



**BONIFACIO DE'PITATI,
CALLED BONIFACIO VERONESE**
ITALIAN (VENETIAN SCHOOL), 1487–1553
*Sacra Conversazione with Tobias and the
Angel*
c. 1540–1543
Oil on canvas
Gift of the Samuel H. Kress Foundation

Provenance: Principe Giovanelli collection, Venice; Contini-Bonacossi Collection, Florence; Samuel H. Kress Collection acquired 1932 (K. 207); Columbia Museum of Art since 1962.

The Artist

In 1556 Francesco Sansovino, writer, critic, and son of the Florentine sculptor and architect Jacopo Sansovino, named among the best Venetian painters of the century, “Bonifazio da Verona, Giambellino, Giorgione, Pordenone, Tiziano, Paris [Bordone], Tintoretto, and Paolo Caliari”.¹ Consistently praised as a brilliant colorist, Bonifacio’s undeniable popularity--proven by the size of his workshop and sheer number of existing paintings--was based on his ability to synthesize the qualities of Titian, Giorgione, and Palma Vecchio, and present them in glowing canvases of harmonized color depicting popular Venetian subjects.

The combination of a large and prolific workshop and the existence of only one signed and dated painting by Bonifacio, an altarpiece for the Tailor’s guild dated 1533 (Gallerie dell’Accademia, Venice), and one other signed work, (the *Archangel Michael Conquering Satan*, SS. Giovanni e Paolo), has resulted in a muddled oeuvre and an incomplete understanding of the details of his artistic career. Adding to the confusion were early art historians such as G. Moschini who in 1815 determined that there must be two artists by the name of Bonifacio to account for the large number of paintings and wide variations in quality. Cesare Bernasconi

(1864) enlarged it to three, and Giovanni Morelli (1883) conveniently labeled them Bonifacio I, Bonifacio II, and Bonifacio III -- and even suggested that there may have been a fourth, all members of the same family.² Gustav Ludwig, in a series of articles written in the first years of the twentieth century, produced archival evidence that in fact there was only one artist by the name of Bonifacio de' Pitati.³

Bonifacio de' Pitati was born in 1487 in Verona, a city under Venetian control since 1405. Documents show that he left Verona with his family sometime after 1505 at which time he would have been 18 years old. Nothing is known of his early training in Verona however, given his age, we can assume an apprenticeship to a local artist.⁴ Traditionally, a connection to the workshop of Domenico Morone (cat. 16) has been put forth and seems the most credible. One can find an organizational correlation between Domenico's decoration of the Sagraso Library in San Bernardino, Verona (1503) and Bonifacio's solution for the enormous Palazzo dei Camerlenghi project he was to undertake in Venice beginning in 1529.⁵

From 1505, Bonifacio is absent from documents until he appears as a witness to a will in 1528 where he is listed as a 'veronese pictor' living in the district of San Marcuola in Venice. It is impossible to say when Bonifacio arrived in Venice but it was well before this date since he emerges into the public sphere as an artist fully formed in the Venetian idiom and well established among important Venetian patrons. His early work demonstrates the careful study of Giovanni Bellini (*Madonna and Child with Saints*, Museo Civico, Padua), Giorgione (*Huntsman*, National Gallery, London), and Titian (*Holy Family*, Hermitage and *Christ and the Apostles*, Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice).

It is generally accepted that at some point, Bonifacio entered the workshop of Palma Vecchio since the date that Bonifacio surfaces in Venetian documents, 1528, is the same year of Palma's death and many of his paintings from the mid 1520s such as the *Sacre Conversazioni* in the Palazzo Pitti, Florence, and the Church of Santo Stefano, Venice, are so clearly Palmesque that for centuries they had been considered part of Palma's oeuvre. The subject of the *Sacra Conversazione* was a specialty of Palma Vecchio and Bonifacio made it the cornerstone of his career, creating numerous images of the Madonna and Child surrounded by a variety of saints set within an expansive landscape.

