the axis of its composition and included the left figure’s shoulder, so that there would be equal space on either side of the two men, whose shoulders and height would thus align. This means that the Houston picture’s original width likely extended about three centimeters more to the left and that its borders probably met at right angles, in contrast to the painting’s current, skewed rectangular shape.

The Houston double portrait’s symmetry and certain of its compositional forms as well as departures from the basic geometry can be explained by the Chantilly drawings. To compose this painting, Vittore would have made an enlarged pattern of his two drawings, aligning the parapets and reversing the image of Bellini, so that his master would appear in the honorable dexter position11 (Fig. 15). The vertical line bisecting the two profiles established the axis

11. The hereditarily superior position within a pair is the viewers’ left side, i.e., the member of a depicted pair who appears at his companion’s right hand.
of the painted composition, and the two similar caps dictated the outer contour of the hats in the painting. Intending to turn the shoulders of his own image to the frontal view, Vittore would have drawn the V-neck below his profile. The point of this V corresponds to the top–most point of his hat in the sketch.

Each of the sketched hats is roughly symmetrical to itself with respect to a central point which would correspond to the crown of each figure’s head. Lines drawn from these points down along the central closure of the garment in the profile portrait of Bellini and down to the V-neck of the self–portrait’s modified clothing establish the angle of the two large masses of hair. Vertical lines that intersect the top–most points of the profile caps descend through each painted figure at a number of key points: the temples where hair emerges from under each figure’s hat, the edge of the left figure’s hair, the point where the left figure’s garment meets the right figure’s fur collar, and, as mentioned, the point of the right figure’s V-neck (Fig. 15). Having established the symmetry of the two images about the vertical axis, Vittore then filled out the remainder of the composition by reversing and manipulating the geometrical forms of his linear construction.

To set out the features of his two subjects, Vittore also used his pattern of the Chantilly drawings, each shifted downward a small amount and moved laterally out from the central axis (Fig. 16), but there he encountered a problem. Although his profile drawings are of the same height and their hats are the same size, the face and shoulders of Bellini were drawn on a scale larger than Belliniano’s self–portrait. Since he wanted to use the drawings as patterns for the features of two exactly symmetrical figures, he had to manipulate his composition to accommodate their difference in size.

Though Vittore’s two painted heads measure the same distance from chin
to crown, they reveal the unequal scale of their sources. If the lower half of the
painting is covered, Bellini’s head clearly appears nearer. The arrangement of the
profile patterns indicating each sitter’s features (Fig. 16) naturally produced
Vittore’s smaller face and small, upturned nose within a compositional area equal
in size to that of Bellini’s face. Vittore obscured this discrepancy by giving the
right figure a large jaw visible from below (unlike Bellini’s jaw) and by widening the
face of the figure with a mass of hair smaller than that of Bellini. Vittore brought
the whole right figure forward visually by means of its frontal torso and bright,
detailed garments.

The conversion of smaller profile images into portraits in three-quarter view
does not seem to have been an unusual practice for Vittore Belliniano. There is a
small painting attributed to him which depicts a profile bust with the familiar black
cap and appearing behind a parapet (Fig. 17). It is similar in size and treatment to
the Chantilly sketches and also relates to a larger painting, dated 1510, of the
same man in three-quarter view (Fig. 18). These two correspond in much the
same way as do the Houston picture and the Chantilly profiles (Fig. 19). They also
show the same configuration of caps and hair seen in the Houston picture, as well
as the right sitters’ broad forehead, which Heinemann observes as characteristic of
Vittore, and which is partly due to this method of extrapolating from a profile
image.

Vittore Belliniano seemingly approached the human figure in terms of
measurable geometric forms. His interest in the projection of these solid forms
onto the flat painted surface relates to the abstract geometry of the Houston

12. Heinemann, supra, Ch. 2, n. 30, l, 199.
picture's composition. Vittore may have intended this geometric arrangement as a method of idealization, which would have been appropriate in a portrait of his revered master and in a representation of their relationship.

Existing documents indicate that their association was close, especially during the last decade of Bellini's life. The first evidence of Vittore's activity is a record from September, 1507, concerning the decoration of the Sala del Maggior Consiglio, in which Vittore is mentioned as "Vector quondam Mathio". He and "Vector dicto Scarpaza" (Carpaccio) and a painter named Hieronymo were employed as Giovanni Bellini's assistants in the project. Vittore's high standing as a painter and the favor in which he was held by Bellini are indicated by the next document to mention him, from December of 1508. It records Giovanni Bellini's choice of "Lazaro Bastian", "Vettor Scarpaza" and "Vethor di Mathio", as advisors to a panel of dignitaries in the judging of Giorgione's work for the Fondaco dei Tedeschi.

Vittore appears as a witness to documents from 1509 and 1513 in which he designates himself as "Vettor Mathei pictor" and "Victor pictor fillius condam ser Matheij". Another record of employment and payment regarding the Sala del Maggior Consiglio dates from February of 1515 and describes "Vetor de Mathio pentor" as working there with Giovanni Bellini.

The next document, a record of payment from 1520, identifies Vittore as "Vettor Belliniano" for the first time. Subsequent references to payment and legal matters in which Vittore acted as witness, dating from 1522, 1524 and 1528,

13. This and the following documents mentioning Vittore were gathered and published by Gustav Ludwig in "Archivalische Beiträge zur Geschichte der Venezianischen Malerei", supra, Ch. 2, n. 11, pp. 72-79.
maintain his apellation as “Victorem Bellinianum Pictorem”, “Vetor Belliniano pictor” or “Vetor Belliniano pictor quondam ser Matheo”. In his first will, handwritten in 1528, he calls himself “Vetor Belliniano pictor quondam ser Mathio”, “Vetor Belliniano pictor” and “Victoris Belliniani”. His three signed pictures,¹⁴ all from after Giovanni Bellini’s death, have signatures “victor belini”, “Victor Belli” and “Victor Bellinianus”. It would seem from this evidence that Vittore changed his name to Belliniano and its variants near the time of Giovanni Bellini’s death in 1516 and certainly by 1520. This would probably have been the time of the Houston picture’s execution, when Vittore’s feeling for his mentor was at such a height as to cause the name change.¹⁵

It is clear that Vittore’s relationship with Giovanni Bellini was very important to him. In his second will, dated August 16, 1529, he includes the following entry, his only description of a particular work among his modest bequests: “Item lego domino Andree de Thomasijs retractum quondam domini Ioannis Belliniani olim preceptoris mei in signum amoris.”¹⁶ This has been taken to mean that he bequeathed to Andree de Thomasijs a picture of his master, Giovanni Bellini, whom he calls here “Ioannis Belliniani”.¹⁷ Vittore’s entry in the 1529 will has also been

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14. A Coronation of the Virgin in the church of Spinea in Mestre, for which he was paid in 1524, signed “Vctor Belli”; the portrait of a young man before a crucifix in the Galleria Lochis, Bergamo, signed “victor belini”(Fig. 20); the Martydom of St. Mark taken over from Giovanni Bellini at his death in 1516 and finished in 1526 by Vittore, who dated and signed it “Victor Bellinianus”, now in the Akademie, Vienna (Fig. 21).

15. Ludwig suggests that Vittore undertook his name change out of respect for his master as they became close during their work in the Sala dei Maggior Consiglio (Ludwig, supra, Ch. 2, n. 11, II, 72).

16. Ludwig, supra, Ch. 2, n. 11, XXVI, 77.

associated with the Chantilly drawing of Bellini.\textsuperscript{18} The will entry, however, might more plausibly refer to a painted portrait, possibly even to the Houston picture.

There seems to have been something of a tradition in the Bellini workshops of executing portraits and sketches of one another. In addition to the Chantilly profiles and such highly finished drawings as the silverpoint bust image of Gentile Bellini in Berlin\textsuperscript{19} (Fig. 22), there are a number of small, informal bust- and half-length figures in ruled frames which describe paintings attributed to Giovanni Bellini, Giorgione or others within their circles. These pen and ink wash sketches are the illustrated entries of an inventory from 1627 depicting the contents of the Vendramin Collection in Venice.\textsuperscript{20} Two of them are thought to represent portraits of Vittore Belliniano, possibly by Giovanni,\textsuperscript{21} the originals presumably executed sometime in the late Quattrocento when Vittore would have been this youthful (Figs. 23, 24). Another, to which the inscription "Giorgione, by his own hand"\textsuperscript{22} has been incorrectly added,\textsuperscript{23} seems to depict a portrait of none other than

\begin{footnotes}
\item[18] Heinemann states that the will records the profile portrait supra, Ch. 2, n. 30, l. 200
\item[19] Heinemann attributes the drawing to Gentile himself (supra, Ch. 2, n. 30, II, 620) and Gronau also records it as a self-portrait by Gentile (Georg Gronau, Die Künstlerfamilie Bellini (Bielefield and Leipzig, 1909), p. 38), but the figure does not have the oblique gaze out toward the viewer common to many self-portraits. Moreover, the drawing technique, the rendering of the hair, the composition and especially the shape of the cap relate to the Chantilly sketches. Judging from its three-quarter view and greater freedom of handling, the image of Gentile was drawn somewhat later than the Chantilly profiles, conceivably by Vittore Belliniano.
\item[21] Heinemenn, supra, Ch. 2, n. 30, l. 81; II, nos. 307, 308.
\item[22] Recorded by Pignatti, supra, n. 20, p. 161.
\item[23] Heinemann, supra, Ch. 2, n. 30, l. 81. This opinion is also held by Borenius, supra, n. 20, Pl. 40 and by G. M. Richter in Giorgio da Castelfranco, called Giorgione (Chicago, 1937), pp. 261–262; cited in Pignatti, supra, n. 20, p. 161.
\end{footnotes}
Giovanni himself (Fig. 25). Whether these sketched records refer to works by Bellini or Vittore or another painter, they support the association of the images of these two men, and suggest that they may indeed have drawn portraits of themselves and one another.

