



Titian
Venetian, 1488/1490 - 1576

Doge Andrea Gritti

c. 1546/1550

oil on canvas

overall: 133.6 x 103.2 cm (52 5/8 x 40 5/8 in.)

framed: 160.2 x 128.9 x 9.5 cm (63 1/16 x 50 3/4 x 3 3/4 in.)

Inscription: upper left, in black paint: ANDREAS GRITI DOGE / DI VENETIA; center right, in gold leaf: TITIANVS E. F. (Titian, Knight, made it); reverse, on paper:

Bought for His Majesty in Italy, 1626.[1]

Samuel H. Kress Collection 1961.9.45

ENTRY

Since its cleaning soon after its arrival in America in 1954, the picture has been universally regarded as one of the finest of all Titian's portraits. Previously, the authenticity of the signature was occasionally contested, as by Joseph Archer Crowe and Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle, who reattributed the picture to Pordenone; by Henry Thode, who attributed it to Tintoretto; and by August L. Mayer, who found the "Falstaffian" bulk alien to Titian, and who suggested Palma Giovane as the author. [1] Mayer also implicitly questioned the reliability of the inscription identifying the sitter as Doge Gritti, a doubt at one time shared by Rodolfo Pallucchini. [2] In part, this doubt was the consequence of the observation by both these authors that for stylistic reasons the picture appears to date from after circa 1545, whereas Gritti had died in 1538. But comparison with the various other known likenesses of Gritti, in both painting and sculpture, provides ample confirmation that he is indeed the doge portrayed here; and the outstanding matter of debate, therefore, is whether Titian painted the portrait during Gritti's reign as doge (1523–1538) or to commemorate him some time after his death.

Andrea Gritti (1455–1538) was a prominent figure in Venetian public life long before his election as doge in 1523. [3] He first came to public attention in 1502, when following several years of residence in Constantinople, where he had been active both as a grain merchant and as a spy, he was instrumental in negotiating a peace treaty with the Turks. Appointed commissioner of the Venetian army in 1509, he took an important early initiative in reversing the setbacks of the initial stages of the War of the League of Cambrai, in particular by reconquering the city of Padua.

Captured by the French at Brescia in 1512 and taken to France, he used the opportunity to establish good personal relations with King Francis I and, as earlier with the Turks, to negotiate a favorable peace treaty. In 1517 he led the triumphal reentry of the Venetians into Verona, the last major *terraferma* city to be regained. Of a highly ambitious, even autocratic personality, Gritti was mistrusted by his fellow patricians and was passed over for the dogeship in 1521. Finally elected in 1523, his impatience with the complexities of the Venetian constitution led to constant frustrations of his wider political ambitions. He nevertheless succeeded in becoming one of the most effective and influential of all post-medieval doges, and during his relatively long reign he skillfully preserved the republic from the disastrous warfare that afflicted much of the rest of Italy during these years.

Despite the constraints of his office, and through the force of his personality, Doge Gritti played a major role as a patron of art and architecture, which he saw as a powerful weapon of political ideology. [4] In particular, he was concerned for the public buildings in the city's political, religious, and commercial centers to lend expression to the revival of Venice after the disaster of the War of Cambrai and to the city's claims to constitute a New Rome; in keeping with this aim, he successfully persuaded the sculptor-architect Jacopo Sansovino, a refugee from the Sack of Rome, to settle in Venice in 1527. From the beginning of his reign, Gritti also identified Titian as the painter best qualified to implement his cultural policy. In 1523 Titian painted large-scale figures of the Four Evangelists in fresco (lost) to flank a votive marble relief above the altar of the chapel of San Niccolò in the Doge's Palace. Probably in the same year he painted the *Saint Christopher* fresco in the ducal apartments nearby. And in 1531 Titian completed the *Votive Picture of Doge Andrea Gritti* for the Sala del Collegio in the palace. Before the doge's death in 1538, Titian seems also at least to have begun the succession portrait of Gritti for the Sala del Maggior Consiglio, even though he did not receive his final payment for the work until 1540. [5]

Gritti's features are reliably recorded in a number of contemporary portraits, apart from these last two by Titian: in the votive relief of 1523 by an anonymous sculptor from the chapel of San Niccolò (now chapel of San Clemente, church of San Marco); on the medal by Andrea Spinelli, struck to commemorate the rebuilding by Sansovino of the church of San Francesco della Vigna; [6] and in Fiumicelli's altarpiece of 1536 in the church of the Eremitani in Padua. Titian's succession portrait of circa 1537–1540 for the Sala del Maggior Consiglio was destroyed by fire in 1577, but its composition is recorded in the substitute painted by Domenico

Tintoretto, as well as in a number of studio versions by Titian's workshop, the best of which is probably the one now in a private collection [fig. 1]. [7] This lost succession portrait, which constituted the chief official likeness of Gritti, showed him in waist-length and three-quarter view, with his body and face both turning toward the (viewer's) left. The votive picture for the Sala del Collegio was likewise destroyed by fire, three years earlier, in 1574. The composition, recorded in a woodcut attributed to Nicolò Boldrini, shows the figure of Gritti replaced by that of Doge Francesco Donà; but since the figure was obviously shown kneeling in profile, there are good grounds for supposing that both Catena's portrait of Gritti in the National Gallery, London, and that in Tintoretto's *Votive Picture of Doge Gritti*, painted for the Collegio as a substitute after the fire, are both closely based on Titian's lost original. [8]

In composition and character, the Washington portrait is unique of its type and differs greatly from these other two well-diffused images by Titian. This suggests that it was not conceived as an official image for a public building, but was commissioned privately, and subsequently remained in the possession of the Gritti family. The question of whether it was the doge himself or a member of his family who commissioned the portrait clearly depends on the much-debated question of its date. Oskar Fischel dated it to the beginning of Gritti's reign, circa 1523, contemporary with the *Saint Christopher* fresco. [9] Wilhelm Suida later advanced this date to circa 1533, the year in which Titian was knighted, since his signature is suffixed with the letter *E* (*Eques*). [10] Georg Gronau, followed by Hans Tietze, dated the picture to circa 1540, implying some connection with the documented portrait for the Sala del Maggior Consiglio of that year, and also implying that it was painted (or at least completed) after the doge's death. [11] Fern Rusk Shapley accepted that the portrait was painted in the phase proposed by these writers, circa 1533–1540. [12]