Bonifacio's role within Palma's shop is unclear, but towards 1528—when Bonifacio would have been 41 years old—the relationship was more likely that of a partnership than one

of master/pupil. Proof that Bonifacio was a respected artist in his own right within Palma's shop comes in the years immediately after Palma's death. In 1529, he received one of the largest government commissions in the city—to decorate the recently refurbished Palazzo dei Camerlenghi which housed the official offices responsible for state finances and mercantile activity. Containing close to 100 canvases completed by Bonifacio and members of his workshop, this lucrative commission kept him busy until his death in 1553. Two years later, in 1531, Bonifacio is mentioned in two documents. The first is the will of Lorenzo Lotto, who requested that Bonifacio complete any unfinished paintings left behind upon his death, and the other names Bonifacio and Lotto, along with Titian, as the executors of the considerable estate left behind by their fellow Venetian artist Vincenzo Catena (cat #'s 24 & 28).

Bonifacio proved himself an able painter and in his public commissions took great pains to demonstrate his knowledge of current styles and trends from other artistic centers in Italy and beyond. An example is the important 1528/29 commission from the Cavalli family to paint the altarpiece, *St. Michael Conquering Satan*, for their family chapel located second to the left from the main altar in the Dominican church of San Giovanni e Paolo, which Bonifacio proudly signed on the tree in the lower left. For his first prestigious private commission as an independent artist, he pulled out all the stops and created a dynamic painting that incorporates his wide-ranging interests and influences. The overall composition is derived from Lotto's *St. Nicholas Altarpiece* in the church of the Carmine (1527-29), the landscape is copied from Dürer's woodcut of *St. Michael Vanquishing the Rebel Angels* (1497-98), the figure of St. Michael is after a drawing by Francesco Francia of *Judith and Holofernes* (c.1504-5), and the tumbling figure of Satan is a quotation of the 'Fallen Gaul', an antique fragment that arrived in Venice in 1525 as part of the famed collection of antique sculptures amassed by Cardinal Domenico Grimani. Bonifacio's consistent and prolonged incorporation of antique sculpture into his paintings set him apart from the vast majority of his fellow Venetian artists.⁶

From Palma Vecchio, Bonifacio had also learned the value of collecting prints and he consistently looked to this material for inspiration. In addition to Dürer, we find quotations from Lucas van Leyden, Peruzzi, Pordenone, and particularly the graphic work of Raimondi after Raphael (*Christ in the House of the Pharisee*, Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice). It was this curiosity and willingness to look beyond the borders of the Venetian lagoon that attracted so many talented young artists to his studio and led Bonifacio to an early

investigation of Central Italian mannerism. His adaptation of the beggar group from Baldassare Peruzzi's 1520 fresco of *The Presentation of the Virgin* in Santa Maria della Pace in Rome for his St. Homobono and the beggar in the Tailor's guild altarpiece, shows that already by 1533, Bonifacio was deliberately searching out central Italian mannerist examples. His precocious experimentation with plunging spatial effects and complex compositions based on these examples is most clearly defined in Bonifacio's *Massacre of the Innocents* (Venice, Accademia) from c.1536, and the *Dives and Lazarus* from c.1535-40. The large horizontal format containing an off-center grouping of figures set within a quickly receding space dotted with genre scenes would become the structural catalyst for similar paintings by Tintoretto such as the *Queen of Sheba in front of Solomon* (c.1542) and the *Madonna of the Treasurers* (1566). Unlike his pupils, who used his experimentation as a springboard to a new Venetian style, Bonifacio's interest was not sustained past the mid 1540s and his structurally complex *Christ Among the Doctors* (c.1545, Uffizi, Florence). What continued from his mannerist phase in his later work is an affinity for taller, more slenderly posed figures in denser relationships.

The enormity of the Camerlenghi project alone required a sizeable studio and Bonifacio managed to assemble one of the largest workshops in the city. Here he trained many of the most important artists of the second half of the 16th century in Venice. The first to enter his studio in 1529 was Antonio Palma, Palma Vecchio's nephew and the father of the painter Palma Giovane. Antonio became Bonifacio's main assistant and continued the workshop under Bonifacio's name after his death. Of the more important names to pass through Bonifacio's shop are Tintoretto, Jacopo Bassano, Andrea Schiavone, Lambert Sustris, and Polidoro Lanciano, all of whom were central figures in Venetian Mannerism in the second half of the 16th century.⁷ The confluence of these artists in Bonifacio's shop in the last years of the 1530s is evidence of the important role that Bonifacio played in helping to initiate a Venetian Mannerist style.