The resemblance between the left figure in the Houston picture and Vittore's drawing of Bellini in Chantilly, as well as the identification of both as Giovanni Bellini, are supported by other images of the older artist. Portraits of both Bellini brothers were often included in their large narrative scenes. The most striking example is Gentile's *Recovery of the Reliquary of the True Cross* (Accademia, Venice), in which five members of the Bellini family of artists appear at the very front of the composition kneeling on a platform which is superimposed across the lower part of the scene (Fig. 26). From left to right, the figures are thought to represent Jacopo Bellini (who died in 1470 or 1471), his nephew Leonardo Bellini (Fig. 27), his son-in-law Andrea Mantegna, and his sons Gentile and Giovanni (Fig. 28). Gentile also appears in his *Procession in the Piazza San Marco* from 1496 (Fig. 29) and in The *Preaching of St. Mark in Alexandria* (Figs. 6, 30), commissioned from him by the Scuola di San Marco in 1504 and finished after his death in 1507 by Giovanni Bellini and Vittore Bellinano. A clear impression of Gentile's appearance emerges from these various works. The known imagery of Giovanni is less extensive, but his appearance would seem to be most accurately suggested by the striking similarity between the Chantilly drawing, the figure in the

26. Gronau records Vittore's work with Bellini on The *Preaching of St. Mark in Alexandria* and Vittore's completion of the composition (supra, Ch. 2, n. 11, p. 124).
Recovery of the Reliquary of the True Cross, the little sketch incorrectly labeled "zorzon" and the Houston picture's left figure.

Gentile and Giovanni were also portrayed on two medals by Vittore Camelio (Figs. 31–34). These two profile images correspond to the painted portraits of both men, but are characteristic of portraiture on medals and coins in their greater generality and idealization.

Several bust-length, painted portraits of uncertain attribution have been thought at one time to depict Giovanni Bellini and even to be self-portraits. The Portrait of a Young Man in the Capitoline Museum, Rome (Fig. 35), the Portrait of a Young Man in the National Gallery of Art (Kress Collection), Washington (Fig. 36), and the Portrait of a Man in the Uffizi, Florence (Fig. 37), show some resemblance to the more reliable images of Giovanni, especially in the long nose and the small mouth, but the likeness is not overwhelming. The above three portraits are very similar to one another in composition, size and in the characteristics of the

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27. Lehmann observes the similarity between the Camelio medal of Gentile Bellini and his image in The Preaching of St. Mark in Alexandria and suggests that the two must be contemporary (Phyllis W. Lehmann, Cyriacus of Ancona's Egyptian Visit and its Reflections in Gentile Bellini and Hieronymous Bosch (Locust Valley, New York: J. J. Augustin, 1977), p. 6). Camelio's bust of Gentile contains the gold chain that the artist received from the Sultan after his visit to Mohammed II's court during 1479 and 1480, so the medal must date subsequent to this. They are dated between 1480 and 1485 by Ludwig Goldscheider in Unknown Renaissance Portraits (London: Phaidon, 1952).

28. Benkard records the Portrait of a man in the Uffizi as a self-portrait by Bellini (E. Benkard, Das Selbsbildnis (Berlin, 1927, p. 50)). Pallucchini writes that the Portrait of a Young Man in the Capitoline Museum, Rome, was listed in an inventory of 1783 as Bellini's self-portrait (Rodolfo Pallucchini, Catalogo della mostra di Giovanni Bellini (Venice, 1949)). Gronau also cites this identification in an inventory of 1783 (Georg Gronau, Giovanni Bellini (Klassiker der Kunst), (Stuttgart, Berlin, 1930), p. 213, n. 138).

29. Gronau observes the resemblance between the Capitoline portrait and the Camelio medal and Vittore Belliniano's portrait of Bellini in Chantilly (Gronau, 1909, supra, n. 19, p. 119).
sitter, yet their proposed date around 1500 is inconsistent with Bellini's appearance when about 70 years of age. It seems possible that they are copies by different hands of an original, more youthful portrait of Bellini.

The latest suggested self-portrait by Giovanni is the figure of Silvanus in his Feast of the Gods, completed in 1514 for Isabella d'Este\textsuperscript{30} (Fig. 38). This figure bears a resemblance to the Chantilly drawing and to the other more youthful images of Giovanni, especially in the long nose pointing downward, the sunken cheek, the down-turned mouth and the level gaze. If this is indeed a self-portrait, it probably is the most accurate representation of Bellini in old age. The figure of Giovanni in the Houston picture shows a distinct likeness to the Silvanus in the Feast of the Gods, which would be the portrait of Giovanni closest in date to the double portrait, but the Houston figure shows the greatest similarity in appearance and age of the sitter to the earlier reliable images of Bellini, such as the closely related portrait of Giovanni in the Recovery of the Reliquary of the True Cross, from 1496. The correspondence between this image (Fig. 27) and the Chantilly profile indicate that the two portrait drawings might be contemporary and actually date to the late fifteenth century, which would be commensurate with the sitters' ages and with the bust-length, profile format of the drawings.

The fact that both subjects appear young in the Houston picture may be explained not only by their source in the Chantilly portrait drawings but by the celebratory tone and memorializing function that Vittore Belliniano may have intended in the Houston painting. The youthful images of Giovanni and Vittore in

\textsuperscript{30} This hypothesis is put forth and discussed by Edgar Wind, Bellini's Feast of the Gods. A Study in Venetian Humanism (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948).
the Houston picture suggest a commemorative and honorific function, rather than a representation from life at a specific moment. These idealized, yet individual images represent each sitter in an optimal physical state, regardless of actual chronology.

The involved geometry of the Houston picture’s composition seems to imply that the painting had personal significance to Vittore, who may have painted it for display in his own residence. This would be supported by the possible reference to the picture of Bellini in his will of 1529. The Houston picture’s striking symmetry expresses the very close professional tie between the two men, which guided Vittore’s work throughout most of his career and especially before Bellini’s death in 1516. The event of Bellini’s death seems a significant point in Vittore’s life. It was not until around this time or possibly a few years later that he took on the Bellini name, although his link with Giovanni and his high rank in the studio had existed for years. Vittore’s apparent desire to take up and continue the artistic tradition of his mentor could be expressed both by the respectful location of Bellini’s image on the superior dexter side of the Houston portrait and by the equality afforded Vittore’s symmetrical image with its frontal torso and visual emphasis.

These conclusions are brought into focus by the motivation behind Vittore’s

31. Supra, pp. 23–24.
32. Vittore Belliniano clearly had a close working relationship with Giovanni Bellini and it seems from his selection by Bellini as assistant in the Sala del Maggior Consiglio and as a judge of Giorgione’s frescoes at the Fondaco dei Tedeschi (supra, p. 22), that Vittore’s reverence for the master was complemented by Bellini’s estimation of his younger colleague’s abilities. Sketches in which they might have depicted one another suggest that their strong professional tie was probably accompanied by a friendly association resulting from their work together in the Palazzo Ducale (a period of at least eight years) and on other projects until 1516.
name change. Both his reverence for his master and his desire to associate
himself with the public admiration of Bellini led him to take on the other's name
only at his death, when their actual association would terminate and Bellini would
no longer be present to recommend him. It seems probable that Vittore painted
the Houston double portrait as both a eulogy to his teacher and as a record of
their relationship. By executing a picture that would remind his patrons and the
public of that association, he could maintain it after Bellini's death, and even after
his own style began at this time to be influenced by the works of Giorgione and
Titian.

In its function as a record of a relationship, almost as a witnessed
document, the Houston picture relates to the northern European tradition of double
nuptial portraiture. The full-length Flemish paintings of man and wife and the
much more numerous bust- or half-length German variety were intended as
marriage documents, as proof of the couple's vows. This is not to suggest a
similarity between Vittore's relationship with Bellini and marriage, but rather that
he might have emulated their function as visual documentation. Northern nuptial
portraits were known and collected by Venetians and occasionally were imitated
by Italian artists. Many northern marriage portraits, especially the numerous
frontal bust- or half-length double images with heads turned together, which

34. E.g., "two portraits, also in oil, of man and wife together, in the Flemish
manner, are by [Hans Memling] and hung in Cardinal Grimani's house in
1521 (The Anonimo, ed. George Williamson, trans. Paolo Mussi (New York,
35. E.g. Lorenzo Lotto's Double Portrait of Messer Marsilio and his Bride (Royal
Gallery, Madrid), Lotto's Double Portrait in Leningrad and Giovanni Cariani's
Married Couple of the Johnson Collection in the Philadelphia Museum of Art
(Fig. 39).
mostly came from Southern Germany (Fig. 40), have compositions close to that of the Houston picture. 

Commemorative double portraiture was not an established practice in Italy, but Vittore may have perceived a precedent in the series of paired images of Doges in the Sala del Maggior Consiglio. As for double portraiture which honored the deceased, he would have been aware of the paired donor portraits of Doge Francesco Dandolo and his wife in the lunette of the Doge’s tomb by Paolo Veneziano, about 1340 (Fig. 41). Through the central Italian connection of Jacopo Bellini and Mantegna, Vittore might have known of Piero della Francesca’s paired portraits of Federigo da Montefeltro and Battista Sforza (Fig. 42), which may have been commemorative paintings commissioned at the Countess’s death. Vittore might also have been influenced by the remains of antique Roman grave monuments which were numerous in the region and were avidly studied by humanists and antiquarians for knowledge of ancient life gleaned from their images and inscriptions. Many of these stelae included rectangular niches in which were carved bust- and half-length single, double and group portraits of the deceased (Fig. 42), similar in basic composition to the Houston picture.

