



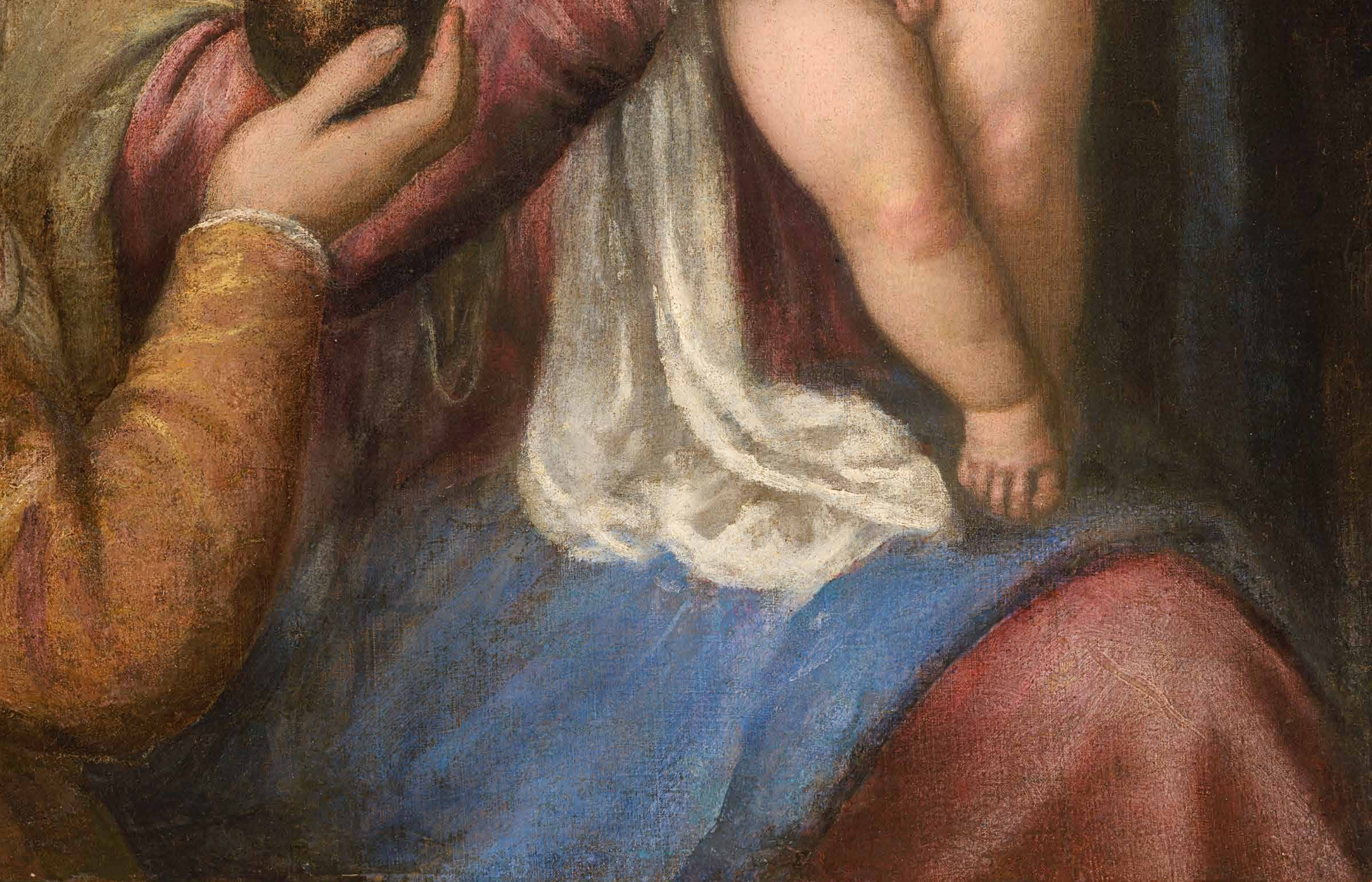
Ferdinando Corberi
Enrico Maria Dal Pozzolo

A Titian Rediscovered

A Titian Rediscovered

Ferdinando Corberi
Enrico Maria Dal Pozzolo

A Titian Rediscovered



Acknowledgements:

Irina Artemieva
Jonathan Bober
Laetitia Chardon
Thomas Dawnay
Elisa Bonaiuti
Miguel Falomir Faus
Cristina Farnetti
Peter Humfrey
Isabella Manning
Tommaso Mattei
don Mirco Miotto
Simona Pasquinucci
Loredana Pavanello
Marina Perković
Giorgio Reolon
Sandra Romito
Francis Russell
Eike Schmidt

Contents

Collecting history
Ferdinando Corberi
p. 10

A Titian Rediscovered
Enrico Maria Dal Pozzolo

A rediscovery by stages
p. 20

Two hands at work
p. 33

A timeline
p. 43

Appendix
Ferdinando Corberi
p. 54

Tiziano Vecellio, called Titian
(Pieve di Cadore 1488/90 – Venice 1576)
and Girolamo Dente
(recorded from 1525 – before 1572)

Madonna and Child with St. Mary Magdalene

Oil on canvas, 104,7 x 93 cm

Provenance:

Private collection, Milan;
Sebright collection, Beechwood Park,
19th century; Sir Giles Edward Sebright
(1896–1954), 13th Baronet;
His sale, Christie's London, 2 July 1937,
lot 136;
Private collection, London, 1948 (F. Zeri,
written note dated 18 January 1991);
Mario Modestini, Rome (F. Zeri, Zeri
Photographic Library, Bologna, shows
the date as 1947, yet in his note dated 18
January 1991 he talks about a time after
1948 when it was in a private collection
in London);
Shipped to New York by Louis Levy on 10
November 1948 (Berenson Photographic
Library, Villa I Tatti, Florence);
With Frederick Mont and Mario
Modestini, New York, 1967 (F. Zeri, Zeri
Photographic Library);
Private collection, New York, 1980 and
1982 (F. Zeri, Zeri Photographic Library,
Bologna).

Literature:

W. Suida, *Miscellanea tizianesca*, in “Arte
Veneta”, VI, 1952, pp. 28–30, reproduced
p. 29 fig. 3 (autograph);
R. Pallucchini, *Tiziano*. Lezioni tenute
alla Facoltà di lettere dell'Università
di Bologna durante l'anno 1952–53,
Bologna 1953, pp. 48–49 (autograph);
F. Valcanover, *Tutta la pittura di Tiziano*,
Milan 1960, vol. I, p. 103 (listed among
the works “attributed” to the master);
T.D. Fomiciova, *I dipinti di Tiziano nelle
raccolte dell'Ermitage*, in “Arte Veneta”,
XXI, 1967, p. 63;
R. Pallucchini, *Tiziano*, Florence 1969,
vol. I, p. 128, vol. II, plates 359 and 360
(autograph);
F. Valcanover (ed.), *L'opera completa di*

Tiziano, introduction by C. Cagli, I Classici
dell'arte, Milan 1969, p. 112, cat. no. 215, II
ed. 1978, p. 112 no. 215;
H. E. Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian. I.
The Religious Paintings*, London, 1969, p.
111, cat. no. 68.3;
G. Incerpi, in G. Agostini, E. Allegri, A.
Cecchi, G. Chiarini, L. Fiorentini, G.
Incerpi, M. Manfrini, F.P. Squellati, M.
Zecchini (ed.), *Tiziano nelle Gallerie fiorentine*, catalogue
of the exhibition held in Florence in
1978–9, Florence 1978, pp. 185, 186 note
37;
T. Pignatti, *Tiziano. Tutti i dipinti*, vol. I,
Milan 1981, p. 80, n. 218;
T.D. Fomiciova, *The Hermitage.
Catalogue of Western European
painting, Venetian painting: fourteenth to
eighteenth centuries*, Florence 1992, p.
336;
M. Dazzi, E. Merkel (eds.), *Catalogo della
Pinacoteca della Fondazione scientifica
Querini Stampalia*, Vicenza 1993, p. 42;
M. Utili, in *La collezione Farnese. I dipinti
lombardi, liguri, veneti, toscani, umbri,
romani, fiamminghi. Altre scuole. Fasti
farnesiani*, Napoli 1995, p. 70: (listed as
“probably workshop”);
V. Tátrai, *Una novità tizianesca in Ungheria*,
in “Arte cristiana”, 94, 2006, 832, pp. 34,
37 (“autograph, between Budapest and
Hermitage”);
V. Tátrai, in L. Puppi (ed.), *Tiziano. L'ultimo
atto*, catalogue of the exhibition held in
Belluno in 2007–8, Milan 2007, p. 390
(“attributed to Titian”);
G. Tagliaferro, *La pala di Serravalle e la
coniuntura degli anni '40*, in “Venezia
Cinquecento”, XVIII, 2008 (2009), p. 51;
G. Tagliaferro, *Assistenti al lavoro: la
produzione fra terzo e quinto decennio*,
in B. Aikema, M. Mancini, A.J. Martin,

G. Tagliaferro, *Le botteghe di Tiziano*,
Florence 2009, p. 128;
F. De Luca, in A. Natali (ed.), *Il pane degli
angeli – Offering of the Angels. Paintings
and Tapestries from the Uffizi Gallery*,
catalogue of the exhibition held in 2011–
13, Florence 2011, p. 148;
I. Artemieva, *La Madonna Barbarigo
di Tiziano*, in I. Artemieva, D. Ton
(ed.), *Tiziano. La Madonna Barbarigo
dell'Ermitage: Storia, fortuna, restauro*,
catalogue of the exhibition held in
Belluno in 2017, Verona 2017, p. 13,
reproduced fig. 1 p. 21;
D. Ton, *Per la fortuna di un modello
tizianesco*, in I. Artemieva, D. Ton
(ed.), *Tiziano. La Madonna Barbarigo
dell'Ermitage: Storia, fortuna, restauro*,
catalogue of the exhibition held in
Belluno in 2017, Verona 2017, p. 20, fig. 1
“Titian and assistants (?)”;
I. Artemieva, *Titian's Barbarigo Madonna:
the original and its variants*, in P. Humfrey
(ed.), *Titian. Themes and Variations*,
Florence 2023, pp. 157, 159, p. 161 note 23;
E.M. Dal Pozzolo, *Come si “riscopre”
una Madonna col Bambino di Tiziano*, in
“Finestre sull'Arte”, n. 24, 2024–2025,
pp. 124–133.



The painting is documented for the first time in an auction held by Christie's on 2 July 1937¹, lot 136, listed as "Titian, The Virgin and Child, with a female Saint, 40 in. by 35 in.", sold for 105 guineas. We can identify the painting with certainty thanks to the inscription "794 GM" stamped on the stretcher frame which confirms that Christie's took possession of it at that time.

In the sale catalogue it is described as being the property of Sir Giles Sebright, in other words Sir Giles Edward Sebright (1896–1954), 13th Baronet Sebright. Unfortunately, however, we know little about the Sebright collection. Waagen² mentions the collection in 1857, having visited the family home at Beechwood Park in Hertfordshire, yet the painting fails to appear among the pictures he lists.

While Waagen makes no mention of it, however, we know that the painting was already in Beechwood Park in the 19th century because it does appear in a handwritten list – a typewritten version of which is now in the library of the National Gallery in London³ – where it is said to hang in the Great Hall and is described as "Titian, Virgin & Child &c., From [space] Palace Milan".

Unfortunately, the name of the palazzo in Milan from which the painting came is omitted, although it is unclear whether this is due to its absence also in the handwritten original or to the typist's inability to decipher the handwriting. The blank space left by the typist, however, suggests that the name was on the original handwritten version; sadly, however, we do not know that version's current whereabouts. Nor do we know

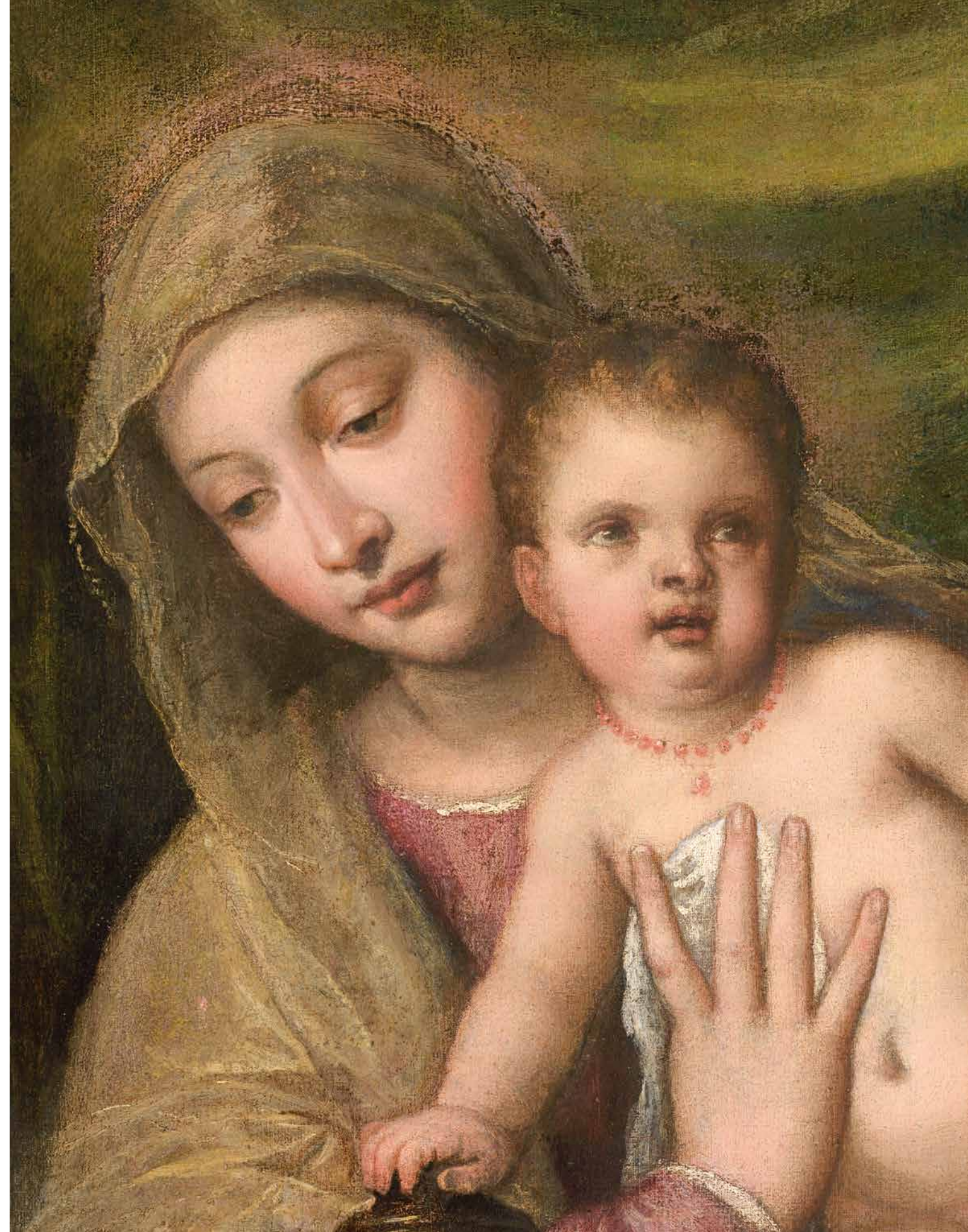




Fig. 1: Verso of the canvas, with details of Christie's 1937 stencil and the mark of the Rome export office, stamped when the painting was exported from Italy after being restored by Mario Modestini in Rome in 1947

which member of the family originally purchased the painting. Ingamells⁴, in any event, tells us that Sir Thomas Saunders Sebright, 5th Bt. (1723–61), was in Italy in 1746 and it is quite possible that he was the one who bought the picture on that occasion.

While the Sebright collection was by no means large, it nevertheless included an important portrait by Rosso Fiorentino, now in the National Gallery in Washington (inv. 1961.9.59), which was listed as lot 128 in the same Christie's sale in 1937, although both in Waagen's day and in 1937 it was thought to be by Andrea del Sarto. Beechwood Park was also home to a famous portrait of Monsignor Agucchi

whose attribution has long been disputed between Annibale Carracci and Domenichino and which is now in York Art Gallery in England (inv. YORAG: 787). It was listed as lot 91 in the Christie's sale.

We know that the Sebright family got into deep financial water during World War I and was forced to sell Beechwood Park and its contents, Christie's catalogue for 1937 informing us that: "The Property of Sir Giles Sebright, Bart. [is to be] (Sold with the permission of the Court)". Thus by the time the auction was held in 1937, the property and the art collection had both been impounded. Beechwood Park went on to become a public school, which it continues to be to this day.