In addition to *Sacre Conversazioni*, Bonifacio and his workshop specialized in subjects such as the *Last Supper*, *Christ and the Woman of Samaria*, and *Christ and the Adulteress*. His many paintings of the *Finding of Moses* catered to the Venetian love for villa life and became an excuse for him to include scenes of fashionable country life, containing hunting scenes, picnics, and amorous couples, along with a generous allotment of animals. He was equally famous for his small historical, mythological, and allegorical paintings that were made to decorate cassoni (marriage chests), headboards, and other furniture.

The parish records of S. Ermagora state that Bonifazio died 19 October 1553 after a long illness; he was married but childless.⁸

The Painting

Made popular in the early 16th century, a *sacra conversazione*, or "sacred conversation" refers to a religious painting in which attendant saints are shown sharing in a meditation on the importance of the central characters, usually the Madonna and Child. It is purely a devotional image with no basis in scripture or within Catholic doctrine and the personages shown together may not have lived at the same time. This new type of picture had a long life as a decorative devotional image for one's home, incorporating name saints and other protective figures often within a gentle and languid landscape setting. Initially, the Virgin and Child with attendant saints was found in vertical altarpieces, such as those created by Giovanni Bellini. The idea of a private devotional image of the Virgin is derived from Byzantine models, and by the sixteenth century, came to include saints and /or donors. The half-length *sacra conversazione* followed, with the Virgin's status indicated by devices such as the Cloth of Honor. One of the most influential of these early paintings was Giovanni Bellini's *Madonna with Four Saints and a Donor* in the church of San Francesco della Vigna, Venice. This painting sparked numerous variants and copies including one by Bonifacio (Museo Civico, Padua). The progression to a full-length *sacra conversazione*, and the replacement of an architectural space with a landscape, is attributed to the adoption of compositional formulas used in horizontal narratives like the *Holy Family* or *the Rest on the Flight into Egypt* along with a new romantic spirit regarding landscape as described in the writings of Jacopo Sanazzaro and Pietro Bembo at the beginning of the 16th century. As Philip Cottrell has pointed out, *sacre conversazioni* commissioned for public settings tended to retain the formal aspects of their precursors such as an architectural element or large clump of vegetation (as in our painting) to reflect the hieratic nature of the subject whereas those intended for private usage tended to be more informal with the figures lounging in a less structured, rustic landscape such as Titian's *Madonna and Child with the Young St. John the Baptist and St. Catherine* (c.1530).⁹

Adding to the 'public' nature of our painting is the inclusion of saints particularly venerated in Venice, Sts. Jerome, Catherine of Alexandria, and Mark, who are often included in works intended for a public audience as affirmation of the patron's civic pride. This does not necessarily mean that our painting originally hung in a church or other public building.

Paintings of this size frequently decorated the *portego*, the semi-public central room on the second floor of a Venetian palazzo, where the owner would receive business clients and other important guests. Containing both portraits and 'moralizing' works, it was a place to make a public statement, in art, of the families self-definition and values.

In our painting, Bonifacio has constructed a well-balanced composition with the Virgin and Christ Child taking their rightful place in the center of the composition, elevated above the other figures and positioned before an architectural element and mass of vegetation creating a natural substitute for the hieratic Cloth of Honor. The serenity of mood found throughout the painting is a characteristic which separates Bonifacio's paintings from those of Palma Vecchio and reflects his close observation of the tranquility and quietude found in the work of Giorgione, in particular his Castlefranco altarpiece (c. 1505).

The Virgin is shown crowning St. Catherine of Alexandria, an allusion to her royal birth and the crown of martyrdom. She kneels next to the remains of the destroyed spiked wheel, the would-be instrument of her death. As an active participant, Catherine is normally shown receiving a ring from the infant Christ as a metaphor for her sanctity and spiritual betrothal to God. Here, the unusual action of the Virgin crowning St. Catherine as she kneels in prayer is derived from Dürer's famous *Feast of the Rose Garlands* which he painted in 1506 for the church of St. Bartolommeo, the home church of the German Merchants in Venice, where the enthroned Virgin crowns a kneeling Emperor Maximilian I. Catherine's devotional pose and prominence suggest her inclusion is as the name saint of the donor, and may be a contemporary portrait.¹¹