36. These are thought to derive in part form the religious Schulterbüsre, the cropped, bust figures of the Virgin and Christ. See Otto Pächt, "The 'Avignon Diptych' and its Eastern Ancestry", De Artibus Opuscula, XL, Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky (New York, 1961).
37. Wilk refers to the Houston double portrait as one of the several paintings from northern Italy in the decades around 1500 to adopt this formula from northern Europe (Wilk, supra, Ch. 2, n. 32, p. 71).
The emulation of antiquity as well as the commemorative motivation behind portraiture were linked in Italian Renaissance literature which pertained to the arts. Vasari's description of Giovanni Bellini half a century after the Houston picture and Bellini's death emphasized the result of the famous painter's influence in Venetian portraiture:

in all the houses of Venice there are many portraits, and in many gentlemen's houses one may see their fathers and grandfathers, up to the fourth generation, and in some of the more noble homes they go still further back – a fashion which has ever been truly worthy of the greatest praise, and existed even among the ancients. Who does not feel intimate pleasure and contentment, to say nothing of the honor and adornment that they confer, at seeing the images of his ancestors, particularly if they have been famous and illustrious for their part in governing their republics, for noble deeds performed in peace or in war or for learning or any other notable and distinguished talent? And to what other end, as has been said in another place, did the ancients set up images of their great men in public places, with honorable inscriptions, than to kindle in the minds of their successors a love of excellence and glory? 42

And Vittore Belliniano would have been familiar with the attitudes expressed in Alberti's Della Pittura, such as the following:

Painting contains a divine force which not only makes absent men present, as friendship is said to do, but moreover makes the dead seem almost alive. Even after many centuries they are recognized with great pleasure and with great admiration for the painter... Thus the face of a man who is already dead certainly lives a long life through painting. 43

This passage could be a direct description of Vittore's intention in portraying Giovanni Bellini, both to honor the master and to bring honor and respect to himself.

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Vittore may have portrayed himself within some of the groups of onlookers in the large scenes on which he worked (e.g., Fig. 21), but other than the Chantilly drawing, there is no reliable record of how he looked. The Von Foerster collection in Heidelberg contained a bust-length Portrait of a Bearded Young Man signed “VICTOR BELLINI” and dated 1521 (Fig. 44) which has been considered a self-portrait. The location of the picture has not been known since its sale in 1932 and from reproduction, the condition of this work does not seem to be flawless, especially in the area of the beard and mouth. The sitter’s age would also be incompatible with that of Vittore, who would have been in his sixties by 1521. Nonetheless, the youthful portrait is considered to be by his hand and is similar in composition to the Houston picture (see the forms of the hat and hair). In the Heidelberg work the subject’s garments are similar to those of the Houston sitters, although they appear to reflect a slightly later fashion. The style of the Heidelberg figure’s coiffure and attire corresponds most closely to that of such portraits as Sebastiano del Piombo’s Portrait of a Man in Budapest, probably painted toward 1520 (Fig. 45), when beards had again become fashionable. The garments and hair styles of Vittore’s spectators in the Preaching of St. Mark in Alexandria (Fig. 46), most nearly resemble those of the Houston pair.

The sitter on the right in the Houston picture wears garments of luxurious texture which suggest wealth and nobility, but little can be concluded about the identity of the sitter from these clothes. The Venetian upper classes did not consistently distinguish themselves by their dress, which Marin Sanudo described:

45. Klara Garas, Italian Renaissance Portraits (Budapest, 1965), no.11.
By dress, gentlemen are not necessarily distinguished from other citizens, because everyone dresses in nearly the same way, except the Senators among the magistrates, while in office, as will be explained in its place, who dress themselves in color, according to law; the others almost always wear black, floor-length robes with commodious sleeves, and a black beret with a pointed brim of cloth, thrown out. Four kinds of [fur] robes are worn: of marten, stone-marten, or even of sable, of which many are seen during winter; then backs, various, extended; stockings [or tights] soled with 'zoccoli' are worn at all seasons; silk jackets, with black linen stockings [or tights]; and, in conclusion, black is a favorite color. 46

In view of these common styles Vittore could generalize the clothing of his two figures and still lavish the garments of the right sitter with sumptuous pattern, thereby distinguishing his own image, but in an unspecific way. By strictly balancing compositional and textural characteristics with the scale and positions of his two figures, Vittore achieved the expression of both respectful commemoration and self-advancement. The psychological tone of the double portrait is unstrained and reflects the essential character of Vittore's probable motivation in painting the picture. Vittore Belliniano visually emphasized himself, but in the equilibrium and strict geometric symmetry of the composition, his image seems not to outshine that of Giovanni Bellini on the superior left side, but to reflect a part of this illustrious person.

Chapter 4. Relationship of the Houston and Louvre Double Portraits;

Conclusions.

The Houston picture and the Double Portrait of Two Men in the Louvre (Fig. 2) are clearly related. The Louvre painting depicts two sitters with approximately the same clothing, but in reversed positions. The two pictures are of nearly equal width and the height of the Louvre picture is only about 1.8 cm. less than that of the other. The Louvre figures, however, are larger than the Houston sitters, and consequently their chests and shoulders are cropped to a greater degree than the Houston figures. As a result, the Louvre picture produces a closer viewpoint, as if one stood very near to the two men. In contrast to the slight foreshortening of the Houston sitters' heads (the far eye of each is lower than the near eye and one can see the underside of the right figure's jaw), which gives the viewer the impression of being just below their level, the upward tilt of the dark-haired Louvre sitter's head and the absence of foreshortening from below makes the observer see them as if from a slightly higher level. While the expression of the Houston sitters is austere in the fashion of Bellini, the outward gaze of the dark-haired Louvre sitter conveys undefined emotion and an expectancy focused on the viewer. The picture is dominated by the immediate psychological interaction and enigmatic character of Giorgione's work and that of his followers.

The portentous sky and dramatically lit landscape background of the Louvre double portrait are typical of Giorgione, and the picture's more emphatic modeling indicates an imitation of Giorgione's painterly style. The Louvre picture's

1. There is a less skillful and slightly smaller direct copy of the Louvre picture, by another hand, in Boston's Museum of Fine Arts (Fig. 56).
underlying composition is still a linear pattern, but the painter has created areas of deep shadow in which overlapping forms appear to merge.

The double-image composition itself became somewhat more popular with the influence of Giorgione's intimate type of picture containing two or three figures, often of general types, such as the Warrior with a Page-boy in the Uffizi (Fig. 47), by a member of Giorgione's close circle. These pictures are dynamic in composition and their figures display reactions to one another or to the viewer, as in a follower of Giorgione's Double Portrait in Rome (Fig. 48), depicting two enigmatic young men. The Louvre sitters' compositional symmetry, like that of the Houston subjects, produces an evenly balanced composition which is uncharacteristic of the Giorgione circle. This symmetry runs somewhat contrary to the Louvre picture's more illusionistic tendencies and psychological engagement of the viewer, and it is not accompanied by evidence of the original interest in geometric structure underlying the Houston double portrait.

The survey of literature in Chapter 2 showed the diversity of scholarly opinion with regard to the possible link between the Houston and Louvre double portraits. On the basis of style, the Louvre picture seems to have been painted after the Houston picture. This is confirmed by compositional similarities between them and by corrections visible in the Louvre picture itself. The direct comparison of their linear compositions (Fig. 49) reveals that the arrangement in the Louvre picture of the fur collars, the sitters' neck lines and profiles, the outline of the top of the red-haired figure's hat and both masses of hair, corresponds closely to the contours of the Houston double portrait when the lower edges of the two pictures are aligned parallel to one another. This is especially evident with regard to the alterations visible through the paint surface of the Louvre double portrait (dotted
lines in Fig. 49). Thus it would seem that the painter of the Louvre picture copied the general structure of the Houston picture without fully understanding the orientation of Vittore Belliniano’s figures to one another and to the rectangular picture surface.

It becomes more evident that the Louvre painter was unaware of the geometric precision of the Houston picture when he placed the two sitters on opposite sides by merely reversing the pattern of the Houston composition so that opposite corners matched original points of correspondence (Fig. 50, lower overlay). Since the Louvre painter was not operating in accord with the Houston picture’s actual geometric axes, and was probably working from its incorrectly cropped state, his reversal of its frame doubled the divergence from Vittore’s original grid-like structure. This skewed reversal accounts for further visible corrections in the Louvre picture (dotted lines in Fig. 50, upper and lower overlay). Thus, the inequalities of scale between the faces of the Houston figures in addition to the Louvre painter’s reversal of images about a central axis tilted from that of his source, caused his direct and reversed copies of these images not to align. In order to make the dark-haired man taller, as can be perceived in the Houston picture, the Louvre painter apparently raised and enlarged the dark-haired sitter’s smaller features and lengthened his neck. (Compare the size of the dark-haired man’s face in the two paintings.) As a result the two faces in the Louvre picture each retain characteristics of both Houston sitters while no longer strongly resembling either.

Since the manner in which the Louvre sitters are rendered is very different from the style of Vittore Belliniano, the two double portraits cannot be considered to be by the same hand. The features of Vittore and Giovanni in the Houston
picture are built up by thin washes which reveal the tooth of their canvas support (in the faces, black hair, brown fur, hats and background), creating an atmospheric, nearly monochrome modulation of light and shade. The flesh tones of the Louvre sitters, on the other hand, are created in a different and quite distinct fashion. The paint surface of the entire picture is thicker and more glossy than that of the Houston portrait, and the treatment of landscape and figures using glazes of both warm and cool hues creates the opposite of a monochrome impression. The flesh tones in the Louvre painting are naturalistic, yet one perceives them as full of color, the result of layering intense pigments.

This striking treatment of flesh recalls the manner of Giorgione and is identical in method to the work of Vincenzo Catena (ca. 1478–1531), especially evident in Catena’s Judith from the mid 1520’s² (Fig. 51). Significantly, the landscape in the Judith is similar to the Louvre double portrait’s background vista. The squarish shrubbery to the left in both pictures is almost identical.