Mayer, however, had already argued that the figure was too colossal, and the technique too broad, for Titian's style of the 1530s; and Pallucchini agreed that the closest point of stylistic comparison was Titian's portrait of *Pietro Aretino* (Pitti, Florence), painted shortly before the painter's journey to Rome in 1545. [13] While not absolutely excluding this late date, with its implication of a posthumous commission, Harold Wethey upheld the traditional dating to the later 1530s, arguing that the way in which the figure fills the picture field is comparable to that in Titian's portraits of the *Eleven Caesars* of 1536–1540 for the duke of Mantua (lost, but recorded in drawings by Ippolito Andreasi and engravings by Aegedius

Sadeler). [14] Hans Ost agreed, adding that the quality of finish in Titian's pictures is an unreliable guide to their dating, since it could vary according to the relative formality of the commission and according to its destined placing. [15] But David Alan Brown, followed by Filippo Pedrocco, was certainly correct to agree with Pallucchini's later dating to the mid-1540s and to compare the portrait with other works by Titian of the mid-1540s, such as the *Pope Paul III with His Grandsons* (Capodimonte, Naples) of 1545–1546, and the *Vendramin Family* (National Gallery, London) of circa 1547. [16] As far as it is possible to judge from the Andreasi drawings and Sadeler engravings, the *Eleven Caesars* resembled Titian's other portraits of the later 1530s, such as the *Bella* of 1538 (Pitti, Florence) and, especially, the *Francesco Maria della Rovere* of 1536–1538 (Uffizi, Florence), in the relative crispness of the modeling, in the selective attention to detail, and in the brilliant evocation of specific surface textures. Similar characteristics are still evident in the *Cardinal Pietro Bembo* of 1539/1540 and the *Ranuccio Farnese* of 1541–1542 in the Gallery. In the *Doge Andrea Gritti* and the *Pietro Aretino*, by contrast, the handling is boldly sketchy throughout, and the figures more completely dominate their fields. Indeed, the freedom of the brushwork and the richness of the well-preserved impasto suggest that the *Gritti* may even be slightly later than the *Aretino*, perhaps in the immediate aftermath of the trip to Rome, when the painter could have experienced for the first time the direct impact of Michelangelo's *Moses*. [17] In any case, despite the recent attempt by Michael Overdick to return to a dating to circa 1538, within the sitter's lifetime, the arguments in favor of a somewhat later date remain compelling. [18]

A contemporary parallel instance of the posthumous commission of the portrait of a doge by his family is provided by an entry in the account book of Lorenzo Lotto, which records that in 1542 the nobleman Giovanni Marcello commissioned a portrait of his ancestor Doge Niccolò Marcello (reigned 1473–1474). [19] Yet Titian's portrait has nothing of the lifelessness usually associated with posthumous portraits. On the contrary, by contrast with the tame and placid official portrait of Gritti (fig. 1), the present work gives powerful expression both to the majesty of the office of doge and to the physical and intellectual vitality of Gritti the man. As in the official portrait, the figure is shown in waist-length and the head in three-quarter view; but the torso now turns energetically in a contrasting direction, the huge right hand clutches the drapery of the cloak, and the face conveys the awe-inspiring authority of an angry Jove.

Erica Tietze-Conrat plausibly suggested that Gritti is meant to be shown walking, or rather striding, in procession; according to Carlo Ridolfi, Titian portrayed two other doges in this way. [20] Although Wethey rejected this suggestion, [21] in keeping with it is the gesture of the right hand, as if holding up the cloak, as well as the vigorous contrapposto pose. Peter Meller commented on the leonine aspect of the figure, with his ferocious expression, pawlike hand and tawny robe, and on the appropriateness of suggesting an analogy between the doge of Venice and the Lion of Saint Mark. [22] Suida saw the right hand as a quotation of that of Michelangelo's *Moses*, which according to the writer he would have known from a cast brought from Rome to Venice by Jacopo Sansovino; [23] but if, as seems likely, the portrait dates from immediately after the Roman journey of 1545–1546, Titian could also have known the original statue. In either case, the quotation would represent another aspect of the painter's lifelong sense of rivalry with Michelangelo, and of the relative merits of the different artistic traditions of central Italy and Venice. As pointed out by Brown, followed by Annette Weber, the quotation may also be interpreted as an implied comparison between the personalities of Doge Gritti and of Pope Julius II, for whose tomb the *Moses* was made. [24] Thus, both rulers were renowned for their *terribilità*, [25] for their domineering personalities as leaders in war and politics; Julius also provided a striking precedent for Gritti in his energetic and ambitious promotion of art and culture as an expression of political renewal.

Finally, the recent revelation that the picture was originally framed as an oval (see Technical Summary, and implied by the infrared reflectogram [fig. 2]) may provide further confirmation both that the portrait was painted well after Gritti's death and that it was painted for an unofficial, domestic setting. Oval and circular formats were to remain rare in Venetian portraiture of the 16th century, but a closely contemporary example would have been Titian's circular *Self-Portrait*, painted in 1550 and later recorded in the collection of Gabriele Vendramin (died 1552), who happened to be Gritti's nephew by marriage. [26]

Peter Humfrey

March 21, 2019

COMPARATIVE FIGURES



fig. 1 Workshop of Titian, *Portrait of Doge Andrea Gritti*, c. 1540, oil on canvas, Private Collection