Creating an uncommon juxtaposition of Old and New Testament figures, the Christ child turns to receive an offering from Tobias, identified by the fish he carries which, biblically, nearly devoured him in the Tigris River but is normally shown as not much larger than a trout. He is accompanied by his traveling companion, the Archangel Raphael who instructed Tobias to gut the fish that nearly destroyed him, and use the gall to cure his father's blindness. The presentation of the curative ointment to Christ by Tobias and Raphael may indicate that the painting was intended as a votive image for the cure of blindness. However, given the tradition of wealthy young Venetian men getting their sea-legs on the trade routes to the East, Tobias and his 'guardian angel' Raphael likely represent their more common Venetian role as protectors of sons on their journey. It is not obvious whether the face of Tobias is modeled after an individual,

as was the custom. Probably the most notable aspect of this portion of the painting is the left foot attached to Tobias' right leg. Photographic documentation indicates that this erroneous alteration was done shortly after it was acquired by the Kress foundation, possibly during its 1933 restoration.

Surrounding the central devotional action of familial protection are paired saints: on the right Peter and Mark, and on the left Jerome and Joseph. The Evangelist Mark, with his attendant lion, is the patron saint of Venice--his body being transported to the *Serenissima* from Alexandria in the 9th century. After the Virgin Mary, Mark (or his lion) is the most popular figure in Venetian art for both his religious significance and association with the city of Venice. Here he is shown in his role as 'interpreter of St. Peter' according to the popular legend that he recorded his gospel from the dictation of Peter who is shown leaning toward Mark while he takes down his words. Peter is easily identified by his attribute, the gold and silver keys to the gates of Heaven and Hell. His association with Mark would have had an additional meaning to a Venetian audience since Peter, the 'fisherman of Galilee', recalls one of the favorite Venetian legends of Mark-- the Miracle of the Fisherman-- where Mark saved Venice from a boat filled with Demons with the help of a Venetian fisherman.

Balancing these figures on the left are St. Jerome gesturing toward his attribute the cardinal's hat (although the office of cardinal did not exist during Jerome's lifetime). His Latin translation of the bible, the Vulgate, is resting on his lap. His translation of the bible into Latin made him a favorite saint among Renaissance humanists and his birth in Dalmatia and years in Aquileia, both areas controlled by Venice, made him especially popular among Venetian patrons. It has been suggested that the saint in conversation with Jerome is St. James the Greater who often carries a pilgrim's staff. He was among those closest to Christ and, like Peter with whom he is often associated, James was a fisherman from Galilee. Instead, the figure is more likely to be Joseph, the husband of Mary who, like James, is traditionally shown as an older, bearded man holding a staff. Joseph is more frequently found in *sacra conversazione* paintings-- referencing its derivation from images of the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*. In our painting the key to his identity lies in his relationship with St. Jerome whose apocryphal writings relay the popular story that Mary's suitors brought a rod to the high priest in the Temple and that it was Joseph's that blossomed, a sign that he was chosen by God as husband to Mary.

Ample botanical and zoological details, which are typical of Bonifazio, also serve symbolic purposes. The roses, behind

the Virgin and about her feet and foreground, refer to the Virgin as “the rose without thorns” (i.e., sinless) and symbolize the Fall of Man, redeemed through the birth of Christ. Though not truly red, the roses are intended to foretell the Passion of Christ as a fulfillment of his destiny. The rose as a symbol of the Virgin’s purity may also be a reference to St. Jerome, who vehemently defended the perpetual virginity of Mary against those like Helvidius who saw proof in the Gospels of subsequent children being born to Mary and Joseph. At the top of the rose bush are laurel branches, an ancient symbol of triumph and, in a Christian context, also of chastity and eternity. When juxtaposed against the Roman column, the message is one of the triumph and eternity of Christ and Christianity over the pagan past. On the ground around the kneeling St. Catherine are violets which, as symbols of humility, refer not only to the humility of the Virgin and the Son of God in human form, but also to Catherine’s own humility shown in her supplication to the Virgin and Child. The robin, perched behind the Virgin, and the goldfinch on St. Catherine’s wheel are illusions to martyrdom and, particularly to, the sacrifice and Passion of Christ.