In his account of Venetian painting one century later, Carlo Ridolfi described Vincenzo Catena as a man of independent means, which is borne out by his wills,³ and as an emulator of Giorgione.⁴ He associated socially with Venetian humanists and probably within these circles became linked with Giorgione as financial guide and artistic follower around 1505 to 1507, although Catena’s first influence was

2. Crowe and Cavalcaselle describe this effect as “melting and coloured tinting” and “a mysterious and somewhat untransparent melting look”, which they attribute to Cariani’s early work (1912, supra, Ch. 2, n. 16, pp. 134–135, n. 2), but which is more typical of Catena’s technique.
3. Recorded with other documents pertaining to Catena by Ludwig, supra, Ch. 2, n. 11, pp. 79–88.
Giovanni Bellini and his school. Robertson's following comment on Catena's early work is descriptive of his work habits throughout his career:

What strikes us immediately is not the closeness with which Catena has here followed Bellini but the naïve attempts which he has made to give his picture an appearance of originality. Not only has he borrowed the general design of the whole composition from one work of Bellini's and that of the Virgin in particular from another, while going beyond Bellini altogether for that of the child, but he has altered the design which he adopted for the whole composition in a somewhat clumsy effort after originality. This is particularly clearly to be seen in the male and the female saint, of whom he has reversed the positions but not the poses, so that instead of looking inwards and drawing the spectator's eye towards the Child, as in Bellini's design, they look out of the picture to each side, as if embarrassed by the central incident. This independent handling of borrowed themes is altogether characteristic of Catena....

Since Catena neither worked as an apprentice in a workshop nor seems to have led a studio of his own, he probably learned to paint partly by copying from whole, completed paintings by contemporary artists. Many of his works are copies, and even more frequently he employed whole figures and motifs from other works in deliberately, but moderately novel positions and contexts. He often reversed figures and copied parts of his own pictures, sometimes doing both. For instance, the music-making angels in his Virgin and Child in New York (Fig. 52) are mirror images of one another (except for their guitars, which maintain right-handed orientation) and have a single echo in Catena's Adoration in Florence (Count Contini-Bonacossi). Catena used the reversed image more arbitrarily in the little dog of the Supper at Emmaus in Florence (Fig. 53) and of the Holy Family with a Warrior in London (Fig. 54).

7. Robertson, supra, n. 3, p. 9.
The reversal of the Houston picture's sitters would therefore not be improbable with Catena and might even be predictable. Moreover he seems to have copied Belliniano's paintings with more than random frequency. Catena's Portrait of a Young Man (Fig. 55), appears to be a direct copy of the composition of one of Vittore's portraits (Fig. 18), which was itself constructed from a smaller profile image by Belliniano (Fig. 17).

Stylistically the Louvre portrait is very close to the Judith and to Catena's later portraits from about 1525 until his death in 1531. This period included Catena's phase of belated and modified Giorgionism, corresponding to the influence which is evident in the Louvre picture, especially in its retention of linear composition. The Louvre picture's chronological location within Catena's work would be near the time of Belliniano's death in 1529. In light of the probability that the Houston picture was of personal value to Vittore, whether or not he held it in his residence, he likely would have disapproved of a copy with such modification of his original structure. It is conceivable that the copy was executed after Vittore's death, when Catena may even have acquired some of Belliniano's works. Catena probably executed his copy knowing that it was a portrait of Giovanni Bellini, and perhaps for a patron because of that identification, but by this time Catena's divergence from Bellini's appearance in life may have gone unremarked.

Two reasons may explain Catena's reversal of the two sitters in his version

8. Robertson, supra, n. 3, p. 69.
9. Both Vittore's mother, Agnes, and his wife, Maria Bona, to whom he bequeathed the largest part of his belongings, died soon after he did (Ludwig, supra, Ch. 2, n. 11, pp. 78–79). Some of these possessions may have been sold off before Catena's death in September, 1531.
of the Houston picture. In reproducing a portrait of a known person, Catena may have drawn upon a combination of sources, in this case making use of other portraits of Bellini or copies from them such as those in Rome, Washington and Florence (Figs. 35–37), all of which face left. Catena’s practice of reversing borrowed imagery in order to appear original may also have encouraged him to switch the positions of his sitters.

Catena’s reversal probably contributed to the subsequent confusion regarding a picture containing the images of Giovanni Bellini and his brother Gentile. This written tradition might have stemmed from the combined accounts of a double portrait depicting Giovanni on the left and of a double portrait representing him on the right. Without either picture before their eyes, later writers might have interpreted whatever persisted of these seemingly contradictory descriptions and assumed that they referred to one painting of both Bellini, executed by one or the other.

The earliest written source of this information could have been a description of either the the Houston or Louvre double portraits. In 1666, Félibien wrote that the royal chambers contained “...les portraits de ces deux frères dans un même tableau que Gentile a fait, lorsqu’ils étoient [sic] encore fort jeunes.” A century later, Lépicié’s account describes the picture’s sitters as “...le premier [Giovanni] vêtu de fourrures, & le second d’une draperie jaunatre.” Assuming that he counted from left to right, Lépicié was referring to the Louvre picture in which he had already mistaken the identity of its famous sitter. In 1852, Villot was most certainly writing about the Louvre double portrait and he also identified Giovanni

10. Félibien, supra, Ch. 2, n. 33.
11. Lépicié, supra, Ch. 2, n. 43.
as the dark-haired man and Gentile as the red-head. Not only do the Louvre picture’s sitters no longer resemble Giovanni Bellini to a great extent and Gentile not at all, but the reference to the red-haired man as Giovanni has been obliterated.

The most probable explanation of this confusion is that the account of a portrait of Bellini was correctly maintained as well as some knowledge of its double-figure content. After the actual paintings were lost from public view, Belliniano’s creative role and appearance in his painting were forgotten, as was the sequence of the two works as original and copy. When the Louvre picture came to light, it was still associated with or reconnected to the persisting description of a portrait of Giovanni Bellini in a double-figure composition. The ambiguity concerning Bellini’s location within the picture might have led to the assumption that both positions contained images of the Bellini. Moreover, the double-figure arrangement of the Louvre picture and particularly its symmetry, although a weakened version of Belliniano’s geometry, naturally suggested the depiction of two equals, in this case two artists who were also brothers.

In summary of the major points of this thesis concerning the two double portraits, there is strong evidence that the Houston picture (Fig. 1) was constructed by Vittore Belliniano from his own bust-length, profile drawings representing himself and Giovanni Bellini (Figs. 11, 12). Belliniano apparently used an enlarged pattern of the portrait drawings in horizontal alignment to establish the symmetry of the Houston picture (Fig. 15) and to indicate their features in a composition that he further delineated by shifting and reversing the picture’s parts about its central

12. Villot. 1852, supra, Ch. 2, n. 8.
The figure occupying the Houston picture's dexter position thoroughly resembles the image of Giovanni in Chantilly, which is considered one of the most reliable portraits of that artist. Both the Chantilly and Houston figures correspond to the other portraiture of Giovanni, especially his depiction in the Recovery of the Reliquary of the True Cross (Fig. 26). The youthful appearance of the Houston sitters and the ideal character of the picture's decorative surfaces and formal composition suggest that the function of the painting was honorific or commemorative. The picture's style, technique and the attire of its sitters indicate a date between 1515–1520, roughly contemporary with Giovanni Bellini's death and Belliniano's assumption of the Bellini name. Belliniano probably executed the double portrait near this time as a record of his professional and personal relationship with his famous master and as a claim to his role in continuing Giovanni Bellini's artistic tradition.

The Houston picture appears stylistically to precede the Louvre double portrait, which displays the influence of Giorgione in its stormy landscape background, its greater illusionism and the portentous look of the enigmatic left sitter. A superimposed comparison of the two compositions shows that the Louvre picture lacks the other's precise geometric structure, but is a modified copy of the Houston painting, with alterations of this source visible in pentimenti. The painting technique and the reversal of borrowed imagery in the Louvre picture are particularly characteristic of Vincenzo Catena who this thesis identifies as the author of the Louvre double portrait, which he may have executed after Belliniano's death in 1529 and before his own in 1531.
Appendix I. The Development of Double-Figure Imagery Relative to Venetian Portraiture in The Renaissance.

The following discussion is an overview of some aspects of Venetian art and culture as well as certain foreign practices that may have created formal precedents for double portraiture or exerted stylistic influence within the small group of double portraits from the Quattrocento and early Cinquecento. Portraiture in Venice emerged from an artistic tradition based in the Church and in the institutions of the city. Venetians felt a deep civic responsibility and held their city's religious and cultural history in great esteem. This civic awareness affected the subject matter and meaning of artistic commissions and encouraged the early development of portraiture in a religious and civil context.

The character of Venetian art and portraiture was also formed by the city's geographic and economic link with northern Europe and her involvement in the Byzantine East. Venice was the point by which traffic and commerce between east and west passed and foreign European art, as well as works from the Eastern Church included types of double-figure imagery which Venetians would have known. The Venetian Empire's Adriatic and Mediterranean colonies and the eastern trade they serviced made many ancient and medieval Greek objects of art available to Venice. After Constantinople had been taken by the Turks in 1453, Venice received an additional influx of Greek and Byzantine art works and manuscripts, as well as artists that produced a resurgence of interest in Byzantine art.

style.²

Since Venice monopolized Mediterranean trade and controlled Near Eastern and Far Eastern goods bound for Europe,³ her commercial traffic in the east was complemented by a mercantile relationship with northern Europe which naturally resulted in cultural exchange. The proximity of the Venetian terra firma to these countries intensified the northern influence in Venetian culture. Venetian art took account of northern Gothic models especially during the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries⁴ and the Venetian version of Gothic International Style persisted until the sixteenth century in such artists as Antonio Vivarini and Giovanni d'Allemagne.

