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"Il nome di Giorgione": Observations on Crowe and Cavalcaselle's Connoisseurship

Crowe and Cavalcaselle were the most important connoisseurs of the nineteenth century. Significantly, the Anglo-Italian partnership fundamentally changed the way we think about the Venetian painter Giorgione by drastically reducing the number of paintings attributed to him. Crowe and Cavalcaselle considered their connoisseurship as broadly scientific, partially based on their analysis of technique and expert vocabulary, but also their systematic scepticism, and nowhere is this more evident than in their study of Giorgione. Through a close analysis of the primary sources – the multiple preparatory notes, drawings, watercolours, annotated books, letters and manuscripts held in archives in Venice and London – this article seeks to re-construct their deconstruction of Giorgione, and evaluate the "scientificness" of their connoisseurship.

Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle (1819-1897) and Joseph Archer Crowe (1825-1896), the Anglo-Italian connoisseurial partnership, were the most significant connoisseurs of the nineteenth century. Their contribution to the historiography of Italian Renaissance painting was unparalleled. Over nine lengthy volumes, published between 1864 and 1885, they laid the foundation for scholarship on this period and set new academic standards for the history of art. They may not always have been correct in their opinions, but Crowe and Cavalcaselle certainly deserve our respect and admiration. It is depressing, therefore, that Giovanni Morelli (1816-1891) receives so much attention due to his satire of scientific connoisseurship and his distasteful attack on the reputation of these two conscientious scholars. While Morelli may speak to contemporary art history's fixation with critical theory, Crowe and Cavalcaselle had the more lasting effect on our knowledge of fifteenth and sixteenth-century Italian painting[1].

In their *A History of Painting in North Italy* (1871), Crowe and Cavalcaselle fundamentally changed the way we think about the sixteenth-century Venetian painter Giorgione (Zorzi da Castelfranco, d.1510). After an almost comprehensive study, they drastically reduced the number of paintings attributed to the artist and demonstrated just how little is known of his life and work. They created a "New" Giorgione, the artist we know today: an enigma. This radical treatment was immediately acknowledged as highly significant, *The Edinburgh Review* claiming the two connoisseurs had "relieved Giorgione of the paternity which did him no honour". Charles Hope has argued that Crowe and Cavalcaselle were building on a growing consensus, and this is confirmed by a review in *The Pall Mall Gazette* whi-

ch states that recent critics had «greatly narrowed the number of works», but that «our authors with unflinching hand snatch from him even most of those spared by others». Consequently, thanks to the partnership's "scepticism", Giorgione's reputation «is left dependent upon one or two undoubted pictures, or, shall we say, *almost* undoubted». The most shocking aspect of their study was their disattribution of the *Concert Champêtre* (Louvre, Paris), at that time Giorgione's most recognisable work. Dissatisfaction with this controversial verdict seems to have been a common reaction. Sidney Colvin began his review by suspending judgement, while another reviewer argued that «technical considerations have been suffered to warp the judgement»[2].

Despite Crowe and Cavalcaselle being awarded the epithet the "New Vasari", and despite constructing a "New" Giorgione, the connoisseurs adhered to the traditional idea of the artist found in Vasari's *Lives of the Artists* (1550/1568) and Carlo Ridolfi's *Le Maraviglie dell'Arte* (1648). The "Old" Giorgione was the progenitor of sixteenth-century Venetian painting, the origin of a new exiting style. But after the two connoisseurs' study this idea needed to be based on a completely different set of works. Of the hundreds of oil paintings they saw with Giorgione's name attached, the partnership accepted only ten (or perhaps nine or eleven). From these Crowe and Cavalcaselle carved out a distinct three-stage career progression, which began with a group of five early works: *The Trial of Moses* and *The Judgement of Solomon* (Uffizi, Florence), *The Adoration of the Shepherds* (National Gallery, Washington), *The Adoration of the Kings* (National Gallery, London), the *Castelfranco Altarpiece* (Duomo, Castelfranco Veneto), and perhaps *A Man in Armour* (National Gallery, London). The next stage was transitional and rested on Giorgione's most securely autograph works: *The Tempest* (Accad emia, Venice) and the *Three Philosophers* (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna). Perhaps it would have been better had they ended there, but instead the connoisseurs went on to attribute paintings that Hope has justly suggested are «surprisingly advanced in terms of figure style»[3]. These were *The Judgement of Solomon* (Kingston Lacy, Dorset), perhaps *Christ Carrying the Cross* (Scuola di San Rocco, Venice), and finally the *Concert* (Palazzo Pitti, Florence).

Crowe and Cavalcaselle concluded their chapter with some key disattributions, before providing an appendix which lists over a hundred rejected paintings. The reduction in the number of attributions suggested a correlating limiting of Giorgione's art historical value with regard to the development of early sixteenth-century Venetian painting. Consequently, the two connoisseurs modified Vasari, increasing the significance of Giovanni Bellini (d.1516) and also raising the status of Palma Vecchio (d.1528), while Giorgione himself becomes more "Bellinesque".

Inversely, Bellini is made to contribute to Vasari's *maniera moderna*, Crowe and Cavalcaselle suggesting it was his "perseverance" that first «succeeded in losing all trace of hardness, and acquired what may be called the Giorgionesque touch»; Palma Vecchio also contributes to «that form of art which has too exclusively till now been called the Giorgionesque» and hence «shared with Giorgione and Titian the honour of modernizing and regenerating Venetian art»[4].

When reading Crowe and Cavalcaselle's chapter on Giorgione we may question whether they actually attribute any paintings to the artist. The text is often ambiguous, full of provisos and caveats. Discussing *The Trial of Moses*, *The Judgement of Solomon*, *Adoration of the Shepherds* and *Adoration of the Kings* they openly ask «on what ground any one of them should be accepted as genuine since there is nothing to support the nomenclature but tradition». This pattern continues with *The Frieze of the Liberal and Mechanical Arts* (Casa Pellizzari, Castelfranco Veneto), frescoes which are described as «certainly in a Giorgionesque spirit»: is this a positive attribution? Most confusing is the analysis of the Pitti *Concert*, the work they believe is Giorgione's masterpiece. Here the connoisseurs propose the «unfortunately true» idea that none of the paintings they deem genuine «are at all comparable to the concert», meaning Crowe and Cavalcaselle are «forced reluctantly to conclude» that either they have been damaged, or that only copies are extant, «or – at the worst – that he did not execute what we are fond of attributing to him». There are also whole categories of works which are left in limbo, such as the portraits, as although some do «very nearly approach to the required standard» they are categorised merely as «specimens of the Giorgionesque». Indeed, the connoisseurs «might desire» to attribute a double portrait in Berlin, and «might be inclined» to accept a male portrait in Rovigo but, in the end, they do not[5]. Overall, after reading the chapter, doubt and uncertainty is the predominant impression.

This can be heard in one reader's famous response, as Walter Pater in his essay "The School of Giorgione" (1877) lamented: «The accomplished science of the subject has come at last, and, as in other instances, has not made the past more real». The two connoisseurs considered their connoisseurship as broadly scientific, but rather than any particular method it is their scepticism which really validates this claim. Nowhere is this more evident than in their study of Giorgione. At the beginning of his draft chapter the Italian connoisseur speaks directly to his English collaborator: «il nome del Giorgione, come si disse, può riguardarsi come un nome di convenzione». Rather than denote the work of a specific artist, Cavalcaselle explains, this name simply indicates paintings that appear Venetian and *cinquecento*. In most cases however, «per non dire quasi tutte», these works

are not by Giorgione. A few pages later he argues that what is needed is «molta cautela e circospezione», and suggests that Crowe should not hide their doubts: «Infine andremmo cauti e preferiamo piuttosto la taccia di paurosi»[6].

Cavalcaselle often suggested only conditional attributions for Giorgione, and as a result Crowe's writing regularly implies degrees of probability, meaning we are offered a text which is both absolute and provisional. That this was a conscious effort on the part of the Englishman is seen in his editing of the manuscript, where conclusions that were «obviously» correct become «probably» correct. In their published history, when Crowe gave expression to the Giorgione problem, he explained how «connoisseurs learnt to confound the real with the unreal, the good with the bad, and one painter with the other» because «value was attached to the greatness of a name». But in their desire to avoid this confusion, the two connoisseurs' scepticism only generates more uncertainty. This pervasive doubt, the subsequent reduction in Giorgione's catalogue and so too inevitably the artist's "greatness", lead Pater wryly to lament: «what remains of the most vivid and stimulating of Venetian masters, a live flame, as it seemed, in those old shadowy times, has been reduced almost to a name by his most recent critics»[7].

It is clear from Pater's essay, and his rejection of Crowe and Cavalcaselle's «strictly deducible facts», that *A History of Painting in North Italy* was perceived by at least some contemporaries as science. But since the 1870s it is Morelli who is acclaimed as «the celebrated inventor of scientific connoisseurship». The debate over the relative merits of Morelli and Cavalcaselle as connoisseurs and the "scientificness" of their work has been the primary theme of scholarship, with the so-called "Morellian method" (the deduction of authorship based on the comparison of anatomical and seemingly insignificant details) being taught as the beginnings of scientific method in attribution. More recently, questions have been raised about the sincerity of Morelli's writing, especially his contention that the «spiritual personality» of the artist is the basis of his attributions. It has also become clear that Cavalcaselle was employing "Morellian method" (in its simplest form) long before he met Morelli, and moreover this method is as old as connoisseurship itself[8]. But it was not this morphological procedure that convinced their readers that Crowe and Cavalcaselle's work was scientific, it was their systematic rigour, materialism, and rejection of a purely literary approach.

In 1875 Anton Springer broke their method down into three components: «Exact source research, clear description of the content of individual paintings, and full consideration of technique». This shows that it was their materialism that allowed Crowe and Cavalcaselle to be read as scientific. Firstly, since Leopold Ranke (1795-1886), a focus on primary sources had become the marker of histori-

cal positivism, and this focus is also characteristic of our two connoisseurs. This is evident from Crowe's meticulous recording of archival documents and early bibliographic references to Giorgione, and similarly Cavalcaselle's notes demonstrate the high value he placed on early sources. Secondly, Levi has established how vital the direct observation of paintings was in the Italian's practice, attested in the thousands of drawings of paintings he made during his life. Finally, this attention to the material object was crucial, as one reviewer explains it was the partnership's «profound acquaintance with technique and practical science of art which gives to their volumes a distinguishing and exceptional value». Technical ekphrases are the most distinctive feature of Crowe and Cavalcaselle's writing, and these descriptions entailed a specialist vocabulary. This lexicon was exemplified in England by Charles Eastlake (1793-1865), who had developed a functional language of artistic practice during his work for the Fine Art Commission, and which can be clearly read in his 1847 *Materials for a History of Oil Painting* (the first Director of the National Gallery was a major influence on the Italian connoisseur). Even so their expert terminology, what Cavalcaselle called «my ugly artistic jargon», was generally criticised in contemporary reviews[9]. Nevertheless, at this moment in time attributions based on the analysis of technique appeared substantively scientific and were interpreted as an example of materialist positivism.