Dorothy Westphal was the first to attempt to construct an oeuvre for Bonifacio and organize it within a chronology. In her 1931 monograph on Bonifacio, she considered the CMA painting to be an important work from the last years of his career demonstrating a return to earlier, more simple forms and compositions.¹² This was followed by Contini-Bonacossi and Shapely who also dated the painting to c.1550. In 1986

Simonetta Simonetti revisited Westphal’s earlier attempt to organize Bonifacio’s production. She also noted that the symmetrical composition of the Columbia painting shows Bonifacio looking back to earlier works such as his *Sacra Conversazione* in the National Gallery, London dated to between 1529 and 1532, however she notes that the figure types show the influence of Bassano and dates the painting to the early 1540s.¹³ In 2000, Philip Cottrell placed our painting as the first of a group of *sacre conversazioni* produced by Bonifacio between 1535 and 1543, thus dating our picture to c. 1533-35.¹⁴

The more slender, taller, and less ‘blousy’ figures present in the CMA painting clearly reflect the presence in his studio of Bassano, Tintoretto, and Schiavone at the end of the 1530s. This new figure style is evident in other works from the early 1540s such as the Bob Jones University Museum & Gallery *Sacra Conversazione* dated to 1543-45 (fig.1). Although Bonifacio returned to the simple compositions of his youth in our painting, his growth since then is evident. His earlier, linear compositions have given way to a true feeling of space, enhanced by the lively play of light over the landscape and figures, which are now more plastic and exist in a deeper and richer space. Even the ‘simplicity’ of the symmetry demonstrates a maturity not witnessed in the paintings of the early 1530s and is noticeable in the head and body positions of the flanking saints, the juxtaposition of St. Catherine’s crown with the jar offered by Tobias, and the way both sides are brought together through color and St. Catherine’s wheel which acts as a bridge.

By Todd Herman

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File Opinions: B. Berenson; G. Fiocco; R. Longhi (1932); R. van Marle; F. F. M. Perkins; W. Suida (1935); A. Venturi; F. R. Shapely. Unanimous attribution to Bonifazio Veronese.

Specific Literature: Bernard Berenson, *The Venetian Painters of the Renaissance* (New York 1894), p. 93; Dorothee Westphal, *Bonifazio Veronese* (Munich, 1931) 76–77, plate XXII; Berenson 1932, p.96; *Kress* 1932, p. 48; Berenson 1936, p.81; *Preliminary Catalogue* 1941, p. 27, no. 206; *Book of Illustrations* 1941, p. 237 no.206, repr. p. 73 (as “Crowning of St. Catherine of Alexandria”); Herbert Friedman, “The Symbolic Goldfinch” *Pantheon* (1946), pp.33, 38, 118, 121,

123, 156; William Suida, *The Samuel H. Kress Collection in the Honolulu Academy of Arts* (Honolulu, 1952), pp. 48–49; *Catalogue* 1954, pp. 116–117; Berenson 1957, vol. 1, p. 43; *Catalogue* 1962, pp. 116-117; Shapely 1968, p. 170, fig. 420; Simonetta Simonetti, “Profilo di Bonifacio de Pitati” *Saggi e Memorie di Storia dell’Arte* 15 (1986), p.115 cat.55, fig. 73; Philip Cottrell, *Bonifacio’s Enterprise: Bonifacio de’ Pitati and Venetian Painting* (Ph.D. diss. University of St. Andrews, 2000) pp. 108-09, fig. 3.48; Todd Herman, *Out of the Shadow of Titian: Bonifacio de’ Pitati and 16th century Venetian Painting*, (Ph.D. diss. Case Western Reserve University, 2003), p. 294, fig. 236

Additional Bibliography: Luigi Sernagiotto, “Discorso Sopra Bonifacio Veneziano” *Letto all’Accademia di Belle Arti in Venezia* 29 (1883); Theodore von Frimmel, *Eine Verwechslung von Bonifazio Veneziano mit Tizian* (Stuttgart, 1884); Gustav Ludwig, “Bonifazio de Pitati da Verona, eine Archivalische Untersuchung,” *Jahrbuch der Koniglichen*