One characteristic of eastern and western medieval precedents in Venetian Renaissance painting is an emphasis on the painted surface. Symeonides observes the recurrence in Venetian art of "...the taste for sumptuousness and the sense of decoration inherited from Byzantine aesthetics, then reaffirmed by the Gothic mode."⁵ This stylistic influence promoted an abstracted, linear composition and a tendency toward decorative surfaces, which Renaissance artists combined with their interest in depicting the natural world. Such a harmony of eastern and northern European taste is seen in Gentile Bellini's Miniature of a Turkish Youth (Fig. A1), whose flat patterning and Gothic outline, yet Western naturalism in the face and hands, are held in balance by a Byzantine control of composition and

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2. Wiik, 1978, supra, Ch. 2, n. 32, p. 49.
4. Gentile da Fabriano, a disseminator of International Style painting, worked intermittently in Venice between 1408 and 1419, and local artists such as Jacobello del Fiore and Michele Giambono interpreted this Gothic spirit of fantasy and interest in natural detail. (Symeonides, supra, Ch. 3, n. 24.)
5. Symeonides, supra, Ch. 3, n. 24.
opaque background, a reconciliation of naturalistic and formal elements somewhat like that of the Houston picture. The abstraction and repetitive pattern in the medieval background to Venetian painting may have prepared for the execution of double portraiture in as strict an arrangement as the paired opposition of equal forms, although the general double-figure composition relates more directly to elements in the development of Italian portraiture itself.

Portraiture emerged in Venice, as it did throughout Italy, within larger religious scenes. The first painted portraits were the figures of donors. As early as the thirteenth century, some Italian crucifixes include diminutive donors at their bases, such as the tiny profile portraits in the bas-relief of S. Donato venerated by Podesta Donato Memmo and his wife at SS. Maria e Donato in Murano (Fig. A2). The rudimentary donor portrait gradually evolved, becoming a recognizable individual in a naturalistically rendered form. Niccolo di Pietro's Coronation with Donor and his Family from about 1400 (Fig. A3), faithfully portrays the donor family, though still on a small scale.

The donor's image appeared with increasing clarity and naturalism partly in response to the emphasis in Quattrocento religious thought on direct, personal contact between the Creator and the individual believer. The devotional practice

6. Gentile Bellini in particular had the opportunity to absorb eastern artistic practices during his official visit to Constantinople. Bellini was a professional portraitist and was dispatched by the Signoria when Sultan Mohammed II requested the services of a portrait painter in 1479. (Vasari, supra, Ch. 3, n. 38, l. 611. See also L. Thuasne, Gentile Bellini et Sultan Mohammed II (Paris, 1808).)
of generating vivid mental pictures\textsuperscript{10} corresponded to the increasing realism of Renaissance painting and, in Italy, was complemented by the naturalistic representation of forms in space. The Italian images of holy figures, especially, remained more ideal and monumental than their northern counterparts. The donor portrait was part of the harmonious composition of this religious imagery but its purpose was individually commemorative. Therefore, the donor's face might be realistically detailed but his figure delineated within the ideal patterns of the Italian devotional picture, again somewhat like the Houston picture's balance of formal and natural imagery.

Religious art not only allowed the development of portraiture within larger scenes, but also fostered certain iconographic images which might have set a visual precedent for types of independent portraiture. For example, the suspended drapery behind the two sitters in the Louvre double portrait relates to the cloth of honor which traditionally appears behind the Virgin Mary. A picture such as Jacopo da Montagnana's \textit{Pieta} in Budapest, which shows only the mother and son against a suspended cloth (Fig. A4), might have provided a transition from the enthroned or half-length Madonna's cloth of honor to its use as a decorative background in portraiture (e.g., Fig. A5).

The occurrence of half- or bust-length double portraiture might also have been facilitated by the compositional precedence of much earlier traditions. There are iconographic pairings of sacred figures which go back to early Christian ivories and Byzantine icons and may have encouraged, if only by long familiarity, the double-figure type in portraiture. Venetian trade would have made collectors and

artists familiar with the tradition of consular diptychs, which often display the full-length portrait of the consul accompanied by one or two figures which personify Rome, Constantinople or another entity. The double-figure format of the diptychs could have caused Venetian collectors to be more receptive to the idea of the double portrait, which they might have then associated with the honorific function of the diptychs. Consular diptychs also include bust-length portraits which are framed in medallions or, in the case of the Diptych of the consul Basilius (Fig. A6), appear as a truncated bust depicted on a portrait shield which is held by a figure of Victory.\footnote{11} Imagery on a shield was a predecessor to the circular framed \textit{imago clipeata}, a form of ornamentation common to Roman art objects. It was influential in Renaissance art, sometimes appearing in pairs as in the carved decoration of San Zaccaria’s ground story begun in 1458 (Fig. A7), or Jacopo Bellini’s sketched interpretations of antique monuments (Fig. A22).

Similar double-figure images were familiar in early relics of the Church. Half-length images of Christ and the Virgin were depicted on Byzantine icons, which are often bordered by rows of painted \textit{tondi} or niches containing the bust- or half-length images of Saints and prophets. Venetians would have known icons from Constantinople, Egypt, Syria, and other eastern locations. Some panels, such as the \textit{Icon of Saints Sergios and Bacchos} in Kiev (Fig. A8), are similar in composition to the Houston and Louvre double portraits.

The bust-length representation of Christ and the Virgin in the form of a diptych was an iconographic arrangement with Byzantine origins and formal qualities. It was introduced to Western Europe by pictures such as the so called

Avignon Diptych, probably in the mid-fifteenth century. Although the original diptych, a double icon from the Holy Land is lost, its form can be seen in a fifteenth-century watercolor depicting its presentation to one of the Popes in Avignon (Fig. A9), perhaps to Pope Urban V in 1363. Pächt notes a compelling parallel in the fourteenth century picture of Urban V by the Italian Simone dei Crocifissi (Fig. A10), which shows the seated Pope holding a diptych containing the busts of two men. This double icon represents Saints Peter and Paul and commemorates the rediscovery of their heads in the Lateran (1368). Its form is very much like that of the Avignon diptych, but the apparent contrasts between the two indicate the manner in which the image was modified in western religious imagery and later northern nuptial portraiture. Whereas the Avignon Christ is a short, frontal bust, the figures in the Pope's diptych turn toward one another at a three-quarter angle, within a painted architectural framework.

The paired Schulturbüste composition of these diptychs was influential in the development of religious, double-figure imagery and subsequently in double nuptial portraiture in the Netherlands and Germany. One of the most important interpretations of the Avignon diptych was Robert Campin's Christ and the Virgin from about 1430. (Fig. A11). In this composition, the Schulturbüste format, the posture of Christ and the Virgin, and the decorative background seen in the Avignon diptych have been preserved, but the figures now appear in reversed

12. Pächt, supra, Ch. 3, n. 31.
13. The tradition of the double bust image of Peter and Paul goes back to 12th century frescoes in SS. Quattro Coronati in Rome and probably further to a 9th century diptych from the treasury of the Sancta Sanctorum Chapel in the Lateran, where their heads were recovered. (Pächt, supra, Ch. 3, n. 31.)
14. The schulturbüste formula depicts the figure as an extremely short bust on a surface whose constrictive width crops the shoulders vertically. (Pächt, supra, Ch. 3, n. 31. p. 404.)
position on a single panel.

The reversal of Robert Campin's two figures was probably due to the conventions of European heraldry, which would not have been relevant in the Eastern origin of the Avignon diptych. In heraldic terms, the dexter position of a pair, the left side of the image as seen by the viewer, is the place of honor. It was accorded to the husband in nuptial double portraits as well as in companion pieces during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Italy and in the North. Practically the only exception to this orientation of the images of male and female couples occurs when the woman is the Virgin Mary and a male saint or donor appears to her left, on the sinister side.

Robert Campin's Christ and the Virgin and similar intimate religious images painted by Northern artists in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, such as the Christ and the Sorrowing Virgin in Toledo by Hugo van der Goes (Fig. A12), set a precedent for northern nuptial portraiture. In purely visual terms, the devotional Schulterbuste image of Christ paired with the Virgin represents the bust- or half-length figures of a man and a woman turning toward one another in psychological engagement. As such, it could suggest the same composition in the portrayal of secular couples. This transmission of religious imagery to the double, nuptial portrait was accompanied by symbolic religious associations concerning faith and marriage. "As patrons increasingly commissioned independent likenesses

\[\text{16. Jane Hutchison, "The development of the Double Portrait in Northern European Painting of the Fifteenth Century", Masters Diss., Oberlin College, 1958, p. 45. Piero della Francesca's companion portraits of Federigo da Montefeltro and his wife Battista Sforza (Fig. 42), are an exception due to the loss of the Duke's right eye in a duel. In the miniature from Cristoforo Landino's Disputationes Camaldulenses (Fig. A19), however, the traditional formula for the dedicatory page prevailed and the Duke appears on the dexter side, with a good right eye.}\]
of themselves instead of donor portraits for religious paintings, they took upon themselves the symbols and meanings found in the latter."\textsuperscript{17} Of course, the secular imitation of the compositions of Christian imagery did not imply the direct association of religious meaning as well.

In religious painting, both the image of paired sacred figures and the donor portrait provided a transition from the religious context to the secular use of the double-figure image. A double portrait such as the donor couple painted on the outer wings of a triptych by the Master of the Embroidered Foliage (Fig. A13) combines the decorative architectural framing and the double format of the Avignon diptych and of the Urban V devotional image of Peter and Paul with the exhaustive realism of northern Renaissance painting. Influenced by such images, the northern nuptial portrait emerged during the middle decades of the fifteenth century, commonly composed of two frontal figures cropped at bust- or half-length, whose heads turn toward one another in three-quarter view (e.g., Fig. 40). This type became the most popular form of Northern double portraiture after its first appearance in southern Germany around 1450\textsuperscript{18} (Fig. A14).