The latest research on Cavalcaselle describes his drawings as a «research tool» that are employed in an objective process of understanding. Müller-Bechtel argues, rather macabrely, that the Italian's sketches of paintings bear witness to a «new scientific method of autopsy». Admittedly, in one of their few methodological statements, Crowe and Cavalcaselle do label their technical analysis «a dissection». Such scientific metaphors highlight the intellectual paradigm, as it were, in which the two connoisseurs worked, yet they also distort our perception of their connoisseurship (as do speculations about "cognitive processes" and twenty-first-century discourses on "the art historical gaze"). The fact Cavalcaselle made drawings of paintings is subject-appropriate, and it is easier to understand his sketches as inversions of the creative process, like *disegno* in reverse. The drawings do not mimic the methods of science (they are hardly precise), but instead are a natural consequence of his training at the Accademia di Belle Arti in Venice. Crowe was also a trained artist, studying in Paris under Paul Delaroche in 1840. Rather than any claim to be scientists, the partnership's claim to be painters was a source of great authority, as is clear from one of Morelli's thinly veiled criticisms: «painters who boast of their technical knowledge are neither competent critics nor competent historians»[10].

Cavalcaselle's drawings were fundamental to his pragmatic connoisseurship.

To deconstruct the connoisseurs' study of Giorgione it is necessary to compare the contents of the archives with the published text. These archives are located in the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice, and in the National Art Library in London. Here can be found preparatory notes, drawings, watercolours, annotated books, letters and manuscripts. Significantly, in the Marciana we find Cavalcaselle's *minute* or draft chapters (written 1868-1869), his *taccuini* or travel journals, and his *fascicolo* which are folders of unbound drawings. In the National Art Library we find many of the same drawings by Cavalcaselle which had been reproduced for Crowe to work from, the Englishman's own drawings, and the final handwritten manuscript. Regarding Giorgione it is important to take into account the differences between Cavalcaselle's *minuta* and the published version. The Italian divided his text in two, dealing first with what he considered genuine works by Giorgione placed in chronological order, and second with the numerous disattributions. He began this second section with a note to his English collaborator, explaining that he has not placed the works in any specific order as this seemed the best way to deal with the multitude of paintings ascribed to the artist, the problem of which is a «Vero labirinto». In the published chapter Crowe also begins by considering the authentic works; he then discusses the major disattributions before finishing with eleven pages of misattributed paintings «classified according to the predominant character of each piece»[11].

The fact Cavalcaselle left the second half of his draft chapter unstructured, while Crowe took pains to categorise the works, is evidence of the division of labour in their collaboration. While this varied not only between each book they published but even between chapters within those books, John Pope-Hennessey stated the consensus opinion that: «Crowe was the synthesiser and historian, Cavalcaselle was the eye.» Levi has conducted the most comprehensive study of this working relationship and concluded that for their history of Venetian painting the published text was essentially an elaboration of Cavalcaselle's *minute*, which lacked only a historical framework and bibliographic references[12]. A large part of Crowe's job was to simplify and reduce the Italian's prolix notes: the discussion of Giorgione in the *minuta* is approximately 30.000 words; the published text approximately 15.000.

Although *A History of Painting in North Italy* predominantly reflects the opinions of Cavalcaselle, it was Crowe who had final editorial control. A noteworthy example is Crowe and Cavalcaselle's supposed attribution of *A Man in Armour*, a painting the National Gallery describes as probably by a seventeenth-century imitator of Giorgione and as derived from the warrior saint in the *Castelfranco Altarpiece*. It was bought in 1820 by Samuel Rogers (1763-1855), bequeathed to the gallery

in 1855 and «attributed by the best judges to Giorgione». In their published text Crowe and Cavalcaselle describe the work as «the original painting in oil» for the saint in the altarpiece. Symonds in his review, bemoaning the disattribution of so many well-known works, suggested we were fortunate to have this one painting «which has all the grandeur of conception and power of colour characteristic of the master». Although Crowe's praise for this «manly and spirited study» is fulsome, from Cavalcaselle's notes, sketches and draft chapter we can see the Italian was less certain. In his *taccuini* there is a drawing and notes that mainly detail the damage and repaints, but there is no attribution; this is exactly reproduced in a sketch in the London archive (Fig. 1). In Cavalcaselle's *minuta* the National Gallery painting is placed in the second half and accordingly grouped with the disattributions. The Italian describes the flesh tones as «heavy and opaque» and he links the painting to Pellegrino da San Daniele (1467-1547), an artist the connoisseur characterises as an imitator of Giorgione. Cavalcaselle also connects *A Man in Armour* with Pellegrino's frescoes in Sant'Antonio Abate at San Daniele that contain a similarly posed St George wearing identical armour, a correspondence that is far closer than with the *Castelfranco Altarpiece*. It seems that the Italian connoisseur believed this figure was copied from Giorgione's painting and then used by Pellegrino as a source for his own fresco, although with characteristic caution this is only implicitly stated. It is implied more directly in the published chapter on Pellegrino, where the fresco's similarity «is singular and suggests a Giorgionesque inspiration»[13]. When reading the published chapter on Giorgione, the *Man in Armour* is given a positive attribution and judged to be of high quality, but in Cavalcaselle's *minuta* it is not. Perhaps this reflects institutional pressure, or Crowe's patriotism, or the quality of his connoisseurship, or maybe it is the Englishman overruling the Italian's prevarication.

The connoisseurs equivocated over Giorgione attributions, and a case in point is the *Christ Carrying the Cross* (1508-1509) in Venice's Scuola di San Rocco, a painting that has been attributed to both Giorgione and Titian since the 1568 edition of Vasari's *Vite*. Cavalcaselle's initial sketches give special attention to anatomical details (Fig. 2), with separate drawings for each hand of the executioner, and also Christ's left eye. Noting the generally «carattere grave», and describing the technique's «materia liquida», the connoisseur draws a comparison with Titian's *The Tribute Money* in Dresden and suggests the Christ is more beautiful. On the sketch Cavalcaselle declares that the painting is by Titian, but a few years later he seems to have changed his mind. In his *minuta*, having begun by complaining about the poor condition, he writes that the painting presents «tutti i caratteri ed i modi e tecniche, e maniera di Giorgione» for instance it shows «quel principio di chiaro

scuro ci pare esser quello di Giorgione». Even more, the connoisseur describes how «i passaggi di tinte e modo di fondere il colore corrisponde al Giorgione», and concludes that: «La testa ed il tipo ed il carattere armonizzano più col Giorgione che col Tiziano». It appears that the connoisseur had serious doubts about the results of his earlier research and therefore included the San Rocco painting in a section dealing with uncertain attributions. These reservations can be heard in the published text, where Crowe explains that Vasari attributed the painting both to Giorgione and Titian, because this «astute critic was deceived by the conformity of style». Then Crowe admits that: «Now that we look at the picture with the full consciousness of these contradictions, we are still left in doubt». In the end, based on the technique and lighting, they maintain the Giorgione attribution but with the qualification that «it may be possible to admit that Titian acquired the manner of Giorgione so perfectly as to deceive us». Later, in their 1877 monograph on Titian, they continue prevaricating as they «must concede» that Titian «finished» *Christ Carrying the Cross*[14].

As we have seen, for Giorgionesque portraiture Crowe and Cavalcaselle were especially guarded; they had no secure attribution to function as a control and therefore lacked «proof of their absolute genuineness». An interesting case is the Uffizi *Knight of Malta*, currently attributed to Titian but traditionally given to Giorgione. In 1855 Burckhardt had suggested it might be by Pietro della Vecchia (1603-1676), an attribution Morelli considered «a true heresy» because it is «undoubtedly» authentic. Cavalcaselle was much more sceptical and in his drawing we can see him employ the "Morellian method" (Fig. 3), paying close attention to anatomical details such as the line of the nose and the eyebrow. It is the hand, and the shadow caused by the fingers, that seems to have particularly concerned him. In the notes he sent to Crowe he verbalises his doubts, writing that although it is a work of great quality, «bene guardando al modo come sono fatte alcune parti e specialmente gli accessori e le vesti e la mano cio non soddisfa all'aparenza e comparsa che fa il dipinto a prima vista». He then asks the question whether it as an original which has been repainted, or instead entirely by a follower, concluding that «pare più un'imitazione d'una grande maniera». This can be seen especially in the hand, which «difetta di buone forme e di disegno» and that: «Certo che ciò non corrisponde ai grandi caratteri quanto esecuzione del Giorgione e del Tiziano». In the published text Crowe is very careful with his language: «We conclude that Giorgione's work was altered by late retouching, or the painter is a skilful imitator of Giorgione's manner». However, from Crowe's manuscript we can see that originally he too phrased this as an open question: «Are we to conclude that Giorgione's work was altered by late retouching, or the painter is a skilful imitator

of Giorgione's manner? Such questions might puzzle the most experienced judges»[15]. This shift from problem to supposition bears witness to the way Crowe, in his writing and editing of the final manuscript, partially concealed the complex workings of their connoisseurship.

The major achievement in Crowe and Cavalcaselle's study of Giorgione was the construction of a plausible early career for the artist, which stemmed from Vasari's comment that the painter began with «molti quadri di Nostre Donne». The two panel paintings in the Uffizi, the *Adoration of the Shepherds* (Fig. 4; also known as the "Allendale Nativity" after its then owner Wentworth Beaumont, 1829-1907), the *Adoration of the Kings* (at that time in the private collection of William Miles, 1797-1878), and culminated with the *Castelfranco Altarpiece*. These paintings presented a radical new image of Giorgione as Bellinesque-*quattrocento*, and not the progressive Titianesque painter previously assumed. The internal consistency of this group of paintings was seemingly evidenced when the *Holy Family* (National Gallery of Art, Washington) was discovered in 1887, and displayed the same diminutive scale, figure style and groupings, loosened brush strokes and pure hues.