To find out what happened next, we need to consult the archives of the late art historian Federico Zeri. His photographic library includes an entry for the painting⁵ and he wrote a letter to its then owner on 18 January 1991⁶ (for a full transcript of the letter, see pp. 32-33). In one passage in the letter, Zeri writes: "I have known this painting for over forty years, ever since it was in a private collection in London in 1948, when I instantly judged it to be an original Titian. I was later able to examine it in Rome, when it was relined and meticulously cleaned of its



Fig. 2: Beechwood Park, engraving taken from J.P. Neale, *Views of the seats, Mansions, Castles, etc. of Noblemen and Gentlemen in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland*, 1818

old layers of varnish by a well-known restorer named Mario Modestini". Thus according to Zeri, the painting was still in a private collection in London in 1948, and was subsequently brought to Rome, where he was able to examine it at first hand in the workshop of the famous restorer Mario Modestini (1907-2006).

If we go by the entry in the Photographic Library in Bologna, however, the picture went through Modestini's workshop in 1947. The discrepancy in the dates can be explained by the long period of time that elapsed between 1948 and the letter penned in 1991. Yet in that letter, Zeri clearly states that the painting was moved to Rome "later", after he had seen it in a private collection in London, so we can rule out the suggestion that it might have been in Rome in 1947 and then back in London in 1948. This is where Berenson's Photographic Library comes to our aid. The archive in Villa I Tatti contains an entry for the painting⁷, in the Provenance section of which we read "Louis Levy, November 1948". The source of this information can be identified thanks to a note on the back of



Fig. 3: Louis Levy, photograph taken from Louis S. Levy, *Yesterdays*, New York 1954

the photograph⁸, in which Berenson writes: “Sent [?] by Louis Levy/ Nov. 10. 1948”.

Thus in all likelihood, Louis Levy was not the owner but the person who handled the shipping in 1948. Levy can be identified as Louis Samter Levy (Forkland, AL 1877 – New York 1952). The Duveens’ lawyer, he famously defended them in a case brought against them by the Hahns. Harry and Andrée Hahn of Kansas City claimed to have the original version of Leonardo’s *Belle Ferronnière* in the Louvre, and they were on the point of selling it as an autograph work to the museum in Kansas City for the sum of \$ 250,000. Joseph Duveen got wind of the impending sale and, without seeing the picture, granted an interview to “New York World”, in the course of which he

argued that it was merely a copy of Leonardo’s original, thus effectively scuttling the deal that the Hahns had cut with the museum. The Hahns sued Duveen for \$ 500,000 in damages. The trial lasted a long time and caused quite a stir in the 1930s, ending after eight years with a settlement of \$60,000. The Hahns, however, were unable to find another buyer for their picture, and so it stayed out of the limelight until 28 January 2019, when Sotheby’s sold it as lot 181 in an auction in New York for the sum of \$1,538,000, listing it as a painting by a follower of Leonardo da Vinci⁹. The Hahn trial also revealed that Berenson, who testified in court in the Duveens’ favour, was the famous antique dealers’ partner and that he took a 25% cut on the profits from the sale of paintings which were purchased by leading US collectors and museums on the strength of his attributions.

Thus it is hardly surprising that the Duveens’ lawyer is mentioned on the back of the photograph in the Berenson archive, especially as the back of another photograph of the same painting bears the words “for sale”¹⁰.



Fig. 4: Mario Modestini in his studio, Huckleberry Hill, in the Fifties

Returning, at this juncture, to what Federico Zeri tells us, we learn from the entry in his Photographic Library that in 1967 the painting was to be found on the premises of “M. Modestini/ F. Mont, New York (NY)”.

We first encountered Modestini when Zeri told us that the painting was in his workshop in Rome for restoration. In the meantime, however, Modestini had moved from Rome to the United States in 1949, where he began to work for the Kress Foundation¹¹, collaborating closely with Wilhelm Suida, the Foundation’s Curator of Research since 1947. So it comes as no surprise to discover that Suida was the first scholar to publish the painting, in 1952, only a few years after it had passed through the restorer’s workshop. We cannot rule out the possibility that Modestini may have been its owner, along with Mont, especially as he is known to have had a collection of his own and also to have dabbled in the art market.

The name “F. Mont”, alongside that of Modestini in the Fondazione Zeri entry, refers to Frederick Mont (1894 – 1994). The former owner of the Galerie Sanct Lucas in Vienna under his original name, Adolf Fritz Mondschein, he emigrated to the United States in the 1930s¹² and sold paintings to the most important American museums, many of those paintings being bought by the Kress Foundation. He was also chosen

as the Prince of Liechtenstein’s sole representative for the sale of the masterpieces in his collection.

The painting is thus highly likely to have passed through Mario Modestini’s workshop a second time, in New York, when it was in the possession of Frederick Mont. Yet this time it went not to a museum but to a private collection, because that is where Zeri tells us it was in 1980 and in 1982, though unfortunately, it has not been possible to identify the collection to which it belonged.

Notes

¹ I would like to thank Sandra Romito and Isabella Manning of Christie’s for providing a scanned image of the catalogue with the hammer price fetched.

² G.F. Waagen, *Treasures of art in Great Britain: being an account of the chief collections of paintings, drawings, sculptures, illuminated mss., etc.*, vol. IV, London 1857, pp. 325-330.

³ Anonymous, *Beechwood: pictures*, London, National Gallery Library, (P) NC 340 SEBRIGHT =2 18--?. As pointed out by Gabriele Finaldi (G. Finaldi, in G. Finaldi, M. Kitson, *Discovering the Italian Baroque. The Denis Mahon Collection*, catalogue of the exhibition held in London in 1997, London 1997, p. 144), the manuscript must be dated to later than 1853, because it includes a painting by Philippe de Champaigne listed as coming from the gallery of Louis Philippe d’Orléans, which was sold in London in 1853. Thus the author cannot be the man indicated by the National Gallery, Sir John Saunders Sebright (1767-1846), because Sebright died before 1853.

⁴ J. Ingamells, *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy, 1701-1800*, New Haven, London 1997, p. 845.

⁵ Bologna, Fondazione Zeri, Photographic Library, entry no. 44317, see <https://catalogo.fondazionezeri.unibo.it/scheda/opera/44317/Vecellio%20Tiziano%2C%20Madonna%20con%20Bambino%20e%20santa%20Maria%20Maddalena>.

⁶ Archive of the previous owner.

⁷ https://images.hollis.harvard.edu/primo-explore/fulldisplay?docid=HVD_VIAolwork627206&context=L&vid=HVD_IMAGES&search_scope=default_scope&tab=default_tab&lang=en_US.

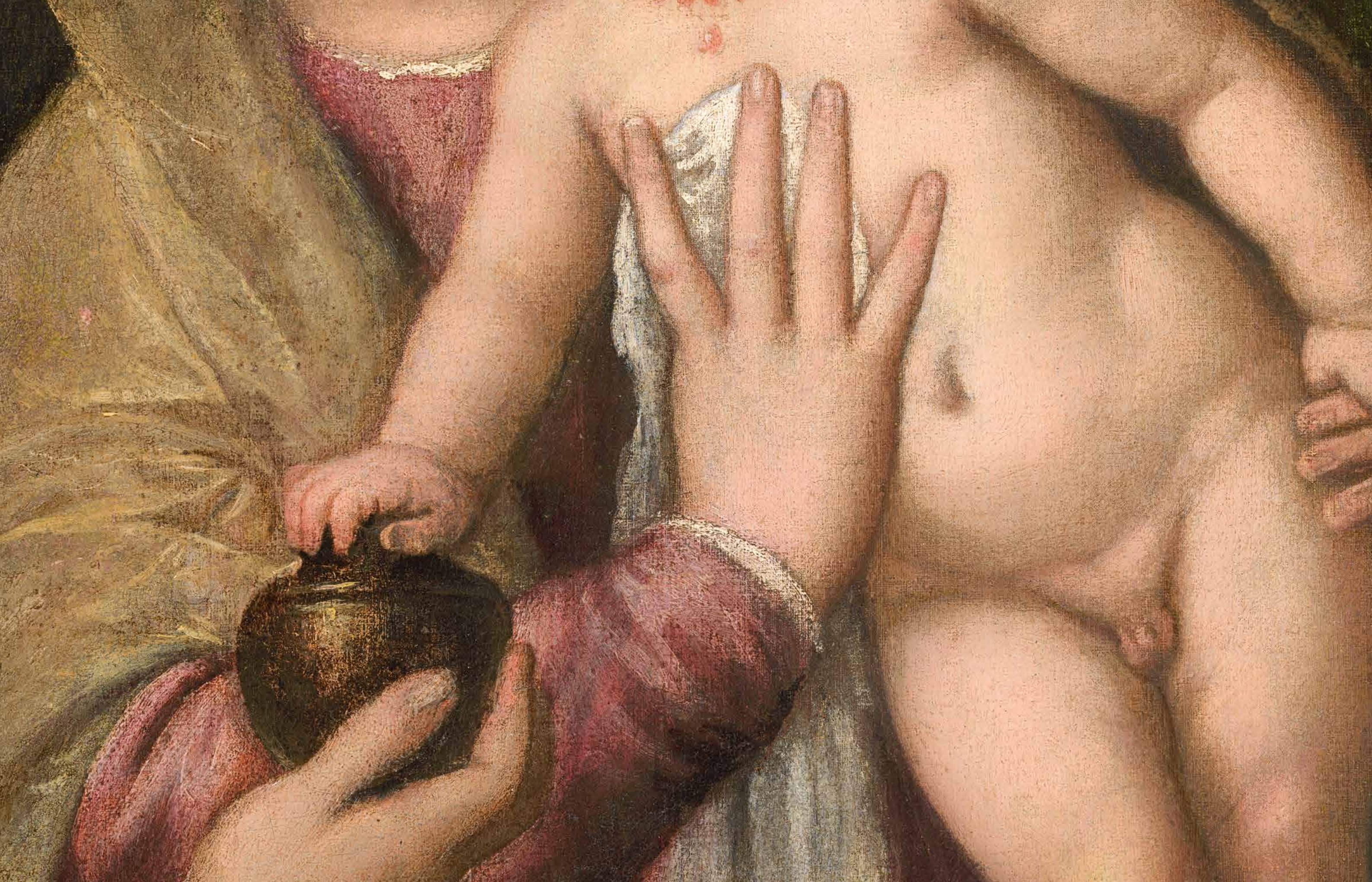
⁸ Back of photograph 108791_1.

⁹ For the full story, see J. Brewer, *Ritratto di Dama. Il dipinto conteso di Leonardo*, Milan 2009, see also M. Secrest, *Duveen: A Life in Art*, New York 2004, pp. 224-243. Italian edition: *Duveen. L’arte di vendere l’arte*, Turin 2007, pp. 215-233.

¹⁰ Back of photograph 108793_1.

¹¹ For a biography of Mario Modestini, see D. Dwyer Modestini, *Masterpieces, based on a manuscript by Mario Modestini*, Fiesole [2018], Italian edition: D. Dwyer Modestini, *Capolavori. Basato su un manoscritto di Mario Modestini*, Fiesole [2018].

¹² K. Akinsha, A. Walsh, N.H. Yeide, *The AAM Guide to Provenance Research*, Washington, D.C. 2001.



A rediscovery by stages

The painting was published by Wilhelm Suida in 1952, in an article in “Arte Veneta” that took its cue from an exhibition of work by painters of the Vecellio family, curated by Francesco Valcanover in Belluno the year before¹, the first in a series of *Miscellanea tizianesche* that he was to publish in the periodical edited by Rodolfo Pallucchini².

In the second of the six sections in which Suida illustrated unpublished material on the master and his workshop in 1952, he also examined this painting, which was in a private collection in New York at the time (fig. 1). In Suida’s view, it is the earliest of a series of very similar works, which the master replicated on more than one occasion in the latter part of his career, and was painted “in the fourth decade of the 16th century, and more precisely at the time of the ‘Presentation of the Virgin’ in the Accademia in Venice (1534-8)”, in which the young Mary shares “the posture of St. Mary Magdalene”. Suida also argued that the artist put off completing the picture: “As was often the case, Titian did not immediately finish the painting. Certain parts of the drapery such as the Virgin’s red tunic and blue mantle, the Christ Child’s white shawl and the green curtain clearly reveal a treatment and a colour earlier than the treatment and colour of the shawl covering the Virgin’s head and right shoulder and of most of St. Mary Magdalene’s gown. The pale, thin halo is also typical of the latter part of Titian’s artistic career. Yet this painting is the first version – albeit completed at a later date – of a composition which occupied Titian’s imagination for quite a few decades”³.

Without dwelling on the many “variations and imitations produced by pupils [...], which shed no light on the clarification of our problem”, Suida

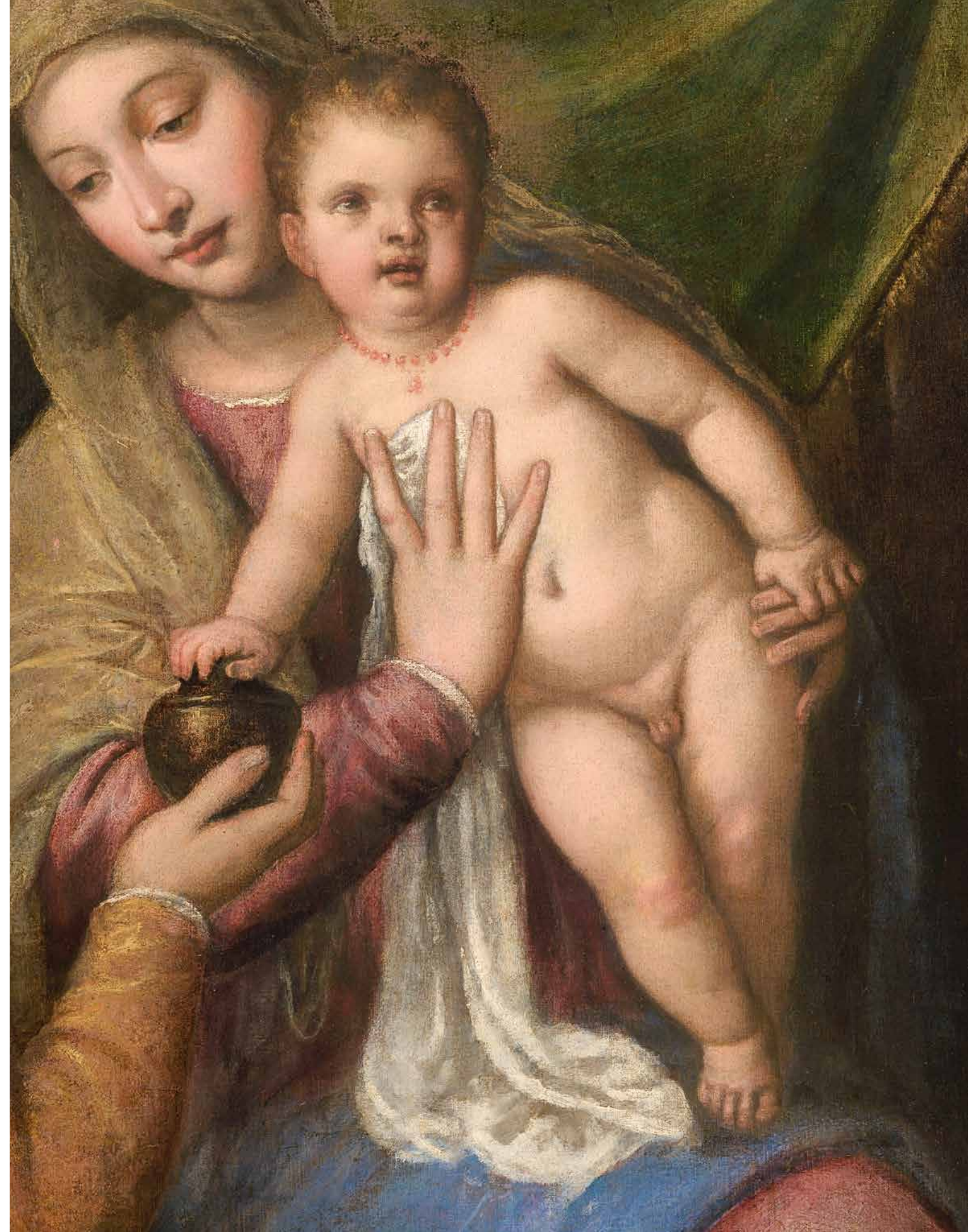




Fig. 1: The painting as reproduced in "Arte Veneta" (VI, 1952)

Fig. 2 (opposite): Titian, *Madonna and Child with St. Mary Magdalene*, St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum

basically sanctioned as autograph works another four versions, regarding which we should provide a little information before analysing the painting under discussion here. For one "somewhat smaller version in which St. Catherine offers fruit, as she does in the painting in the Uffizi" (fig. 4), now in a private collection in the United States, there is really very little to be said, because Suida did not supply any additional information, and I am not even aware of the existence of a photograph of it⁴. From the description provided, it might be exemplar n. B10 (see Appendix), which was sold at auction in the United States in 2023, and which is a derivation that slavishly emulates the composition of the Uffizi work but on a smaller scale (68.5 x 56 cm). Suida's description, however, is so generic that this

identification can never be more than mere hypothesis.