In Italy the depiction of married couples as donors in multiple-figure devotional paintings from as early as the mid-fourteenth century (Fig. 41) may have encouraged the independent double portrait. Since a significant number of donor portraits occur in paired opposition, it is possible that this pairing survived the separation of portraiture from its religious or historical scene. Girolamo dai Libri's \textit{Madonna with two Saints and three Donors} in Santa Anastasia, Verona (Fig.

\textsuperscript{17} David Smith, \textit{ Masks of Wedlock--Seventeenth Century Dutch Marriage Portraiture} (Ann Harbor, 1982), p. 59.
\textsuperscript{18} Ernst Buchner, \textit{Das deutsche Bildnis der Spätgotik und Frühen Dürerzeit} (Berlin, 1953), p. 170.
A15), even approximates the bust-length format with the cropping of its lower two figures, who appear in an ambiguous space just beyond the picture's bottom edge.

While the art of the church gave Italian portraiture its first opportunity to develop, it was the state which next fostered the portrait in Venice, both within larger scenes of civic and historic importance, and as an independent image. Venetian state patronage, in its "...emphasis on the continuity of institutions and in the constant proclamation of Venice's wealth and power,"\textsuperscript{19} balanced the absence of a court and a court style in Venice, and set a guiding pattern for other types of patronage. In addition, certain aspects of official Venetian patronage in the Ducal Palace probably gave impetus to the double portrait format.

The Sala del Maggior Consiglio in the Ducal Palace was rebuilt for a third time after an official decree in 1340, and was completed by 1366.\textsuperscript{20} Its decoration began immediately, during the reign of Doge Marco Dandolo, from 1365 to 1368.\textsuperscript{21} Guariento's \textit{Paradise} was the first composition painted and was soon followed by historical scenes of Pope Alexander III, Emperor Barbarossa, and Doge Ziani, begun by Guariento and Antonio Veneziano. The painting of these historical frescoes continued into the next century, executed by favorite artists of each period. The narrative scenes included portraits of distinguished Venetians in the groups of subsidiary figures,\textsuperscript{22} including those in the scenes for the council chambers by

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{19} J. M. Fletcher, "Patronage in Venice", in \textit{The Genius of Venice}, supra, n. 1, p. 17.
\item \textsuperscript{20} Teresio Pignatti, "Cinque secoli di pittura nel Palazzo dei Dogi", in \textit{Il Palazzo Ducale di Venezia}, eds. Alvise Zorzi et al., text included in English translation by A. Ernest Howell and Mary McCann (Turin, 1972), p. 278.
\item \textsuperscript{22} Ridolfi first mentions these identifiable figures in his description of Gentile da Fabriano's work on the Pope Alexander cycle in the Sala del Maggior
\end{itemize}
Another part of the council chamber decoration was more significant in terms of double portraiture. This is the series of commemorative independent portraits of doges in the Sala del Maggior Consiglio, which was also begun during the reign of Doge Marco Dandolo, and was executed by the same painters charged with the historical scenes. Before their destruction in the fire of 1577, these images formed a complete portrait gallery of the successive Venetian heads of state. The doge series was an early formal grouping of relatively independent, contemporary portraits, which in its quantity of images made a strong statement of official portraiture. The present frieze in the Sala del Maggior Consiglio circles the entire room just under the ceiling, and is made up of pairs of Doges seen half length and turned toward one another at three-quarter view (Fig. A17). Each rectangular unit contains two doges, each with a flowing banner, seen before a dark ground. The two members of each pair are separated by protruding architectural scrolls.

There seems to be a tradition of pairing in the portraiture of doges. Lazzaro Bastiani painted a frieze during the late Quattrocento, of which the surviving fragment contains the full-length images of the doges Antonio Venier and Michele Steno seated in conversation (Fig. A18). Their bodies are oriented

consiglio in which Gentile portrayed various nobles and senators. (Ridolfi, supra, Ch. 4, n. 4, l, 33). 23. Lionello Venturi, Le origini della pittura veneziana 1300-1500, (Venezia: Istituto veneto di artigraphiche, 1907), p. 334; Vasari notes the many portraits from life in the scenes for the Ducal Palace by Gentile Bellini (Vasari, supra, Ch. 3, n. 42, l, 610.)

In addition to the series in the great gallery, the doge came to be portrayed on small-scale panels intended for more intimate settings within the ducal chambers, such as Lazzaro Bastiani's Doge Francesco Foscari from about 1460, in the Museo Correr, Venice (Fig. A16).
more or less frontally, and their faces turn toward one another in three-quarter
and profile view. A vague architectural member appears between and behind
them, and they hold large scrolls. These images form part of the series by
Bastiani which was recorded in 1581 as previously collected in the Collegio of the
Twenty-five in the Ducal Palace.25

When restoration of the Sala de Maggior Consiglio began immediately after
the fire of 1577, much of the subject matter of its historical paintings was to be
duplicated.26 The appearance of the council chamber and its portrait series of
paired doges remain today as planned in that renovation. It is not conclusive that
the present double portraits of doges resemble their predecessors, but their
similarities to Basaiti's pair are significant. Rosand refers to the long tradition of
the Ducal Palace decoration. "Once established on the walls of the Sala del
Maggior Consiglio, by the early fifteenth century, this iconography was as
immutable as Venice itself," and although the decoration was always in a state of
restoration or replacement, "... new painting generally preserved not only the
subjects of the old, ...but also frequently the larger characteristics of the lost
composition. Pictorial style might change, but the content and its compositional
carrier could not."27 In the late Quattrocento Gentile and then Giovanni Bellini
were appointed artistic overseers of palace decoration. One of Giovanni's three
assistants in the Ducal Palace was Vittore Belliniano. These artists probably
worked on or were in proximity to the frieze of official double portraits, which
might have encouraged their use of this form in private portraiture.

27. David Rosand, Painting in Cinquecento Venice: Titian, Veronese, Tintoretto
Private, independent double portraiture was very uncommon in Italy during the Quattrocento, but the mural decoration of certain northern Italian and European residences contained portrait groups or cycles within their programs which might have encouraged the later collective display of independent easel portraits or the small-scale portraiture of two sitters. Like the Venetian doge series, there seems to be some tradition of pairing in residential portrait cycles.

Some of the earliest post-classical groups of portraits in a residential settings may have been the northern "family-tree" frescoes, the Stammbaum, where ancestral couples would have been aligned in architectural niches painted on the walls of a family’s great hall. These, like the numerous frescoes decorating the facades of private houses in Venice, no longer exist. The presumed balcony form of the Stammbaum occurs in medieval Venetian painting, in the architectural niches given to saints, prophets and church fathers. The form was adopted by Guarento in the Paradise for the Sala del Maggior Consiglio and the pairing of the Stammbaum imagery appears in the hall’s series of portraits of doges.

The earliest private picture cycles and structured portrait groups in Italy were commissioned in the spirit of Tuscan humanism, and included exalted men of letters and philosophy in their series of great individuals. These painted galleries

28. Ernst Buchner, supra, n. 18.
29. Guido Perocco and Antonio Salvadori, Civiltà di Venezia, (Venice, no date), II, 687: “...l'arte si accosta e sì avvera nella stessa vita degli individui.” (Perocco, p. 687)
of uomini famosi apparently were often arranged according to an Italian formula of pairing, in a "symmetrical pattern juxtaposing a Greek to a Roman, or an ancient to a modern". Contemporary personages were paired in the galleries of more mixed subject matter, such as the studiolo of Federigo da Montefeltro's palace in Urbino, decorated around 1475 with the portraits of church men, authors and other illustrious friends of Federigo, as well as historical figures. Residential picture cycles came to include more private, contemporary portraiture with that of famous personages as Vasari reported of Altichiero's decoration of the great hall of the Della Scala palace in Verona. Above his depiction of the war of Jerusalem, Altichiero represented:

on the upper part of which ornament, as it were to set it off, ...a row of medallions, in which it is believed that there are the portraits from life of many distinguished men of those times, particularly of many of those Signori della Scala... and among many portraits of distinction and learning, there is seen that of Messer Francesco Petrarca. 33

Both the desire to portray contemporary individuals and the pairing of images evident in a picture cycle or gallery situation may have encouraged later double portraiture, outside of the decorative, architectural context.

Prior to most independent double portraiture, there were early double portraits executed within the various minor arts. A large proportion of examples from the Quattrocento occur in manuscript illustrations, particularly the dedicatory

(Mommsen, p. 113).

31. Sleitzoff, supra, n. 9, p. 84.
33. Vasari, Lives of Vittore Scarpaccia, supra, Ch. 3, n. 42, l, 751,752.
pages depicting the author or artist and patron. Some manuscript portraits rival the paired donor portrait in their independence from a larger scene, although the illuminations remain in the context of the manuscript and its format. The double miniature portrait could be more intimate than most paired imagery in mural cycles, and it related more closely to easel pictures and small-scale portraiture. For example, the inner cover of Cristoforo Landino’s *Disputationes Camalduenses*, a copy of which he wrote around 1475 for Federigo da Montefeltro (Fig. A19), depicts the naturalistic bust-length images of Federigo, on the dexter side, and Landino against a plain, bright background. The half- or bust-length double format with one figure in profile at the side, sometimes in a window, became popular for manuscript frontispieces, such as that of a Venetian treatise on anatomy, the *Trattato dell’Achillini*, from the Cinquecento (Fig. A20).

In Italy, the function of nuptial imagery was carried out by painted cassoni, with the result that Italian double portraiture was not dominated by betrothal pictures as in the north, but often represented the relationships of men. This is evident in the painted cycles of illustrious figures, in the double portrait manuscript illuminations and in various crafts, such as the ceramic tile from Orvieto Cathedral, on which Luca Signorelli portrayed himself with the Cathedral treasurer, Niccolo Franceschi (Fig. 21).