The *Adoration of the Kings* was a new attribution by Crowe and Cavalcaselle and is the subject of multiple drawings archived in both London and Venice (Fig. 5). In the Italian's *minuta* his indecision is clear: the picture «meritevole del nome Giorgione», or rather it embodies an aspect of painting c1500 «che si personifica nel nome di Giorgione», or finally the technique of «un tocco diligente a punta di pennello» creates a «fisionomica che sopporta il nome di Giorgione». He then links the painting to Bellini and Palma Vecchio, describes it as a youthful work, and draws a comparison with the *Adoration of the Shepherds* and the two Uffizi panels through «un gruppare bello delle figure, e quel carattere di figure ancora ricordato in quei quadri». In Crowe's words the painting becomes «a medley of the Bellinesque and Palmesque», and is «equally entitled to rank amongst the creations of Giorgione as the gems of the Uffizi and Mr. Beaumont»[16].

A work that may be added to this early group is a drawing of the *Adoration of the Shepherds* (Royal Collection, inv. 912803). The composition is closely related to the Washington *Adoration* and is either copied directly from the painting or is an incredibly rare graphic work by Giorgione. It has been given a positive attribution by Jaynie Anderson, but Crowe and Cavalcaselle's opinion has been overlooked. The two connoisseurs mention the picture in a footnote on the painting of the *Adoration*, writing that: «For a part of this picture, there is a drawing representing the Virgin, St. Joseph and, the infant and a shepherd kneeling, in the Queen's collection at Windsor under the name Carpaccio». From this the designation is unclear; however, there is a sketch of the work by Cavalcaselle dated 1865 on which

the attribution is noted: «Carpaccio? Giorgione». (Fig. 6)[17]. This follows Cavalcaselle's usual process of doubting the traditional attribution with a question mark, before providing his own deduction with a full stop. Although there is a certain reticence in the final published ascription, yet the connoisseurs do not explicitly deny Giorgione's authorship, and in fact include the drawing with other positive attributions, thereby strongly suggesting they believed in its authenticity.

The primary justification for the attributions of the *Judgement of Solomon*, the *Trial of Moses*, the *Adoration of the Shepherds* and the *Altarpiece* is the apparent uniformity of the landscapes. The scientific materialism of Crowe and Cavalcaselle's connoisseurship is demonstrated by the way that these landscapes are linked to the Veneto and Giorgione's native Castelfranco: «It should never be forgotten in forming an opinion as to the works of Giorgione that he was born in a mainland city». This geographical context becomes essential in the process of attribution, and the published text offers a vivid description of Castelfranco: «a square fortress with high rectangular towers» which was «fringed with stately wood» while in the distance could be seen «the grand and solemn Alps bathed in mist». Clearly this line of argument is problematic, and so the connoisseurs accepted that the "Castelfranco" of Giorgione's paintings is not the same town that Cavalcaselle visited in 1857. There is a distinct note of doubt in the Italian's *minuta*, in which he states that only one of the towers preserves «il suo carattere originale» while conceding it is typical of the walled towns of the Veneto. However: «si possa sufficientemente argomentare, o dire, che i fondi dei quadri del Giorgione siano cavati da questa contrada». Considering the *Judgement of Solomon* and the *Trial of Moses*, the Italian thinks the scenery only superficially resembles Castelfranco. This disparity between real and painted landscape is explained as artistic licence, the painter having modified the scene from memory for pictorial effect. This is echoed in the published text, where the paintings «suggest the vicinity of Castelfranco, and as such a man of Giorgione's power might vary at his pleasure without doing serious violence to the reality». With the *Adoration of the Shepherds* the connoisseurs seem more confident, arguing that «the turrets, the trees, and the hills peculiar to the neighbourhood of Castelfranco are seen». Again though Cavalcaselle's *minuta* is more cautious: «Se non è Castelfranco ricorda a noi quel genere di contrada amena»[18].

Although this idea of an early Bellinesque Giorgione has stood the test of time, Crowe and Cavalcaselle were themselves uncertain. In the published *History*, after attributing the National Gallery *Adoration*, the connoisseurs consider:

> Whether we are justified in classing all these pictures amongst those which Vasari describes generically as Giorgione's compositions of "Our Lady" is a question worthy of consideration.

> We may ask on what ground any one of them should be accepted as genuine since there is nothing to support the nomenclature but tradition. Upon this point it would be vain to assert that debate is from henceforward to cease; but we may bear in mind that the style coincides with that which historians attribute to Giorgione; that most of the characteristics which predominate recur in canvasses registered by the oldest authorities as those of Barbarella; and that the landscapes in every case resemble each other and recall the country of Castelfranco.

This seems a reasonable defence of what was in 1871 a highly original view of Giorgione's development, but in both Cavalcaselle's *minuta* and Crowe's manuscript we find other attributions suggested. In the manuscript Crowe has written and then deleted: «Basaiti and Savoldo might be put forward as alternative candidates for the authorship». Cavalcaselle in his *minuta* also writes and then cancels a section suggesting Marco Basaiti as possible author of the Uffizi panels, and Girolamo Savoldo for the *Adoration of the Shepherds*, but also tells Crowe to continue to defend their attribution to Giorgione. The Englishman appears to have initially ignored the Italian's partial deletion and followed the proposal, only later to return and delete the other possibilities. This is because, nearly thirty pages later, Cavalcaselle writes: «Caro amico – Vedete cosi ho detto dei quattro primi quadri avanti e la parte a pag. 59 che ho cancellato. Con questo quadro [the *Altarpiece*] è ove il nome di Giorgione corrisponde più ai caratteri che si dicono di lui – Ciò per vostra norma»[19]. Evidently Crowe reconsidered undermining their radical construction of Giorgione's career, and instead presented a consistent position on the artist's early work which culminates with a major commission in his hometown. This note from Cavalcaselle is also an indication of the huge significance of the *Castelfranco Altarpiece* in determining his conception of Giorgione, as are the detailed, exacting, perceptive and singularly beautiful drawings he produced when he viewed the painting in 1857 (Fig. 7). These studies and notes reinforce the impression that the Italian deployed this painting as a key attributional test when he tried ultimately to construct a catalogue for the artist.

In their transforming Giorgione, Crowe and Cavalcaselle centred his career on the only two works in oil which could be considered as absolutely autograph thanks to Marcantonio Michiel's notes on early Venetian collections: *The Tempest* and *The Three Philosophers*. Following an established method for scientific connoisseurship – drawing conclusions from the most reliable attributions – the partnership endeavoured to determine the correct range of his oeuvre with reference to these two paintings. This is demonstrated by Cavalcaselle's *minuta*, not only by the sheer number of words devoted to *The Tempest* (nearly 12 pages), but also the way he concludes his analysis by insisting that «a false idea» of the artist had emerged in the seventeenth century and that this painting proves how close

stylistically Giorgione was to Bellini and Carpaccio[20]. The primacy of documentary sources in the partnership's connoisseurship elevated the status of the painting, a status that has been maintained ever since.

While the two connoisseurs had little doubt about the authorship of *The Tempest*, Cavalcaselle did have misgivings about his ability to give verbal expression to his technical analysis. Recently Levi has discussed the character of Cavalcaselle's *minute*, which is considered «an extraordinary visual history» of Northern Italian Renaissance painting, despite the connoisseur's own admission of its jargonistic prolixity and repetitiveness. Levi argues that Cavalcaselle was «stubbornly trying to translate a visual experience» and his many apologies to Crowe show him unwittingly complaining about the limits of language. A primary example of the Italian's battle with, what Levi terms, «the figurative inadequacy of words» is his writing on *The Tempest*. After ten pages of description, Cavalcaselle signals his frustration with the task when he writes a note to Crowe asking forgiveness: «ho ripetuto le cento volte le stese cose, e cio per la difficolta di potermi spiegare». He then states his hope that his partner with only a few words can elucidate what he means. And indeed the Englishman did seem to grasp the Italian's meaning, neatly and accurately reducing pages and pages of analysis:

> None of Giorgione's pieces is more clever in diversity of handing, none more skilful in varying tone according to distance. There is a very clear definition of things and exquisite lightness of touch near the foreground [...] The trick of getting rich and luscious surface from bright glazes over neutral preparations is very fully and happily attested in parts which have lost their patina by abrasion.

In his *minuta* Cavalcaselle has almost nothing to say about the subject of the painting beyond that it is «bella e misteriosa». Essentially concerned with the material and visual, intellectual conception mattered little to the Italian when determining the author of a painting and instead he consistently focuses on condition, composition, colour but chiefly the technical mode. For instance he writes that «in tutto vedesi una certa negligenza e abbandono», and that the painting is «semplice e naturale, senza artificio visibile»; Giorgione «ha voluto presentare (o fare) un effetto accidentale – un effetto come si vede quando è caduta la pioggia», so everything appears merely «un caso accidentale». Equally, Cavalcaselle focused on composition: «Vedete dal disegno la divisione geometrica» which «segna una specie di triangolo», and he sees this underlying geometry in other works by the artist[21].

At the heart of Crowe and Cavalcaselle's study of Giorgione there is a conflict between their novel "Bellinesque" characterisation, and the received image of a

High Renaissance painter. Hope rightly criticises the two connoisseurs for failing to renounce traditional ideas about Giorgione, and the partnership's acceptance of the authorship of the Kingston Lacy *Judgement of Solomon* seems symptomatic of this failure. However, from Cavalcaselle's notes, and from Crowe's writing, it is clear they did struggled with this issue, before retreating from the more progressive position. Bought as a Giorgione by William Bankes in 1820, the *Judgement of Solomon* is today universally attributed to Sebastiano del Piombo (d.1547). Nevertheless, since 1648 the work had been given to Giorgione and Gustav Waagen in 1857 maintained this position: «Among the very few works, generally speaking, of this great master»'. On 18 June that same year Cavalcaselle viewed the painting and made a series of detailed studies, evidently convinced it was of major significance in the artist's oeuvre. In the main sketch (Fig. 8), every figure is numbered and then in a list below each is described with particular reference to colour and condition. Significantly the priest on Solomon's left, number 7, is a "Giorgione type", presumably due to the resemblance to the figure in the *Three Philosophers*. A decade later in the *minuta*, Cavalcaselle describes number 7 as "Bellinesque", implying the source for the figure is Giovanni Bellini's San Zaccaria *Altarpiece*. In 1857 the true mother on our right, number 8, is listed as a "Giorgione head"; but this figure is the same model who recurs in works from Sebastiano's Venetian period, most notably in the *San Giovanni Crisostomo Altarpiece*, a comparison Cavalcaselle himself made when he drew a detailed study of her. Perhaps this can be explained by the connoisseurs' opinion that in this altarpiece Sebastiano «completely embodies and illustrates the precepts of Giorgione»[22].