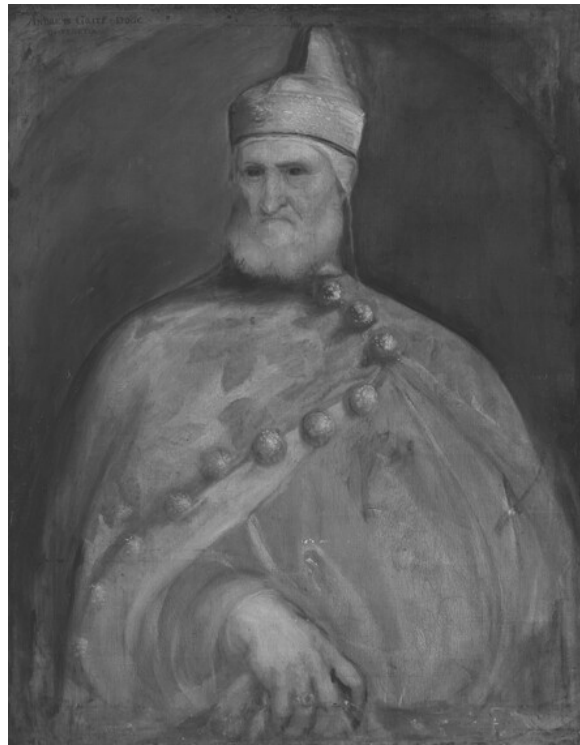


fig. 2 Infrared reflectogram, Titian, *Doge Andrea Gritti*, c. 1546/1550, oil on canvas, National Gallery of Art, Washington, Samuel H. Kress Collection

NOTES

- [1] Joseph Archer Crowe and Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle, *A History of Painting in North Italy* (London, 1871), 2:289–290; Joseph Archer Crowe and Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle, *Titian, His Life and Times* (London, 1877), 1:301; Henry Thode, *Tintoretto* (Bielefeld, 1901), 118; August L. Mayer, “A propos d’un nouveau livre sur le Titien,” *Gazette des beaux-arts* 18 (December 1937): 308.
- [2] Rodolfo Pallucchini, *Tiziano: Lezioni di storia dell’arte* (Bologna, 1953), 1:165, 203–205.
- [3] Authoritative biographies of Doge Gritti include those by Niccolò Barbarigo, *Vita di Andrea Gritti Doge di Venezia*, trans. Celestino Volpi (Venice, 1793); Andrea Da Mosto, *I dogi di Venezia* (Venice, 1939), 290–303; Ivone

Cacciavillani, *Andrea Gritti nella vita di Nicolò Barbarigo* (Venice, 1995).

Summary accounts and studies of particular aspects of his career include those by Frederic Lane, *Venice: A Maritime Republic* (Baltimore, 1973), 208; Robert Finlay, "Politics and the Family in Renaissance Venice: The Election of Doge Andrea Gritti," *Studi Veneziani*, n.s. 2 (1978): 97–117; J. R. Hale, "Andrea Gritti," in *A Concise Encyclopaedia of the Italian Renaissance*, ed. J. R. Hale (New York, 1981), 164; Robert Finlay, "Fabius Maximus in Venice: Doge Andrea Gritti, the War of Cambrai, and the Rise of Habsburg Hegemony, 1509–1530," *Renaissance Quarterly* 53 (2000): 988–1031.

- [4] For Gritti as a patron of art in the context of his wider cultural policy, see Deborah Howard, *Jacopo Sansovino: Architecture and Patronage in Renaissance Venice* (New Haven and London, 1975), 4–6; Manfredo Tafuri, ed., "*Renovatio Urbis*": *Venezia nell'età di Andrea Gritti, 1523–1538* (Rome, 1984); Deborah Howard, "Andrea Gritti," in *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. Jane Turner (New York and London, 1996), 13:678.
- [5] Charles Hope, "Titian as Official Painter to the Venetian Republic," in *Tiziano e Venezia: Convegno internazionale di studi (1976)* (Vicenza, 1980), 304, plausibly argued that the succession portrait was one of two works by Titian in the Sala del Maggior Consiglio reported to be in progress in 1537; for the payment of 1540, see Wilhelm von Bode, Georg Gronau, and Detlev von Haldeln, *Archivalische Beiträge zur Geschichte der venezianischen Kunst aus dem Nachlass Gustav Ludwigs* (Berlin, 1911), 134.
- [6] *Andrea Gritti, 1455–1538, Doge of Venice 1523*, National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1957.14.1006.a.
- [7] See Peter Humfrey in *The Age of Titian: Venetian Renaissance Art from Scottish Collections*, ed. Aidan Weston-Lewis (Edinburgh, 2004), 128–129, and since sold at Sotheby's, London, December 7, 2016, lot 14, as Workshop of Titian. A better-known version is the one in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, acc. no. 32.100.85: see Federico Zeri, with Elizabeth E. Gardner, *Italian Paintings: Venetian School. A Catalogue of the Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1973), 76–77; Lionello Puppi, "Iconografia di Andrea Gritti," in "*Renovatio Urbis*": *Venezia nell'età di Andrea Gritti, 1523–1538*, ed. Manfredo Tafuri (Rome, 1984), 218–219; Annette Weber, *Venezianische Dogenporträts des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Sigmaringen, 1993), 50–51, 122–125.
- [8] For this profile type, see Annette Weber, *Venezianische Dogenporträts des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Sigmaringen, 1993), 51–54.
- [9] Oskar Fischel, *Tizian: Des Meisters Gemälde* (Stuttgart [u.a.], 1904), xviii, 42.
- [10] Wilhelm Suida, *Tizian* (Zurich and Leipzig, 1933), 81, 157.
- [11] Georg Gronau, *Titian* (London, 1904), 73–74, 278; Hans Tietze, *Titian: Paintings and Drawings* (Vienna, 1937), caption to pl. 98.