Far more, however, is known of the other three paintings.

The version in the Hermitage (fig. 2) was in Venice from the end of the 16th century, in a palace belonging to the Barbarigo family, known as the "Palazzo della Terrazza" on account of its large terrace overlooking the Grand Canal. The palace housed one of the city's most celebrated picture galleries, much praised by Carlo Ridolfi and Marco Boschini, the leading Venetian historians of the 17th century, as well as by numerous travellers over the following century and a half. The collection's showpieces were five paintings attributed to Titian, depicting the *Penitent Magdalene*, *Christ Carrying the Cross*, *St. Sebastian*, a *Portrait of Pope Paul III* and this *Madonna and Child*. The collection was purchased en bloc by Czar Nicholas I of Russia in 1850 and the paintings have been on display in the Hermitage ever since⁵. While the *Magdalene* instantly aroused a great deal of admiration, the other works were less enthusiastically received, also because they were not all in the best condition. The work that attracted the least interest, in that respect, was precisely the *Madonna and Child*, due among other reasons to the negative opinion of it voiced by Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle, one of the fathers of Titian scholarship, who, when he saw it in 1865, did not consider it to be of sufficient quality to be an autograph work, arguing that it was probably "by a pupil, possibly Marco Vecelli", as he specifies





Fig. 3: Workshop of Titian, *Madonna and Child with St. Mary Magdalene*, Naples, Galleria Nazionale di Capodimonte

Fig. 4 (opposite): Workshop of Titian, *Madonna and Child with Female Figure*, Florence, Uffizi, inv. 949 – 1890, on permanent loan to the Chamber of Deputies, Rome

in the monograph that he published with Joseph Archer Crowe in 1877-8⁶. Titian's paintings in Palazzo Barbarigo had, in effect, been purchased directly from Titian's son in 1581, with the obvious consequence that they came directly from the great master's workshop and were thus a valuable testimony to the final period in his career⁷. Unaware of that fact, and considering solely the visual impact that the painting triggered at the time, Cavalcaselle concluded that it was "a replica, with a few minor variants, of a similar painting now in the Uffizi in Florence, and of another in the Museum in Naples"⁸.

The latter painting can boast of an equally illustrious provenance (fig. 3). It was seen hanging between a *Last Judgment* by Marcello Venusti (after Michelangelo) and a *St. Jerome* by Agostino Carracci in the first "picture room"

in Palazzo Farnese in Rome in 1644 and 1653, on both occasions with an attribution to Titian. We find further early mentions of the painting, again with an attribution to Titian, after its arrival in Parma, first in the Palazzo del Giardino and then in the Galleria della Pilotta. The first doubts began to be voiced after it entered the Bourbon collections in Naples in the early 19th century, and Cavalcaselle himself subscribed to them. In his view, the painting was "an old copy of the Russian painting" and "inferior by far to that exemplar"⁹, and indeed the most recent scholarship has – rightly – subscribed to that view¹⁰.

Nor does the critical history of the Florentine exemplar (fig. 4) differ much from that of its Neapolitan counterpart. It belonged to the collection of Cardinal Carlo de' Medici, with a generic attribution to Titian ("purported to be by Titian's hand"). After the Cardinal died, it was moved from the Casino Mediceo to the Uffizi in 1677, where it hung in the Tribune, among the jewels of the Grand Ducal collection. It remained there until the end of the 18th century, on the left-hand side of the central wall, above Raphael's *Madonna of the Goldfinch*, as we can see in the celebrated *Tribuna degli Uffizi* painted by Johann Zoffany in 1772 to a commission from Queen Caroline of England and now in the Royal Collection (fig. 5)¹¹. Hailed as a "superb picture, with a magnificently vigorous palette" in the guidebooks of the

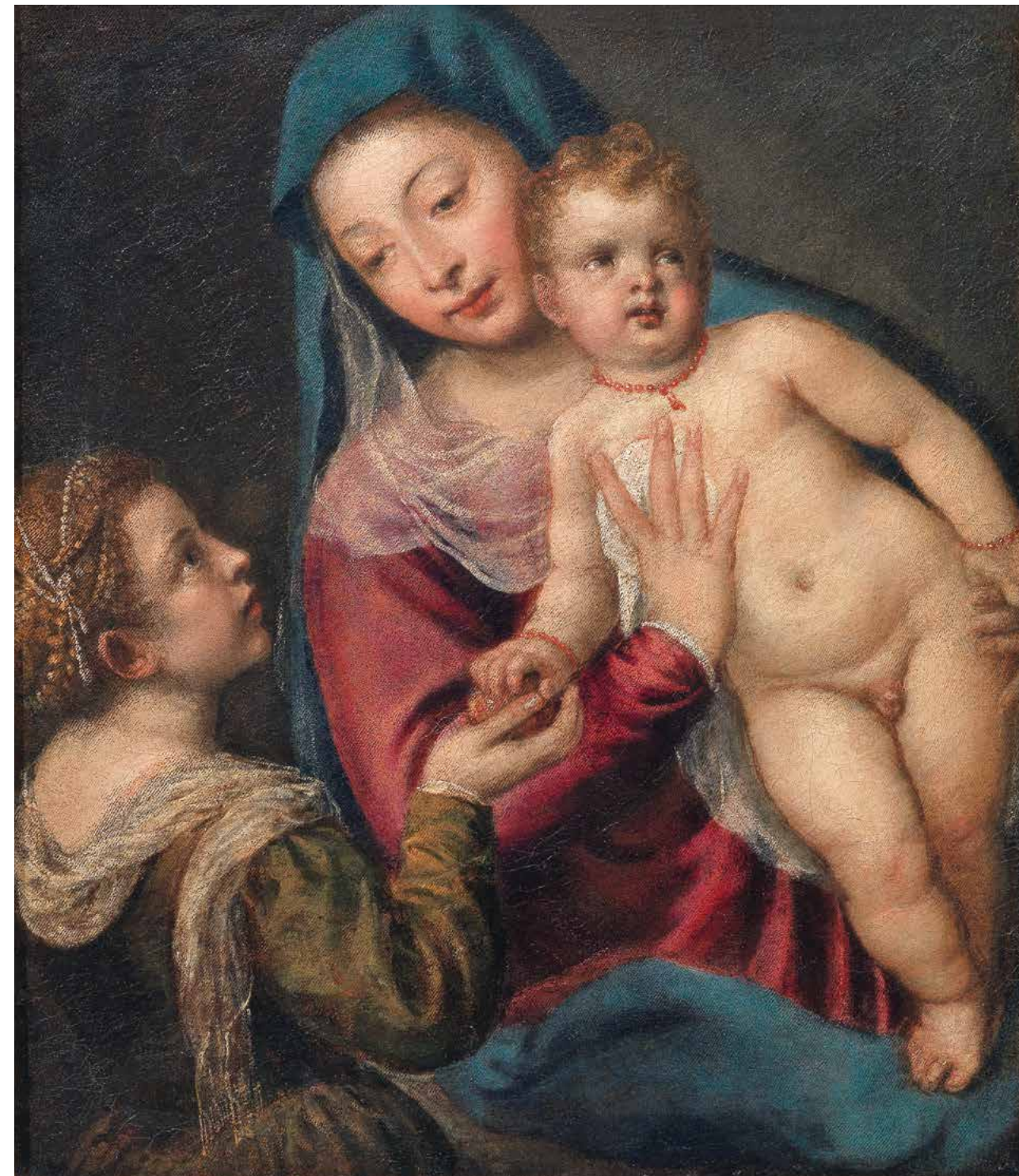




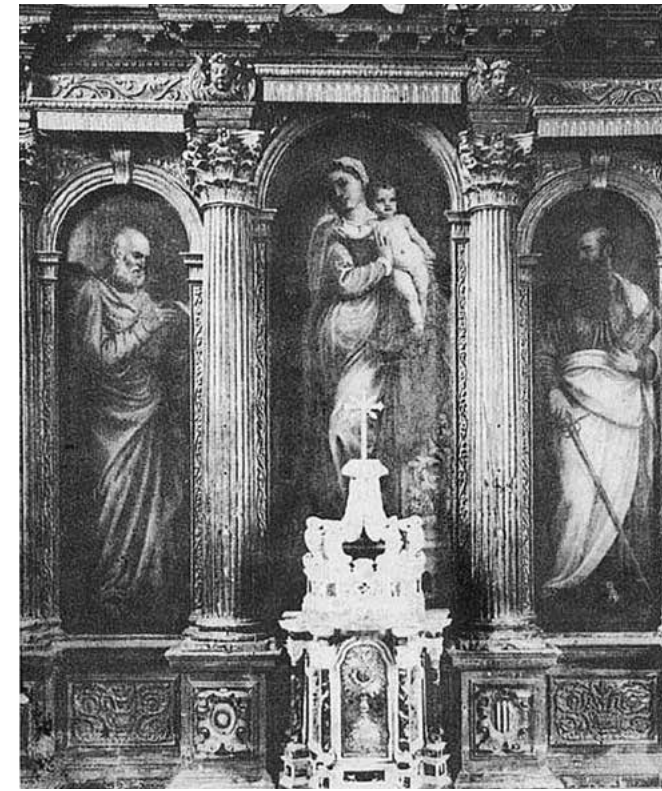
Fig. 5: Johann Zoffany, *The Tribuna of the Uffizi* (detail), Royal Collection, Windsor Castle

time¹², it was nevertheless reappraised by Cavalcaselle, who said that “while the painting reflects the manner of Titian, the style belongs solely to the immortal Master’s pupils, and to Marco Vecelli more than to any other”¹³. As in the other instances mentioned above, Cavalcaselle’s judgment prevented other scholars from adopting a positive view of the painting in this instance too. It was put in storage and, after being restored, subjected to various scientific analyses and displayed in a travelling exhibition in 2011-13, in which it was listed as by “Titian’s workshop” c. 1550-60¹⁴, it was loaned to the Chamber of Deputies in Montecitorio, in Rome, in 2013¹⁵.

After this necessary parenthesis, we can now return to the critical history of the painting formerly in New York. Open to examination only via a black and white photograph

published in “Arte Veneta” in 1952, following Suida’s discussion of it, it was afforded varying consideration by the handful of scholars who mentioned it. Rodolfo Pallucchini accepted the attribution, initially in the lecture notes of his university course on Titian at Bologna University in 1952-3, and subsequently in his two-volume monograph published by Sansoni in 1969.

In 1952-3 Pallucchini pointed out, in particular, that the pattern of the Madonna and Child was the same as that found in the central panel of the Castello Roganzuolo triptych, a work painted in 1549 chiefly by assistants, and which is currently in a piteous state, having been restored in such an invasive manner that we now have no option but to resort to old photographs of it (figs. 6, 7). Pallucchini argued that this pattern is “repeated in various paintings, certainly earlier than 1549, either by Titian or by his workshop: in the group with the Madonna, the Christ Child and St. Mary Magdalene, a version of which, now part of a private collection in the United States, Suida published in “Arte Veneta” (1952), assigning it too early a date (1534-8), though the quality is good and unquestionably by Titian’s hand for the most part; in another, possibly weaker version in the Hermitage in Leningrad; and in a third, if my memory serves me well, which is now in the collection of Duke Nuñez in Madrid... I think



Figs 6-7: Workshop of Titian, *Madonna and Child with Saint Peter and Saint Paul*, Vittorio Veneto, Museo Diocesano d’Arte Sacra Albino Luciani, in a photograph taken between 1920 and 1925, when it was still in the church in Roganzuolo, with a detail of the present situation

that the exemplar published by Suida should be dated to the early 1540s, while the Leningrad version may be later”¹⁶.

Pallucchini’s mention of the “collection of Duke Nuñez in Madrid” may very possibly refer to a picture which, to the best of my knowledge, has never been examined in any of the literature on Titian, and which I myself have never seen, but which Miguel Falomir assures me is a copy¹⁷.

In his weighty monograph published in 1969, Pallucchini once again argued that the picture formerly in New York was “a largely autograph version”, which could be dated to after 1534-8, as Suida had suggested¹⁸.

It is common knowledge that 1969 marked something of a watershed in Titian scholarship. In addition to Pallucchini’s monograph, that year also saw the publication of Erwin Panofsky’s volume containing iconographical and iconological analyses of many of the artist’s paintings (*Problems in Titian. Mostly Iconographic*, New York University Press), the first of three volumes by Harold Wethey (*The Religious Paintings*; the other two, on portraits and mythological paintings, were published in 1971 and 1975 respectively) and the concise – yet no less complete – general catalogue of Titian’s paintings published by Francesco Valcanover in the “Classici dell’Arte Rizzoli” series. While Panofsky failed to mention the painting, Wethey (1969) called it a “later replica of the Leningrad picture with slight variations in the draperies:

probably workshop of Titian: apparently restored”¹⁹. Thus according to Wethey, the first in the series is the exemplar in the Hermitage, which he dates to 1555 and which he argues was painted with the assistance of the master’s workshop. He argued that the Uffizi version is a mere copy (changing back the commonly accepted identification of the saint from Catherine of Alexandria to Mary Magdalene) and that the Capodimonte version was an even more pedestrian replica, while he mentioned the existence of a further exemplar in the Borghese collection in Rome at the turn of the 17th century, which was then taken to England before being lost (see entry on p. 63). He also pointed to the existence of “other poor copies, too bad to be considered: J.B. Renier, Copenhagen; Stewart sale, New York, 23 – 31 May 1887, no. 181; E. Bührle, Zurich, canvas, 1.00 x 0.80 m. (photographs in the Frick Library, New York, and the Courtauld Institute, London)”. As we can see in the Appendix with further Old Derivations prepared by Ferdinando Corberi in this volume (which, see for many other exemplars), these are only some of the many copies of whose existence we know.

Francesco Valcanover, for his part, voiced reservations regarding the painting’s autograph nature: “According to Suida (1952), first version dated 1534-8 of numerous versions with variants, among which he considers to be autograph work those in the Gallerie Nazionali in Naples, the Hermitage in St. Petersburg (no. 212) and the Uffizi in Florence, which depicts St. Catherine rather than St. Mary Magdalene. Pallucchini (1952-53), who is quite rightly uncertain as to whether the group is autograph work or not, pushes the date forward to the 1540s”²⁰. These are the same words that he used for the painting in his first monographic work published in 1960, and which he reiterated in the expanded second edition of the volume published in the “I Classici dell’Arte Rizzoli” collection in 1978. He failed to mention the work again in his last work on Titian, published in 1999²¹.

Apart from an incisive mention from Terisio Pignatti in his stringent monograph on Titian published in 1981, in which he lists it as partly autograph together with the St. Petersburg version (giving a date of 1542-3 for both)²², the 1990s saw the publication of remarks by Tamara Fomichova (1992), who argued that: “The composition and the figure of Christ in the New York picture are the same as in the Hermitage canvas, but the Magdalene’s facial type is different, more akin to the *Madonna and Child (Gipsy Madonna)* in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (inv. no. 118)”²³, and by Marianna Utili who, in her entry for the Capodimonte

exemplar, suggested that the New York version is “highly likely to be a product of the workshop”²⁴.

Our own century has seen a couple of interesting new developments in connection with the series.

The first is due to Vilmos Tátrai who, in an essay in “Arte cristiana” in 2006, drew attention to a further version of the same composition in a private collection in Hungary, which was subsequently loaned to the Szépművészeti Múzeum of Budapest (where it still hangs)²⁵. The picture in question, which is slightly larger than the New York version (108 x 96.5), replaces the Magdalene with St. Paul in the attire of a Roman soldier, with a large open book and a two-handed sword in his right hand. The figure’s highly characterised features prompted the author to argue that “this may be a cryptic portrait of the patron who commissioned the painting, shown in the garb of St. Paul” (fig. 8). The scene is set in a room with a window on the left, through which we see a landscape under a cloudy sky. Jesus grasps with his hand an apple oddly resting on his Mother’s right forearm. According to the author, the master painted the picture in the first half of the 1540s, which would make it the earliest version in the series²⁶. He also linked it to a mention by Carlo Ridolfi (1648) of a “Virgin with the child in her arms, conversing with him”, which belonged to the collection of Duke Francesco d’Este of Modena in the mid-17th century. Tátrai himself, the following year, signed the entry for the painting in the catalogue of an exhibition entitled *Tiziano, l’Ultimo Atto (Titian, the Last Act)*, curated by Lionello Puppi and held in Belluno in 2007-8²⁷. In both the article and the catalogue entry, the New York painting is given as an autograph work, together with Russian painting and the previously unpublished Budapest picture.