In *A History of Painting in North Italy* the connoisseurs claim the Kingston Lacy painting is related to the *Tempest* and *Philosophers* «in the mechanism of their painting, but improved in treatment»; it is described as «bringing Bellinesque art to perfection» but also as having «an impression of novelty». The connoisseurs then question whether this *cinquecento* development was Giorgione's own innovation, or was connected with the influence of Leonardo, or originated in the study of antique sculpture. In his *minuta* Cavalcaselle also debates this issue, but seems to contradict himself: Giorgione «ha corretto il suo modo o migliorata la forma guardando l'antico. Credo che esso studiasse la natura in tutto ma qui vedesi che cercò di renderla con forme corrette migliorando il suo stile». Cavalcaselle concludes, therefore, that the canvas represents «la continuazione del principio Veneto dei Bellini con quel elemento nuovo cinquecentista che sono i caratteri che si danno al Giorgione». However, Cavalcaselle's ability to make a strong attribution was severely hindered by the poor condition of the work, and most of his notes are taken up with detailing damage and repaints (the painting was com-

prehensively restored in 1982, securing Sebastiano's authorship). For example, the kneeling youth to Solomon's right: «La gamba nuda tutta perduta da ridipinto – orrore»; or Solomon himself: «testa rovinata, un orrore». In fact, twelve years after having originally studied the painting, the terrible state of preservation led the ever cautious Cavalcaselle to doubt himself, and he finishes his analysis by questioning whether he has exaggerated the work's quality. He also asks: if it is true the painter died leaving the *Judgement of Solomon* unfinished and it is therefore his last work, as both he and Waagen suggest, does this not then preclude attributing paintings to Giorgione in which one sees an even more advanced style[23]? It was perhaps not the Kingston Lacy canvas which troubled Cavalcaselle, but the thought that the logic of this narrative meant relinquishing the work he believed was the artist's masterpiece.

The central rhetorical set piece of Crowe and Cavalcaselle's chapter on Giorgione is a dramatic ekphrastic confrontation between the Louvre *Concert Champêtre* and the Pitti *Concert*. This is a comparison between a negative and a positive attribution, between the work previously considered the artist's masterpiece and a painting the connoisseurs believed truly explains Giorgione's "celebrity" (Fig. 9). The connoisseurs controversially disattributed the Louvre painting, which is presented as technically flawed and morally unworthy, while extoling the aesthetic and ethical virtues of the Pitti canvas: «what can be more striking than the diversity of treatment the two compositions betray? [...] Are these divergences to be reconciled with the theory of a common origin? We think not»[24]. Both works are now conventionally ascribed to the young Titian.

In 1869 Otto Mündler claimed that of all the paintings of half-length figures attributed to Giorgione in Italy, he could only accept the Pitti *Concert* as absolutely genuine. Cavalcaselle shared this opinion, but went a stage further, proposing that this was the artist's crowning achievement. In his *minuta*, the Italian praises the canvas because it manifests perfectly the "principio di colorire". Again he ends with a note to Crowe: «In vero caro amico che desidererei si finisse la carriera del modo di Giorgione con questo quadro il quale più di tutti corrisponde e rende l'idea di ciò si dice e si aspetta da Giorgione». In in the published text the Englishman follows this instruction, and echoes Cavalcaselle's judgement, claiming that only the Pitti *Concert* «gives a just measure of his skill». By far the more famous painting was the *Concert Champêtre*, synonymous with the name Giorgione, although in 1839 Waagen had claimed it was too weak for the great Venetian master, and instead the landscape matched those of Palma Vecchio. Perhaps influenced by this opinion, Cavalcaselle also had problems with the attribution when he made a watercolour copy in 1852 (Fig. 10). In his notes above the sketch the Italian

draws a comparison: «vi sono certi tocchi di pennello e macchie come il Correggio»; but then he proposes that it could conceivably be by Andrea Schiavone. His search for any alternative to Giorgione is shown by the way he returned to the watercolour in 1866 and added the name Morto da Feltre[25].

In his *minuta* Cavalcaselle argues that the *Concert Champêtre* does not represent «that noble and elevated art that one demands of Giorgione». He proposes instead a follower of Sebastiano and concludes that although the work is «certainly of merit» it is not by Giorgione. This supposition is based on a pejorative technical analysis. Regarding the female nude on the left: «movement lacks naturalness, affected and contorted»; although painted directly from the model it is "too realistic"; looking at "Morellian" details: «the forms and especially the junctions and the extremities and the finger are flawed and rough with a visible affectation». In complete contrast is the Italian's superlative technical description of the Pitti *Concert*, which Crowe accurately summarises: «The subtlety with which the tones are broken is extreme, but the soberness of the general intonation is magical. Warm and spacious lights, strong shadows, delicate reflections, gay varieties of tints, yield a perfect harmony. Parsimonious impast and slight glazes are not incompatible with velvet surface and tender atmosphere»[26].

Cavalcaselle did not directly compare the two concerts in his *minuta*, and so the spectacular juxtaposition was Crowe's invention. In directly comparing the Louvre and Pitti canvases, Crowe made Cavalcaselle's notes more dynamic and affective. Praise for the technical perfection of the Pitti painting is contrasted with a derogatory analysis of the *Concert Champêtre*, despite the «very great charm in the warmth and tinted colouring of the figures and landscape». In Crowe's formulation the adjectival contrast is dramatic, the Pitti *Concert* displaying «perfect drawing, aristocratic form, same impast, and subtle modulations», while the Louvre Concert exhibits «slovenly design, fluid substance, and uniform thickness of texture, plump, seductive, but un-aristocratic shape». To justify the disattribution of the *Concert Champêtre*, Crowe and Cavalcaselle state:

> We cannot say that Giorgione would not have painted such a scene; but, as far as we know, he would have treated it with more nobleness of sentiment, without defects of form or neglect of nature's finesses, without the pasty surface and sombre glow of tone which here is all-pervading; he would have given more brightness and variety to his landscape.

Essentially, this controversial disattribution is based on a qualitative technical discrimination. However, this technical description conflates aesthetic with moral value judgements, particularly in words like "plump" and "seductive", and this seems to arise from the subject-matter: «There is no conscious indelicacy, but

we stand on the verge of the lascivious». From the manuscript in National Art Library, we can see how Crowe exaggerated these qualities, editing his text so that «a woman» becomes «a scantily clad woman», and «another woman» becomes «another woman, naked»[27].

Moretti protested that these moralistic judgements where Crowe's alone, and argues the Englishman distorted Cavalcaselle's *minuta*. Although true to an extent, these views are implied when the Italian demands of Giorgione a «noble and elevated art». Beyond this, Crowe's judgements are more than simply visual, and should be read as a contrast between two alternative ideas of the artist: one pure, one base. Both connoisseurs actively opposed the popular romanticised image of Giorgione, the view that he «was a man of sensual habits, transfusing sensuality into his pictorial types». For Crowe and Cavalcaselle, value judgments were crucial in making and supporting their connoisseurial discriminations. They explain that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, countless paintings attributed to Giorgione were «thrown upon the market place», and:

> Certain it is that, in the course of time, the combined enticements of high-born person, pompous dress, and luscious colour became irrevocably connected with the man who first brought them into fashion; a host of imitators thronged to occupy a field which seemed so easy of access.

For these connoisseurs, it is not simply the mode or quality of the colour, not simply the style of the clothes, it is the moral and social value that should convince us a work is genuine. If the clothes seem parvenu and "pompous", or the colour "luscious", the work is probably not genuine. Connoisseurs must differentiate between the true «aristocratic» Giorgione, and the false «which is mere glitter». The implicit attitudes communicated by the adjectives Crowe employs to describe the technique reflect back upon Giorgione, creating an image of the artist that retroactively supports attributions. Although some may censure the Englishman for his «moral considerations» it is important to appreciate that this rhetoric was necessitated not simply by the need to reject the "sensualist" image of Giorgione, but by the oblique logic of Cavalcaselle's technical arguments. To disattribute a work as acclaimed as the *Concert Champêtre* required more than the Italian's reference to «un tono alquanto basso di tinta»[28]. Crowe appreciated this, and supplied the necessary affective rhetoric to convince his readers.

A significant example is the connoisseurs' judgement on the *Temperance* from the Royal Academy collection, attributed to Palma Vecchio since 1912 when Claude Phillips argued the case in *The Burlington Magazine*. Displayed as a Giorgione in the nineteenth century, doubtless because the pose evokes the nude on the

left of the *Concert Champêtre*, Cavalcaselle in his *minuta* thought it was the «lavoro scadente di qualche debole seguace del modo di Giorgione e di Palma Vecchio, lavoro che si può dire della decadenza di quella maniera e fisonomia d'arte della Giorgionesca». He also linked its «difetti» to Pellegrino's frescoes Sant'Antonio Abate but considered the *Temperance* a «benché sia lavoro molto inferiore». He had given this work serious thought, painting a watercolour with notes in 1852, and reviewing it again in 1865 (Fig. 11). Originally he questioned whether it was by Schiavone, before settling on Pellegrino in the late 1860s, only to change his mind and ask Crowe to remove it from their chapter on that artist and include it in the Giorgione disattributions section. Crowe writes about the «young and comely» figure rather differently: «there is something coquette in the way in which water is poured listlessly». Curiously, although the figure is fairly well covered, he emphasises the display of flesh: «a white chemise hardly covers her shoulder and arm, a green skirt looped up to the knee leaves the leg and sandaled foot bare». The fact it recalls the *Concert Champêtre* seems to prejudice the Englishman, as after his flirtatious description he provides a disapproving technical analysis: «The extremities are ill-drawn and lame, the drapery angular and broken». This analysis is doubly negative with two pejorative adjectives required for each noun[29]. Displayed in the Diploma Gallery, the *Temperance* would have been a familiar example of Giorgione's work in London, and its disattribution therefore a disappointment.