- [12] Fern Rusk Shapley, *Paintings from the Samuel H. Kress Collection: Italian Schools, XV–XVI Century* (London, 1968), 179–180; Fern Rusk Shapley, *Catalogue of the Italian Paintings* (Washington, DC, 1979), 1:488–490.
- [13] August L. Mayer, “A propos d’un nouveau livre sur le Titien,” *Gazette des beaux-arts* 18 (December 1937): 308; Rodolfo Pallucchini, *Tiziano* (Florence, 1969), 1:103–104.
- [14] Harold Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian* (London, 1971), 2:23–24, 108–109.
- [15] Hans Ost, *Tizian-Studien* (Cologne, 1992), 88–96.
- [16] David Alan Brown, in *Titian, Prince of Painters* (Venice, 1990), 252–254; Filippo Pedrocchi, *Titian: The Complete Paintings* (New York, 2001), 50, 189.
- [17] Peter Humfrey, *Titian* (London, 2007), 210–211; Miguel Falomir, in *Der späte Tizian und die Sinnlichkeit der Malerei*, ed. Sylvia Ferino-Pagden (Vienna, 2007), 179.
- [18] Michael Overdick, *Tizian: Die späten Porträts 1545–1568* (Düsseldorf, 2010), 5–10, 59–61.
- [19] Lorenzo Lotto, *Il “Libro di spese diverse” con aggiunta di lettere e d’altri documenti*, ed. Pietro Zampetti (Venice and Rome, 1969), 88–89. The work was never delivered.
- [20] Carlo Ridolfi, *Le maraviglie dell’arte, ovvero Le vite de gl’illustri pittori veneti, e dello stato*, ed. Detlev von Hadeln (Berlin, 1914), 1:192; Erica Tietze-Conrat, “Titian’s Workshop in His Late Years,” *The Art Bulletin* 28 (1946): 81.
- [21] Harold Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian* (London, 1971), 2:23–24, 108–109.
- [22] Peter Meller, “Il lessico ritrattistico di Tiziano,” in *Tiziano e Venezia: Convegno internazionale di studi (1976)* (Vicenza, 1980), 328–329.
- [23] Wilhelm Suida, *Tizian* (Zurich and Leipzig, 1933), 81, 157.
- [24] David Alan Brown, in *Titian, Prince of Painters* (Venice, 1990), 252–254; Annette Weber, *Venezianische Dogenporträts des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Sigmaringen, 1993), 62–67.
- [25] According to Gritti’s contemporary biographer Niccolò Barbarigo, if the doge “had reason to be angry with someone, he assumed a severe and terrible aspect” (“se aveva motivo di adirarsi con taluno, assumeva un aspetto terribile e severissimo”). See Ivone Cacciavillani, *Andrea Gritti nella vita di Nicolò Barbarigo* (Venice, 1995), 105.
- [26] For this *Self-Portrait* (possibly identical with a picture in a private collection in Rome), see Harold Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian* (London, 1971), 2:179; Jaynie Anderson, “A Further Inventory of Gabriele Vendramin’s Collection,” *The Burlington Magazine* 121 (1979): 648. For Gabriele Vendramin and his collection, see Anderson, “A Further Inventory of Gabriele Vendramin’s Collection,” 639–648; and Nicholas Penny, *National Gallery Catalogues*:

The Sixteenth Century Italian Paintings, vol. 2, Venice 1540–1600 (London, 2008), 225–226.

TECHNICAL SUMMARY

The painting was executed on a highly textured herringbone canvas, and since all the tacking margins are intact, the painted surface corresponds to its original dimensions. [1] Two old fold lines, one just above the hat and one between the lines of signature, indicate that at two points in its history the painting was reduced in size and later expanded back to the original dimensions. The thinly applied gesso ground has aged from an original white to light brown. The canvas has remained unlined, and the painter's underdrawing for the figure, executed with the brush with dilute black paint as a simple contour, is clearly visible on the reverse. Infrared reflectography at 1.5 to 1.8 microns [fig. 1] [2] and x-radiographs reveal further elements of underdrawing and some pentimenti, the most significant of which was a change from an original look of the eyes directly outward to the present glance to the sitter's right. The painted surface, which survives in excellent condition, with passages of exceptionally well preserved impasto, was applied rapidly and confidently in alternating thick and thin layers. The x-radiographs have revealed further adjustments to the figure's contours introduced at the painting stage, notably along the right side of the cap, along the proper right shoulder, and around the hand. Both the infrared reflectogram and the x-radiographs imply, as might already have been discerned with the naked eye, that the portrait was originally framed as an oval. [3] The rounded top is particularly obvious in the upper spandrels, where the framing would have covered the more thinly painted areas with the present inscription at the upper left; unlike the gilded signature at center right, this is certainly a later addition. The fact, however, that there is no difference between the pigments in the spandrels and those in the central oval indicates that any change of format must have been undertaken by the painter himself. [4] In 1955 Mario Modestini replaced the stretcher, cleaned, and inpainted the painting.

Peter Humfrey and Joanna Dunn based on the examination reports by Michael Swicklik, Elizabeth Walmsley, and Kay Silberfeld

March 21, 2019

TECHNICAL COMPARATIVE FIGURES

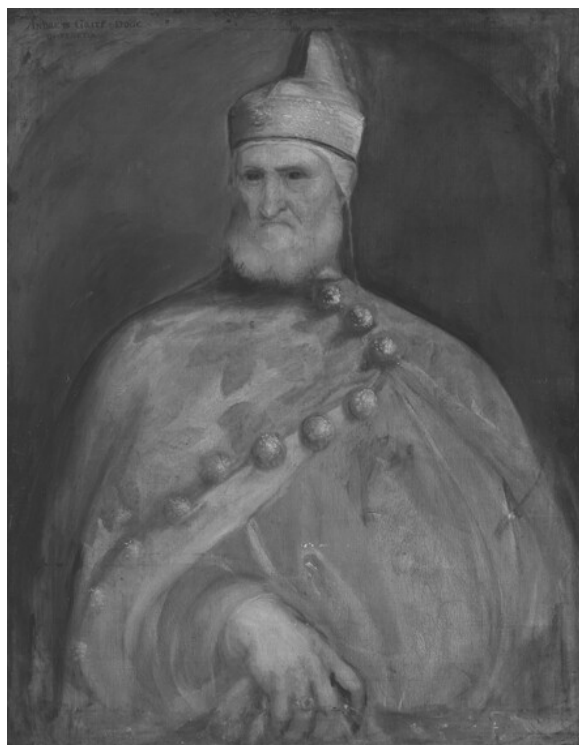


fig. 1 Infrared reflectogram, Titian, *Doge Andrea Gritti*, c. 1546/1550, oil on canvas, National Gallery of Art, Washington, Samuel H. Kress Collection