Writing in 2008, Giorgio Tagliaferro also mentioned the painting under discussion here, initially in an essay on “16th Century Venice” devoted to the Serravalle altarpiece and works of the 1540s (in which he mentions the painting – albeit without adopting a position on its autograph nature – together with the Hermitage and Budapest pictures, reviving the link with the Castello Roganzuolo triptych, though focusing primarily on the “production dynamics in the painter’s workshop”)²⁸, and subsequently in a volume on the *Botteghe di Tiziano*, where, in his reproduction of the Budapest exemplar, he lists it as having been painted by “Titian’s workshop” in 1555-60²⁹.

The second recent development in the problem posed by this series concerns a small exhibition, curated by Irina Artemieva and Denis Ton in



the Museo Civico di Belluno in 2017, on the Hermitage *Madonna Barbarigo* in relation to the Uffizi and Budapest versions. While in her introductory essay, which focuses primarily on the Russian picture's collecting history, Artemieva confines her remarks to simply pointing out that "there also exists a version of the composition in a private collection in the United States"³⁰, Ton in his essay highlights the fact that the New York version, judging from its photographic reproduction, "seems to be a stylistically valid work of art", and the caption in the catalogue reproduction lists the work as being by "Titian and assistants (?)"³¹.

Artemieva later returned to the issue in an essay in a volume edited by Peter Humfrey, entitled *Titian. Themes and Variations* (2022), dwelling at some length on both the exemplar formerly in New York and on the version in Budapest:

"Although in this instance we are again forced to trust in photography with all the possible allowances regarding the precision in the rendition of colour, the harmonious nature of the slightly modified treatment nonetheless seems evident: in place of the neutral background behind the Virgin there is a curtain and a landscape opening up on the left. This also accounts for the soft even illumination of the scene, supporting a bright, almost monochrome range of tones, without the rich colour accents of the *Barbarigo Madonna*. It might be suggested that these changes were in part made by Titian himself after the passage of a certain amount of time, perhaps in the mid-1560s. A more difficult case is presented by the *Madonna and Child with St Paul* in Budapest (Szépművészeti Múzeum, property of Hungarian National Bank). Although it has repeatedly been published and exhibited as an original work chronologically pre-dating the Hermitage painting, a direct comparison did not turn out in its favour. The more rigid modelling of the figures, the "polishing" of the flesh tints, which have lost the subtle nuances of tone that cause the skin of the Virgin and Jesus to vibrate and breathe, and the excessively jerky bend of the Christ-Child's figure point, in my opinion, to the work having been executed by the master's assistants. It is possible that this painting was in the ducal gallery in Modena and described by Ridolfi, as Tátrai indicates, but similar instances, when a product of the studio was passed off as an original work by the master, are by no means rare"³².

Fig. 8: (opposite), Workshop of Titian (?), *Madonna and Child with St. Paul*, Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum

Regarding this latter point, I can only agree with Artemieva. I have harboured numerous doubts regarding the Budapest painting ever since it was first presented in Belluno in 2007, both in connection with the amount of work it contains by Titian's own hand, and in connection with its proper dating (which may well be a good deal later than has been argued hitherto). This, to the best of our knowledge, is the critical history of the painting formerly in New York as thoroughly as it can be traced today, a history that has unquestionably suffered from scholars' inability to benefit from first-hand inspection of the work, given that it cannot be seen in a public collection and it has never been shown in a temporary exhibition. It shares this fate with many works of art that have been published only in periodicals and books.

Before analysing it using the tools offered by non-invasive diagnostics, however, we should remember that the picture was also well known to Federico Zeri who, when asked for his opinion, wrote the following to its owner, in a letter dated 18 January 1991³³:

"I can reply, with full knowledge of the facts, to your letter of 16 December inst., in which you ask me for an opinion of the oil on canvas (c. 102 x 92 cm) depicting the 'Madonna and Child with St. Mary Magdalene', of which there exists a version in the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad. I have known this painting for over forty years, ever since it was in a private collection in London in 1948, when I instantly judged it to be an original Titian. I was later able to examine it in Rome, when it was relined and meticulously cleaned of its old layers of varnish by a well-known restorer named Mario Modestini. I was able, at the time, to note the excellent condition of its painted surface and the superb quality of its execution. I harbour no doubts regarding its attribution to Titian, who must have painted it around 1555-60. The painting has been published by the two greatest Titian experts, Wilhelm Suida (in "Arte Veneta", VI, 1952, p. 28 et seq.) and Rodolfo Pallucchini ("Tiziano", Florence 1969, I, p. 128, II, pl. 359 and 360). Suida suggests a date of c. 1534-8, which I consider to be too early. There are various versions of this painting, all of them weaker, the best known of which is the one in the Hermitage. The background has no curtain, and the figure of the Virgin is handled in a flat, simplified manner, so that as long ago as the last century, Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle, the pioneer in Titian

studies, considered the Hermitage picture to be almost entirely a workshop product, possibly by Marco Vecellio (J. A. Crowe and G. B. Cavalcaselle, *The Life and Times of Titian*, London 1881, II, p. 423). Other versions of this same composition are to be found in various places: one might mention those in the Uffizi in Florence and in the Galleria di Capodimonte in Naples, both of them in storage, while the others are in private collections in Europe and the United States. They are all of very weak quality, typical of copies. I consider this painting, in connection with which you have sought my opinion, to be of immense importance; in addition to being by Titian, its value is increased by its condition, which is so often mediocre in the great master's output.

Yours sincerely, Federico Zeri".

As Ferdinando Corberi highlights at the beginning of this volume, that letter also offers us a number of far from unimportant elements for the work's collecting history. Zeri saw it in London in 1948, and then again in Rome years later, in the workshop of the restorer Mario Modestini, with whom he enjoyed very close ties. There are many photographs of the painting, which belonged to the great Roman scholar and which are now held by Bologna University. One of them is the colour reproduction used to illustrate the painting in the catalogue of the exhibition devoted to the *Madonna Barbarigo* in Belluno, in which the curators voice their regret at having been unable to set it alongside the St. Petersburg, Florence and Budapest versions simply because they were unaware of its current whereabouts.

Two hands at work

We have seen that Suida identified two hands at work in the painting, an earlier hand responsible for "the Virgin's red tunic and blue mantle, the Christ Child's white shawl and the green curtain" and a later hand responsible for "the shawl covering the Virgin's head and right shoulder and of most of St. Mary Magdalene's gown" as well as the two figures' "pale, thin" haloes.

Suida oddly failed to grasp what, in my view, is the most obvious aspect in terms of the brushwork, namely that the artist responsible for the saint's head and hand cannot be the same person who painted the rest of the picture, i.e. Titian. The difference in quality and handling is so marked

Figs 9,10: (following pages), Titian and Girolamo Dente, *Madonna and Child with St. Mary Magdalene*, private collection, IR reflectography and X-Ray image





that the matter is simply not open to question, thus we need to recognise that, as is the case with many other paintings by the master (especially after the middle of the century), he had help in this instance from an assistant, regarding whose identity we may formulate a solid hypothesis.

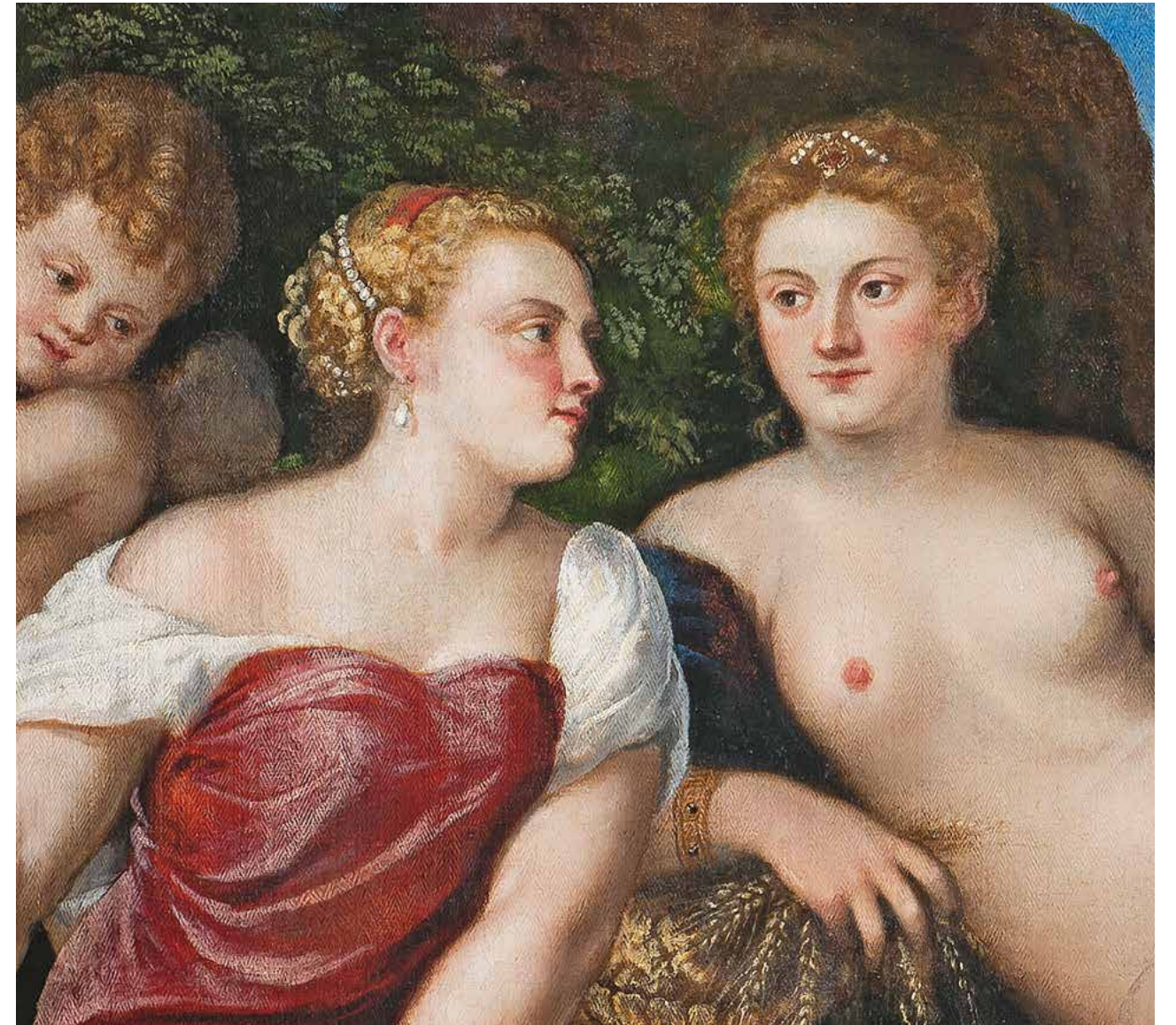
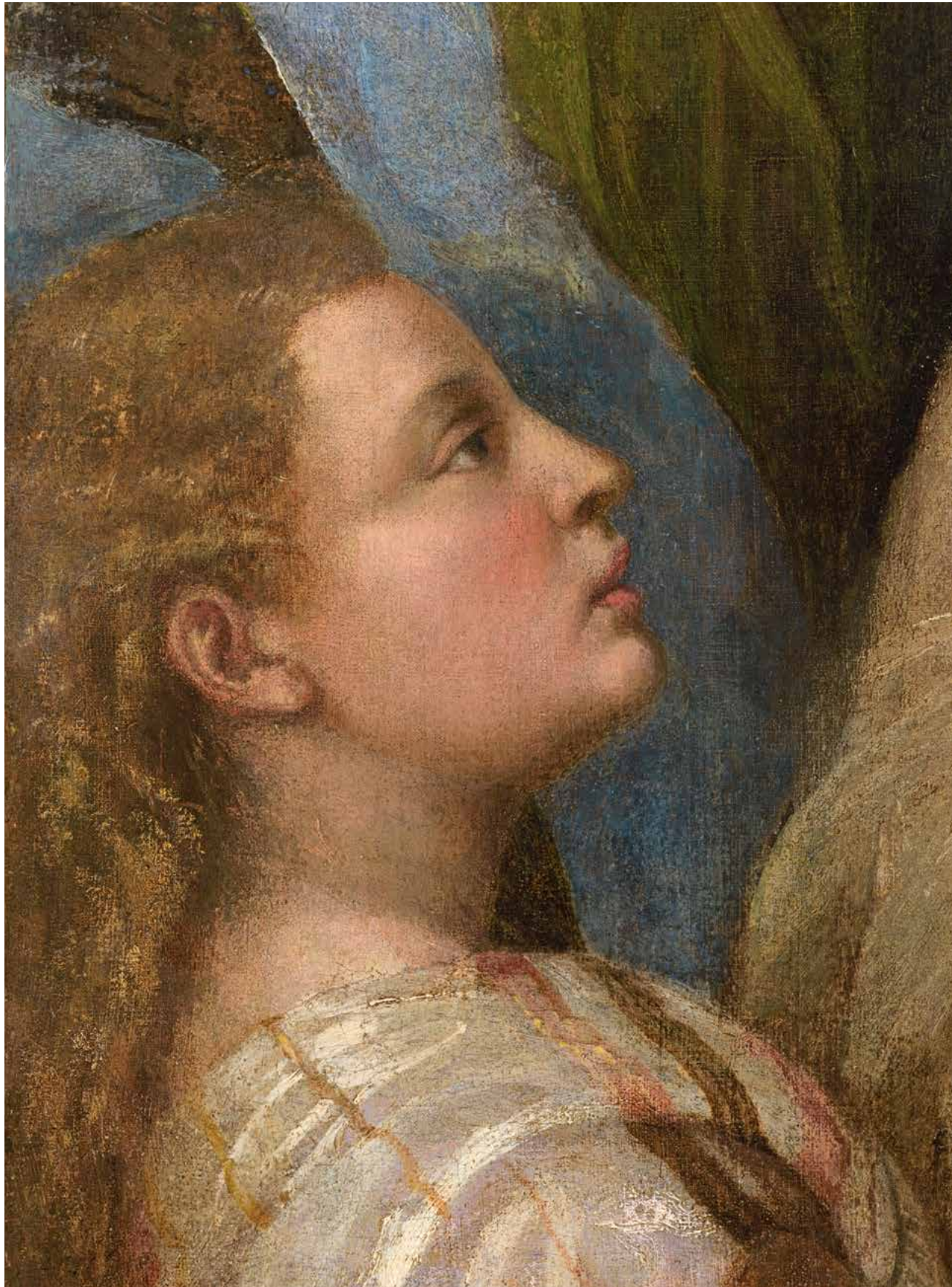
To verify this aspect (among several others), the painting was subjected to non-invasive diagnostic analyses performed by Giuseppe and Luciano Malcangi in the late spring of 2024, with fairly surprising results. While reflectography failed to reveal any particular differences with what can be seen by the naked eye – other than a difference in the brushwork of the saint's hand by comparison with the rest of the picture (fig. 9) – X-ray examination confirmed that two hands worked on the canvas, albeit not in the areas mentioned by Suida (fig. 10).

The master initially set the scene in the interior of a room, of which we can see a window frame on the left. Inside it, towards the floor, we can distinguish a number of brush strokes that appear to resemble two torches or, at any rate, flames. The curtain behind the two main figures was already there, but it did not stretch as far as it does today, reaching only a little way beyond Mary's arm. Mary, for her part, was gazing more directly downwards, her eyes and nose differently inclined. On Jesus's head there shone a halo that was not pulviscular but made of rays, while there was no sign of the coral necklace around his neck. The palm of his right hand, in which he grasps the spout of the jar proffered by the saint, faced upwards, while the phalanges of his fingers were painted with very rapid brush strokes. It is not clear whether or not he was holding something in his hand – possibly flowers or leaves – but immediately above, we get the impression that we can see a kind of globe, which might suggest that, in a first rendering, his hand held a transparent orb (a typical attribute of the Salvator Mundi). The Virgin's blue mantle covered her knee, before being pulled back to reveal the red tunic beneath it. Yet the most surprising "second thoughts" concerns the person of the saint, who initially was not a female saint at all but a male figure, and shown in profile, to boot. We can perfectly make out his nose with its large nostril, his thick beard and his heavily receding hairline (fig. 11). His arm was initially lower and his elbow almost touched the outer edge of the canvas. His hand was open, holding an object that he was offering to the Christ Child. What that object may have been is a mystery. X-ray examination revealed a whitish mass, which may even be the result of several superimposed second thoughts. What we can clearly see towards the centre of the picture is what appears to be a plant element topped by a pomegranate with a kind of crown with pointed rays. Yet the

Fig. 11: (opposite), Titian and Girolamo Dente, *Madonna and Child with St. Mary Magdalene*, private collection, X-Ray image (detail)

Figs 12,13: (following pages), Titian and Girolamo Dente, *Madonna and Child with St. Mary Magdalene*, private collection, X-Ray image (processed by Matteo Ballarin); highlighting of the main changes in the final composition (processed by Matteo Ballarin)





morphology of the rest is too elongated to pertain to a pomegranate (unless it was an unripe fruit) and so, in my view, the question remains unanswered. Of course, we cannot rule out the possibility of an atypical solution such as that, for example, found in a mid-17th century derivation that surfaced at a Wannenes auction in Genoa a few years ago, where Jesus receives a heraldic emblem (see no. F2 in the Appendix drafted by Ferdinando Corberi), but this has to remain in the realm of pure speculation.