An issue that haunts Crowe and Cavalcaselle's study of Giorgione concerns paintings that are commonly accepted as authentic today, but which were missed or disattributed by the two connoisseurs. Hanging in major collections and examined by either Cavalcaselle or Crowe or both, we might question why the *Sleeping Venus* (Gemäldegalerie, Dresden), the *Judith* (Hermitage, St Petersburg), and the *Laura* and the *Warrior* (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) were absent from their catalogue raisonné. Having provided the basis for our modern conception of the artist, how did the two connoisseurs fail to include these crucial paintings? The first answer is simple: they were engaged in what Colvin termed «negative criticism». Confronted with the hundreds of paintings assigned to Giorgione, the primary function connoisseurship had to perform was disattribution. The second answer is the doubts and uncertainty that pervade their study of the artist and their methodology in general[30].

Morelli gave credibility to the current attribution of the St Petersburg *Judith* in 1891, but acknowledged Daniel Penther as the first to assign the work to Giorgione in 1883. Once thought of as a Raphael, by 1863 the gallery catalogued the painting as by Moretto da Brescia. This attribution was supported in 1864 by Wa-

agen, who argued the *Judith* displays «the unmistakable stamp of Moretto and is one of his most distinguished works». Cavalcaselle travelled to Russia in 1865, but when the connoisseurs briefly mentioned the painting in 1871 this was only to assert «the character is not Moretto's». When directly observing the *Judith* the Italian had noted some Giorgionesque qualities, commenting on the «diligent touch in imitation of Giorgione's first works». Cavalcaselle implies a quality distinction by suggesting the painter is emulating a technique, and this perhaps explains his quasi-attribution «Bissolo – Catena and perhaps a foreigner – Catena». This was not the first time Giorgione's name had been connected to the painting as in 1729 Pierre-Jean Mariette claimed the landscape was «exactly in the style of Giorgione»[31]. Maybe Cavalcaselle knew Mariette's work, or perhaps he instinctively appreciated the Giorgionesque technique, but nonetheless his uncertainty about the issue of quality led to a characteristic hesitation and therefore refusal to offer a precise final designation.

In retrospect Crowe and Cavalcaselle's disattribution of the Vienna *Warrior* seems astonishing. It has a strong provenance with a consistent attribution to Giorgione, while it can also be linked to Michiel's *Notizia*, which record a similar «armed portrait» belonging to Girolamo Marcello in 1525. It is erroneously believed that Eduard Engerth was the first to link the Vienna canvas and Michiel in 1882, but in 1871 Crowe and Cavalcaselle referenced the Marcello portrait as «the original of a later picture in the Belvedere at Vienna». Perhaps surprisingly, Crowe describes the *Warrior* as the «production of a feeble artist of the 17th century [...] It has no claim to be accepted as a Giorgione, though apparently so called of old». This assessment may reflect the poor condition of the painting before its 1955 restoration, as also suggested by Cavalcaselle's analysis (he visited Vienna in 1863) that mainly discusses the repaints before concluding it is a substandard work by some painter of the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century. But this is not the end of the story. In the summer of 1873 Crowe and Cavalcaselle assisted Engerth with problematic attributions of Italian paintings in the Belvedere, the results of which can be found in his 1882 catalogue of the gallery. Here the *Warrior* is given a fuller provenance dating back to the seventeenth century, including Jan van Troyen's 1660 engraving in Teniers' *Theatrum Pictorum* which revealed the second figure. The entry for this painting tells us that Crowe and Cavalcaselle suspect it was painted by Cariani or Torbido. These facts explain a drawing of the *Warrior* by Crowe, archived in the National Art Library, which also records the appearance of the engraving (Fig. 12). The page is headed «In des Art des Giorgione», the appellation also given in Engerth's catalogue. Crowe's notes are dismissive of the attribution in the *Theatrum Pictorum*, curtly noting many of Tenier's engravings

are given to Giorgione[32]. Nevertheless, the two connoisseurs on second viewing seem to have revised the earlier judgement, dating the work to the early sixteenth century and bringing it within the orbit of Giorgione.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle's collaboration with Engerth also explains a similar drawing by the Englishman showing the *Laura* and recording a confidently underlined attribution to Girolamo Romanino (Fig. 13). The painting is depicted in the same style, carefully wrought with lines drawn in hard sharp pencil, very different from Cavalcaselle's more freely rendered soft pencil sketches of which there are examples from this time spent in the Belvedere. The 1837 catalogue lists the *Laura* as «In the style of Giovanni Bellini», but in 1845 it is recorded simply as "Venetian School"; in 1865 Mündler argued that with «some probability» the painting was by Raphael; in 1866 Waagen stated that the canvas is «in no way» from the school of Bellini as he considered it Lombard and most likely a Boltraffio; finally, in 1882, Engerth's catalogue attributes the painting to Romanino «without hesitation» despite his having previously maintained the "Venetian School" designation 1870. It is difficult to fathom why the connoisseurs were so convinced Romanino was the author of the *Laura*, although they did consider his paintings «make up the modern conventionalism called Giorgionesque». Even though the famous inscription on the reverse of the painting was deciphered in 1882, bizarrely, it was not until 1908 that Ludwig Justi claimed the work for Giorgione by specifically refuting the attribution to Romanino[33].

Finally, and most significantly, the attribution of the Dresden *Sleeping Venus* has done most to promote the name of Morelli at the expense of the more industrious but cautious Cavalcaselle. This painting is normally considered to be the same as the canvas that was in the Marcello collection in 1525 and noted by Michiel as begun by Giorgione but finished by Titian. By 1862 this tradition had been lost, and in Julius Hübner's catalogue the work was considered a copy after Titian «probably by Sassoferrato». When Morelli returned the work to Giorgione in 1880 he made much of what he considered an «incomprehensible» failure of connoisseurship. Specifically, he viciously attacked Crowe and Cavalcaselle for claiming that a rather substandard *Sleeping Venus* in Darmstadt was an original Titian and the true «model» upon which «innumerable imitations» and «numerous replicas» were based. Admittedly this was an odd attribution, especially considering the partnership's own admission that the excellence of Titian's technique and the beauty of his colours «are no longer visible»[34].

For Morelli, apart from his published writing, we have no evidence of how or when he attributed the painting to Giorgione. For Crowe and Cavalcaselle, however, we can trace through the archives how they painstakingly collected sketches

of similar compositions of reclining nudes, including the Dresden canvas. In their monograph on Titian the partnership listed five examples which all display remarkable similarities in the pose of Venus: the face with closed eyes turned to the viewer, the left breast in profile, and the sinuous right leg which disappears under the left. Cavalcaselle understood that they must all have been based on the same prototype, but he failed to see this was the Dresden painting and not its seventeenth-century pastiche. The five paintings they recorded as «copies and replicas» of the Darmstadt *Venus* are: a version in the Duke of Wellington's collection at Apsley House (they considered it a sixteenth-century replica; sold to a private collection in 1965), one in William Ward's collection at Dudley House (they described it as Bolognese), a canvas in the Fitzwilliam Museum (including a "Titian Spaniel" and attributed by Cavalcaselle to Padovanino), a rather crass but amusing version in the Dulwich Picture Gallery (showing cupid pointing his arrow into Venus' hand; they ascribe it to «the Schools of Bassano and Tintoretto»), and finally the Dresden *Venus*[35].

In 1877 Crowe and Cavalcaselle stated that the Dresden painting was «assigned dubiously to Sassoferrato» (despite Morelli's assertion that they accepted this attribution), and explained that a much damaged cupid had been painted over. Therefore Cavalcaselle had all the information necessary to make the attribution: he knew about the 1843 restoration, and he knew Michiel and Ridolfi's references to a Venus by Giorgione in the Marcello collection, but unlike Morelli he simply did not make the connection. In Cavalcaselle's own copy of the gallery catalogue (1865) we find a small sketch of the painting in the margin, and next to the entry he simply writes «copy». There is also another very rough pencil sketch, presumably from his trip to Dresden in November 1863 (but possibly 1865); the notes record the colour, absence of cupid and the differences in the landscape; although no attribution is given, there is a link to the Darmstadt painting and a list: «Ward London / Cambridge / and other places». Archived in the National Art Library is an almost identical sketch by Cavalcaselle, but in pen and ink (Fig. 14); the notes are the same, however this time there is typically ambiguous message to Crowe: «no so se si dice copia da Tiziano». The Englishman has also added some notes in pencil («amore sitting was removed»), and as if in response he hastily scribbles a proposition: «Giorgione a copy ? by Sassoferrato»[36]. The Dresden gallery is a collection Crowe knew well from his time as Consul-General for Saxony, but his suggestion seems to have come very late in the preparation of the text. Frustratingly for them, but luckily for Morelli, he stuck with the cautious: «assigned dubiously».

Why then did Cavalcaselle fail to see that the style and technique of the Dre-

sden *Sleeping Venus* was early sixteenth-century? Without wishing to make excuses, the lack of detail in Cavalcaselle's drawings, and the lack of analysis in Crowe's description, suggests the painting was positioned well above eye-level. This is confirmed by Layard's remark that the painting «had been hung almost out of sight», and even in 1906 the canvas was still hung «a little high». Less forgivably, why did Cavalcaselle afford such value to the painting in Darmstadt? We can see from the notes he made on 24 April 1865 that he considered the right-hand side landscape to be in «Titian's form», but thought the left was «all new» and a «horror»; he only made a detailed sketch of the right, which contains the same group of buildings as in Titian's *Noli me tangere* (National Gallery, London). For the figure, what partly convinced Cavalcaselle of its authenticity were the breasts, over which he has written «bello» and below commented: «quadro tutto ridipinto – ma che certo era d'un buon maestro […] petto di Tiziano». Although he did affirm Titian's authorship, characteristically, he was in doubt: «l'impressione è che non è - ma poi sì»[37].

Provisional attributions were Cavalcaselle's speciality, and so Crowe produced a text full of caveats. While this may seem unsatisfactory, it is the intelligent and scientific position to adopt. When it came to Giorgione however this mode of connoisseurship, this "negative criticism", only produced further uncertainty. Their scientific scepticism manifests in the text as equivocation or evasion. The "Giorgione problem" is today most associated with the artist's enigmatic iconographies, but it was Crowe and Cavalcaselle's connoisseurship and issues of attribution that transformed Giorgione from a painter to an art-historical puzzle.

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1 The major scholarship, primarily on Cavalcaselle, is: L. Moretti, *G.B. Cavalcaselle: disegni da antichi maestri*, Vicenza, 1973; D. Levi, *Cavalcaselle: il pioniere della conservazione dell'arte italiana*, Turin, 1988; ed. A. C. Tommasi, *Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle: conoscitore e conservatore*, Venice, 1999; S. Müller-Bechtel, *Die Zeichnung als Forschungsinstrument*, Berlin, 2009.