TECHNICAL NOTES

- [1] Technical notes on the painting were published by Elizabeth Walmsley, in *Der späte Tizian und die Sinnlichkeit der Malerei*, ed. Sylvia Ferino-Pagden (Vienna, 2007), 471–473, including a full account and photographs of the various labels, inscriptions, and seals on the reverse.
- [2] Infrared reflectography was performed using a Santa Barbara focalplane InSb camera fitted with an H astronomy filter.
- [3] After examination of the painting in 2009, Walmsley surmised that the painting was originally framed as an oval (unpublished memorandum, copy

in NGA conservation files, April 1, 2009).

- [4] The pigments were analyzed by the NGA Scientific Research department using x-ray fluorescence spectroscopy (XRF) (see report dated September 2, 2015, in NGA conservation files).
-

PROVENANCE

Purchased 1626 in Italy for Charles I, King of England [1600-1649], Whitehall Palace, London;[1] (Charles I [Commonwealth] sale, Somerset House, London, 23 October 1651); purchased by the Syndicate of the Twelfth Dividend, organized by John Jackson, lawyer.[2] Wenzel Anton, Prince von Kaunitz-Rietburg [d. 1794]; by inheritance to Wenzel Alois, Prinz Kaunitz; (Kaunitz sale, Vienna, 13 March 1820, no. 178);[3] purchased by Johann Rudolf, Count Czernin von Chudenitz [1757-1845], Vienna;[4] by inheritance through the Czernin von Chudenitz family, Vienna, to Count Eugen Czernin von Chudenitz [1892-1955], Vienna, as of 1933, until at least 1948; on commission January 1954 from Willy Haene, lawyer for Czernin, with (M. Knoedler & Co., New York); sold 1954 to the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, New York;[5] gift 1961 to NGA.

[1] On a label on the reverse of the painting is written "Bought for His Majesty in Italy, 1626." It is not known from whom in Italy the picture was bought. As pointed out by Erica Tietze-Conrat, "Titian's Workshop in His Late Years," *The Art Bulletin* 28 (1946): 81, it is certainly identifiable with the item in Abraham Van der Doort's 1639 inventory of Charles I's collection, placed in the Privy Lodging Room of Whitehall Palace, and described as follows: "Item Above the doore. Duke grettie of Venus wth his right hand houlding his roabes: Bought by the Kinge halfe figures So bigg as the life. In a black wodden guilded frame. Done by Tichian" (Oliver Millar, "Abraham van der Doort's Catalogue of the Collection of Charles I," *Walpole Society* 37 [1960]: 21). (The handwriting on the label, while apparently of the 17th century, is not that of Van der Doort, cataloger of the royal collection.) The dimensions, given as 4 feet 4 inches high by 3 feet 4 inches wide, also correspond closely. See also Francis Haskell, "Charles I's Collection of Pictures," in *The Late King's Goods. Collections, Possessions and Patronage of Charles I in the Light of the Commonwealth Sale Inventories*, ed. Arthur MacGregor, London and Oxford, 1989: 204. The royal stamp of a CR surmounted by a crown was once visible on the back of the canvas (as reported by Karl Wilczek, *Katalog der Graf*

Czernin'schen Gemäldegalerie in Wien, Vienna, 1936: 88-89), but the 1955 transfer of the canvas to a new stretcher has concealed it.

[2] "Gritto doge de venetia; done by Tytsyan. Sold to Jackson a/ o 23 October 1651" (for £40) (Oliver Millar, "The Inventories and Evaluations of the King's Goods, 1649-1651," *Walpole Society* 43 [1970-1972]: 71). For John Jackson and his syndicate, see also W.L.F. Nuttall, "King Charles I's Pictures and the Commonwealth Sale," *Apollo* 82, no. 44 (1965): 308.

[3] *Catalogue des tableaux provenant d'une galerie célèbre*, Vienna, 13 March 1820: no. 178 ("Le Portrait du Doge de Venise Gritti à mi-corps avec manteau et bonnet ducal, vu de face, et regardant à gauche. Tableau qui a été acheté en Italie pour le Roi Charles Ier d'Angleterre").

[4] Wilczek 1936, 88-89.

[5] See letter of 1 July 1986 from Nancy C. Little, Knoedler Librarian, and M. Knoedler & Co. Records, accession number 2012.M.54, Research Library, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles: Commission book no. 5A, no. CA4519; Sales book no. 17, p. 50. Knoedler's bill of sale for the painting is dated 2 February 1954, and payment was made in two installments in March and June of the same year. The letter, copies from Knoedler & Co. Records, and a copy of the bill of sale, with annotations, are in NGA curatorial files. See also The Kress Collection Digital Archive, <https://kress.nga.gov/Detail/objects/670>.

EXHIBITION HISTORY

1935 Mostra di Tiziano, Ca' Pesaro, Venice, 1935, no. 31.

1947 Europäische Barockmalerei aus Wiener Privatgalerien, Kunstmuseum, Bern, 1937-1948, no. 47.

1990 Tiziano [NGA title: Titian: Prince of Painters], Palazzo Ducale, Venice; National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1990-1991, no. 37, repro.