To clarify the initial situation, we sought the collaboration of Matteo Ballarin, who produced one table reprocessing the X-ray scan to reduce the superimpositions, and another graphically highlighting the structural changes (figs. 12, 13).

It is not clear whether the original male figure was intended to be a patron

Fig. 15: Girolamo Dente, *The Four Seasons*, London art market (formerly Buenos Aires, private collection, detail)

Fig. 14: (opposite), Titian and Girolamo Dente, *Madonna and Child with St. Mary Magdalene*, private collection (detail)

or a saint, possibly akin to St. Paul in the Budapest version. The former appears to be the more likely, if for no other reason than that, as far as we can make out, there is no sign of any iconographical attribute that might allow us to identify a particular saint.

One is tempted to think that the picture may have been conceived, and largely painted, for someone who died before it was completed, or who may never have collected it from the artist. At that point, it remained in his workshop until he decided, a few years later, to turn the figure into St. Mary Magdalene, delegating the change to an assistant, whom we can almost certainly identify as Girolamo Dente, a painter who had been his most trusted collaborator for many years (figs. 14, 15)³⁴.

In making the changes, however, Dente resorted to a solution that is not easy to explain. Why did he set what is unquestionably an – albeit crudely executed – martyr's palm beside the woman? St. Mary Magdalene was never martyred, yet her identity is confirmed by two qualifying elements: the vase containing the ointment with which she anointed the body of the grown Christ, and the long, unbound hair with which she dried his feet after wetting them with her tears. It is not easy to find an answer, and while it is true that there are also surviving iconographical traces of a Virgin martyr whose attribute was a jar – Neomysia, a girl from Asia Minor who died, and is venerated, in Anagni –, it really does not seem appropriate to identify the figure as Neomysia in a case such as this³⁵. We may, of course, be looking at a kind of cryptoportrait of a woman named Maddalena who had the misfortune to be slaughtered, but we should leave that kind of explanation, which borders on the absurd, to others.

Apart from these specific issues, there are three basic questions.

When was the first painting produced? When was the later version with alterations painted? And is it possible to build corpuses based on the derivations in order to shed a glimmer of light on other potential lost variants?

Before attempting to answer those questions, it is worth realigning the other three exemplars of the same composition introduced above, in order to establish their proper chronological sequence.

A timeline

Here we should start at the end.

It appears obvious to me that the Uffizi version (fig. 4) is the last in the series. If we analyse the brushwork and the paint, we can clearly see that we are

looking at more or less the same timeframe as the *Madonna of Mercy* in the Pitti Palace, a large painting over which debate has long raged regarding the amount of autograph work it contains by Titian's own hand, yet whose history is unquestioned. Commissioned from Urbino in 1573, it is known to have been delivered in January of the following year³⁶. While the letters informing Guidobaldo II della Rovere of the progress being made in its execution, dwelt at length on the fact that Titian said he was “determined to paint it by his own hand”, modern critics argue that that was not in fact what happened, and apart from a few attempts to identify his work in one or the other area of the painting, there is a general consensus that the picture was painted mostly, if not wholly, by his workshop assistants – obviously under the guiding hand of their master, who is portrayed in the centre of the picture, in the foreground under Mary's gaze. Despite earlier dates (1550-60) having been ventured for the Madonna now in the Chamber of Deputies, it shows an unquestioned affinity with the *Madonna of Mercy*, and the suggestion that the master's nephew Marco, initially put forward by Cavalcaselle, worked on both may well be right on target. Yet the history of Marco's early cooperation on Titian's later output is still very murky, so we should continue to adopt a prudent stance in that connection. By the same token, it seems indisputable that the level of execution of Jesus's face is superior to the rest of the painting, thus we may reasonably suggest that the master did intervene in part, at least. The handling of the face is reminiscent of that of Tarquin and Lucretia in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, which was shipped to Philip II in 1571, thus a date towards the end of the 1560s may plausibly be ventured³⁷. Yet we need to add a further clarification regarding the painting now in Montecitorio. The traditional identification of the girl on the left is based, as Gabriella Incerpi argued in 1978, on her hairstyle, with her “hair raised on her neck, plaited with pearls and ribbons, in accordance with the iconography that Titian customarily adopts for St. Catherine”³⁸. Quite honestly, that seems too little to go on to identify any saint. St. Catherine of Alexandria normally has two specific attributes by which to identify her, the wheel of her martyrdom and a gesture alluding to her mystic marriage with Christ. Both are missing in this instance, and quite frankly, she looks far too young compared to the age at which she is customarily portrayed. We are looking, here, at an adolescent with highly individual features offering Jesus a fruit. Who she may be, we are not told. She certainly would not have felt out of place in the group of women of the Vecellio family portrayed beneath Mary's mantle on the right of the Palazzo Pitti picture.

The St. Petersburg picture (fig. 2) may be about ten years earlier. In this case, there can be no doubt concerning the saint's identity. Her ointment jar and long hair tell us that she is definitely St. Mary Magdalene, and the suggestion put forward by Irina Artemieva that the painting should be dated to some time between the second half of the 1550s and the first half of the following decade appears unavoidable. Artemieva suggested c. 1555-8, which sounds persuasive. At a guess, I personally would opt for some time between 1557 and 1559, considering the picture's affinity, on the one hand, with the *Annunciation* formerly in San Domenico Maggiore in Naples and now in Capodimonte, painted c. 1557, and on the other, particularly in view of its recent restoration, with the small Pieve di Cadore altarpiece, which must have been painted some time around 1560³⁹.

The first version of the picture under discussion here is likely to date back to a few years earlier, in other words the start of the 1550s. There is no conclusive comparison allowing us to establish a precise date, but the impression is clear, namely that the picture was painted at the time Titian produced the *Girl with a Platter of Fruit* now in the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin (most recently dated c. 1555), the similar, if more sophisticated, *Salome* in the Prado and the *Girl with a Fan* now in Dresden, which is highly likely to be a portrait of his daughter Lavinia in her wedding gown. Moreover, if we look at the construction of the white handkerchief in Mary's hand (fig. on pp. 6-7), we shall see that it bears a striking resemblance to the sheet in the foreground of *Danaë and golden Rain* in the Prado⁴⁰. The difference with the St. Petersburg exemplar is clear, yet not excessive, and considering the similarity in the pose of the two St. Mary Magdalenes, we cannot rule out the possibility that, in ordering his pupil to replace the early male figure, Titian may have pointed precisely to the saint in the Russian painting as the model for that replacement, but that Dente painted it somewhat more clumsily. In any event, it seems extremely likely to me, that the master personally handled the shawl on the woman's shoulders (fig. on pp. 52-3), which is reminiscent of certain gaudy, shimmering fabrics found in a number of his coeval Penitent Magdalenes, for example the one formerly in the Candiani collection in Busto Arsizio. Furthermore, if we observe the modelling of Jesus's face, we can detect the expressive punch with which Titian depicted the saint in those exemplars and which he replicated on more than one occasion between the 1550s and '60s (fig. 16)⁴¹.

To sum up, on the basis of what we have observed thus far, we may surmise that the painting was drafted by Titian in the early 1550s, and that it was

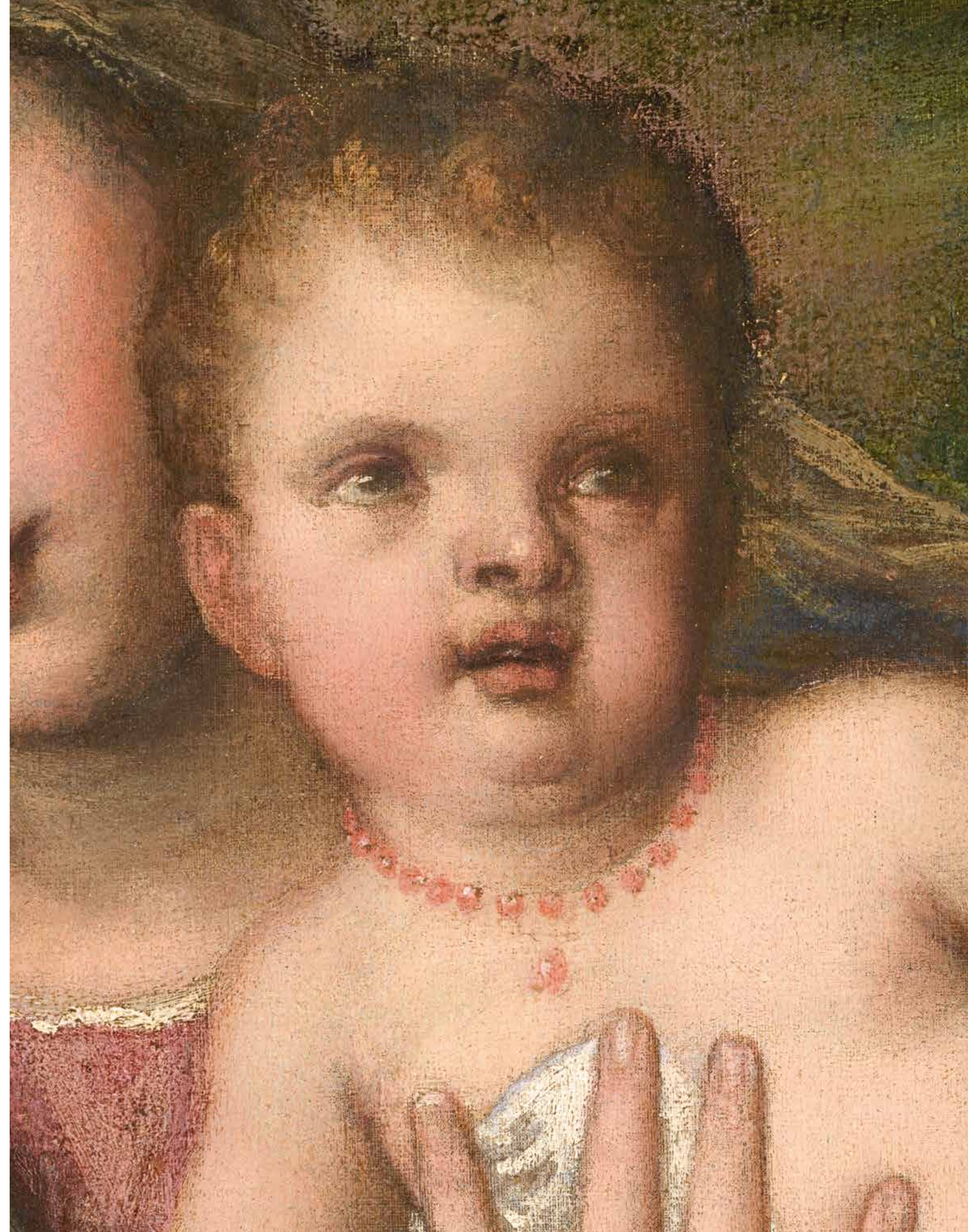


Fig. 16: (opposite), Titian and Girolamo Dente, *Madonna and Child with St. Mary Magdalene*, private collection (detail)



Figs 17-18: Giovanni Bellini, *Madonna and Child with Saints*, Venice, San Zaccaria, (detail); Titian, *Madonna and Child with Saints*, Venice, Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari (detail)

left unfinished – after having been almost wholly completed – following a change of destination due, possibly, to the death of the patron who commissioned it. The change may be dated to some time between the end of that decade and the early 1560s, given that the Capodimonte copy appears to take into account both this model (on which the curtain is based) and the version in the Hermitage.

We also need to allow for the likelihood, if not the certainty, that Titian may have painted further versions of this composition, reflected in the large number of derivations listed in the *Appendix*.

It is possible to subdivide these derivations into various groups, which undoubtedly reflect variants devised by the master at various times in the course of his maturity. In addition to the case of the pictures in St. Petersburg and formerly in New York, which are in some way connected to one another (type A), and of the Uffizi painting, of which there are numerous copies, most of them dating back to the period in which it hung in the Grand Ducal gallery (type B), it is clear that there are also other “series”. The first is that in which the figure of St. Mary Magdalene – who can be identified by the ointment vase – has her hair caught up in a bun and her back in full view (type C). The fact that this was a “workshop” variant is suggested by



Fig. 19: Workshop of Titian (Francesco Vecellio?), *Madonna and Child with Saints*, Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts

the probable attribution to Cesare Vecellio of a picture recently put up for auction in Vienna (no. C3).

We can also identify another group (type D), in which St. Mary Magdalene’s hair is plaited and falls on her right shoulder, as for example in the former Duveen exemplar, in which the saint’s profile and gesture echo those of St. Catherine of Alexandria in the painting formerly in the Kisters Collection in Kreuzlingen, that was sold in 2011⁴² (no. D1). We should note that, in this group, there are also differences in the way Jesus is supported: at times on a parapet, at others on a pedestal (nos. D1, D2). And indeed, there are exemplars in which the female saint’s place is taken by a male figure, for example in the prototype formerly in Modena, to which the Budapest version and a painting attributed by Egidio Martini to Padovanino (type E) are inevitably linked, and in others in which we find the Young St. John the Baptist and St. Joseph (nos. F1, F2). Versions attributable to such different hands and periods can only be based on common prototypes



Fig. 20: Giangiaco Caraglio, after Titian, *The Annunciation*, engraving (detail)

that have not survived. Obviously, we cannot say whether those prototypes were by Titian's hand or were reworked by one of "his people", but what is certain is that they were products of his workshop, or at least of his closest circle of followers. Yet before winding up this discussion, we need to make one further observation in connection with the development and popularity of this composition. It reveals a creative approach that was typical of Titian, namely his ability to take traditional models and to rework them in a manner reflecting contemporary sensitivity and taste.

Let me explain myself more clearly.

The origin of the solution adopted by Titian in this series of paintings lies, without any doubt, in a late 15th century composition which enjoyed immense popularity also in the early 16th, and which is a feature, for example, of one of the altarpieces that aroused the greatest admiration in Venice in the early 16th century, namely the altarpiece painted by Giovanni Bellini for the

church of San Zaccaria in 1505⁴³. In that altarpiece, the Virgin enthroned uses her right hand to hold the Christ Child standing on her thigh, while looking down at the saints on either side of the composition and at an angel musician (fig. 17). Nor was Bellini the only one to resort to this solution, for it is found in many other altarpieces of the period. To mention only two well-known examples, one has but to think of Cima da Conegliano's *Dragan Altarpiece*, now in the Gallerie dell'Accademia in Venice (1501), or Lorenzo Lotto's altarpiece in Santa Cristina al Tiverton (1505-6). The young Titian immediately latched onto this iconographical tradition, as we can see quite clearly in the small altarpiece in the Prado (c. 1511)⁴⁴, yet over the years, he sought to impart a greater dynamism to the interaction between Mary, Jesus and the saints below them, on occasion even forgoing a frontal depiction for a view from the side, as for example in the *Pesaro Altarpiece* in the Frari (1526) (fig. 18)⁴⁵.

It was after the *Pesaro Altarpiece*, between the end of the 1520s and the mid-1550s, that Titian developed his original 'idea' for this composition, and this was precisely between the moment he turned his hand to finishing Jacopo

Palma il Vecchio's glorious *Holy Family with St. Catherine and St. John the Baptist*, now in the Gallerie dell'Accademia in Venice – in the wake of Palma's death in 1529⁴⁶ –, and the moment someone in his workshop (Francesco?) drafted a *Sacra Conversazione*, now in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Dijon (fig. 19)⁴⁷, in which, taking his cue from the composition derived from Palma's masterpiece, he added a Madonna and Child that would appear to take into account the new entry in Titian's workshop repertoire. In fact, we should note the way in which the Dijon Jesus holds the fruit facing downwards in his right hand, which provides a perfect explanation for that gesture in the Type B and Type E variants.

Thus it was that, through a number of successive stages of which we know nothing, Titian contrived the solution that we know from the painting formerly in New York and from all the other versions, in which we get the feeling that his aim was to conjure up a visual *déjà vu* of the altarpiece. He chose a focus in which the mystic dialogue takes place with only one female (or male) saint, depicted on the left in the act of drawing close to the podium on which the Virgin is seated (but which we cannot see), with only a part of the figure shown in profile. He always ensured, however, that the Virgin's gaze was downcast, and that it turned more softly towards the left, which – rightly or wrongly – reminds me of Mary's gaze in the now lost Annunciation shipped to the Spanish court in 1537 (following its rejection by the nuns of Santa Maria degli Angeli in Murano), which we know from a print by Jacopo Caraglio (fig. 20)⁴⁸. The suggestion that the first "lost prototype" in the series may date back to the mid-1530s does not sound implausible. A clue to this (if that is what it is) may lie in the altarpiece that Bonifacio Veronese painted with the Sermon of St. Anthony of Padua in the Santuario del Noce in Camposampiero, dated 1535-7 (fig. 21)⁴⁹.