Preussischen Kunstsammlungen XXII (1901–1902); Giuseppe della Santa, “Bonifazio di Pitati da Verona,” *Nuovo Archivio Veneto* 6 (1903), 11-54; (Venice, 1903); Franz Wickhoff, “Aus der Werkstatt Bonifazios,” *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen* 24 (1903), 87-104; Giorgio Faggin, “Bonifacio ai Camerlenghi.” *Arte Veneta* 17 (1963), 79-95; Creighton Gilbert, “Bonifacio and Bassano, ca. 1533.” *Arte Veneta* 32 (1978), 127-133; Marilyn Perry, “Cardinal Domenico Grimani’s Legacy of Ancient Art to Venice,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 41 (1978), 215-244; S. J. Freedberg, *Painting in Italy 1500–1600* (Baltimore, 1979); Vittorio Sgarbi, “Giovanni de’ Mio, Bonifacio de’ Pitati, Lamberto Sustris; indicazioni sul primo tempo del manierismo nel Veneto,” *Arte Veneta* 35 (1981), 52-61; P. Rylands, *Palma Vecchio* (New York, 1992); Patricia Fortini Brown, *Venice and Antiquity* (New Haven, 1996); Francesca Cortesi Bosco, “Autografi inediti di Lotto: il primo testamento (1531) e un codicillo (1533).” *Bergomum* 1-2 (1998), 7-73; Bernard Aikema and Beverly Louise Brown, eds. *Renaissance Venice and the North: Crosscurrents in the Time of Bellini, Dürer and Titian*. Exh. Cat., (Venice, Palazzo Grassi 1999); Philip Cottrell, “Corporate Colors: Bonifacio and Tintoretto at the Palazzo dei Camerlenghi in Venice.” *Art Bulletin* 82 (2000), 658-678;

Condition: Generally in good condition with the exception of the toes of Tobias, which have been repainted in the reverse order. The face of St. Catherine and the immediate surrounding area have been extensively retouched, with the eyes and lips being particularly strengthened. The use of a poor drying medium by the artist has resulted in numerous drying cracks across the surface that have been retouched. The copper green is especially well preserved and x-rays show the position of the Virgin’s head to have been originally tilted much farther to the right.

Frame: The frame is not original and is probably early nineteenth-century of Venetian or English origin. The frame is 22k gold leaf on gesso and red bole. The delicate nature of the vine with flowers motif of the frame is not in harmony with the boldness of the figures in the painting.

Notes:

1. Francesco Sansovino (writing under the pseudonym Anselmo Guisconi), *Tutte le cose notabili e belle che sono in Venetia* (Venice 1556), p. 7.
2. Moschini was influenced by 16th and 17th century writers who referred to Bonifacio both as Bonifacio Veronese (the city of his birth) and as Bonifacio Veneziano (his adopted city and the city of his artistic production). G.A. Moschini, *Guida per la città di Venezia* (Venice, 1815), vol. 2. pp. 565-566. Cesare Bernasconi, *Studij sopra la storia della pittura Italiana dei secoli XIV e XV e della scuola pittorica Veronese dai medj tempi fino a tutto il secolo XVIII* (Verona, 1964), part 2 pp. 199-201, 287-288; and Giovanni Morelli, *Italian Painters* trans. by Constance Jocelyn Ffoulkes (London, 1907) pp. 241-250.
3. Gustav Ludwig, “Bonifazio di Pitati da Verona, eine archivalische Unterschung: I, II”, *Jahrbuch der Koniglich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen, XXII* (1901), pp. 61-78, 180-200. and Ludwig, “Bonifazio di Pitati da Verona, eine archivalische Unterschung: III”, *Jahrbuch der Koniglich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen, XXIII* (1902), pp. 36-66.
4. For a register of documents relating to Bonifacio, see Philip Cottrell, *Bonifacio’s Enterprise: Bonifacio de’Pitati and Venetian Painting* Ph.D. diss. University of St. Andrews, 2000, pp. 383-392.
5. Bernasconi seems to have been the first to suggest that Bonifacio was a follower (seguace) of Domenico Morone. Bernasconi 1864, p. 241. See also Todd Herman, *Out of the Shadow of Titian: Bonifacio de’Pitati and 16th century Venetian Painting*, Ph.D. diss. Case Western Reserve University, 2003, pp.22-26.
6. On Bonifacio and antique sculpture see, Herman 2003, pp. 82-109.
7. On Bonifacio’s workshop, read Cottrell (2000), pp. 200-234.
8. Cottrell 2000, pp. 84-86
9. This was first noted in Shapely 1968, p.170
10. Her blond, braided hair is consistent with 16th century Venetian style, however the considerable damage and subsequent retouching in and around the face leave open the question of portraiture.
11. Westphal 1931, pp. 76-77, plate XXII
12. Simonetti 1986, p.115.
13. Cottrell 2000, pp. 106-109, fig. 3.48