INSCRIPTION FOOTNOTES

[1] The reference is to Charles I of England; as argued by Fern Rusk Shapley, *Paintings from the Samuel H. Kress Collection: Italian Schools, XV-XVI Century*, London, 1968: 179-180 (and Fern Rusk Shapley, *Catalogue of the Italian Paintings*, 2 vols., Washington, 1979: 1:488-490). The paper is written in a hand that is apparently of the 17th century, but not that of the cataloger of the royal collection, Abraham van der Doort. Formerly, as reported by Karl Wilczek, *Katalog der Graf Czernin'schen Gemäldegalerie in Wien*, Vienna, 1936: 88-89, the royal stamp of a CR surmounted by a crown was also visible on the back of the canvas; but after the transfer of the canvas to a new stretcher in 1955, the stamp has been concealed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1829 Hume, Abraham. *Notices of the Life and Works of Titian*. London, 1829: 81.
- 1866 Waagen, Gustav Friedrich. *Die vornehmsten Kunstdenkmäler in Wien*. 2 vols. Vienna, 1866: 1:303.
- 1871 Crowe, Joseph Archer, and Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle. *A History of Painting in North Italy*. 2 vols. London, 1871: 2:289-290.
- 1877 Crowe, Joseph Archer, and Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle. *Titian, His Life and Times*. 2 vols. London, 1877: 1:301.
- 1878 Vasari, Giorgio. *Le vite dei più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*. Edited by Gaetano Milanesi. 9 vols. Florence, 1878-1885: 7(1881):438 n.
- 1894 Berenson, Bernard. *The Venetian Painters of the Renaissance*. New York and London, 1894: 145.
- 1897 Knackfuss, Hermann. *Tizian*. Bielefeld and Leipzig, 1897: 41, 59.
- 1900 Gronau, Georg. *Tizian*. Berlin, 1900: 76.
- 1901 Thode, Henry. *Tintoretto*. Bielefeld, 1901: 118.
- 1904 Fischel, Oskar. *Tizian: Des Meisters Gemälde*. Stuttgart [u.a.], 1904: xviii, 42.
- 1904 Gronau, Georg. *Titian*. London, 1904: 73-74, 278.
- 1905 Miles, Henry. *The Later Work of Titian*. London, 1905: xvii.
- 1905 Reinach, Salomon. *Répertoire de peintures du moyen âge et de la Renaissance (1280-1580)*. 6 vols. Paris, 1905-1923: 5(1922):451.
- 1906 *The Masterpieces of Titian*. London, 1906: 13, 68.
- 1908 *Katalog der Graf Czernin'schen Gemälde-Galerie in Wien*. Vienna, 1908: 6 no. 38.

- 1910 Ricketts, Charles. *Titian*. London, 1910: 176.
- 1911 Preyer, David. *The Art of the Vienna Galleries*. Boston, 1911: 267.
- 1912 Crowe, Joseph Archer, and Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle. *A History of Painting in North Italy*. Edited by Tancred Borenius. 3 vols. London, 1912: 3:180-181.
- 1918 Basch, Victor. *Titien*. Paris, 1918: 162.
- 1921 Knackfuss, Hermann. *Tizian*. 8th ed. Bielefeld and Leipzig, 1921: 41, 61.
- 1922 Waldmann, Emil. *Tizian*. Berlin, 1922: 103-105.
- 1923 Faure, Élie. *Renaissance Art*. New York, 1923: 198.
- 1925 Lorenzetti, Giulio. "Un nuovo dipinto di Jacopo Tintoretto: il ritratto del Doge Pietro Loredan." *Dedalo* 6 (1925): 316.
- 1930 Hadeln, Detlev von. "Dogenbildnisse von Tizian." *Pantheon* 6 (1930): 490, 494.
- 1932 Berenson, Bernard. *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance: A List of the Principal Artists and Their Works with an Index of Places*. Oxford, 1932: 576.
- 1933 Suida, Wilhelm. *Tizian*. Zürich and Leipzig, 1933: 81, 157.
- 1935 Dussler, Luitpold. "Tizian-Ausstellung in Venedig." *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 4 (1935): 239.
- 1935 *Mostra di Tiziano*. Exh. cat. Palazzo Pesaro Papafava, Venice, 1935: 81.
- 1935 Norris, Christopher. "Titian: Notes on the Venice Exhibition." *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 67 (August 1935): 127-128.
- 1936 Berenson, Bernard. *Pitture italiane del rinascimento: catalogo dei principali artisti e delle loro opere con un indice dei luoghi*. Translated by Emilio Cecchi. Milan, 1936: 496.
- 1936 Tietze, Hans. *Tizian: Leben und Werk*. 2 vols. Vienna, 1936: 1:133, 167-8, 303, 315.
- 1936 Wilczek, Karl. *Katalog der Graf Czernin'schen Gemäldegalerie in Wien*. Vienna, 1936: 88-89.
- 1937 Mayer, August L. "A propos d'un nouveau livre sur le Titien." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 18 (December 1937): 308.
- 1937 Tietze, Hans. *Titian: Paintings and Drawings*. Vienna, 1937: 347.
- 1939 Da Mosto, Andrea. *I Dogi di Venezia*. Venice, 1939: 302.
- 1941 Stepanow, Giovanni. *Tizian*. Leipzig, 1941: xviii, xlvi.
- 1946 Riggs, Arthur Stanley. *Titian the Magnificent and the Venice of His Day*. New York, 1946: 160, 209.
- 1946 Tietze-Conrat, Erica. "Titian's Workshop in His Late Years." *The Art Bulletin* 28 (1946): 81 n. 44.
- 1947 *Europäische Barockmalerei aus Wiener Privatgalerien*. Exh. cat. Kunstmuseum, Bern, 1947: 14 no. 47.
- 1950 Tietze, Hans. *Titian. The Paintings and Drawings*. London, 1950: 399.
- 1953 Pallucchini, Rodolfo. *Tiziano. Lezioni di storia dell'arte*. 2 vols. Bologna, 1953-1954: 1:165, 203-205.
- 1955 Dell'Acqua, Gian Alberto. *Tiziano*. Milan, 1955: 120.