The double portrait in Italy emerged within the evolution of portraiture in

34. These large chests bore the arms of the two bridal families and were commissioned by the bride’s father. Their long, rectangular surfaces suited processional or narrative scenes. Scenes from myth and legend were popular subjects, as were the portrayals of uomini e donne famosi. (Paul Schubring, *Cassoni* (Leipzig: Verlag von Karl Hiersemann, 1923), pp. 201–203.)

general, which reflected the rise of the bourgeoisie throughout Italy during the Quattrocento, and a resulting wider prosperity. The wealth of noble, citizen and professional families was viewed in a humanist light as a means "...to live decently, to adorn their houses and cities and cultivate their spirit." Portraiture was an important part of this residential adornment and established an ideal to which the family aspired. The function of the double portrait paralleled that of the essentially commemorative independent single portrait and of the easel picture meant for a residential setting, as these fully developed under the influence of Bellini and Giorgione.

Italian double portraits of male and female couples such as Giovanni Cariani’s portrait of a married couple (Fig. 39), derive from the established northern tradition of nuptial double portraiture. Others pertain to the second and third decades of the Cinquecento when Giorgione’s intimate depictions of enigmatic figures encouraged the paired format with a man and a woman or with two men (e.g., Figs. 47, 48). An unusual portrayal of two women is the lost double portrait of Isabella d’Este and her daughter Leonora which is described in the Anonimo. These women had their portraits painted in 1509 by Lorenzo Costa on the same canvas in order to send their images to the husband and father Francesco Gonzaga II, the Marquis of Mantua, who was being held prisoner of war in Venice.37

The collections of paintings and art objects in Venetian residences and private chambers reveal the Venetians’ intense interest in early and contemporary

37. The Anonimo, supra, Ch. 3, n. 29, p. 106.
religious painting, portraiture and antique art of all kinds.\textsuperscript{38} The Bellini school was shaped by these interests. Jacopo Bellini himself was a collector of antique coins and passed on this enthusiasm to his son Gentile, whose collection of antiquities included a torso of Venus and a bust of Plato.\textsuperscript{39} Jacopo’s work linked the medieval artistic tradition in Venice with the new approach to painting and patronage resulting from changing attitudes and humanistic thought in the Italian Renaissance.\textsuperscript{40}

Written sources indicate that Jacopo’s compositions contained many portraits of distinguished Venetians. In addition, Ridolfi notes a double portrait of historical figures by Jacopo. “Vidi medesimamente di questa mano l’effigie del Petrarca e di Madonna Laura, quali cose furono tenute in que’ tempi in molto pregio.”\textsuperscript{41} The double-figure image recurs in Jacopo’s work in the context of his humanistic interest in antique remains. Three pairs of bust-length figures adorn his fanciful drawing from 1455 of the Metellia Prima Grave Monument and other Antiquities (Fig. A22). Jacopo may have freely copied his image from the ruin itself, or he may have consulted compilations of inscribed monuments, like those of Cyriacus of Ancona.\textsuperscript{42} His reconstruction of the partially preserved antique

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\textsuperscript{39} Gronau, supra, Ch. 3, n. 19, p. 51.
\textsuperscript{40} Jacopo’s notebooks from about 1455 reveal an interest in antique objects, a fascination with perspective and elaborate architecture and a personal sense of landscape portrayal. (Kenneth Clark, \textit{The Art of Humanism} (New York: Harper and Row, 1983), p. 110). Jacopo’s paintings and drawings have an International Style quality of visual fantasy as well as the Venetian love of decorative texture and pattern, but they also reveal his mastery of the new approach to monumental forms in space that originated in Florence.
\textsuperscript{41} Ridolfi, supra, Ch. 3, n. 43, p. 55.
monument uses forms similar to the profile portraits on antique coins, medallions and Roman grave monuments, but drawn with Renaissance techniques of shading and modeling.

Many artists sketched antique remains and used elements of antique architecture and sculpture to decorate their compositions. A particularly significant instance of Andrea Mantegna’s representation of antique imagery occurs in his Martyrdom of St. Christopher, painted opposite his St. James series in the Ovetari Chapel (Figs. 23, 24). The fresco depicts two pairs of Roman portrait busts carved in relief on the background urban structure, each pair surrounded by a rectangular frame, similar in composition to the Houston double portrait and even to the double-figure reliefs carved on the facade of San Zaccaria (Fig. A7). It is not known whether Mantegna based these decorations on actual grave monuments or whether he was inspired by studio book illustrations such as those of Jacopo Bellini (Fig. A22).

Roman grave monuments and their inscriptions and other remains were studied with great interest by Quattrocento antiquarians who wished to improve their Latin and gain knowledge of Roman life.43 Several classes of these grave monuments are ornamented with the bust- or half-length, double or group portraiture of figures placed close together and turning toward one another (e.g., Fig. 43). These carved images range from small figures within tondi on sarcophagi to large slabs with several tiers of portraits. Gemma Chiesa distinguishes a group of gravestones from the Veneto that are more naturalistic than the majority of funeral monuments found in northern Italy because the pair of sitters turn towards

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43. Saxl, supra, Ch. 3, n. 40.
one another rather than face forward.  

Antique remains such as these were directly emulated by a few Northern artists, most notably by Israhel von Meckenem in his engraved portrait of himself and his wife from about 1490 to 1500 (Fig. 25), and by Italians such as Tullio Lombardo in his contemporary "double portrait" reliefs depicting two pairs of idealized figures with enigmatic expressions (Fig. A26).

In this period of activity and change following the turn of the sixteenth century, Venetian portraiture was expanding beyond Quattrocento conventions and artists had latitude in their responses to foreign and local models. Thus, Italian examples of independent double portraiture diverged from one another in terms of composition, style and especially in the content of their dual imagery, which was particularly suited to the portrayal of relationships. Certain double portraits seem mostly explicable as individual conceptions, but not without some basis for their unusual form in Venetian and Northern Italian art or in foreign or ancient precedents. The preceding discussion has touched upon some aspects of art known and practiced in Venice, with particular attention to the Bellini schools, that might have contributed to a Venetian painter's execution of a picture such as the Houston double portrait.

44. Chiesa, supra, Ch. 3, n. 41.
Appendix II. The Question of Forgery

Although the underlying geometric construction of the Houston double portrait may suggest the possibility of forgery, the picture's unique composition is uncharacteristic of forged art work, which would be made to appear typical rather than unusual. It seems improbable that a forger would execute an example of an unusual type, such as the Italian double portrait, and even less likely one with such uncommon symmetry. A forger might create a geometric relationship between an existing painting or drawing and his own modified image in order both to copy his source and to hide his borrowing, but if the Houston picture were a forgery based in this manner on the Chantilly drawings, there would still be no explanation for the extreme symmetry of the Houston sitters. A forger would not need to use such bold abstract relationships nor the Houston picture's involved process of geometric construction for the purpose of painting human forms.

The fact that there are two related double portraits by different hands makes the question of forgery even more doubtful. One forger did not paint both pictures and it is unlikely that two people would produce two such similar forgeries. The possibility that one of the double portraits is a forgery based on the other must be seen in light of the evidence that the Louvre picture is a modified copy of the Houston painting. The connection between the two pictures is undisguised. It is improbable that a modern forger would copy his source so directly, while Renaissance painters often copied elements from the work of other artists and sometimes whole compositions. For example, Giovanni Bellini's Presentation of Christ in the Querini-Stampalia Gallerie (Fig. B1) is a reworking of Andrea Mantegna's painting of the same subject (Fig. B2), in the Berlin Dahlem
Museum. Renaissance painters generally would not have been concerned with hiding this practice.

The possibility of forgery is weakened by the Houston and Louvre pictures’ affinity with the works of Vittore Belliniano and Vincenzo Catena respectively. The Houston double portrait not only reveals Vittore’s artistic practices, but seems to embody his concept of his own role in continuing the tradition of his mentor, Giovanni Bellini. On the other hand, the Louvre picture is an example of Catena’s use of forms and compositions derived from other works. It demonstrates Catena’s tendency to reverse images and his novel arrangements of these borrowed patterns. The Louvre picture also reveals Catena’s identifiable technique of rendering flesh tones and atmospheric effects with glazes of many colors.

All of these points support the authenticity of the Houston and Louvre double portraits, but the written tradition describing a single painting containing the portraits of Gentile and Giovanni Bellini provides the most direct confirmation of the two pictures’ origin in the Italian Renaissance. That tradition goes back to Félibien’s account in 1666 that the royal quarters of Louis XIV contained a double portrait of both Bellini brothers, painted by Gentile.¹ Although the character of the descriptions in subsequent literature varies, they form a continuous body of evidence for the existence of the Louvre picture up until its acquisition by the Louvre in the early nineteenth century.² They are evidence as well that the Louvre picture’s source, the Houston double portrait, is at least as old as Félibien’s account.

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1. Félibien, supra, Ch. 2, n. 33.
2. Supra, Ch. 2, pp. 8–11.
The probability that the double portraits were executed within the first three decades of the fifteenth century, as hypothesized in this thesis, is reinforced by passages in documents which might relate to them. Vittore Belliniano's will, from 1529, apparently refers to the bequest of a portrait of Giovanni Bellini, and the Anonimo records that in 1530 the residence of Gabriel Vendramin contained:

Three small portraits in tempera, one representing Messer Filippo Vendramino in a three-quarter view, and the others two young gentlemen in profile, are by Giovanni Bellini.

This passage probably formed the basis for Hautecoeur's unexplained statement in his 1941 catalogue that the Louvre double portrait had once been part of the Vendramin collection in Venice. Crowe and Cavalcaselle also related the Houston picture to the Anonimo reference. They suggested that the description of "...one picture with two profiles by Giovanni in the collection of Gabriel Vendramin" pointed to Giovanni Bellini's authorship of the Houston double portrait. However, the most likely extant works which might be the subject of the Anonimo passage are the Chantilly sketches. They are profile images whose developed drawing technique might have been mistaken for a detailed representation in tempera. In any event, the Houston and Louvre double portraits would seem to be associated with too many contemporary accounts of related works for either one or both of the paintings to be forgeries.