2 E. Eastlake, *Crowe and Cavalcaselle on the History of Painting*, in "The Edinburgh Review", 135, 1872, p. 126; C. Hope, *Giorgione's Fortuna Critica*, in *Giorgione: Myth and Enigma*, exhibition catalogue, Vienna 2004, pp. 41-55; Anonymous, *Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle's Recent Volumes*, in "The Pall Mall Gazette", 2402, 30 August 1871, p. 12; S. Colvin, *Art and Archelogy*, in "The Academy", July 1871, p. 328.

3 Hope, *Fortuna*, cit., p. 48.

4 J. A. Crowe and G. B. Cavalcaselle, *A History of Painting in North Italy*, London, 1871, I, p. 167, and II, pp. 457, 459.

5 Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History*, II, cit., pp. 129, 134, 146, 154-155.

6 W. Pater, *The School of Giorgione*, "Fortnightly Review", 22, October 1877, p. 532; Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana (cited hereafter as BNM), It. IV 2026 (=12267), Fascicolo XIX Parte Prima, 1v-4v («the name of Giorgione, as you said, can be regarded as a name of convention … if not *almost* all of them […] much caution and circumspection […]. Ultimately we must proceed cautiously and prefer a reputation for timidity.»).

7 London, National Art Library (cited hereafter as NAL), MSL/1904/2359-2360, p. 195; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History*, II, cit., p. 121; Pater, *School*, cit., p. 532.

8 Pater, *School*, cit., p. 538; J. Anderson, *Collecting, Connoisseurship and the Art Market in Risorgimento Italy*, Venice, 1999, pp. 8-9; L. Uglow, *Giovanni Morelli and his Friend Giorgione: Connoisseurship, Science and Irony*, in "Journal of Art Historiography", 11, December 2014; Levi, *Cavalcaselle*, cit., p. 37.

9 Quoted in U. Kultermann, *The History of Art History*, New York, 1993, p. 113; London, NAL, 86.ZZ.53 Box III; Venice, BNM, It. IV, 2034 (=12275), Fascicolo V, 194v-205r; D. Levi, *Cavalcaselle*, cit., pp. 120, 282-283; D. Levi, *L'officina di Crowe e Cavalcaselle*, in "Prospettiva", 26, 1981, p. 83; Anonymous, *Recent*, cit., p. 11; «il mio brutto gergo artistico», quoted in D. Levi, *'Perdonate alle ripetizioni': elaborazione di una tecnica descrittiva nelle carte private di G.B. Cavalcaselle*, in "Studi di Memofonte", 6, 2011, p. 3; cf. Eastlake, *Crowe*, cit., p. 123, and J. A. Symonds, "Art. IV", *The Quarterly Review*, 133 (July 1872), p. 121.

10 Müller-Bechtel, *Zeichnung*, cit., p. 26, 118, 201, 221,223; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History*, II, cit., p. 205; for Cavalcaselle's early years see: A. C. Tommasi, *La formazione di Cavalcaselle*, in Tommasi, *Cavalcaselle*, cit., pp. 23-34; for Crowe's training see J. A. Crowe, *Reminiscences*, London, 1895, pp. 23, 25-26; Levi implies the origin of this method was their early training, cf. Levi, *Cavalcaselle*, cit., p. 17; G. Morelli, *Italian Painters*, 1892, p. 4; G. Morelli, *Kunstkritische Studien über italienische Malerei*, Leipzig, 1890, p. 5.

11 Venice, BNM, It. IV, 2026 (=12267), Fascicolo XIX Parte Seconda, 89r ["true labyrinth"]; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History*, II, cit., pp. 155-156; Crowe's notes for this section: London, NAL, 86.ZZ.53 Box III.

12 J. Pope-Hennessy, *The Study and Criticism of Italian Sculpture*, New York, 1980, p. 13; D. Levi, *Cavalcaselle*, cit., pp. 252-257, 267-269.

13 Moretti, *G.B.*, cit., p. 46; *The Illustrated London News*, March 29 1856; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History*, II, cit., pp. 129, 209; Symonds, *Art. IV*, cit., p. 145; Venice, BNM, It. IV, 2037 (=12278), Taccuino VII, 32v-33r; London, NAL, 86.ZZ.53 Box III; It. IV, 2026 (=12267), Fascicolo XIX Parte Seconda, 161v.

14 Venice, BNM, It. IV, 2031 (=12272), Fascicolo IXc, 40v-41r («solemn character […] liquid substance»), and It. IV, 2026 (=12267), Fascicolo XIX Parte Seconda, 92v-93v («all the characteristics, and the methods and techniques, and the style of Giorgione […] that principle of chiaroscuro which seems to be that of Giorgione […] the passage of tints and the way of merging the colours corresponds to that of Giorgione […]. The head and the type and the character harmonises more with Giorgione than with Titian»); Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History*, II, cit., pp. 143-144; J. A. Crowe and G. B. Cavalcaselle, *Titian*, London, 1877, I, pp. 61-62.

15 Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History*, II, cit., p. 154; J. Burckhardt, *Der Cicerone*, Basel, 1855, pp.

185-186; Morelli, *Kunstkritische*, 1891, cit., p. 280; Venice, BNM, It. IV, 2030 (=12271), Fascicolo XVIA, 10v-11r; Venice, BNM, It. IV, 2026 (=12267), Fascicolo XIX Parte Seconda, 126v-128r («if one looks carefully, especially at the accessories and the clothes and the hands, it does not satisfy the way the painting did at first sight […] it seems more like an imitation of a great style […] lacks good form and design […]. Certainly this does not correspond to the great characteristic execution of Giorgione and of Titian»); London, NAL, MSL/1904/2359-2360, p. 224.

16 London, NAL, 86.ZZ.53 Box III; Venice, BNM, It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XXII, 255r, 256v; Venice, BNM, It. IV, 2026 (=12267), Fascicolo XIX Parte Prima, 33r-34r («merits the name of Giorgione […] that is personified by the name Giorgione […] a diligent touch with the tip of the brush […] physiognomy that supports the name Giorgione […] a beautiful grouping of the figures, and the character of the figures also»); Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History*, II, cit., p. 128.

17 J. Anderson, *Giorgione*, New York, 1996, p. 294; London, NAL, 86.ZZ.53 Box III; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History*, II, cit., p. 128; Venice, BNM, It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XX, 141v-142r.

18 Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History*, II, cit., pp. 122, 128-129; Venice, BNM, It. IV, 2026 (=12267), Fascicolo XIX Parte Prima, 59v-60r, 19v-20r, 31V («its original character […] one can sufficiently argue, or say, that the source for the pictures of Giorgione is drawn from this countryside […]. If it is not Castelfranco, it reminds us of that type of pleasant district»).

19 Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History*, II, cit., p. 129; London, NAL, MSL/1904/2359-2360, p. 192; Otto Mündler had previously attributed the Uffizi panels to Basaiti in an editorial note: J. Burckhardt, *Der Cicerone*, Leipzig, 1869, p. 976; Venice, BNM, It. IV, 2026 (=12267), Fascicolo XIX Parte Prima, 32r, 60v («Dear friend, see what I said before of the four early pictures and the part I have cancelled on pg.59. This picture [the *Altarpiece*] is where the name of Giorgione corresponds most to the characteristics they say of him – this is for your guidance»).

20 Venice, BNM, It. IV, 2026 (=12267), Fascicolo XIX Parte Prima, 70v, 72v.

21 D. Levi, *Perdonate*, cit., pp. 3-11; Venice, BNM, It. IV, 2026 (=12267), Fascicolo XIX Parte Prima, 68v-72v, also 35r and 12r («I have repeated the same thing a hundred times, and this because of the difficulty of being able to explain […] beautiful and mysterious […] everywhere one sees a certain negligence […] simple and natural, without visible artifice […] wanted to present (or make) an accidental effect – an effect as seen when the rain has just fallen […] an accidental coincidence […].One sees the geometric division of the design […] forms a type of triangle»); Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History*, II, cit., p. 137.

22 Hope, *Fortuna*, cit., p. 48; G. Waagen, *Galleries and Cabinets of Art in Great Britain*, London, 1857, p. 377-8; Venice, BNM, It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XXII, 223v-222r, 229v; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History*, II, cit., p. 312.

23 Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History*, II, cit., pp. 138-139; Venice, BNM, It. IV, 2026 (=12267), Fascicolo XIX Parte Prima, 78r, 81v, 74v-75r («corrected his manner, or improved his form by studying the antique. I believe he studied nature in everything, but here one sees he searched to find correct form improving his style […] the continuation of Venetian-Bellinesque principle with those new cinquecento elements that are the characteristics that one gives to Giorgione […] nude leg all lost from repainting – horror […] head ruined, a horror»).

24 Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History*, II, cit., p. 146.

25 J. Burckhardt, *Der Cicerone: Eine Anleitung Zum Kunstwerke Italiens*, Leipzig, 1869, III, p. 976; Venice, BNM, It. IV, 2026 (=12267), Fascicolo XIX Parte Prima, 86r, 87v («principle of *colorire*

… In truth dear friend we will want to finish the career of Giorgione with this work which more than all corresponds to and explains the idea of what one says and expects of Giorgione»); Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History*, II, cit., p. 146; G. Waagen, *Kunstwerke und Künstler in England und Paris*, III, Berlin, 1839 p. 461-462; in 1666 André Félibien had stated that the painting is often taken for a Correggio: *Entretiens sur les vies et sur les ouvrages des plus excellens peintres anciens et modernes*, Paris, 1666, III, p. 231; Venice, BNM, It. IV, 2037 (=12278), Taccuino VII, 18v-19r («there are certain brushstrokes and *macchie* such as with Correggio»).

26 Venice, BNM, It. IV, 2026 (=12267), Fascicolo XIX Parte Seconda, 147r-148r: transcribed in Moretti, *G.B.*, cit., p. 106-107; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History*, II, cit., pp. 145-6; for the analysis in Cavalcaselle's *minuta* see: Venice, BNM, It. IV, 2026 (=12267), Fascicolo XIX Parte Prima, 83r-87r.

27 Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History*, II, cit., pp. 146-147; London, NAL, MSL/1904/2359-2360, p. 215.

28 Moretti, *G.B.*, cit., (note 1), p. 107; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History*, II, cit., pp. 123, 130 156; Venice, BNM, It. IV, 2026 (=12267), Fascicolo XIX Parte Prima, 147v («a tone of somewhat deep tints»).