- 1956 *Paintings and Sculpture from the Kress Collection Acquired by the Samuel H. Kress Foundation 1951-56*. Introduction by John Walker, text by William E. Suida and Fern Rusk Shapley. National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1956: 178-181, no. 71, repro.
- 1956 Walker, John. "The Nation's Newest Old Masters." *The National Geographic Magazine* 110, no. 5 (November 1956): 622, 624, color repro. 639.
- 1957 Berenson, Bernard. *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance. Venetian School*. 2 vols. London, 1957: 1:189.
- 1957 Shapley, Fern Rusk. *Comparisons in Art: A Companion to the National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC*. London, 1957 (reprinted 1959): pl. 73.
- 1959 Morassi, Antonio. "Titian." In *Encyclopedia of World Art*. 17+ vols. London, 1959+: 14(1967): col. 143.
- 1959 *Paintings and Sculpture from the Samuel H. Kress Collection*. National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1959: 192, repro.
- 1960 *The National Gallery of Art and Its Collections*. Foreword by Perry B. Cott and notes by Otto Stelzer. National Gallery of Art, Washington (undated, 1960s): 26.
- 1960 Valcanover, Francesco. *Tutta la pittura di Tiziano*. 2 vols. Milan, 1960: 1:72.
- 1961 Walker, John, Guy Emerson, and Charles Seymour. *Art Treasures for America: An Anthology of Paintings & Sculpture in the Samuel H. Kress Collection*. London, 1961: 120-121, repro. pl. 114, 116.
- 1962 Cairns, Huntington, and John Walker, eds. *Treasures from the National Gallery of Art*. New York, 1962: 34, color repro.
- 1963 Walker, John. *National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.* New York, 1963 (reprinted 1964 in French, German, and Spanish): 146, repro.
- 1964 Morassi, Antonio. *Titian*. Greenwich, CT, 1964: 39.
- 1965 Nuttall, W. L. F. "King Charles I's Pictures and the Commonwealth Sale." *Apollo* 82, no. 44 (1965): 308.
- 1965 *Summary Catalogue of European Paintings and Sculpture*. National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1965: 130.
- 1966 Cairns, Huntington, and John Walker, eds. *A Pageant of Painting from the National Gallery of Art*. 2 vols. New York, 1966: 1:174, color repro.
- 1968 Gandolfo, Giampaolo et al. *National Gallery of Art, Washington*. Great Museums of the World. New York, 1968: 49, 51, color repro.
- 1968 National Gallery of Art. *European Paintings and Sculpture, Illustrations*. Washington, 1968: 116, repro.
- 1968 Shapley, Fern Rusk. *Paintings from the Samuel H. Kress Collection: Italian Schools, XV-XVI Century*. London, 1968: 179-180, fig. 424-425.
- 1969 Pallucchini, Rodolfo. *Tiziano*. 2 vols. Florence, 1969: 1:103-104.
- 1969 Valcanover, Francesco. *L'opera completa di Tiziano*. Milan, 1969: 112.
- 1969 Wethey, Harold. *The Paintings of Titian*. 3 vols. London, 1969-1975: 2(1971):23-24, 108-109; 3(1975): 160, 248.

- 1972 Fredericksen, Burton B., and Federico Zeri. *Census of Pre-Nineteenth Century Italian Paintings in North American Public Collections*. Cambridge, Mass., 1972: 203, 514, 647.
- 1973 Finley, David Edward. *A Standard of Excellence: Andrew W. Mellon Founds the National Gallery of Art at Washington*. Washington, 1973: 89.
- 1973 Lane, Frederic. *Venice: A Maritime Republic*. Baltimore, 1973: 207-208.
- 1973 Zeri, Federico, and Elizabeth Gardner. *Italian Paintings. A Catalogue of the Metropolitan Museum of Art: Venetian School*. New York, 1973: 76-77.
- 1974 Rossi, Paola. *Jacopo Tintoretto: I ritratti*. Venice, 1974: 48.
- 1975 *European Paintings: An Illustrated Summary Catalogue*. National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1975: 346, repro.
- 1976 Gallego, Julian. "El retrato en Tiziano." *Goya* 135 (1976): 170-171.
- 1977 Chastel, André. "Titien." In *Tiziano nel Quarto Centenario della sua Morte, 1576-1976*. Venice, 1977: 21.
- 1977 Muraro, Michelangelo. "Tiziano pittore ufficiale della Serenissima." In *Tiziano nel quarto centenario della sua morte, 1576-1976*. Venice, 1977: 98.
- 1977 Pallucchini, Rodolfo. *Profilo di Tiziano*. Florence, 1977: 39.
- 1977 Perocco, Guido. "Tiziano e alcuni committenti a Venezia." In *Tiziano nel quarto centenario della sua morte, 1576-1976*. Venice, 1977: 70-71.
- 1977 Perocco, Guido. "Tiziano e il mondo politico e sociale di Venezia." In *Tiziano Vecellio. Convegno indetto nel IV centenario dell'artista (1976)*. Rome, 1977: 51-52.
- 1978 Finlay, Robert. "Politics and the Family in Renaissance Venice: the Election of Doge Andrea Gritti." *Studi Veneziani* N.S. 2 (1978): 106.
- 1979 Shapley, Fern Rusk. *Catalogue of the Italian Paintings*. 2 vols. National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1979: 1:488-490; 2:pl. 346, 346A,B.
- 1979 Watson, Ross. *The National Gallery of Art, Washington*. New York, 1979: 39, pl. 23.
- 1980 Fasolo, Ugo. *Titian*. Florence, 1980: 41-42.
- 1980 Gilbert, Creighton. "Some Findings on Early Works of Titian." *The Art Bulletin* 62 (1980): 75.
- 1980 Meller, Peter. "Il lessico ritrattistico di Tiziano." In *Tiziano e Venezia: Convegno internazionale di studi (1976)*. Vicenza, 1980: 328-329.
- 1981 Hale, J. R. "Andrea Gritti." In *A Concise Encyclopaedia of the Italian Renaissance*. Edited by J. R. Hale. New York, 1981: 164.
- 1982 Alsop, Joseph. *The Rare Art Traditions: The History of Art Collecting and Its Linked Phenomena Wherever These Have Appeared*. Bollingen series 35, no. 27. New York, 1982: 460-461.
- 1983 Shearman, John. *The Early Italian Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen*. Cambridge, 1983: 263.
- 1984 Puppi, Lionello. "Iconografia di Andrea Gritti." In *"Renovatio Urbis": Venezia nell'età di Andrea Gritti, 1523-1538*. Edited by Manfredo Tafuri.