Fig. 21: Bonifacio Veronese, *The Sermon of Saint Anthony of Padua*, Camposampiero, Santuario del Noce (detail)

Notes

¹ *Mostra dei Vecellio*. Catalogue of the exhibition held in Belluno in 1951, ed. F. Valcanover, Belluno 1951.

² W. Suida, *Miscellanea tizianesca* (I), “Arte veneta” VI, 1952, pp. 27-41, pp. 28-30. The subsequent issues, in the same periodical, are: part II, 10, 1957, pp. 71-81; part III, 11, 1957, pp. 71-74; part IV, 13-14, 1959/60, pp. 62-57.

³ Suida, *Miscellanea tizianesca* (I), op. cit., p. 30.

⁴ As Jonathan Bober has kindly informed me, the Suida archive has now been split up and partly dispersed.

⁵ For the collecting history, see I. Artemieva, *La Madonna Barbarigo di Tiziano*, in *Tiziano. La Madonna Barbarigo dell’Ermitage. Storia, fortuna, restauro*. Catalogue of the exhibition held in Belluno in 2017, ed. I. Artemieva and D. Ton, Verona 2017, pp. 7-14.

⁶ G.B. Cavalcaselle, J.A. Crowe, *Tiziano. La sua vita e i suoi tempi con alcune notizie della sua famiglia*, Florence 1877-8, II (1878), pp. 429-430.

⁷ Of crucial importance for this development is the reconstruction published by L. Puppi in *Per Tiziano*, Milan 2004, pp. 61-86.

⁸ Cavalcaselle, Crowe, *Tiziano*, op. cit., p. 429.

⁹ Ivi, pp. 473-474.

¹⁰ M. Utili, in *Musei e Gallerie Nazionali di Capodimonte. La Collezione Farnese. I dipinti lombardi, liguri, veneti, toscani, umbri, romani, fiamminghi. Altre scuole. Fasti farnesiani*, Naples 1995, pp. 69-70.

¹¹ For detailed information regarding the painting, see the entry by G. Incerpi in *Tiziano nelle Gallerie fiorentine*. Catalogue of the exhibition held in

Florence in 1978-9, Florence 1978, pp. 184-186 n. 50.

¹² Ivi, p. 185.

¹³ Cavalcaselle, Crowe, *Tiziano*, op. cit., p. 464.

¹⁴ F. De Luca, in *Il pane degli angeli - Offering of the Angels. Paintings and Tapestries from the Uffizi Gallery*, catalogue of the travelling exhibition held in 2011 –2013, ed. A. Natali, Florence 2011, p. 148.

¹⁵ M. Sframeli, *Le dimore del patrimonio. Opere delle Gallerie fiorentine in deposito esterno a sedi di rappresentanza e luoghi di culto*, Florence 2023, I, p. 180 n. III. 54.

¹⁶ R. Pallucchini, *Tiziano*. Lectures delivered at the Facoltà di Lettere in the Bologna University during academic year 1952-53, Bologna 1953, pp. 48-49.

¹⁷ I would like to thank Miguel Falomir for the information regarding the painting. For this collection, see I. García Lozano, *El palacio y la colección de los Duques de Fernán Núñez en imágenes. 1839-1939 / The Palace and the Collection of the Duke of Fernan Núñez in pictures. 1839-1939*, in *Jornadas sobre Investigación en Historia de la Fotografía. 1839-1939, un siglo de fotografía e/ I Conference on Research in History of Photography. 1839-1939, A Century of Photography*, ed. by J. A. Hernández Latas, Zaragoza 2017, pp. 185-195.

¹⁸ R. Pallucchini, *Tiziano*, Florence 1969, I, p. 128.

¹⁹ H. E. Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian. I. The Religious Paintings*, London 1969, p. 111, cat. no. 68.3.

²⁰ *L’opera completa di Tiziano*,

introduction by C. Cagli, critical and philological apparatus by F. Valcanover, Milan 1969, p. 112, cat. no. 215 (II ed. 1978, p. 112 n. 215): with a putative date of 1540?

²¹ F. Valcanover, *Tutta la pittura di Tiziano*, Milan 1960, I, p. 103; Id., *Tiziano il Principe de’ Pittori*, Florence 1999.

²² T. Pignatti, *Tiziano. Tutti i dipinti*, vol. I, Milan 1981, pp. 80, 82, nos. 218, 219.

²³ T.D. Fomichova, *The Hermitage. Catalogue of Western European painting, Venetian painting. Fourteenth to Eighteenth Centuries*, Florence 1992, pp. 336-337, p. 336. Fomichova had previously mentioned the New York picture as a “first variant” of the Russian version in T. Fomiciova, *I dipinti di Tiziano nelle raccolte dell’Ermitage*, “Arte Veneta”, XXI, 1967, pp. 57-70, p. 63.

²⁴ M. Utili, in *La collezione Farnese*, op. cit., pp. 69-70.

²⁵ V. Tátrai, *Una novità tizianesca in Ungheria*, in “Arte cristiana”, 94, 2006, 832, pp. 33-40.

²⁶ V. Tátrai, *Una novità tizianesca*, op. cit., pp. 34, 37.

²⁷ V. Tátrai, *Tiziano, Madonna col Bambino e san Paolo*, in *Tiziano. L’ultimo atto*. Catalogue of the exhibition held in Belluno in 2007 – 2008, ed. L. Puppi, Milan, 2007, p. 390.

²⁸ G. Tagliaferro, *La pala di Serravalle e la congiuntura degli anni 40*, “Venezia Cinquecento”, XVIII, 2008, 35, pp. 41-77, p. 51.

²⁹ G. Tagliaferro, *Assistenti al lavoro: la produzione fra terzo e quinto decennio*, in B. Aikema, M. Mancini, A.J. Martin, G. Tagliaferro, *Le botteghe di Tiziano*, Florence 2009, pp. 111-131, p. 128.

³⁰ Artemieva, *La Madonna Barbarigo di Tiziano*, op. cit., pp. 7-14, p. 13.

³¹ D. Ton, *Per la fortuna di un modello tizianesco*, in *Tiziano. La Madonna Barbarigo dell’Ermitage*, op. cit., pp. 19-30, pp. 20, fig. 1.

³² I. Artemieva, *Titian’s Barbarigo Madonna: the original and its variants*, in *Titian. Themes and Variations*, edited by P. Humfrey, Florence 2022, pp. 152-161, pp. 157-158. Oddly enough, while G. Tagliaferro addresses the theme of this group, he fails to mention the picture formerly in New York a second time in his essay included in the same volume: *Introduction. The Composition of Themes and Variations by Titian and his Workshop*, pp. 12-37.

³³ The letter is in the possession of the painting’s current owners.

³⁴ I reproduce a detail of the signed work depicting *The Four Seasons* formerly in a private collection in Buenos Aires and more recently on the antique market in London. For this painting, see most recently A. Donati, *Le “Quattro Stagioni” di Girolamo Dente e il suo ruolo dentro e fuori la bottega di Tiziano, in Venezia e la Puglia nel Cinquecento*. Conference proceedings (Bitonto, 25-26 October 2013), ed. N. Barbone Pugliese, A. Donati, L. Puppi, Foggia 2015, pp. 44-57. For the figure of Dente in general, see S. Claut, *All’ombra di Tiziano: contributo per Girolamo Denti*, “Antichità viva” 25, 1986, 5/6, pp. 16-29; E.M. Dal Pozzolo, *La bottega di Tiziano: sistema solare e buco nero*, “Studi tizianeschi”, IV, 2006, pp. 53-98, and G. Tagliaferro, in *Le botteghe di Tiziano*, op. cit., pp. 154-157, pp. 65- 66, 84-88.

³⁵ G. Kaftal, *Saints in Italian Art. Iconography of the Saints in Central and South Italian Schools of Painting*, Florence 1986, coll. 147-148, 1352

³⁶ For information regarding the *Madonna of Mercy*, see the entry by L. Puppi in *Tiziano. L’ultimo atto*, op. cit., pp. 381-382 n. 59.

³⁷ For the Cambridge picture, see the entry by D. Jaffé in *Tiziano*. Catalogue of the exhibition held in Madrid in 2003, ed. M. Falomir, Madrid 2003, p. 282 n. 58.

³⁸ Incerpi, in *Tiziano nelle Gallerie fiorentine*, op. cit., p. 184.

³⁹ For the *Annunciation* in Naples, see *Tiziano per Napoli. L’ Annunciazione di San Domenico Maggiore. Vicende storico- artistiche, tecnica di esecuzione e restauro*, ed. A.C. Alabiso 2010. For the small Pieve altarpiece, on the other hand, see *Tiziano a Pieve di Cadore. La Madonna col Bambino tra i santi Tiziano e Andrea. Storia, restauro, significato*, ed. S. Mason, Treviso 2023.

⁴⁰ For these paintings (following the order in which they are mentioned in the text), see F. Pedrocco, *Tiziano*, Milan 2000, pp. 233 n. 187, 236 n. 192, 236 n. 191, 222 n. 175.

⁴¹ For this series, see W.R. Rearick, *Le “Maddalene penitenti” di Tiziano*, “Arte Veneta”, 58, 2001, pp. 22-41.

⁴² For the former Kisters painting depicting the *Madonna and Child with St. Luke and St. Catherine of Alexandria* – sold by Christie’s in January 2011 – see Wethey, *Titian. The Religious Paintings*, op. cit., p. 107 n. 62.

⁴³ The San Zaccaria altarpiece’s

popularity is borne out by the numerous derivations of it listed by F. Heinemann in *Bellini e i belliniani*, Venice 1962, I, p. 35 n. 130.

⁴⁴ For these examples and, more generally, for developments in the composition of Venetian altarpieces between the 15th and 16th centuries, see P. Humfrey, *The Altarpiece in Renaissance Venice*, New Haven 1993.

⁴⁵ For the *Pala Pesaro*, see H. Aurenhammer, *Tizian: die Madonna des Hauses Pesaro, wie kommt Geschichte in ein venezianisches Altarbild?*, Frankfurt-am-Main 1994.

⁴⁶ For the picture in the Gallerie dell’Accademia, see Ph. Rylands, *Palma il Vecchio. L’opera completa*, Milan 1988, p. 254 n. 97, and G. Nepi Scirè, *La Sacra Famiglia con santa Caterina e san Giovanni Battista di Palma il Vecchio e Tiziano*, in “Arte Documento” 17-18-19, 2003, pp. 294-297.

⁴⁷ For the Dijon picture, see the entry by M. Hochmann in *Splendeur de Venise 1500 – 1600. Peintures et dessins des collections publiques françaises*. Catalogue of the exhibition held in Bordeaux and Caen in 2005, ed. O. Le Bihan, P. Ramade, Paris 2005, pp. 214-215 n. 94.

⁴⁸ For the story of the altarpiece and for the print, see Wethey, *Titian. The Religious Paintings*, op. cit., p. 71 n. 10.

⁴⁹ For Bonifacio’s altarpiece, see Ph. Cottrell, P. Humfrey, *Bonifacio de’ Pitati*, Treviso 2021, pp. 363-364 n. 94.



Appendix

Group A

St. Mary Magdalene is shown with the ointment jar and long hair running down her back. She wears a shawl amply swathing her right shoulder and back (although not in the Capodimonte version). The main differences between the two autograph versions in Group A are a more close-up depiction of the Virgin in the Hermitage *Madonna*, the presence (or otherwise) of a curtain, and the veil on her head, which falls forward onto her breast in the version formerly in New York, while it flows more abundantly over her shoulder in the Russian version.



A1
Titian and Girolamo Dente
Oil on canvas, 104,7 x 93 cm



A2
Titian
Oil on canvas, 98 x 82 cm
St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, inv. 118



A3
Oil on canvas, 110 x 76 cm
Naples, Galleria Nazionale di Capodimonte



A4
Oil on canvas, 115 x 96 cm, Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum, inv. 988 (photograph taken before restoration)



A5
Oil on canvas, 110 x 88 cm (Florence, Kunsthistorisches Institut, photo no. 461912)



A6
Technique and dimensions unknown, Copenhagen, Count A. de Moltke, reproduced in M. Krohn, *Italienske Billeder i Danmark*, Copenhagen 1910, fig. 59 (Witt Library mount)



A7
Oil on canvas, 94 x 74 cm
Formerly New York, Stewart collection, mentioned by Wethey (I, p. 111), (Witt Library mount)



A8
Oil on canvas, 91,4 x 81,3 cm
Formerly Detlef von Hadeln, Christie's South Kensington, London, 5 December 1997, lot 45

Group B

St. Mary Magdalene is replaced by a female figure (often mistakenly identified as St. Catherine), shown with her hair caught up in a bun rather than running down her back as in Group A. She proffers a fruit rather than an ointment jar. The angle is closer up than in Group A. The Christ Child's left arm is cut off by the edge of the canvas and the Virgin's veil touches the picture's upper edge.



B1 Workshop of Titian
Madonna and Child with Female Figure
Oil on canvas, 73 x 60 cm
Florence, Uffizi, inv. 949 – 1890, on permanent loan to the Chamber of Deputies, Rome



B2
Oil on canvas, 67 x 56 cm
Lawrence, Crewkerne (Somerset, UK),
22 January 2016, lot 1506



B3
Oil on canvas, 69 x 59 cm
L'Huillier & Associés, Paris, 28 June
2013, lot 21



B4
Oil on canvas, 67,5 x 58 cm
Formerly Micaëla Ana Maria Cousiño y
Quiñones de León, Countess of Paris



B5
Oil on canvas, 91,6 x 73,4
Zagreb, Mimara Museum



B6
Oil on canvas, 72 x 62 cm
Berard-Peron, Corbas, 17 September
2022, lot 37



B7
Oil on canvas, 33,5 x 27 cm
Bertolami, Rome, 2 July 2020, lot 268



B8
Oil on canvas, 66 x 56 cm
Sotheby's, London, 25 October 1978,
lot 53



B9
Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown,
formerly M. Longhena collection,
Bologna (Zeri Photographic Library)



B10
Oil on canvas, 68,5 x 56 cm
Meban Antique Auction Gallery, Meban
(NC), USA, 25 March 2023, lot 49



B11
Technique and dimensions unknown,
formerly J.B Renier collection, Liège
(London, Witt Library mount)



B12
Oil on canvas, 67 x 58 cm, Viscontea
auction, Milan, 8 October 2024, lot 166

Group C

St. Mary Magdalene is shown with her hair dressed as in Group B, but she is still identified by the presence of the ointment jar. Unlike in Groups A and B, the Christ Child's legs do not rest on the Virgin but on a parapet, which is to some extent concealed by the Virgin's mantle.

The angle of the composition is similar to that of Group A.



C1
Oil on canvas, 99,9 x 80,9 cm
Christie's, online auction 18875, lot 50



C2
Technique and dimensions unknown
Private collection



C3 Cesare Vecellio (?)
Oil on canvas, 99 x 86 cm
Dorotheum, Vienna, 10 November 2020, lot 30

Group D

St. Mary Magdalene is shown with her hair falling onto her right shoulder. The Christ Child's legs rest on a parapet or on a pilaster.



D1
Oil on canvas, 99.5 x 80.5 cm
Köller, Zurich, 31 March 2017, lot 3080



D2
Technique and dimensions unknown



D3
Oil on canvas, 92 x 69 cm
Bordeaux, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Bordeaux

Group E

St. Mary Magdalene is replaced by St. Paul. The Christ Child holds a fruit, resting it on the Virgin's sleeve. The Christ Child appears suspended, resting neither on the Virgin's legs nor on a parapet.



E1 Workshop of Titian (?)
Oil on canvas, 108 x 96,5 cm
Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum



E2
Technique and dimensions unknown
Private collection



E3
Oil on canvas, 73,4 x 60 cm
Private collection

Group F

Not belonging to any of the above groups.



F1
Marco Vecellio
Oil on canvas, 111 x 108 cm
Formerly Venice, Fondazione Querini Stampalia, stolen in 1971.
The young St. John the Baptist takes St. Mary Magdalene's place in the composition. The figure of the young St. John the Baptist is taken from a painting in the Uffizi (Inv. 967-1890) formerly owned by the Medici family and considered in the past to be an autograph work by Titian (see photograph below)



The Borghese Version*



F2
Sacra Famiglia
Oil on canvas, 98 x 119 cm
Wannenes, Genoa, 21 September 2021, lot 192

Titian (?)
Madonna and Child with St. Mary Magdalene
Oil on canvas, 99 x 79 cm (39 in. x 31 in.)
Inscribed in the bottom left-hand corner: 126 (from the description in Christie's catalogue, London, 28 June 1828) Whereabouts unknown

Provenance:
The collection of Giovanni Battista Borghese, Prince of Rossano, Palazzo Borghese in Campo Marzio, 1693; Robert Fagan (1761-1816); Phillips London, 30 April 1813, lot 22; Radstock, William Waldegrave, 1st Baron (1753-1825); Admiral Lord Radstock sale, Christie's London, 12 May 1826, lot 53, sold to a: Captain Gillam; With William Buchanan (1777-1864); His sale, Christie's London, 21 April 1828, lot 5, unsold; William Buchanan sale, Christie's London, 28 June 1828, lot 42, unsold; William Buchanan sale, Le Petit Louvre, London, Mr. Crouch, keeper, 14 February 1830, lot 9.