29 Venice, BNM, It. IV, 2026 (=12267), Fascicolo XIX Parte Seconda, 160r («shoddy work of some feeble follower of Giorgione and Palma Vecchio, work that can be said of the decadence of the manner and physiognomy of art of Giorgione […] defects […] very inferior work»); Venice, BNM, It. IV, 2037 (=12278), Taccuino VII, 22v-23r, and It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XX, 158v-162r; C. Philips, T*he Venetian Temperance at the Diploma Gallery*, in "The Burlington Magazine", 21, 1912, pp. 270-272; P. Rylands, *Palma Vecchio*, Cambridge, 1992, p. 284; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History*, II, cit., p. 160.

30 Colvin, *Art*, cit., p. 330 – the possibility must be admitted that institutional pressure and the interests of private collectors influenced the frequent caveats and qualifications that accompany Crowe and Cavalcaselle's attributions.

31 Morelli, *Kunstkritische*, cit., 1893, p. 219; 1891, p. 286; D. Penther, *Kritischer Besuch in der Ermitage zu St. Petersburg*, Vienna, 1883, p. 34; Morelli was also following the suggestion of Jean Paul Richter, cf. I. Richter and G. Richter, *Italienische Malerei der Renaissance im Briefwechsel von Giovanni Morelli und Jean Paul Richter*, Baden-Baden, 1960, pp. 134-147; B. von Köhne, *Ermitage Impérial*, St. Petersburg, 1863, p. 28; G. Waagen, *Die Gemäldesammlungen in der Kaiserlichen Ermitage zu St. Petersburg*, Munich, 1864, p. 66; transcribed and illustrated in Moretti, *G.B.*, cit., p. 99; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History*, II, cit., p. 416; Anderson, *Giorgione*, cit., p. 292.

32 Anderson, *Giorgione*, cit., p. 304; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History*, II, cit., pp. 157, 166; Venice, BNM, It. IV, 2026 (=12267), Fascicolo XIX Parte Seconda, 145r; London, NAL, 86.ZZ.31 Box II; E. Engerth, *Gemälde. Beschreibendes Verzeichniss*, I, Vienna, 1884, pp. x, 171-172.

33 A. Kraft, *Verzeichniss der kais. kön. Gemälde-Gallerie im Belvedere zu Wien*, Vienna, 1845, p. 11; O. Mündler, *Ein bisher verkanntes Bild von Rafael im Belvedere zu Wien*, in "Recensionen und Mittheilungen über bildende Kunst", 4 Feb 1865, pp. 33-34; Engerth, *Gemälde*, cit., p. 281; all of Crowe and Cavalcaselle's drawings from the 1873 collaboration with Engerth are contained in: London, NAL, 86.ZZ.31 Box II; *Giorgione: Myth and Enigma*, exhibition catalogue, Vienna 2004, ed. S. Ferino-Pagden et al.,Vienna, 2004, p. 197.

34 Some now consider the painting entirely by Titian, notably: P. Joannides, *Titian to 1518*, London, 2001, pp. 181-182; Julius Hübner, *Verzeichniss der Königlichen Gemälde-Gallerie zu Dresden*, Dresden, 1862, p. 142; G. Morelli, *Die Werke italienischer Meister in den Galerien von*

München, Dresden und Berlin, Leipzig, 1880, p. 194; G. Morelli, *Italian Masters in German Galleries*, London, 1883, p. 165; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History*, I, cit., p. 274.

35 Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *Titian*, I, cit., p. 275; the Duke of Wellington's, Dulwich, Dudley House and the Fitzwilliam Museum all: London, NAL, 86.ZZ.50; Dudley House: Venice, BNM, It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XX, 53v-54r (1865); Fitzwilliam: Venice, BNM, It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XXII, 210v-211r.

36 Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *Titian*, I, cit., 1877, p. 275; Morelli, *Werke*, cit., 1880, p. 197, and 1883, p. 168; Venice, BNM, It. IV, 2037 (=12278), Taccuino II, p. 19; London, 86.ZZ.32 Box III («I do not know if you say copy from Titian»); although Crowe's note is hard to decipher, comparisons can be made to show the word does indeed say "Giorgione".

37 A. H. Layard, "Introduction", in Morelli, *Kunstkritische*, cit., 1892, p. [24]; H. W. Singer, *Die Kgl. Gemälde-Galerie*, Stuttgart, 1906, p. 10 («Das Bild hängt ein wenig hoch, so dass es zu glatt wirkt»); Venice, BNM, It. IV, 2037 (=12278), Taccuino VI, 111v, 113r («beautiful […] picture all repainted – but certainly was by a good master […] Titian's breasts […] the impression is that it is not – but then yes»).

Fig. 1: Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle, *Sketch of "A Man in Armour" in the National Gallery, London*, c1869, National Art Library, London, 86.ZZ.53 Box III

Fig. 2: Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle, *Sketch of "Christ Carrying the Cross" in the Scuola di San Rocco, Venice*, c1866, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice, It. IV, 2031 (=12272), Fascicolo IXc, 41r

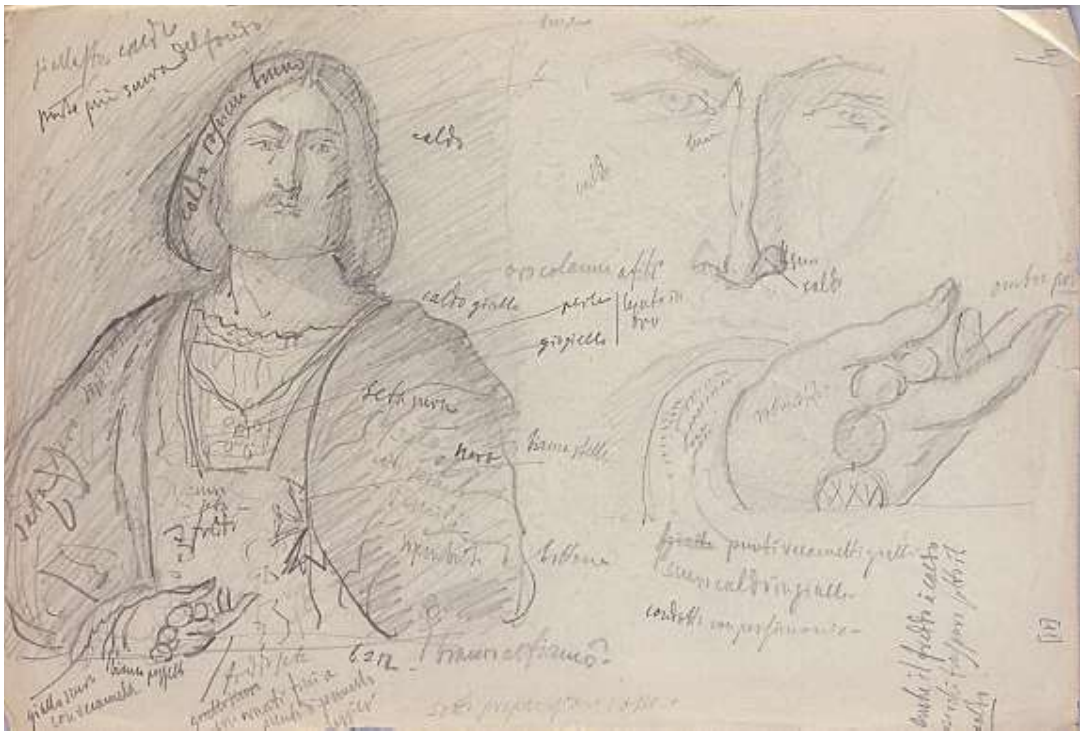


Fig. 3: Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle, *Sketch of "Knight of Malta" in the Uffizi, Florence*, 1858 or 1862, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice, It. IV, 2030 (=12271), Fascicolo XVIa, 10v-11r

Fig. 4: Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle, *Watercolour copy of "Adoration of the Shepherds" in the National Gallery, Washington*, c1865, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice, It. IV, 2037 (=12278), Taccuino XIV, 44v-45r

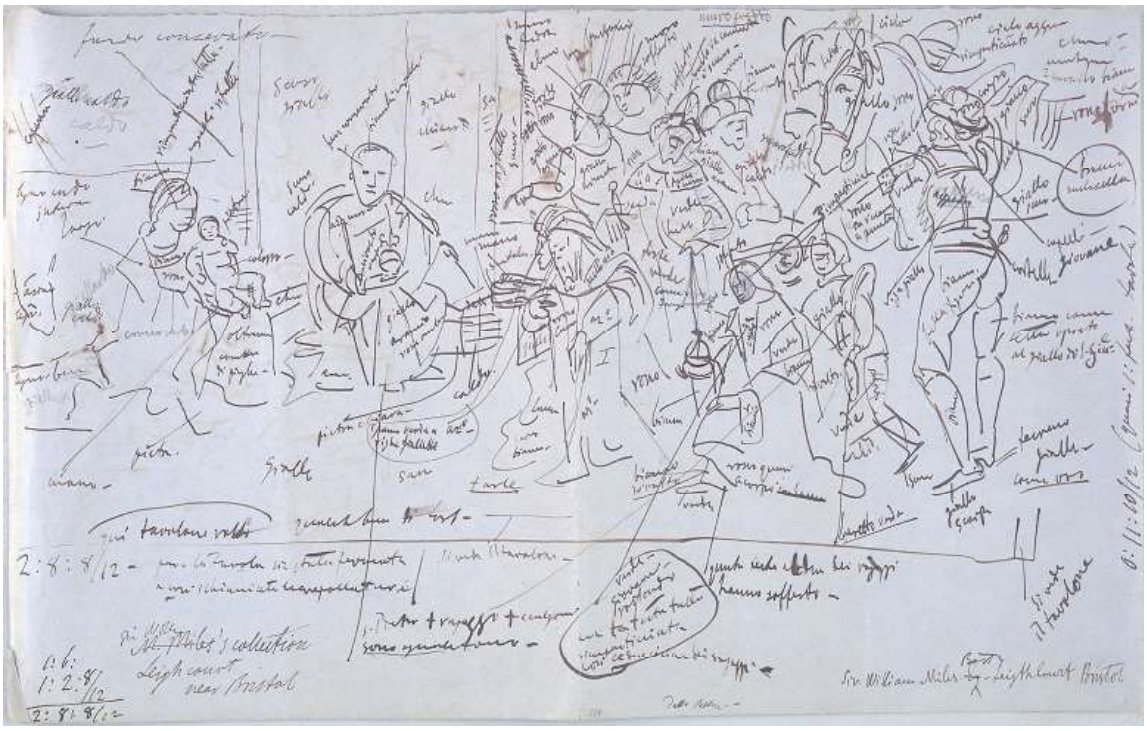


Fig. 5: Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle, *Sketch of "Adoration of the Kings" in the National Gallery, London*, c1865, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice, It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XXII, 256v-254r