- Rome, 1984: 218-220.
- 1984 Walker, John. *National Gallery of Art, Washington*. Rev. ed. New York, 1984: 204, no. 246, color repro.
- 1985 *European Paintings: An Illustrated Catalogue*. National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1985: 398, repro.
- 1987 Puppi, Lionello. "La consegna dell'anello al Doge. Anatomia di un dipinto." In *Paris Bordon e il suo tempo: Atti del convegno internazionale di studi (1985)*. Treviso, 1987: 102-103.
- 1989 Haskell, Francis. "Charles I's Collection of Pictures." In *The Late King's Goods. Collections, Possessions and Patronage of Charles I in the Light of the Commonwealth Sale Inventories*. Edited by Arthur MacGregor. London and Oxford, 1989: 204.
- 1990 *Titian, Prince of Painters*. Exh. cat. Palazzo Ducale, Venice; National Gallery of Art, Washington. Venice, 1990: 252-254.
- 1992 Ost, Hans. *Tizian-Studien*. Cologne, 1992: 88-96.
- 1993 Echols, Robert. "Titian's Venetian Soffitti: Sources and Transformations." *Studies in the History of Art* 45 (1993):20.
- 1993 Weber, Annette. *Venezianische Dogenporträts des 16. Jahrhunderts*. Sigmaringen, 1993: 62-67.
- 1996 Howard, Deborah. "Andrea Gritti." In *The Dictionary of Art*. Edited by Jane Turner. 34 vols. New York and London, 1996: 13:678.
- 1997 Puppi, Lionello. "Dal mito allo stato. Nota sull'illustrazione pittorica di una tarda integrazione dell'agiografia marciana." In *Venezia da Stato a Mito*. Exh. cat. Fondazione Giorgio Cini. Venice, 1997: 68.
- 1998 Kaminsky, Marion. *Titian*. Cologne, 1998: 90.
- 1998 Martin, Thomas. *Alessandro Vittoria and the Portrait Bust in Renaissance Venice*. Oxford, 1998: 79.
- 1999 Burke, Peter. "Il ritratto veneziano del Cinquecento." In *Pittura nel Veneto. Il Cinquecento*. Edited by Mauro Lucco. 3 vols. Milan, 1996-1999: 3(1999):1103.
- 1999 Cole, Bruce. *Titian and Venetian Painting, 1450-1590*. Boulder, 1999: 133-136.
- 1999 Valcanover, Francesco. *Tiziano: I suoi pennelli sempre partorirono espressioni di vita*. Florence, 1999: 43, 267.
- 2000 Finlay, Robert. "Fabius Maximus in Venice: Doge Andrea Gritti, the War of Cambrai, and the Rise of Habsburg Hegemony, 1509-1530." *Renaissance Quarterly* 53 (2000): 988.
- 2000 Kirsh, Andrea, and Rustin S. Levenson. *Seeing Through Paintings: Physical Examination in Art Historical Studies*. Materials and Meaning in the Fine Arts 1. New Haven, 2000: 121-122, 262, fig. 112, color fig. 113.
- 2001 Pedrocco, Filippo. *Titian: The Complete Paintings*. New York, 2001: 50, 189.
- 2004 Hand, John Oliver. *National Gallery of Art: Master Paintings from the Collection*. Washington and New York, 2004: 104-105, no. 79, color

- repro.
- 2004 Humfrey, Peter, et al. *The Age of Titian: Venetian Renaissance Art from Scottish Collections*. Edited by Aidan Weston-Lewis. Exh. cat. Royal Scottish Academy, Edinburgh, 2004: 128-129.
- 2007 Ferino-Pagden, Sylvia, ed. *Der späte Tizian und die Sinnlichkeit der Malerei*. Exh. cat. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice. Vienna, 2007: no. I.7, 179-183, 471-473, repro. (not in the exhibition).
- 2007 Ferino-Pagden, Sylvia. *Late Titian and the Sensuality of Painting*. Exh. cat. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice. Vienna, 2007: no. 1.4, 155-159, repro. (not in exhibition).
- 2007 Humfrey, Peter. *Titian: The Complete Paintings*. Ghent and New York, 2007: 210.
- 2008 Penny, Nicholas. *National Gallery Catalogues: The Sixteenth Century Italian Paintings, Vol. 2: Venice 1540-1600*. London, 2008: 211.
- 2010 Cranston, Jodi. *The Muddled Mirror: Materiality and Figuration in Titian's Later Paintings*. University Park, PA, 2010: 93-95.
- 2010 Overdick, Michael. *Tizian: Die späten Porträts 1545-1568*. Düsseldorf, 2010: 5-10, 59-61.
- 2011 Biferali, Frabrizio. *Tiziano: Il genio e il potere*. Rome, 2011: 86-87.
- 2012 Gentili, Augusto. *Tiziano*. Milan, 2012: 311, 313.
- 2013 Dunkerton, Jill, Jennifer Fletcher, and Paul Joannides. "A Portrait of Girolamo Fracastoro by Titian in the National Gallery." *The Burlington Magazine* 155 (2013): 15 n. 74.
- 2013 Nichols, Tom. *Titian and the End of the Venetian Renaissance*. London, 2013: 112-115.
- 2018 Krischel, Roland, ed. *Tintoret: naissance d'un génie*. Exh. cat. Musée du Luxembourg, Paris; Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne. Paris, 2018: 26 fig. 3 (not in exhibition).
-

To cite: Peter Humfrey, "Titian/Doge Andrea Gritti/c. 1546/1550," *Italian Paintings of the Sixteenth Century*, NGA Online Editions, <https://purl.org/nga/collection/artobject/46144> (accessed October 23, 2024).