3. Supra, Ch. 3, pp. 22–23.
4. The Anonimo, supra, Ch. 3, n. 34.
5. Hautecoeur, supra, Ch. 2, n. 27.
6. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, 1912, supra, Ch. 2, n. 9, pp. 134(n. 2)–135.
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Thuasne, L. Gentile Bellini et Sultan Mohammed II. Paris, 1808


Waagen, Gustav F. Verzeichnis der Gemälde Sammlung des Königlichen Museums


Figure 1
Figure 3. Gentile Bellini, Portrait of Sultan Mohammed II. Ca. 1430. National Gallery of Art, London.
Figure 5. Giovanni Bellini, Fra Teodoro da Urbino as St. Dominic. Signed and dated 1515. National Gallery of Art, London.
Figure 7. Gentile and Giovanni Bellini, The Preaching of St. Mark in Alexandria (detail of Fig. 6).
Figure 8. Gentile Bellini, Madonna and Child with Male and Female Donors. Signed, ca. 1450. Staatliche Museen, Berlin.
Figure 9. Gentile Bellini, attr., Doge Andrea Vendramin with his secretary receives a papal legate. 1476–1478. Boymans Museum, Rotterdam.
Figure 10. Gentile and Giovanni Bellini. The Preaching of St. Mark in Alexandria (detail of Fig. 6).
Figure 12. Vittore Belliniano, **Self-Portrait.** Ca. 1490–1505. Musee Conde, Chantilly.
Figure 12. Parallel lines of correspondence (dotted green lines) between the two figures in the Houston double portrait (in red) oriented to the picture's central geometric axis (dotted blue line) and indicating its possible original borders (solid blue line).
Reversal of the Houston double portrait (in red) along its central geometric axis (dotted blue line), superimposed on its actual composition (in green). The forms of each figure match those of its reversed companion along basic contour lines (emphasized in black).
Figure 15.
The composition of the Chantilly drawings, aligned according to top and bottom with the portrait of Bellini reversed, enlarged (in red) and superimposed on the composition of the Houston double portrait (in green), with central geometric axes matching (dotted blue line).
The enlarged Chantilly drawings (in red), each shifted downward and laterally out from the central geometric axis (dotted blue line), correspond to the facial features of the sitters in the Houston double portrait (in green).
Figure 17. Vittore Belliniano. Portrait of a man in profile with right hand on a parapet. Ca. 1500. Formerly Cassierer Coll., Berlin, 1922; location unknown.
Figure 18. Vittore Belliniano, Portrait of a man. 1510. Formerly Bohler Coll., Lucerne, 1948; location unknown.
Figure 19. Enlarged composition (in red) of the profile portrait of a man (Fig. 17), superimposed upon the composition (in green) of the similar portrait of a man in three-quarter view (Fig. 18).
Figure 20. Vittore Belliniano, Youth Praying before a Crucifix. Signed and dated 1518. Accademia Carrara, Bergamo.
Figure 22. Gentile Bellini, attr., Portrait of a Man. Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin.
Figure 23. Giovanni Bellini, attr., Portrait of a Young Man (Vittore Belliniano?).
British Museum, London.
Figure 24. Giovanni Bellini, attr., Portrait of a Young Man (Vittore Belliniano?). British Museum, London.
Figure 25.  Giovanni Bellini, attr., Portrait of a Man (Giovanni himself?).  British Museum, London.
Figure 26. Gentile Bellini, Recovery of the Reliquary of the True Cross. Finished in 1500. Accademia, Venice.
Figure 27. Gentile Bellini, Recovery of the Reliquary of the True Cross. Jacopo Bellini and his nephew Leonardo Bellini, (detail of Fig. 26).
Figure 28. Gentile Bellini, Recovery of the Reliquary of the True Cross. Andrea Mantegna, Gentile and Giovanni Bellini (detail of Fig. 26).
Figure 30. Gentile Bellini, The Preaching of St. Mark in Alexandria. Gentile Bellini (detail of Fig. 6).
Figure 31. Vittore Camellio, Medal of Gentile Bellini. Ca. 1480–1490. National Gallery of Art (Kress Collection), Washington, D.C.
Figure 32. Vittore Camelio. Medal of Gentile Bellini (detail of Fig. 31).
Figure 34. Vittore Camelio, Medal of Giovanni Bellini (detail).
Figure 35. School of Giovanni Bellini. Portrait of a Young Man. Ca. 1500. Pinacoteca Capitolina, Rome.
Figure 36. School of Giovanni Bellini, Portrait of a Young Man. Ca. 1500. National Gallery of Art (Kress Collection), Washington D.C.
Figure 37. School of Giovanni Bellini, Portrait of a Man. Ca. 1500 Uffizi, Florence.
Figure 38. Giovanni Bellini: Feast of the Gods, (detail of Silvanus). 1514.
National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.
Figure 40. Thoman Burgkmair, Double Portrait of Jakob Fugger and Sybilla Arzt. 1498. Private collection, London.
Figure 41. Paolo Veneziano, Virgin and Child with Two Saints and Doge Francesco Dandolo and his Wife. Ca. 1340. Lunette of Doge Dandolo's tomb. Sala del Capitolo, Frari, Venice.
Figure 42. Piero della Francesca, Federigo da Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino, and his wife, Battista Sforza. Ca. 1472-1473. Uffizi, Florence.
Figure 43. Roman, Grave Monument of A. Servilius Paulinianus Vatican, Sala delle Muse, Rome.
Figure 44. Vittore Belliniano, Portrait of a Bearded Young Man. Signed and dated 1521. Location unknown.
Figure 45. Sebastiano del Piombo, Portrait of a Man. Panel. 115 x 94 cm., ca. 1520. Museum of Fine Art, Budapest.
Figure 46. Gentile and Giovanni Bellini. The Preaching of St. Mark in Alexandria (detail of Fig. 6).
Figure 47.  Circle of Giorgione, Warrior with a Page-boy.  Early sixteenth century.  Uffizi, Florence.
The composition of the Houston picture (in red) superimposed on that of the Louvre double portrait (in green).

Figure 48.
Figure 50. The reversed composition of the Houston picture (in red) superimposed on the composition of the Louvre double portrait (in green).
Figure 5A  The reversed composition of the Houston picture (in red) superimposed on the composition of the Louvre double portrait (in green).
Figure 51. Vincenzo Catena. Judith with the head of Holofernes. Ca. 1525. Guerini-Stampalia Gallery, Venice.
Figure 53. Vincenzo Catena, *Supper at Emmaus*. Ca 1525. Coll. Count Contini-Benacossi, Florence.
Figure 54. Vincenzo Catena, Holy Family with a Warrior. Ca. 1530. National Gallery of Art, London.
Figure 55. Vincenzo Catena, Portrait of a Young Man. Formerly Wadsworth Coll., New York. Location unknown.
Figure 56. Venetian School. **Double Portrait of Two Men.** Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
Figure A2. Master of San Donato. San Donato venerated by the Podestà Donato Memmo and his wife. Thirteenth century. Church of SS. Maria e Donato, Murano.
Figure A3. Niccolò di Pietro, Coronation with Donor and his Family. Ca. 1400. Contessa Senni, Grottaferrata.
Figure A4. Jacopo da Montagnana, Pieta. Museum of Fine Art (no. 1086), Budapest.
Figure A5. Master of the St. Ursula Legend, Portrait of a man. Accademia Carrara, Bergamo.
Figure A6. The Diptych of the consul Basilius. Italy, ca. 480. Castello Sforzesco, Milan (front); Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence (rear).
Figure A7. Carved reliefs, San Zaccaria, Venice. Ground story of facade, begun 1458.
Figure A8. Icon of SS. Sergios and Bacchos. 7th century. Kiev, City Museum of Eastern and Western Art.
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Figure A9. Presentation of the Avignon Diptych to an Avignon Pope. 15th century. Gaigniere's Collection, Cabinet des Estampes, Paris.
Figure A10. Simone dei Crocifissi, Pope Urban V. Ca. 1368. Pinacoteca, Bologna.
Figure A12. Hugo van der Goes, Christ and the Sorrowing Virgin. Museo Arqueologico Provincial, Toledo.
Figure A13. Master of the Embroidered Foliage. Triptych of the Virgin and Child. Two Wings with Donors. Palais des Beaux-Arts, Lille.
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Figure A16. Lazzaro Bastiani, Doge Francesco Foscari. Ca. 1460. Museo Correr, Venice.
Figure A17. Sala del Maggior Consiglio, Palazzo Ducale, Venice.
Figure A18. Lazzaro Bastiani. Doges Antonio Venier and Michele Steno. Museo Correr, Venice.
Figure A19. Federigo da Montefeltro and Cristoforo Landino. Miniature from inner cover of Landino’s Disputationes Camaldulenses, ca. 1475, Urb. Lat. 508 Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica.
Figure A21. Luca Signorelli, Luca Signorelli and Niccolo Franceschi. 1500. Opera del Duomo, Orvieto.
Figure A23.
Andrea Mantegna, Martyrdom of St. Christopher. 1454-1457.
Ovetari Chapel, Eremitani Church, Padua.
Figure A24. Andrea Mantegna, Martydom of St. Christopher, (details of Fig. A23).
Figure A25. Israhel von Meckemem, Double Portrait of Artist and his Wife. Ca. 1490. Above, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin; below, King Friedrich August II Coll., Dresden.
Figure A26. Tullio Lombardo, 'Double portrait' reliefs. Ca. 1500.
Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (below); Ca' d' Oro, Venice (above).
Figure B1. Giovanni Bellini, Presentation of Christ. Querini-Stampalia Gallery, Venice.