Sources and literature:
Vatican Apostolic Archive, Vatican City, (Borghese collection, env. 7504), *Inventario di tutti li mobili che sono nell'appartamento Terreno che gode il Sig.r Principe de Rossano. Adi 7 aprile 1693*, no. 45 (indicated as 126), inventory published in P. Della Pergola, *L'Inventario Borghese del 1693*, in "Arte Antica e Moderna", 26 (April/June 1964), pp. 219- 230, 28 (October/December 1964), pp. 451-467, 30 (April/June 1965), pp.202-217, the inventory may also be consulted on line on the website of the Getty Provenance Index (<https://piprod.getty.edu/starweb/pi/servlet.starweb?path=pi/pi.web>); J. Barry, *The Works of James Barry... Observations on different works of art in France and Italy by Mr. Barry during*

his residence in those countries, vol. II, London 1809, pp. 6 and 44-45; Sir R. Colt Hoare, Bt, *Recollections abroad during the years 1785, 1786, 1787*, vol. I, Bath 1815, p. 79; A. Graves, *Arts Sales from early in the eighteenth century to early in the twentieth century*, New York 1970, III, p. 211.

The first mention of the painting is found in the Borghese inventory of 1693, where it is described as: "a painting roughly three and a half palms¹ in height with the Madonna and the Christ Child in her arms, the Madonna offers the Christ Child a Cup No 126 gilded frame by Titian". The discrepancy in the subject matter (no mention is made of the figure of St. Mary Magdalen) can be explained as an oversight, in which the word "Madonna" was repeated twice, the second time instead of the word "Magdalene". We can be certain of the identification for two reasons. The first is that James Barry, an Irish painter travelling in Italy (see Barry 1809 in Literature), accurately described Titian's painting, having seen it himself in the Borghese palace in Rome, as "the picture of the little Christ, the Magdalene and Madonna, which I copied in the Borghese", and returned to the topic when he saw he Barbarigo painting in Venice, informing us that: "In the Barbarigo palace is a picture of the Madonna, Child, &c. a similar one I copied at the Borghese. The only difference which I observe between them is, that the one at Rome is coloured with a finer glow and more warmth. They are the same in all other respects. The woman who presents the vase to the Bambino, is more entire in that of the Barbarigo, as the canvas is larger". Yet in order to rule out the possibility that the Borghese

collection may have included two different versions, and that the version mentioned in the inventory of 1693 is therefore a different picture, we can turn to Christie's of London's auction catalogue dated 28 June 1828, in which the painting is listed as lot 42 and described as bearing the inscription: "at the bottom of the Picture, in the left hand corner: 126". This is precisely the numbering found in the inventory of Prince Borghese dated 1693 (see Sources and Literature). In the 1830 sale catalogue, it is described thus: "The Virgin, Child, and Magdalene. Nothing can exceed the delicacy or beauty of the tones in the flesh of the figures of this charming composition; they are perfect of their kind, and prove beyond all contradiction, how well Titian deserved the title of "Prince of Colourists." This Picture formerly held a place on the walls of the Borghese Palace, whence it was acquired by the late Mr. Fagan, at the period when the French army occupied Rome. When it came to England it was covered with a heavy oil, which from time, had become of a reddish brown, and completely obscured the genuine colour of the picture. To get rid of this, it was necessary that the picture should be re-lined, in the process of which two most important documents on the original canvas where discovered, which proved not only its authenticity, but for whom the picture was painted; one of these was contained in a large shield at the top of the picture, in which Titian in his own hand, and in the same character of letter as that on his Picture of the Bacchus and Ariadne, now in the National Gallery, had written in dry colour, called *Rosso Venetiano* -TICIANVS. F., after which follow several lines which have become illegible. The second is a smaller shield at the corner of the Picture, in which are designed

the Arms of the Family for whom the Picture was painted – probably those of the Borghese, as the picture is known to have been in the possession of that family for a very long period previous to the French army having visited Rome, and it still bears the No. which it held in the Catalogue of the Borghese pictures, viz. 126, painted at the bottom of the picture. Very few pictures by this great master are of more real importance than that now before us; and not one certainly exists, which can be better authenticated”. Further information regarding the inscriptions discovered following the return of the painting to its original lining are supplied in the Christie’s sale catalogue of two years previously, in other words 28 June 1828, where it is specified that “to get rid of this with safety, it was necessary that the Picture should be re-lined; and when Peel, of Naylor’s Yard, to whom the operation was lately entrusted, had removed the lining, he discovered two most important documents on the back of the original canvas”. This confirms (although it is already clear in the catalogue of 1830) that the inscriptions, the first showing a shield in the upper part with the supposed signature “-TICIANVS. F.” and the second showing a smaller shield in the corner with a crest, were on the back of the original lining.

Regarding the dimensions, these are given in the Radstock catalogue of 1826 (see Provenance) as 39 in. by 31 in.: “The Virgin supporting the Infant in her arms, to whom the Magdalene is presenting a Vase of Ointment. This fine production of Titian’s pencil is marked with great sweetness of character, and elegance of design, as well as glow of colour. It was formerly one of the Collection of the Borghese Palace -- 39 inches by 31”, and in the Buchanan catalogue of 1830 (see provenance), where it is described as being 3’ 2” x 2’ 6” (i.e. 38 in. x 30 in.). Taking an average of the dimensions given, the Borghese picture must therefore have measured approximately 98 x 77.5 cm.

*No version currently known can be identified as the former Borghese picture

Notes

¹Regarding the dimensions, it is not easy to establish the length of the “palm” (handbreadth) used in the inventory of 1693. By way of an example, and without straying from Titian’s work, we might take his *Scourging of Christ* (now in the Galleria Borghese, 113.5 x 88.5 cm), described as being 4 palms high (inv. 1693, no. 396) which would give us a palm 28.4 cm long, or his *Sacred and Profane Love* (now in the Galleria Borghese, 118 x 278 cm) also described as being 4 palms high (inv. 1693, no. 461) which, however, would give us a palm 29.5 cm long. In any event, it is worth remembering that the dimensions given in this inventory are approximate, with the height being almost invariably the only element mentioned, and in fact, in many instances, we are only told that the picture in question is a “large painting”. The dimensions supplied in the inventory of 1693 (three and a half palms in height) are, therefore, compatible with those given in the sales catalogues of 1826 and 1830 (c. 98 x 77.5 cm), which would be the equivalent of three and a half palms if we take a palm to be 28 cm in length.

Variants

A2

Titian, *Madonna and Child with St. Mary Magdalene*, oil on canvas, 98 x 82 cm, St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, inv. 118, **Provenance:** In Titian’s house on his death; Barbarigo collection; sold in Russia in 1850. **Literature:** C. Ridolfi, *Le maraviglie dell’arte* [...], Venice 1648, modern edition ed. D.F. von Hadeln, vol. I. p. 200; C.N. Cochin, *Voyage d’Italie, ou recueil de notes sur les ouvrages de peinture et de sculpture q’on voit dans les principales villes d’Italie*, vol. III, Paris, 1758, pp. 141-142; modern edition ed. C. Michel, *Le Voyage d’Italie de Charles-Nicholas Cochin (1758)*, Rome 1991. G.C. Bevilacqua, *Insigne pinacoteca della nobile Veneta famiglia Barbarigo Della Terrazza*, Venice 1845, n. 76; J.A. Crowe, G.B. Cavalcaselle, *Tizian, Leben un Werke*, vol. II, Leipzig 1877, p. 423; C.A. Levi, *Le collezioni veneziane d’arte e d’antichità dal secolo XIV ai nostri giorni*, Venice 1900, p. 287, n. 76; L. Venturi, *Saggio sulle opere d’arte italiana a Pietroburgo*, in “L’arte”, 15, 1912, p. 140 (as not autograph: “The painting is good but the composition is wretched”); O. Fischel, *Tizian. Des Meisters Gemälde in 274 Abbildungen*, Stuttgart 1907, p. 209; W. Suida, *Le Titien*, Paris 1935, pp. 138, 181, reproduced as pl. 276a; W. Suida, *Miscellanea tizianesca*, in “Arte Veneta”, VI, 1952, p. 28; R. Pallucchini, *Tiziano*, lectures delivered at the Facoltà di Lettere in the Università di Bologna during academic year 1952-53, Bologna 1953, pp. 48-49; V.F. Levinson-Lessing, A.E. Krol, U.A. Rusakov, *Gosudarstvenny Ermitazh: Otdel zapadnoevropeyskogo iskusstva: Katalog zhivopisi. T. II* (State Hermitage Museum: Department of Western European Art: Catalogue of Paintings Vol. II,) Leningrad, Moscow, 1958, cat. no. 118; F. Valcanover, *Tutta la pittura di Tiziano*, Milan 1960, vol. I, p. 104, reproduced as pl. 222; R. Pallucchini, *Die venezianische Malerei des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Munich 1961, p. 288; S. Savini Branca, *Il collezionismo veneziano nel ’600*, Padua 1964, p. 186; T.D. Fomiciova, *I dipinti di Tiziano nelle raccolte dell’Ermitage*, in “Arte Veneta”, XXI, 1967, pp. 63-64; R. Pallucchini, *Tiziano*, Florence 1969, vol. I, p. 128, vol. II, pl. 358; F. Valcanover (ed.), *L’opera completa di Tiziano*, introduction by C. Cagli, I Classici dell’arte, Milan 1969, p. 111, cat. no. 212, 1978 edition, p. 112, cat. no. 212; H.E. Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian. I. The Religious Paintings*, London, 1969, cat. no. 68, p. 111, reproduced as pl. 52; T. Pignatti, *Tiziano. Tutti i dipinti*, vol. I, Milan 1981, p. 80, cat.

no. 219; T.D. Fomiciova, *The Hermitage Catalogue of Western European Painting. Venetian Painting, Fourteenth to Eighteenth Centuries*, Moscow and Florence 1992, pp. 336-337, cat. no. 256; M. Dazzi, E. Merkel (ed.), *Catalogo della Pinacoteca della Fondazione scientifica Querini Stampalia*, Vicenza 1993, p. 42; V. Tátrai, *Una novità tizianesca in Ungheria*, in “Arte Cristiana”, vol. 94, 2006, folder 832, pp. 33-34, 37, reproduced as fig. 10; V.Tátrai, in L. Puppi (ed.), *Tiziano. L’ultimo atto*, catalogue of the exhibition held in Belluno in 2007-8, Milan 2007, p. 390; G. Tagliaferro, *La pala di Serravalle e la congiuntura degli anni ’40*, in “Venezia Cinquecento”, XVIII, 2008 (2009), p. 51; B. Aikema, M. Mancini, A.J. Martin, G. Tagliaferro, *Le botteghe di Tiziano*, Florence 2009, p. 128; F. De Luca, in A. Natali (ed.), *Il pane degli angeli - Offering of the Angels. Paintings and Tapestries from the Uffizi Gallery*, catalogue of the exhibition held in 2011 -2013, Florence 2011, p. 150; I. Artemieva, *La Madonna Barbarigo di Tiziano*, in I. Artemieva, D. Ton (ed.), *Tiziano. La Madonna Barbarigo dell’Ermitage: Storia, fortuna, restauro*, catalogue of the exhibition held in Belluno in 2017, Verona 2017, pp. 7-14, reproduced p. 16; D. Ton, *Per la fortuna di un modello tizianesco*, in I. Artemieva, D. Ton (ed.), *Tiziano. La Madonna Barbarigo dell’Ermitage: Storia, fortuna, restauro*, catalogue of the exhibition held in Belluno in 2017, Verona 2017, pp. 19-30; I. Artemieva, *Titian’s Barbarigo Madonna: the original and its variants*, in P. Humfrey (ed.), *Titian. Themes and Variations*, Florence 2023, pp. 157, 159, p. 161 note 23; G. Tagliaferro, *Introduction: the composition of themes and variations by Titian and his workshop*, in P. Humfrey (ed.), *Titian. Themes and Variations*, Florence 2023, pp. 26-28, reproduced as fig. 13.

A3 Workshop of Titian, *Madonna and Child with St. Mary Magdalene*, oil on canvas, 110 x 76 cm, Naples, Galleria Nazionale di Capodimonte, in storage, **Provenance:** possibly Farnese collection, Parma, 1680 (see Campori 1870 in Literature), **Sources and Literature:** possibly G. Campori, *Raccolta di cataloghi ed inventarii inediti di quadri, statue, disegni, bronzi, dorerie, smalti, medaglie, avorii, ecc. dal secolo XV al secolo XIX*, Modena 1870, p. 224; J.A. Crowe, G.B. Cavalcaselle, *Tizian, Leben un Werke*, vol. II, Leipzig 1877, p. 445 (listed as a copy of the St. Petersburg version); A. De Rinaldis,

Pinacoteca del Museo Nazionale di Napoli: catalogo, Naples 1911, pp. 157-158, cat. no. 81; A. De Rinaldis, *Pinacoteca del Museo Nazionale di Napoli*, Naples 1927, p. 341 (listed as a copy); W. Suida, *Miscellanea tizianesca*, in “Arte Veneta”, VI, 1952, p. 29; R. Pallucchini, *Tiziano*, Florence 1969, p. 294; H.E. Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian. I. The Religious Paintings*, London, 1969, cat. no. 68, p. 111; G. Bertini, *La Galleria del Duca di Parma. Storia di una collezione*, Bologna 1987, p. 103; B. Jestaz, *L’inventaire du Palais et des propriétés Farnèse à Rome en 1644*, Rome 1994, p. 165; M.Utili, in N. Spinosa (ed.), *Museo nazionale di Capodimonte. La collezione Farnese. I dipinti lombardi, liguri, veneti, toscani, romani, umbri, fiamminghi. Altre scuole. Fasti farnesiani*, vol. 2, Milan 1997, pp. 69-70, reproduced on p. 70; D. Ton, *Per la fortuna di un modello tizianesco*, in I. Artemieva, D. Ton (ed.), *Tiziano. La Madonna Barbarigo dell’Ermitage: Storia, fortuna, restauro*, catalogue of the exhibition held in Belluno in 2017, Verona 2017, pp. 20, 24-25, reproduced as fig. 4 p. 25 (listed as a copy); I. Artemieva, *Titian’s Barbarigo Madonna: the original and its variants*, in P. Humfrey (ed.), *Titian. Themes and Variations*, Florence 2023, p. 159 (listed as a copy).

A4 *Madonna and Child with St. Mary Magdalene*, oil on canvas, 115 x 96 cm, Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum, inv. 988.

A5 *Madonna and Child with St. Mary Magdalene*, oil on canvas, 110 x 88 cm (Photographic Library of the Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence, entry no. 461912).

A6 *Madonna and Child with St. Mary Magdalene*, technique and dimensions unknown, Copenhagen, Count A. de Moltke, the image is reproduced in Krohn 1910 (see Literature), **Literature:** M. Krohn, *Italienske Billeder i Danmark*, Copenhagen 1910, fig. 59; H.E. Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian. I. The Religious Paintings*, London, 1969, p. 111.

A7 *Madonna and Child with St. Mary Magdalene*, oil on canvas, 94 x 74 cm (37 in. x 29 in.), **Provenance:** Stewart collection, New York; *A.T. Stewart collection of paintings, sculptures, and other objects of art sale*, American Art Association, New York, 25 March 1887, lot 181 (photograph from the Witt Library mount, London). **Literature:** H.E. Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian. I. The Religious Paintings*, London, 1969, p. 111.

A8

Madonna and Child with St. Mary Magdalene, oil on canvas, 91.4 x 81.3 cm. This is the painting published by Ton (Ton 2017, see Literature), and listed in the Zeri Photographic Library (entry no. 43553) as private collection, London. **Provenance:** Detlef von Hadeln collection (entry in the Photographic Library of the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florence no. 406844); Christie’s South Kensington, London, 5 December 1997, lot 45. **Literature:** D. Ton, *Per la fortuna di un modello tizianesco*, in I. Artemieva, D. Ton (ed.), *Tiziano. La Madonna Barbarigo dell’Ermitage: Storia, fortuna, restauro*, catalogue of the exhibition held in Belluno in 2017, Verona 2017, pp. 25, 30 note 16, reproduced as fig. 5.