Fig. 6: Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle, *Sketch of "Adoration of the Shepherds" in the Royal Collection (inv. 912803)*, 1865, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice, It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XX, 141v-142r

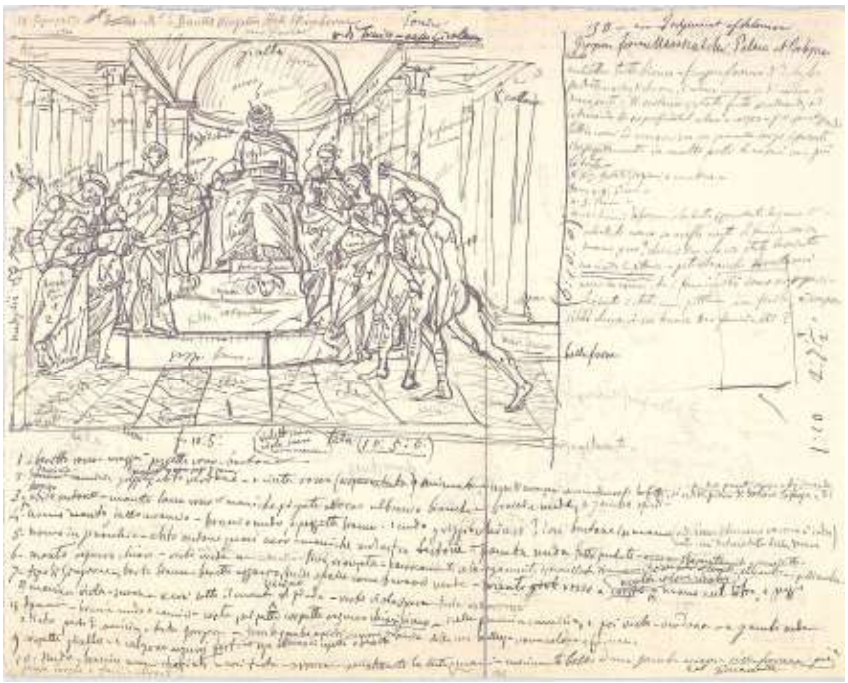


Fig. 7: Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle, *Sketch of Warrior Saint from "Castelfranco Altarpiece"*, 1857, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice, It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino XVII, ff. 25v-26r

Fig. 8: Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle, *Sketch of "The Judgement of Solomon" at Kingston Lacy, Dorset*, 18 June 1857, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice, It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XXII, 223v-222r

Fig. 9: Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle, *Sketch of "Concert" in the Palazzo Pitti, Florence*, 1864 or 1867, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice, It. IV, 2030 (=12271), Fascicolo XVIC-D, 305v-306r

Fig. 10: Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle, *Watercolour copy (with notes in pencil) of "Concert Champêtre" in the Louvre*, Paris, 1852 and 1866, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice, It. IV, 2037 (=12278), Taccuino VII, 18v-19r

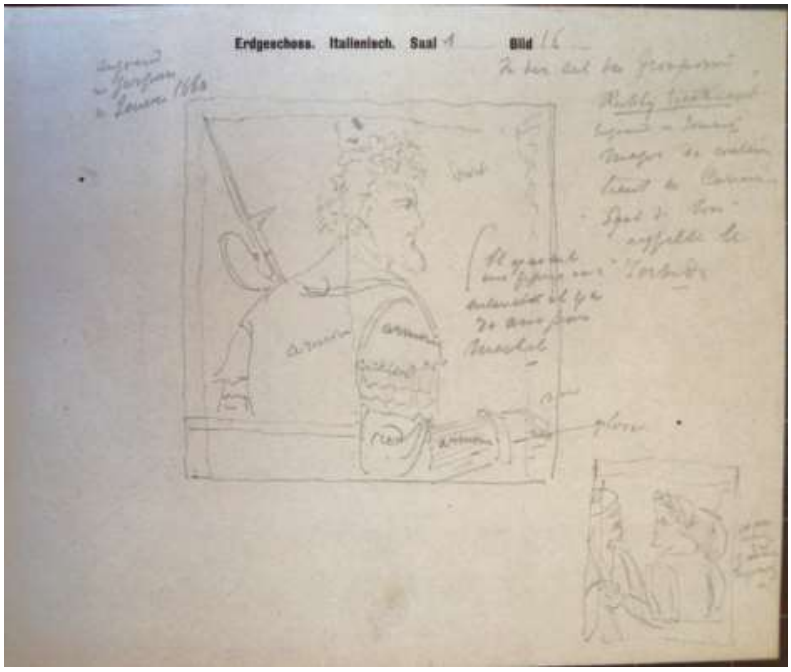
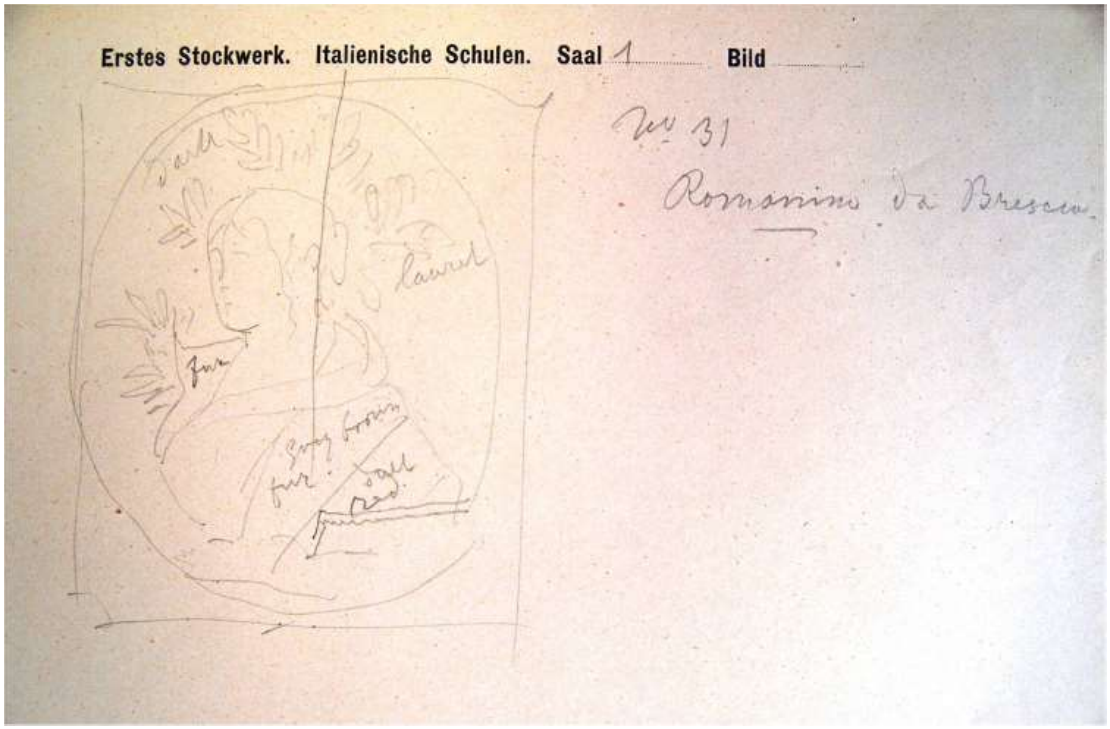


Fig. 11: Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle, *Watercolour copy (with notes in pencil) of "Temperance" in the Royal Academy, London*, 1852 and 1865, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice, It. IV, 2037 (=12278) - Taccuino VII, 22v-23r

Fig. 12: Joseph Archer Crowe, *Sketch of "Warrior" in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna*, 1873, National Art Library, London, 86.ZZ.31 Box III Austria



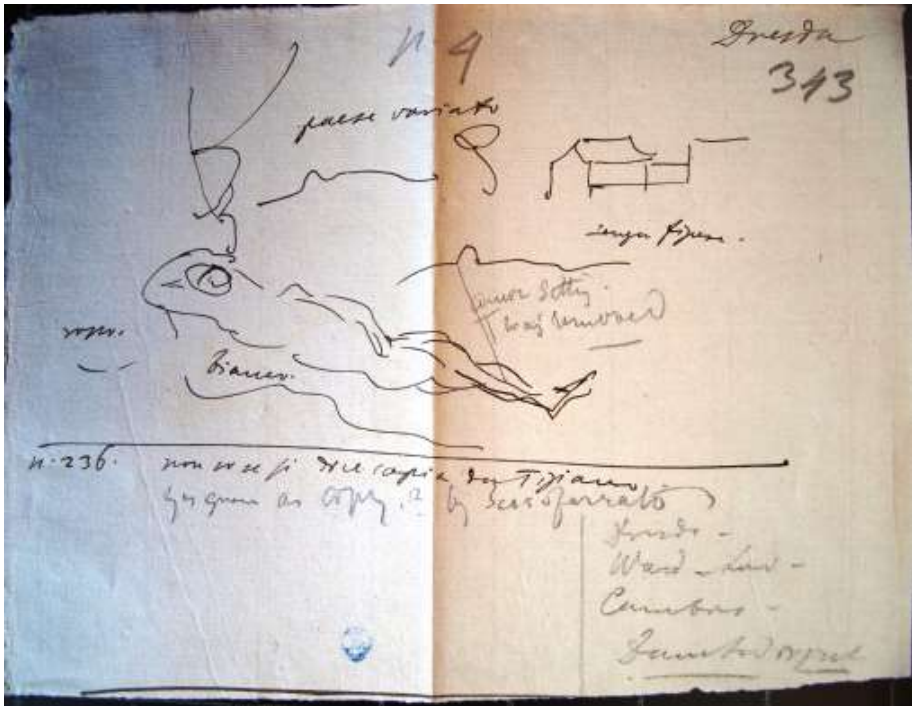


Fig. 13: Joseph Archer Crowe, *Sketch of "Laura" in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna*, 1873, National Art Library, London, 86.ZZ.31 Box III Austria

Fig. 14: Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle, *Sketch of "Sleeping Venus" in the Gemäldegalerie, Dresden*, c1869, National Art Library, London, 86.ZZ.32 Germany Box III