B1

Workshop of Titian, *Madonna and Child with Female Figure*, oil on canvas, 73 x 60 cm, Florence, Uffizi, inv. 949 – 1890, on permanent loan to the Chamber of Deputies, Rome **Provenance:** Florence, collezione cardinal Carlo de’ Medici, casino mediceo di San Marco; Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, Palazzo degli Uffizi, Florence, 1677; Poggio a Caiano, Villa medicea di Poggio a Caiano, rifugi bellici, 1940; Florence, Palazzo Pitti, Florence, 1944; Florence, Palazzo Pitti, Palazzo Pitti, Magazzino Occhi, Florence, 1954; Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, Palazzo degli Uffizi, 1976. **Literature:** J.A. Crowe, G.B. Cavalcaselle, *Tizian, Leben u Werke*, vol. II, Leipzig 1877, p. 464 (come scuola di Tiziano); Galleria degli Uffizi, *Catalogo dei dipinti*, Florence 1926, p. 84, n. 949 (come scuola di Tiziano); W. Suida, *Miscellanea tizianesca*, in “Arte Veneta”, VI, 1952, p. 29; R. Pallucchini, *Tiziano*, Florence 1969, p. 294, cat. no. 358; F. Valcanover (ed.), *L’opera completa di Tiziano*, presentazione di C. Cagli, Classici dell’arte, Milan 1969, p. 112; cat. no. 15; H.E. Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian. I. The Religious Paintings*, London, 1969, p. 111, cat. no. 68.1 (come copia da Tiziano); G. Incerpi, in G. Agostini, E. Allegri, A. Cecchi, G. Chiarini, L. Fiorentini, G. Incerpi, M. Manfrini, F.P. Squellati, M. Zecchini (ed.), *Tiziano nelle Gallerie fiorentine*, catalogo della mostra di Florence, 1978-1979, Florence 1978, cat. no. 50, pp. 184-186; L. Berti (ed.), *Gli Uffizi: Catalogo generale*, Florence 1980, cat. no. P1732, p. 550; A. Natali (ed.), *Il pane degli angeli - Offering of the Angels. Paintings and Tapestries from the Uffizi Gallery*, catalogo della mostra, 2011 –2013, Florence 2011, pp. 148-167; I. Artemieva, *La Madonna Barbarigo di Tiziano*, in I. Artemieva, D. Ton (ed.), *Tiziano. La Madonna Barbarigo dell’Ermitage: Storia, fortuna, restauro*, catalogue of the exhibition held in Belluno in 2017, Verona 2017, p. 13; D. Ton, *Per la fortuna di un modello tizianesco*, in I. Artemieva, D. Ton (ed.), *Tiziano. La Madonna Barbarigo dell’Ermitage: Storia, fortuna, restauro*, catalogue of the exhibition held in Belluno in 2017, Verona 2017, pp. 19-20, 22-23, reproduced p. 18; I. Artemieva,

Titian’s Barbarigo Madonna: the original and its variants, in P. Humfrey (ed.), *Titian. Themes and Variations*, Florence 2023, pp. 155, 156, 157, reproduced as fig. 6; G. Tagliaferro, *Introduction: the composition of themes and variations by Titian and his workshop*, in P. Humfrey (ed.), *Titian. Themes and Variations*, Florence 2023, pp. 26-28, reproduced as fig. 15.

B2

Madonna and Child with Female Figure, oil on canvas, 67 x 56 cm, **Provenance:** Lawrence, Crewkerne (Somerset, UK), 22 January 2016, lot 1506.

B3

Madonna and Child with Female Figure, oil on canvas, 69 x 59 cm, **Provenance:** L’Huillier & Associés, Paris, 28 June 2013, lot 21.

B4

Madonna and Child with Female Figure, oil on canvas, 67.5 x 58 cm, **Provenance:** Micaëla Ana María Cousiño y Quiñones de León, Countess of Paris (1938-2022); Princesse Micaela d’Orléans sale, Millon, Paris, 15 September 2013, lot 40.

B5

Madonna and Child with Female Figure, 91.6 x 73.4 cm, Zagreb, Mimara Museum.

B6

Madonna and Child with Female Figure, oil on canvas, 72 x 62 cm, **Provenance:** Berard-Peron, Corbas, 17 September 2022, lot 37.

B7

Madonna and Child with Female Figure, oil on canvas, 33.5 x 27 cm, **Provenance:** Bertolami, Rome, 2 July 2020, lot 268.

B8

Madonna and Child with Female Figure, oil on canvas, 66 x 56 cm, **Provenance:** Sotheby’s, London, 25 October 1978, lot 53 (photograph at the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florence, entry 462771).

B9

Madonna and Child with Female Figure, oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. This is the painting published by Ton (Ton 2017, see Literature), and present in the Zeri Photographic Library (entry no. 43550).

Provenance: formerly M. Longhena collection, Bologna. **Literature:** D. Ton, *Per la fortuna di un modello tizianesco*, in I. Artemieva, D. Ton (ed.), *Tiziano. La Madonna Barbarigo dell’Ermitage: Storia, fortuna, restauro*, catalogue of the exhibition held in Belluno in 2017, Verona 2017, p. 23, reproduced as fig. 3.

B10

Madonna and Child with Female Figure, oil on canvas, 68.5 x 56 cm, Meban Antique Auction Gallery, Meban (NC), USA, 25 March 2023, lot 49.

B11

Madonna and Child with Female Figure, technique and dimensions unknown, **Provenance:** Renier collection, Liège (Witt Library mount, London, without any indication of technique or dimensions),

Literature: H.E. Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian. I. The Religious Paintings*, London 1969, p. 111.

B12

Viscontea auction, Milan, 8 October 2024, lot 166.

C1

Madonna and Child with St. Mary Magdalene, oil on canvas, 99.9 x 80.9 cm. Christie’s 2020 catalogue (see Provenance) mistakenly identifies it as the version formerly belonging to the Borghese collection. Yet it cannot be that version because in August 1827, the date the Christie’s version was purchased in Rome, the version formerly in the Borghese collection was already in England (see the entry for the Borghese version in this volume on p. 63). **Provenance:** James Irvine (1759-1831), Rome, 24 August 1827, by whom it was purchased in August 1827; Sir William Forbes, 7th Baronet of Pistligo (1773-1828), Fettercairn House, Grampian, Scotland, and thereafter by descent; Two Great Scottish Collections, Property from the Forbeses of Pistligo and the Marquess of Lothian; Sotheby’s, London, 28 March 2017, lot 29, as “follower of Titian”; private collection; Christie’s, on-line auction 18875, auction closed on 30 July 2020, lot 50. **Sources and Literature:** Letter from James Irvine to Sir William Forbes, sent from Bologna on 24 August 1827, The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, unpublished manuscript; Letter from Charles Irvine to his uncle James Irvine, dated 11 March 1828, confirming that Sir William Forbes saw and paid 150 guineas for the picture, The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, unpublished manuscript; Letter from James Irvine to Sir William Forbes, sent on 5 November 1828, The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, unpublished manuscript; Fettercairn House, inventory dated 1917 (drawing room); Fettercairn House, inventory dated 1930 (drawing room); M. Jaffé, *Pesaro Family Portraits: Pordenone, Lot and Titian*, in “The Burlington Magazine”, CXIII, n. 825, December 1971, p. 702, note 35; I. Artemieva, *Titian’s Barbarigo Madonna: the original and its variants*, in P. Humfrey (ed.), *Titian. Themes and Variations*, Florence 2023, p. 160, reproduced as fig. 8.

C2

Madonna and Child with St. Mary Magdalene, technique and dimensions unknown, private collection. **Literature:** I. Artemieva, *Titian’s Barbarigo Madonna: the original and its variants*, in P. Humfrey (ed.), *Titian. Themes and Variations*, Florence 2023, p. 160, reproduced as fig. 7.

C3

Cesare Vecellio (?), *Madonna and Child with St. Mary Magdalene*, oil on canvas, 99 x 86 cm, **Provenance:** Dorotheum, Vienna, 10 November 2020, lot no. 30.

D1

Madonna and Child with St. Mary Magdalene, oil on canvas, 98 x 78 cm, whereabouts unknown. The painting was identified for a long time as the version from the Borghese collection (see entry for the Borghese version in this volume on p. 63), and it is listed as such in the Berenson Photographic Library listings (olvwork627203, http://id.lib.harvard.edu/images/olvwork627203/catalog) and in the Sedelmeyer catalogue of 1913 and Detroit catalogue of 1928 (see Provenance). Yet while the dimensions are similar (the Borghese painting was given as c. 98 x 77.5 cm, see Borghese entry) there is no mention of the Borghese inventory number, 126, which should appear bottom left. Nor is there any mention of the supposed signature and crest, discovered after the painting was returned to its original lining in the 1820s (see Borghese entry). In any event, it is possible that the painting has been relined, thus covering the inscriptions on the back of the original lining, and that the inventory no. 126 has been lost. Yet it is unlikely that both inscriptions should have been lost. Moreover, the picture’s mediocre quality sits uncomfortably with the praise lavished on the Borghese painting when it was still in Rome. “[...] The picture of the little Christ, the Magdalene, and Madonna, which I copied in the Borghese, where there is a fine, warm, mellow glow, that prevails throughout the whole carnation. This difference of manner Titian used more or less in the pictures executed in his best time: for his other manner seems to arise more from a neglect and slovenly execution. But this warm manner seems to have more of Giorgione in it” (Barry 1809, p. 6). “In the Barbarigo palace is a picture of the Madonna, Child, &c. a similar one I copied at the Borghese. The only difference which I observe between them is, that the one at Rome is coloured with a finer glow and more warmth. They are the same in all other respects. The woman who presents the vase to the Bambino, is more entire in that of the Barbarigo, as the canvas is larger” (Barry 1809, pp. 44-45). Also listed by Ton 2017 (see Literature, pp. 26, 30 note 17) as present in the photographic library of Hermann Voss at the Dutch Institute of Art History in Florence, inv. 6091. The image may be viewed on the Dutch Institute’s website (http://www.niki.digitalcollections.it/islandora). A derivation from this prototype, depicting only the Madonna and Child and of inferior quality, is now in the museum in Bordeaux (entry D3). **Provenance:** with Sedelmeyer, Paris, 1913, cat. no. 65; with Duveen, New York, July 1915 (Berenson Photographic Library); with Norbert Fischmann, Munich, 1928; private collection, Switzerland; Köller, Zurich, 31 March 2017, lot 3080, as Padovanino. **Literature:** 100

Paintings by Old Masters of the Dutch, Flemish, Italian, French, and English schools, being a portion of the Sedelmeyer Gallery, Paris 1813, p. 102, cat. no. 65; *Catalogue of a Loan Exhibition of Paintings by Titian*, Detroit 1928, cat. no. 12.

D2

Madonna and Child with St. Mary Magdalene, technique and dimensions unknown. Published by Ton (Ton 2017, see Literature), mistakenly identified as the version formerly thought to have come from the Borghese collection (see entry for the Borghese version in this volume on p. 63). **Literature:** D. Ton, *Tiziano. La Madonna Barbarigo dell’Ermitage: Storia, fortuna, restauro*, catalogue of the exhibition held in Belluno in 2017, Verona 2017, p. 26, reproduced as fig. 6 p. 27.

D3

Madonna and Child, oil on canvas, 92 x 69 cm, Bordeaux, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Bordeaux, inv. Bx E 317. **Literature:** J. Habert, *Bordeaux, Musée des Beaux-Arts: Peinture italienne XVe-XIXe siècles; Inventaire des Collections publiques françaises*, Paris 1987, p. 110, cat. no. 66, reproduced on p. 110.

E1

Workshop of Titian (?), *Madonna and Child with St. Paul*, oil on canvas, 108 x 96.5 cm, Hungarian National Bank, on permanent loan to the Szépművészeti Múzeum in Budapest, inv. L.3. 745. **Provenance:** Galleria ducale di Modena, 1648 (v. Ridolfi in Sources and Literature); Kaunitz collection, Budapest; possibly Károlyi collection, Budapest; private Hungarian collection; Hungarian Post Office Savings Bank; Hungarian Post Office Savings Bank auction, November 1932, lot 84 (as copy after Titian); private Hungarian collection; Nagyházi Galéria és Aukciósház, Budapest. Auction held on 24 May 2005, lot 65, sold for 140 million Hungarian florins; Gyula Pintér, Budapest (on permanent loan to the Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest); Magyar Nemzeti Bank (Hungarian National Bank), purchased in 2015 for 4.5 billion Hungarian florins, roughly € 14.5 million), on permanent loan to the Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest. **Sources and Literature:** C. Ridolfi, *Le maraviglie dell’arte* [...], Venice 1648, modern edition ed. D.F. von Hadeln, vol. I. p. 197; Biblioteca Estense Universitaria di Modena, Archivio Muratoriano, *Inventario degli inizi del XVIII secolo*, cited in A. Venturi, *la R. Galleria Estense in Modena*, Modena 1882, p. 307; V. Tátrai, *Una novità tizianesca in Ungheria*, in “Arte Cristiana”, vol. 94, 2006, folder. 832, pp. 33-40; V. Tátrai, in L. Puppi (ed.), *Tiziano. L’ultimo atto*, catalogue of the exhibition held in Belluno in 2007-8, Milane 2007, pp. 389-391, cat. no. 72, reproduced on p. 280; G. Tagliaferro, *La pala di Serravalle e la congiuntura degli anni ’40*, in “Venezia Cinquecento”, XVIII, 2008 (2009), p. 51; B. Aikema, M. Mancini, A.J. Martin, G.

Tagliaferro, *Le botteghe di Tiziano*, Florence 2009, p. 128, reproduced; F. De Luca, in A. Natali (ed.), *Il pane degli angeli - Offering of the Angels. Paintings and Tapestries from the Uffizi Gallery*, catalogue of the exhibition held in 2011-13, Florence 2011, p. 150; I. Artemieva, *La Madonna Barbarigo di Tiziano*, in I. Artemieva, D. Ton (ed.), *Tiziano. La Madonna Barbarigo dell’Ermitage: Storia, fortuna, restauro*, catalogue of the exhibition held in Belluno in 2017, Verona 2017, p. 13; D. Ton, *Per la fortuna di un modello tizianesco*, in I. Artemieva, D. Ton (ed.), *Tiziano. La Madonna Barbarigo dell’Ermitage: Storia, fortuna, restauro*, catalogue of the exhibition held in Belluno in 2017, Verona 2017, pp. 19-20, reproduced on p. 17; I. Artemieva, *Titian’s Barbarigo Madonna: the original and its variants*, in P. Humfrey (ed.), *Titian. Themes and Variations*, Florence 2023, pp. 158-159; G. Tagliaferro, *Introduction: the composition of themes and variations by Titian and his workshop*, in P. Humfrey (ed.), *Titian. Themes and Variations*, Florence 2023, pp. 26-28, reproduced as fig. 14.

E2

Madonna and Child with St. Paul, only known copy of the composition of the Budapest painting with St. Paul, published by Succi (see Literature), and formerly attributed to Padovanino by Egidio Martini (Ton 2017, see Literature). **Literature:** D. Succi, *Il fiore di Venezia. Dipinti del Seicento all’Ottocento in collezioni private*, Gorizia 2014, pp. 18-21; D. Ton, *Per la fortuna di un modello tizianesco*, in I. Artemieva, D. Ton (ed.), *Tiziano. La Madonna Barbarigo dell’Ermitage: Storia, fortuna, restauro*, catalogue of the exhibition held in Belluno in 2017, Verona 2017, pp. 28, 30 note 21, reproduced as fig. 7.

E3

Madonna and Child, oil on canvas, 73.4 x 60 cm, private collection.

F1

Marco Vecellio, *Madonna and Child with the Young St. John the Baptist*, oil on canvas, 111 x 108 cm, formerly Fondazione Querini Stampalia, on permanent loan to the church of Santa Maria di Cavarzere, from which it was stolen on the night of 2-3 August 1971. The young St. John the Baptist takes St. Mary Magdalene’s place in the composition. The figure of the young St. John the Baptist is taken from a painting in the Uffizi depicting *The Madonna and Child with the Young St. John the Baptist* (Inv. 967-1890) formerly owned by the Medici family and considered in the past to be an autograph work by Titian. **Literature:** M. Dazzi, E. Merkel (ed.), *Catalogo della Pinacoteca della Fondazione scientifica Querini Stampalia*, Vicenza 1993, p. 42., reproduced fig. 15.

F2

Sacra Famiglia, oil on canvas, 98 x 119 cm. **Provenance:** Wannenes, Genoa, 21 September 2021, lot 192.

Colour separation:
Pixel Studio, Bresso (Milan)

Printed in February 2025 by:
Gally Thierry Stampa, Milan

©Trinity Fine Art Ltd.
London 2025

ISBN: 978-1-9999889-8-2

Trinity Fine Art
Old Master Paintings and Sculpture

